John Donne Journal
Vol. 38 (2020-2021)

Who Wrote Francis Davison's "By Euphrates flowry side"? The Genesis and Genealogy of a Seventeenth-Century Psalm Translation*

Gary A. Stringer

I. The History of the Question

Beginning with John Marriot's publication in 1633 of *Poems, by J. D. with Elegies on the Authors Death* (A),[1] a translation of Psalm 137 beginning "By Euphrates flowry side" appeared in every collected edition of John Donne's poems until Alexander Grosart dropped it from his late nineteenth-century *Complete Poems of John Donne* (N), explaining that the poem "is found in early MSS. as Francis Davison's, who has similarly versified other Psalms," and—on additional grounds of style and vocabulary—rejected it from the canon with "no

* Many people have aided me in the preparation of this article over the years. I especially wish to thank the following: Frank Bowles, Tracy McLawhorn Hayes, Brittany Henry, Beth McGowan, Emily Montford, Sammy Moriarty, Jack Sasson, J. Mac Stringer, Joel Swann, Francesca Tate, and Mike Webb.

[1] *Donne Variorum* sigla for textual artifacts and short forms for poem titles are cited throughout this essay wherever available. Lists of these are accessible under the "Front Matter" tab at http://donnevariorum.dh.tamu.edu. Throughout, I shall distinguish poetic translations of Psalm 137 from the prose Biblical versions by enclosing the poem titles in quotation marks and shall spell *Psalm* with or without a terminal *e* according to the source quoted.

hesitation" (2: xxvi).[2] Updating J. R. Lowell's 1855 *Poetical Works of Dr. John Donne* (M), which had followed Tonson's 1719 *Poems on Several Occasions, Written by the Reverend John Donne, D. D.* (H) in including the translation among the "Divine Poems," C. E. Norton silently withdrew the poem from the Grolier Club's two-volume *Poems of John Donne* in 1895 (O); and the following year E. K. Chambers similarly excluded it from his Muses Library two-volume *The Poems of John Donne* (1896; P), noting in a roster of "Spurious Poems" the poem's history of publication as Donne's in "all the seventeenth-century editions," but citing other bibliographical evidence that left him with "very little doubt as to [Francis] Davison's claim" to authorship. This evidence included ascription of the poem to Davison in three large seventeenth-century manuscript collections of Psalm translations (Harl. 3357, Harl. 6930, and Rawl. Poet. 61); its prior publication as Davison's in earlier nineteenth-century editions of Davison's *A Poetical Rhapsody* by Egerton Brydges (1817) and Nicholas H. Nicolas (1826); its inclusion among other Donne poems and "with the signature J. D." in Addl. MS. 25,707 (B13), a signature Chambers found "quite indistinguishable" from "F. D."; and an unsigned copy of the poem in Addl. MS. 27,407 (B14), where it is "accompanied by a letter from the author in which he speaks of other Psalms which he has translated"—a claim applicable to Davison, says Chambers, but "not, so far as we know, to Donne." Although he does not specifically mention Grosart's opinion of this Psalm, his awareness of Grosart's work is plentifully evident throughout Chambers's edition (see P, I:iv, xxv, *et passim*), and he follows Grosart in citing what he labels an "inconclusive" exchange in *Notes and Queries* of 1852 (1st Series, vi., 49, 137, 157, 247) in which the participants point out that Edward Farr had published the poem as Davison's in *Select*

[2] Although Grosart does not specify particular manuscripts of Davison's Psalms, we can infer that he intends Harleian mss. 6930 and 3357—and perhaps a now-unlocated ms. once owned by the Marquess of Stafford. Grosart had edited—or was then in the process of editing—Chetham's Library MS A.4.15 (MC1) as *The Dr. Farmer Chetham MS being a Commonplace Book in the Chetham Library, Manchester, temp. Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I* (Manchester, 1873), an artifact that contains a collection of seven Davisonian Psalms, and his note there to those poems cites "Nicolas' *Davison*" (p. 225), which contains a note discussing the Harleian mss. at length (see Nicolas, 2: 320-21.)

Poetry, Chiefly Devotional, of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (Cambridge UP, 1845), only shortly thereafter to republish it as Donne's in the companion volume *Select Poetry, Chiefly Sacred, of the Reign of King James the First* (Cambridge UP, 1847).[3] Thus, except that he fails to mention William T. Brooke's printing of the poem among other Davisonian Psalms inserted into his 1888 edition of Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victory and Triumph* (London, pp. 273-75), Chambers bases his conclusion that "By Euphrates flowry side" is Davison's on a comprehensive, up-to-date survey of available information on the poem's circulation in manuscript, its publication history, and the prior debate on the authorship question (*2*: 303).[4]

Chambers's handling of this matter essentially settled the question of the poem's canonical status for the next 112 years. In the extensive re-examination and expansion of the Donne textual materials that underlay his era-defining *Poems of John Donne* in 1912 (Q), Herbert Grierson adds the manuscript of the poem in Cambridge University Library Add. ms. 29 (C1) to the list of those previously known, but otherwise contributes little new bibliographical information to the received debate. Grierson's table of contents lists the poem as "Probably by Francis Davison," and he prints a version based on A in an appendix of "Poems which have been attributed to John Donne in the

---

[3] The fourth of these discussants, S. W. Singer, is the earliest commentator I have located to note that the verse form of "Psalme 137" and the "Induction" to the Psalms collected in the Harley and Rawlinson mss. are identical (*N&Q*, Sept. 11, 1852, 247-48); Singer further points out that Brydges had previously printed examples of Davison's Psalms in *Excerpta Tudoriana* (Press of Lee Priory, 1814-18, pp. 22-26). The Psalms in question are nos. CXXX, XIII, and XXIII, all taken from Harl. 6930.

[4] Brooke obtains his Davison material from a now-unlocated "anonymous" manuscript, which he says had previously belonged to "Archdeacon Cotto[n] and the late Alexander Gardyn[e] [p. 242]." That this cannot have been any of the currently known collections of Davison's Psalms is shown both by stemmatic evidence (see Figure 3 below and Appendix F**)** and by the facts that both the Harleian mss. were already located in the British Museum, having been listed in the BM's 1808 printed catalogue of Harleian mss., and—as confirmed by Bodleian librarian Mike Webb—that the Rawlinson poet. ms. entered the library along with other items upon the death of the antiquarian Richard Rawlinson in 1755. For more on this lost artifact, see Appendix F.

Old Editions . . . ," citing some manuscript variants from Rawl. Poet. 61 in a reduced set of textual notes (1:424-26). In a historical review of the evolving definition of Donne's canon, moreover, Grierson remarks that—along with William Basse's "An Epitaph upon Shakespeare," which was withheld from the second collected *Poems* in 1635 (B)—"Psalme 137" is one of only two poems originally to have appeared in A that are now regarded as spurious, noting (2:cxxiv-cxxv) Chambers's prior dismissal of it and calling it "pretty certainly not by Donne" (2: cxlix). Only B13, "followed by" C1, Grierson avers, ascribes the Psalm to Donne, whereas it is attributed to Davison in Rawl. Poet. 61 and in B14 is accompanied by an "unsigned and undirected" letter that "speaks of this as one out of several translations made by the author." Noting that the "handwriting and style of the letter are not Donne's," Grierson finds in the letter an explanation of "why this one Psalm is found floating around by itself": it is, according to the translator, "a freer paraphrase than the others" and thus "proved a favourite" (2: cxlix). In a final note on Rawl. Poet. 61, Grierson identifies its scribe as "a certain R. Crane" (2:266), an identification first recorded by Nicolas (2:320), and echoes the observation made by S. W. Singer in the previously cited mid-century *N&Q* exchange (Sept. 11, 1852, p. 247) that resemblances "in style and verse" between the Psalm and the poetical "Induction" to the Psalms assigned to Davison in Rawl. Poet. 61 ("Come Urania, heavenly Muse") "strongly sugges[t]" Davison's authorship of the poem (2: 267).

No subsequent edition in which the translation might logically have appeared mentions it at all except Helen Gardner 's *Divine Poems* (1952, siglum U), where it is noted in a survey of the contents of A and tersely dismissed as "not by Donne" (lxxxiii).

Which brings us to the event that inspired the Marx(Bros.)ian question posed by the title of the present essay. The May 2008 issue of *Modern Philology* included an article by Lara M. Crowley that sought to reverse the received consensus on the poem's authorship: "Donne, not Davison: Reconsidering the Authorship of 'Psalme 137'" (pp. 603-36). Germinated in a 2005-06 Folger Institute seminar (see *MP*, 603, n.), Crowley's initial essay proved sufficiently credible to earn "Psalme 137" a place among Donne poems in Peter Beal's *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts* (2013; http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/)—the online successor to his prior *Index of English Literary Manuscripts* (London: Mansell, 1980),

from which "Psalme 137" had been absent—although Beal cautions that Donne's authorship "remains uncertain"; and her position subsequently received the endorsement of Joel Swann in an article on the Davisonian Psalms first published in November of 2018.[5] In an open session on "Donne's Religious Poetry and Prose in Seventeenth-Century Manuscripts" at the 2017 annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America (Thurs., Mar. 30, session 10303), Crowley offered her argument for further critique; and her final elaboration of it in *Manuscript Matters* (OUP, 2018)[6] won the assent of the *Donne Variorum* editors, who—though they finally label the Psalm "a poem of disputed canonicity" (p. 230)—accept it into their published volume of *The Divine Poems* (vol. 7.2) and accord it the full editorial treatment usually reserved for unquestionably authentic works, including adding to their comprehensive list of textual sources sigla for several artifacts whose only putative Donne contents are "Psalme 137." Summing up the steady stream of scholarly legitimation that has coalesced around Crowley's claim over the past dozen years, moreover, the John Donne Society presented *Manuscript Matters* its 2018 Award for Distinguished Publication, and a subsequent review of that volume in *The Review of English Studies* (vol. 70, issue 296, Sept. 2019, 770-72) called Crowley's case for Donne's authorship of this Psalm "magisterial." The view that "By Euphrates flowry side" is Donne's seems well on its way back to orthodoxy.

Unexceptionably, to quote from her own declaration of procedure in *Manuscript Matters*, Crowley's essay is organized into the following parts: (1) a "consider[ation of] the evidence alternately pointing to Donne or Davison"; (2) a "review [of] the material evidence," including "manuscript and printed texts" that variously link the poem to Donne or to Davison or leave it unassigned; (3) a survey of "the nineteenth- and twentieth-century debate that moved the poem from Donne's canon to Davison's"; and (4) a reassessment of the poem's authorship "based on bibliographical evidence and authorial style," evidence that

[5] "Reading the Davison Psalms in Manuscript and Print," *Renaissance Studies* 33.5 (2019): 668-90 [Wyley Online Library]. See especially pp. 669 and 681.

[6] See chapter 4, "'vntun'd,' 'vnstrunge': 'Psalm 137' in the Skipwith Manuscript," pp. 121-71.

points to connections between "Psalme 137" and Donne's "Lamentations of Jeremy" and between "Psalme 137" and George Herbert's lyric "Denial" (pp. 128-29). This is an ambitious project, entailing not only correct assignment of the authorship of a skillful Psalm translation that, by my lights, would do credit to either Davison or Donne, but also, in Crowley's further words, "far-reaching consequences" for our "understanding of Donne as a verse translator and our interpretations of his other divine poetry and prose" (*MM* 129). The broad outline above, of course, merely hints at the complexity and scope of Crowley's argument, the full impact of which can be appreciated only through a close scrutiny of the complex web of fact, interpretation, opinion, and conjecture that underpins the whole endeavor. I urge those interested to pay it careful attention. In what follows, I have not attempted to take up the numerous threads of Crowley's argument in systematic detail, but rather have undertaken an independent analysis of certain historical, bibliographical, prosodic, and stemmatological matters that point, I think inescapably, to Davison, not Donne, as the poem's author.

II. The Incorporation of "Psalme 137" into the Donne Canon

After Donne died on March 31, 1631, there was nobody left alive who knew exactly what he had written. Only about a dozen of his poems had appeared in print, and he left behind no comprehensive cache of holograph verses. (Indeed, now, nearly 400 years later, only a single substantial poem in Donne's own hand has yet come to light.)[7] Nevertheless, his poems were widely dispersed throughout the culture, existing in thousands of handwritten copies of individual poems contained in hundreds of letters, diaries, commonplace books, verse miscellanies, and poetic collections devoted exclusively to his works. These copies, of course, all ultimately derived from the originals—some in revised form—that Donne had handed about to the various friends, acquaintances, and actual or potential patrons who made up his earliest

[7] For a fuller discussion of the circumstances summarized in this paragraph, see my "The composition and dissemination of Donne's writings," in *OHJD*, pp. 12-25. A facsimile of the one surviving holograph, Donne's copy of *Carey*, is on *DigitalDonne* at http://donne.dh.tamu.edu/resources/letter/index.html.

audiences, but because he had distributed the poems to these recipients piecemeal, singly or in small sequences, over a period of several decades, it was not possible that any individual compiler should have amassed a substantial collection based solely on holographs—all had to rely primarily on derivative scribal transcripts that, standing at varying degrees of remove from Donne's originals, inevitably evinced an accumulation of error introduced at the hands of a succession of fallible human copyists.[8] Since these transcripts became intermingled with similar manuscripts of works by other poets as they passed along the networks of manuscript transmission, moreover, accurately tracking the authorship of the poems assembled for these collections could prove as problematic as obtaining reliable texts. It is true, as we now know, that in the years after Donne entered the church (in 1615) and determined to "interre . . . [his] Muse" (*Har* 256), a few discerning collectors succeeded in compiling large manuscripts of his poems that contained more or less reliable texts, as well as a relatively pure canon, but—even among those exhibiting close family relationships—the texts of individual poems in these were not exactly the same, none was entirely free of spurious poems, and none was complete.

As he contemplated an edition of Donne's poetry in the months after Donne's death, John Marriot cannot have known in every particular the Donne textual landscape as we, with the benefit of hindsight and the bibliographical scholarship of (especially) the last 150 years, now know it. Having begun to publish under his own imprint in 1616 after an eight-year apprenticeship and having previously produced not only technical and scientific volumes, but also belletristic works by such writers as Nicholas Breton, Thomas May, Thomas Randolph, Henry

[8] The historical record hints at two instances in which an authorial collection of Donne's poems may have been attempted: one involves the well-known 1614 letter of Donne to Henry Goodere in which Donne requests—or refers to a previous request of—an "old book" containing his poems that he needed for preparation of his "valediction to the world," an edition demanded by Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, on the eve of Donne's ordination (*Letter*s 196-97); the other is implied in a letter from Donne to Sir Robert Ker in 1619, which apparently accompanied the gift of a book of "Poems, of which . . . [Ker] took a promise" (*Letters* 21). For a convenient discussion of these two instances and their implications for the establishment of Donne's canon, see *DV* 3:lxxxii-lxxxviii.

Valentine, George Wither, Lady Mary Wroth, Michael Drayton, and Francis Quarles, however, he was an experienced and canny bookman; and the manner in which he went about producing the 1633 *Poems* leaves no doubt that he understood the fundamental challenges facing the project.[9] In order to meet these challenges he eventually gathered three substantial manuscripts—the Cambridge Balam ms. (C2), the Dublin I ms. (DT1), and the Dolau Cothi ms. (WN1)—and, late in the process, gained access to a fourth—the O'Flahertie ms. (H6).[10] And he also enlisted the services of a skilled and knowledgeable editor who aided him in comparing the divergent contents of C2, DT1, and WN1; extracting from them such of those poems as were deemed to be authentic (and proved acceptable to the government authorities); constructing (frequently eclectic) individual texts based on the variant manuscript versions at hand and his own sense of logical and metrical correctness; and combining the poems thus prepared with texts of the previously printed *Anniversaries*, nine prose letters, and thirteen newly written "Elegies on the Authors Death" to complete a volume containing 157 Donne poems.[11]

The artifacts that Marriot initially assembled for the preparation of A contained relatively few spurious poems (see Appendix C), and the editor—no doubt in consultation with the manuscripts' owners and other interested parties—managed to identify and avoid them all, while incorporating every authentic poem contained in any of the three

---

[9] See Frans Kellendonk, "John & Richard Marriott: The History of a Seventeenth-Century Publishing House" (Amsterdam, 1978, pp. 3-19.

[10] Digital facsimile editions of all four are available at http://digitaldonne.tamu.edu/index.html.

[11] (a) No editor is named in the volume, but most commentators have supposed it unlikely that Marriot himself would have been capable of carrying out the sophisticated refinements of the text to which A bears witness. The most plausible candidate so far suggested is Henry King, Bishop of London and Donne's literary executor (see, e.g., Grierson II: 255 and Kellendonk, pp. 33 ff.). (b) This account of Marriot's procedures is, of course, necessarily synecdochic and inferential, pieced together from various bits of historical and bibliographical information and from results observable in the volume. One among many, a signal example of the editor's industry and expertise is embodied in his concerted, months-long effort to perfect the text of *Metem*, documented in the textual introduction to that poem in *DV* 3: 284-92.

except five elegies that had been proscribed by the Stationers Company and—apparently omitted by accident—*Lect*.[12] When the owner of H6 arrived on the scene with a print-ready manuscript of "The Poems of D. I. Donne Not yet imprinted," which bore on its hand-written title page the inscription "Finishd this 12 of October 1632" (a mere month after Marriot had registered his initial manuscript with the Stationers Company), he presented an artifact containing not only differing texts of poems that had already been set into type, but also 56 poems that A's editor had not before seen, thus reopening the questions of text and canon that had confronted the volume's producers from the beginning. In the event, A was able to incorporate only a few targeted emendations from the texts in H6, but that artifact supplied scores of verbal changes for the 1635 expanded edition of the *Poems* (B), and—along with at least 4 other manuscripts that had come to light in the meantime—texts for a further 15 canonical poems, for the dubia *Julia* and *Citizen*, and for a dozen inauthentic poems as well.[13]

Having derived the principal content for A from the major artifacts noted above, Marriot drew on two additional (and now unidentified)

---

[12] The five disallowed elegies are *ElBed*, *ElBrac*, *ElFatal*, *ElProg*, and *ElWar*; see *DV 2*: lxxvi-lxxix for a convenient discussion of this exclusion.

[13] (a) For accounts of H6's influence on A and its role in the preparation of B, see the *Variorum* volumes of *The Elegies* (*DV 2*: lxvii-lxxx) and *The Holy Sonnets* (*DV* 7.1. lxxii-lxxiv). A summary statement of this influence is provided in the description of the manuscript on *DigitalDonne* (http://digitaldonne.tamu.edu/H06-biblio.html). That H6's owner was concerned not merely with collecting as many poems as possible, but also with validating their canonicity is indicated, e.g., by his note beneath the heading of the spurious "A Satyrical letter, To S^{r}. Nich. Smith" on page 82 of the artifact: "Quere if Donnes or S^{r}. Th: Rowes." And the critical attitude thus revealed undoubtedly informed the discussions between him and Marriot's editor about the expansion of the canon for the second edition, as is indicated by B's rejection of 26 poems to which H6 provided access. Full lists of all content added in B and of spurious poems in H6 that were rejected for inclusion are available in Appendices C and D below. (b) The 4 additional manuscripts that contributed to B are O21, O34, and two unidentified artifacts that supplied texts for *Sidney* and for *HuntUn*. On the influence of O21, see *DV 2*: 17 and *DV* 3: 104-05; on the influence of O34, see DV *2*: 429-34. B's setting text for *HuntUn* remains unidentified, as does that for *Sidney* (see Gary A. Stringer, "Donne's Dedication of the Sidney Psalter," *John Donne Journal* 27 (2008), 197-211).

manuscripts for texts of "Psalme 137" and Basse's "Epitaph upon Shakespeare."[14] In the initial discussion of the volume's contents, both poems were obviously judged authentic, and even as the "Epitaph" was being withdrawn from B (possibly as a result of the editor's having seen the poem ascribed to Basse in O34—see notes 12 and 13 above), the Psalm, its aura of authenticity enhanced by the explicit evidence of Donne's concern with Psalm versification manifest in the recently discovered *Sidney*, continued to pass muster with what in effect had become a small committee concerned with assembling materials for an expanded second edition. In the company of the 15 new canonical and 12 new spurious poems that had been admitted into B, "Psalme 137" was transmitted to the subsequent 17th-century editions, which collectively saw the incorporation of another 9 legitimate and 3 inauthentic poems. (Notably, these later additions included the spurious elegy "Variety," which was imported into the 1650 *Poems* by John Donne, Jr., whose corresponding failure to cull from the canon any of the accumulated spurious items constituted an implicit acceptance of their authenticity and further indicated that he no more than anyone else knew exactly what his father had written.)[15] And in the collected editions that followed the publication of G in 1669, "By Euphrates flowry side"—as the sole Psalm translation ever ascribed to Donne in his editorial history—invariably took its place among the Divine Poems until, as noted above, for the first time among Donne editors Grosart recognized that the Copernican exhumation of manuscripts attributing

---

[14] According to the current state of the evidence these two poems cannot have stemmed from a single source, as the only extant manuscript to contain them both is O34; and—even had Marriot had access to it when compiling A—its copy of the Psalm cannot have served as copy-text for A's printing (see the stemma below), and its heading on the Basse poem—"Basse his Elegye of Shakespere" (f. 16v)—would have alerted the editor to that poem's true authorship.

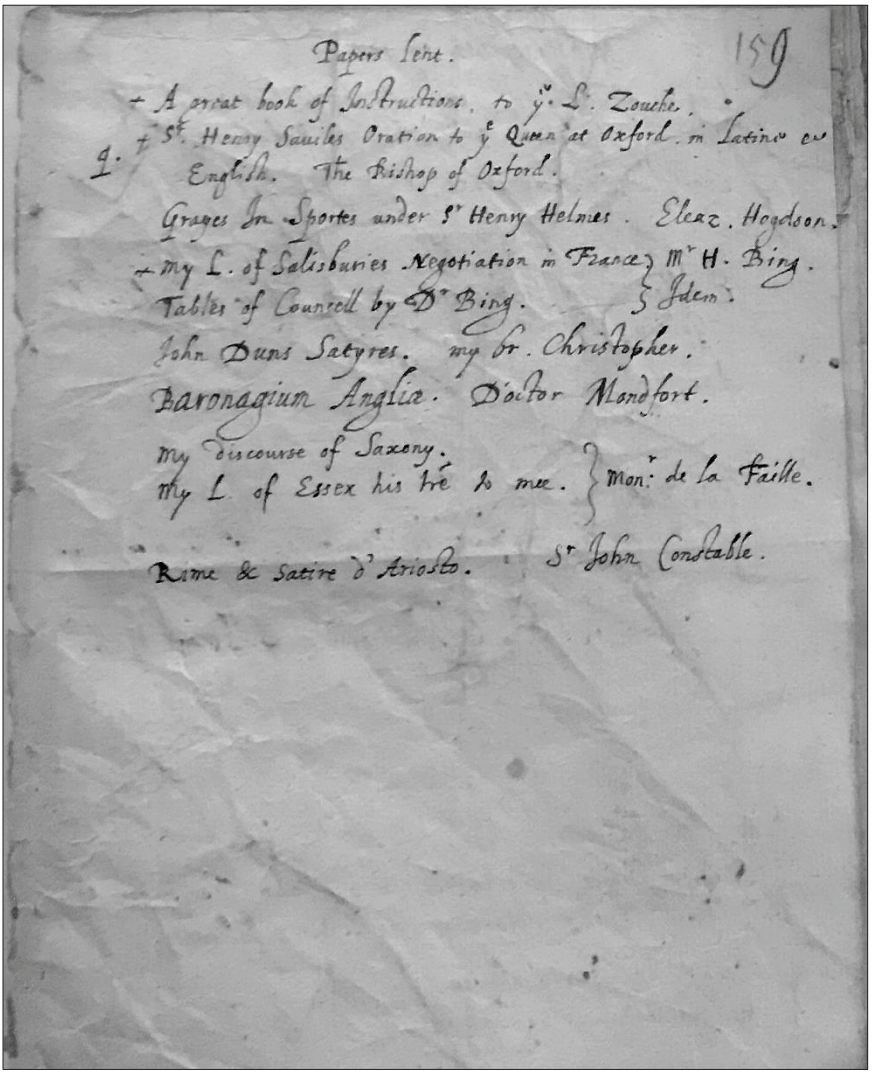
[15] See Appendix D for specific poems added in these editions. Mark Bland presented persuasive evidence for reassignment of "Variety" to Nicholas Hare in 2008 at the Twenty-Third Annual John Donne Society Conference in Baton Rouge, LA (Sat., Feb. 23, session 7: "Nicholas Hare's 'Variety" and the Clitherow Manuscript") and subsequently published a notice of the reassignment in his *Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 171, n. 51.

the poem to Francis Davison by Brydges and Nicolas had shattered the Ptolemaic orthodoxy that took Donne's authorship for granted. If, after the poem's publication in A in 1633 and its survival of further scrutiny in the preparation of B, none of Donne's subsequent readers or editors had ever had reason to question its authenticity, Grosart's pulling the discoveries of Brydges and Nicolas into the mainstream meant that thenceforth all serious students of Donne would have to reckon with an altered reality.

III. Francis Davison and Psalm Translation

Although he resurrected Davison's *Poetical Rapsody* from the oblivion in which it had lain for almost 200 years, Brydges wrote in 1817 that he was "unable to dissipate by any important notices the almost total obscurity in which the life of Frances Davison . . . [had] hitherto been involved" (3: 17), and most of what we know of Davison's biography was first presented by Nicolas in 1826 (1: iii-lvii).[16] In addition to documenting the travels on the continent that Davison undertook in 1595-97 at the conclusion of his studies at Gray's Inn, Nicolas transcribes several manuscript pages in Davison's hand that provide

[16] A convenient condensation of this biographical material may be found in Hyder Rollins, ed., *A Poetical Rhapsody* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1932) vol. II, pp. 43-46.; another is available in John Considine's entry on Davison in the *ODNB*. The information developed by Nicolas also underlies Richard C. McCoy's widely cited "Lord of Liberty: Francis Davison and the cult of Elizabeth" (in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, ed. John Guy [Cambridge U Press, 1995], pp. 212-28), which—pointing to biographical links between Davison and the Second Earl of Essex posited initially by P. E. J. Hammer—discusses what he perceives as the "political implications" (p. 215) of this relationship as embodied, initially, in the *Gesta Grayorum* (a chivalric festival staged in the winter of 1594-95 as the revels at Gray's Inn) and, later, in Davison's *Poetical Rapsody*. (The *Gesta* was initially published in London in 1688 [Wing C444]; Hammer's work originally appeared as "'The Bright Shining Sparke': The Political Career of Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex c. 1585-c. 1597," Cambridge University Ph. D. Dissertation (1991); it was later published as *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* [Cambridge U Press, 1999]).


Papers sent. 159

+ A great book of Instructions to y^e L. Touche.

9. † S^r Henry Sauiles Oration to y^e Quen at Oxford in Latine & English. The Bishop of Oxford.

Graces In Sportes under S^r Henry Helmes. Eleaz. Hogdson.

+ my L. of Salisburies Negotiation in France } M^r H. Bing.

Tables of Counsell by D^r Bing. } Idem.

John Duns Satyres. my br. Christopher.

Baronagium Anglie. Doctor Mondfort.

my discourse of Saxony.

My L. of Essex his trē to me. } Mon^r de la Faille.

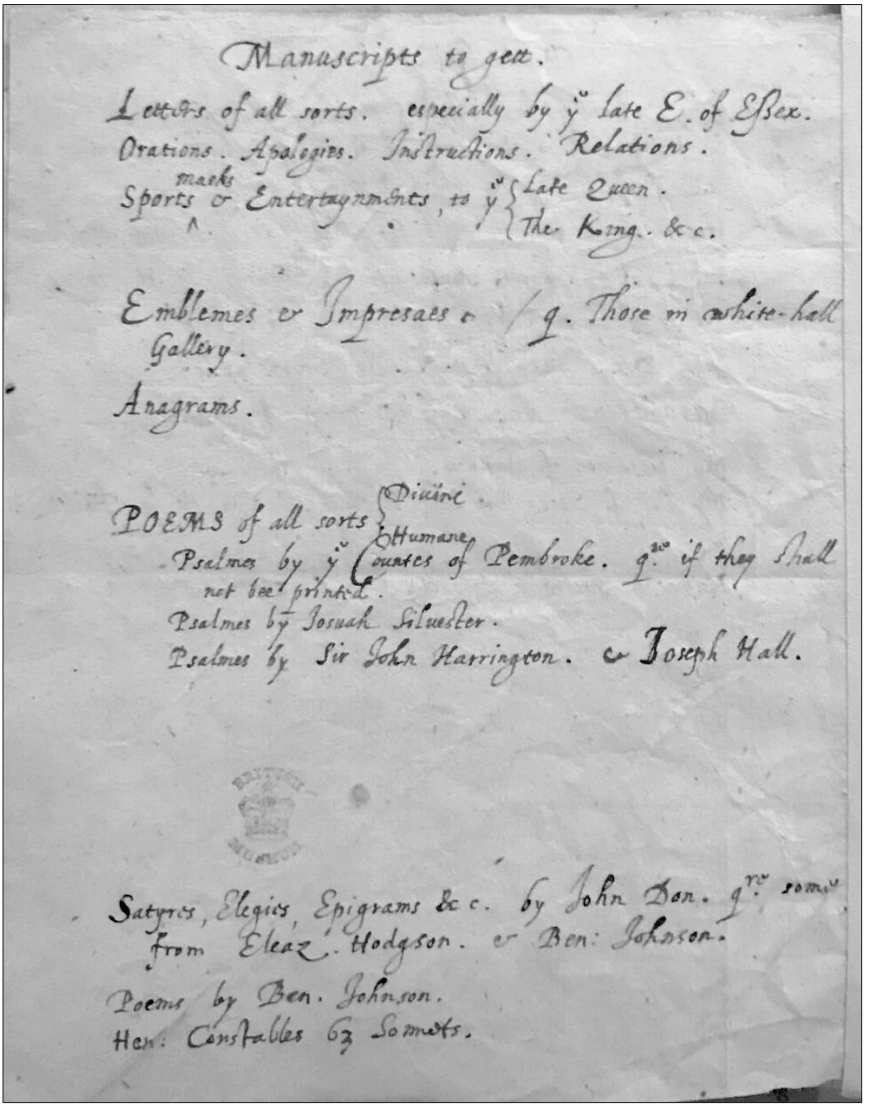
Rime & Satire d' Ariosto. S^r John Constable.

Figure 1. British Library MS Harley 298, f. 159

insight into his career as a writer and especially into the new "course" as a "poet" upon which he "seem[ed]" to John Chamberlaine to have embarked with the publication of the initial edition of the *Poetical*

Rapsody in the first half of 1602.[17] Among the extensive inventories of printed and handwritten works that Davison at various times had in his possession, knew of, or hoped to acquire, the most pertinent to the present discussion are short lists of "Papers Lent" and "Manuscripts to gett," written, respectively, on the front and back of a single sheet (f. 159r-v) now mounted onto a stub and incorporated into British Library MS Harley 298 (see Figs. 1 and 2) and dating—judging from his references to "y^{e} Late Queen" and "y^{e} King"—from the months following the *Rapsody*'s first appearance (Elizabeth died March 24, 1603; James acceded immediately). Since the leaf is not authorially numbered, it is impossible to determine which list was composed first—if, indeed, Davison did not work back and forth on them simultaneously; we can, however, recognize that even though they (especially the "Manuscripts-to-gett" list) seem offhand and incomplete, they reveal useful information about Davison's handling of materials, his interactions with others who shared his interests, and the breadth of his literary aspirations as he contemplated the continuation of his career as a writer-publisher. Davison has lent, as the list in Figure 1 shows, documents to a disparate group of recipients, ranging from lords to bishops and from fellow poets to family members, including his "br[other] Christopher," who had borrowed his manuscript of Donne's satires. On the other side of the leaf, the notes on "Manuscripts to gett" (see Figure 2) are laid out as a sequence of broad generic groupings, each successive category being spatially separated from the one above to allow expansion of the list as new entries come to mind. At the top of the page are listed "Letters of all sorts"; "Orations, Apologies, Instructions, Relations"; "Sports Masks & Entertaynements, to y^{e} Late Queen / The King &c."; "Emblemes & Impresaes"; and "Anagrams"; the bottom is devoted to "Poems of all sorts," a category further subdivided into the two main heads of "Diuine" and "Humane." When Davison begins to fill in the category of "Diuine" poems, his first thought is of "Psalms by y^{e} Countes of Pembroke," which leads to the further listing of Psalms by Joshua Siluester, Sir Iohn Harrington, and—

[17] Letter of John Chamberlaine to Dudley Carleton, dated "this 8th of June, 1602." This is printed as "Letter LI" in *Letters Written by John Chamberlain During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth,* ed. Sarah Williams (London: Camden Society, 1861, p. 146).


Manuscripts to gett.

Letters of all sorts. especially by ỹ late E. of Essex.
Orations. Apologies. Instructions. Relations.
Sports & Entertaynments, to ỹ {Late Queen. The King. &c.

Emblemes & Impresaes & q. Those in white-hall Gallery.

Anagrams.

POEMS of all sorts {Diuine. Humane.
Psalmes by ỹ Countes of Pembroke. q. if they shall not bee printed.
Psalmes by Josuah Silvester.
Psalmes by Sir John Harrington. & Joseph Hall.

Satyres, Elegies, Epigrams &c. by John Don. q. rom. from Eleaz. Hodgson. & Ben: Johnson.

Poems by Ben. Johnson.
Hen: Constables 63 Sonnets.

Figure 2. British Library MS Harley 298, f. 159v

perhaps as an afterthought (judging by its placement on the page)—Joseph Hall. Apparently having momentarily exhausted that vein, he skips down the page about 8 lines and begins to flesh out the "Humane" category, first recalling poems by Donne ("Satyrs, Elegies, Epigrams & c.") and then moving on to works by Ben Jonson ("Poems"), and Henry

Constable ("63 Sonnets").[18] Beside a couple of the entries are queries, perhaps added after initial compilation of the list, about the location ("white-hall Gallery") or potential sources ("Eleazar Hodgson" or "Ben Jonson") of materials.

For the present discussion, however, the most interesting query concerns whether the Countess of Pembroke's Psalms "shall not bee printed," which I take to indicate his personal interest in publishing them—perhaps as part of an expanded *Poetical Rapsody*, but more probably as an independent collection of religious verse. Whatever the case, no Psalms appear in any edition of the *Rapsody* (indeed the Sidneys' psalms remained unpublished until 1823),[19] and two historical strictures that either already were or shortly would be in effect when Davison annotated his list combined to guarantee that any attempt to print them locally, in any format, would have been certain to founder: (1) in October of 1603 members of the Stationers Company purchased the royal patent on "'Prymers Psalters and Psalms in meter or prose with musycall notes or withoute notes both in great volumes and small in the Englishe tongue', except for the King's Printer's privilege for the *Book of Common Prayer* and its accompanying [metrical] *Psalter*" (a patent renewed in 1616 and 1634), thereby gaining, in the words of James Doelman, "exclusive rights to the English metrical psalter, that versification of all the Psalms . . . most often referred to as 'Sternhold and Hopkins,'"[20] and thus the legal right, which they rigorously

---

[18] (a) The preliminary, back-of-an-envelope nature of these lists is denoted by the anomalous appearance of Donne's "Satyres" in both. (b) Constable's "63 Sonnets" are those contained, in their most authoritative inscription, in the Todd manuscript (VA3); for information on the canon, text, and publication history of these poems, see Joan Grundy, *The Poems of Henry Constable* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1960), 50-58, 84-101, 102-04.

[19] *The Psalmes of David* (London: Chiswick Press, 1823), xxii + 285 pp.

[20] (a) James Doelman, "George Wither, The Stationers Company and the English Psalter," *SP* 90, no. 1 (Winter, 1993), p. 74 (I follow Doelman in quoting the terms of the patent from William A. Jackson, Preface to *Records of the Court of the Stationers Company, 1602-40* [London: Bibliographical Society, 1957], viii). Doelman had first cited this constraint in "A Seventeenth-Century Publication of Three of Sir Philip Sidney's Psalms," *N&Q*, June 1991, 162-63, and reiterates it in "The Songs of David: King James and the Psalter," which constitutes chapter 7 of his *King James I and the Religious Culture of England*

enforced, to quash any competitor's attempt to infringe on this lucrative monopoly; (2) as part of his "larger vision of the king as leader of the church" (Doelman, *Religious Culture*, p. 137), King James "maintained throughout both his reigns [in Scotland and England] the ideal of producing a new metrical version of the psalter, that would be his legacy for the churches" (Doelman, *Religious Culture*, p. 136)—an ambition that joined with the Stationers' patent to inhibit other attempts at Psalm translation and forced those who did continue such efforts to leave their work unprinted (John Harington) or incomplete (Joseph Hall) or (Henry Dod and George Wither) to seek publication abroad.[21]

(Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), p. 139. (b) Michael G. Brennan has suggested that, although printing of the psalter was also tightly controlled in the final decades of the sixteenth century, publication of the Sidneys' Psalms may have been contemplated by the Countess of Pembroke herself in the late 1590s. Citing a specially prepared manuscript of the Sidneys' versifications of The Psalms of David intended for presentation to Queen Elizabeth on the occasion or her planned (but eventually aborted) visit to Wilton House in 1599, Brennan proposes that the Countess may at that time have contemplated exploiting her "well-established connections . . . within the Stationers' Company" (29) to make her and her brother's metrical versions of the Psalms available in print (see "The Queen's Proposed Visit to Wilton House in 1599 and the 'Sidney Psalms,'" *Sidney Journal* 20:1 [2002], pp. 27-53).

[21] Again, Doelman is the leading authority on this matter, and his discussion in *Religious Culture* precisely documents the stifling effects of James's proprietary claim to the Psalms on the aspirations of such translators as Hall (pp. 139, 141) and Wither (p. 140) to publish a new metrical psalter. A blunt declaration of the King's jealousy in this matter—cited by Doelman (p. 139) and, earlier, by Wm. McMillan ("The Metrical Psalter of King James VI and Its Connection with the One Presently in Use," *RCHS* 8 [1944], p. 115)—appears in a letter of April 18, 1620, from Sir William Alexander (who came down from Scotland with James, assisted him in his fitful work of translating, and—after James's death—completed the whole project under the aegis of King Charles) to William Drummond, who had shared one of his own translations with Alexander:

> Brother, I Received your last Letter, with the Psalm you sent, which I think very well done: I had done the same [i.e., translated the Psalm in question] long before it [i.e., yours] came; but he [King James] prefers his own to all else, tho' perchance, when you see it, you will think it [James's] the

Although he never addresses the matter directly, Davison no doubt eventually became aware of the legal and royal obstacles to the publication of versified Psalms and for those—and perhaps other reasons as well—was forced to abandon his hopes of printing the Countess of Pembroke's translations. His familiarity with and abiding interest in the Sidneian Psalms and the larger project of Psalm versification, however, is attested by his composition, over the last 15 or so years of his life, of a modest collection of translations that emulate the Sidneys' own Psalms in innovative language and metrical experimentation.[22] In addition to introductory poems by Joseph Bryan,

---

> worst of the Three. No Man must meddle with that Subject, and, therefore I advise you to take no more Pains therein; but I . . . would have you to make choice of some new Subject worthy of your Pains..." (Drummond, *The Works of William Drummond, of Hawthornden* [Edinburgh, 1711], p. 151; for more on Alexander, see McMillan, pp. 115-17 *et. seq.*).

[22] Little evidence survives for the precise dating of Davison's translating of Psalms. In addition to the above-cited comprehensive collections "manuscribed" by Ralph Crane in Harl. 6930, Harl. 3357, and Rawl. Poet. 61, smaller groups of Davison's translations (and related poems) survive in three other manuscripts: (1) that entered as a distinct collection on folios 112v-118v of MC1; (2) that in the small booklet constituting folios 123-28 of the larger composite artifact Rawl. D. 316; (3) that intermixed with various prose writings and a handful of similar Psalm translations by the Countess of Pembroke on folios 254v rev.-267 rev. of O34. The MC1 Psalms include numbers 6, 13, 15 (by Christopher Davison), 23 ("Great Iehouah Daines"), 30, 79, and 86; the Rawl. D. 316 collection comprises Will: Bagnall's (here spelled "Bagnoll") commendatory "Vpon these Psalms translated by Fra: Dauidson," Davison's own introductory "Come, Vrania; Heauenly Muse," and Psalms 1, 13 (subscribed "F: D: 8: Aug: 1611"), 15 (subscribed "Chr: Dauison"), 6 (subscribed "Per F: D: 13: Iuly: 1612"), and 23 (three versions, beginning, respectively, "God (who oh' [th' *usually*] vniuerse doth hold," "Great Iehouah daignes," and "The Lord my Pastor is" [9 ll. only]); and O34 records Davison's Psalms 23 ("God (who all the world [*elsewhere* th' Vniverse] doth holde . . ."), 137, 133, and 130, as well as Mary Sidney's translations of Psalms 44, 46, 53, and 60. As Joel Swann points out ("Chetham's Library MS A.4.15: an Inns of Court Manuscript?" *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 7 [2015] [https://www.northernrenaissance.org/chethams-library-ms-a-4-15-an-inns-of-court-manuscript, par. 4]), MC1 contains no evidence for precisely dating

William Bagnall, and Davison himself; 22 Psalm translations by Joseph Bryan; 2 translations each by Francis's brother Christopher and Richard Gipps; and 1 translation by Thomas Carey, the large collection eventually acquired by the scrivener Ralph Crane comprises 18 metrical Psalm translations by Davison, including 3 different renditions of Psalm 23 that begin, respectively, (a) "God, who the Vniuerse doth hold/ in his ffold/ is my Shepherd," (b) "Great Iehouah daignes/ with a Shepherds paines/ carefully to keepe/ Me, his silly Sheepe," and—in imitation of St. Bernard's hexametric hymn "Cur mundus militat"—(c) "The Lord my Pastor is, he tends me heedfully."[23] Among these 18,

---

either the composition or the inscription of its Davisonian Psalms or even that the copyist knew the poems' authorship; and although two (only) of the translations in Rawl. D. 316 bear dates, neither the origins (Davison himself?, some intermediate copyist?, the current scribe?) nor the meanings (date of composition?, date of inscription?) of these subscriptions is definite, nor is it possible to know the possible pertinence of these dates to the other poems in the group. O34's Psalms are similarly devoid of datable information, and the only suggestion of authorship in the combined group of Davisonian and Sidneian Psalms is the annotation "by D. Donne" written beside the heading of "Psalme 137" in a second hand. Further muddling the dating question are (1) that although it precedes the Psalms in Rawl. D. 316, "Come; Vrania" contains a reference to Prince Charles as "our hope & Glory" (l. 15) and thus must have been composed after the death of Prince Henry on 6 November 1612 and after the dates affixed to Psalms 13 and 6 and (2) that the combined contents of MC1, Rawl. D. 316, and O34 constitute barely half the total canon of Davison's translations gathered in the Crane manuscripts, the other half being unaffected by any of these considerations. Among the Crane manuscripts (all of which include "Come, Vrania"), Harl. 6930 (the prototype for the other two—see Appendix F) contains no specific dates; Rawl. Poet. 61 includes—along with the Davisonian Psalms and several other devotional works—a dedicatory letter to "M.^{r} John Peirs" dated "23. Oct. 1626"; and Harl. 3357 contains a dedication to Sr. Francis Ashley dated "Decemb: 1632." Although Swann may be right that Davison translated his Psalms between 1611 and 1612 (*Renaissance Studies*, p. 670), the evidence surviving tells us definitely only that some Psalms antedated "Come, Vrania," which was written after early November of 1612, and that Crane completed his two polished collections in 1626 and 1632.

[23] (a) The hymn ascribed to St. Bernard was widely available in late sixteenth-century England, having been published (with a translation) in 1576 in Richard Edwards's *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises* (London, sigs. *Aiii- Aiv*), which in

Davison employs 15 distinct verse forms, repeating himself only 3 times (in Psalms 1 and 131, 23 and 137, and 86 and 128), and the obverse of this active pursuit of prosodic innovation is his complete avoidance of the traditional common- and long-meter forms popularized by Sternhold and Hopkins in the mid-sixteenth century.[24] Nine of his translations employ a predominately iambic meter (Psalms 1, 23 ["The Lord my Pastor is..."], 73, 79, 123, 130, 131, 133, 142); 8 use a predominately trochaic foot (Psalms 6, 13, 23 ["Great Iehouah daignes"], 23 ["God, who the Vniuerse doth hold"], 43, 86, 128, 137); and 1 (Psalm 30) combines 2 opening lines of trochaic meter with 3 following lines of iambic in each of its 5-line stanzas (see the inventory

---

Elizabeth's reign underwent 5 additional issues before its final printing in 1600. (b) In a seminal study in 1926 ("Ralph Crane, Scrivener to the King's Players," *The Library*. 4 ser., VI, pp. 194-215), F. P. Wilson, without citation, identifies "most if not all" of Davison's fellow contributors as "members of the Inns of Court," calling this Thomas Carey a "namesake" of the author of "Ask me no more where Jove bestows" (p. 199); T. H. Howard-Hill ("Ralph Crane's Life," pp. 3-4; see Appendix F) echoes this information, adding that "Bagnall was a friend of Massinger" (p. 4). *The Pension Book of Gray's Inn (Records of the Honourable Society) 1569-1669* (ed. Reginald J. Fletcher [London, 1901]) records that Joseph Bryan (also spelled Brian) was "admitted [to the Inn] in 1607, and called [to the bar] in 1617" (p. 311). Other references note his rise to the rank of "utter barrister" and acquisition of a chamber within the Inn in 1627 (p. 279), his being named "Reader" in 1632, and his being "chosen Dean of the Chapel" in 1638 (p. 332). His will, in which he bequeathes to his "deerely beloued wife" his "Chamber in Grayes Inn," along with his "furniture and bookes there and att Northampton," was entered in the *Registers* of the "Prerogative Court of Canterbury and related Probate jurisdictions" on 16 Dec. 1638 (National Archives, PROB 11/179/453). Richard Gipps was admitted to Gray's on July 3, 1598 (*The register of admissions to Gray's inn, 1521-1889...,*" ed. Joseph Foster [London, 1889], p. 93), "[c]alled to the grand company" in 1617 (*Pension Book*, p. 228), and "chosen ... to be an associate with the Readors" in 1627 in respect of his "juditiall place" as a "Judge of the Sheriff's Court" in the "cittie of London" (*Pension Book*, p. 278).

[24] Although Thomas Sternhold had begun to produce metrical Psalms over a dozen years earlier, usually cited as the *editio princeps* is *The Whole Booke of Psalmes Collected into English Meter*, published in London in 1562 by John Day.

in Appendix E).[25] Davison's line lengths vary from 3 to a maximum of 12 syllables, many lines being catalectic (as is reflected in Appendix E by the presence of numerous lines containing odd numbers of syllables), and his stanzas range in number of lines from the couplet (Psalm 43, e.g.) to six (Psalms 6, 23 [two versions], 79, 123, and 137) or even ten—if we count as a single structure his rhyme-linked pairs of sequential five-line stanzas in "Psalme 30" ("deride me" in line 5 at the end of stanza 1 remains unrhymed until the appearance of "betide me" at the end of line 10 in stanza 2, e.g.). Rhymes may be either masculine (as in the first two versions of "Psalme 23" quoted above) or feminine (as in the third—"heedfully" being rhymed with the following "needfully" in line 2) and may involve from one to three syllables (also evident in the quotations from "Psalme 23" here quoted). These variant openings of "Psalme 23" also provide a microcosmic view of the fertility and boldness of Davison's poetic imagination (or "Invention," as he names the faculty in the introductory "Come Vrania"), which prompts him first to characterize the Biblical "shepherd" as the creator-"God" who "the Vniuerse doth hold/ in his ffold"; then as the Old Testament "Iehouah" who "daignes" to affect "a Shepherds paines" in order to "keepe / . . . his silly Sheepe"; and, finally, as the "Lord" who ministers as a simple "Pastor" to "[tend] . . . [him] heedfully" and "still [supply] . . . [his] Wants, wth all things needfully."

IV. "Psalme 137" and the "Davisonian Staffe"

Among the poems attributed to Davison in the manuscripts prepared by Ralph Crane is "By Euphrates flowry side," cast in a complex stanzaic pattern that, in my ear, rings as the most effective of Davison's prosodic achievements. This signature form, which—for reasons that will become apparent below—we might well call the "Davisonian staffe," consists of two tercets comprising trochaic lines of three-and-a-half,

[25] Davison's alternation from trochaic to iambic meter in "Psalm 30" may reflect the influence of a similar Sidneian maneuver (as in Mary Sidney's rendition of "Psalm 48," e.g.). For a sense of how deeply Davison had immersed himself in the Sidneys' translations, compare the brief account here given to the Sidneian practices summarized by Hannibal Hamlin *et al.* in the Introduction to *The Sidney Psalter: The Psalms of Sir Philip and Mary Sidney* (OUP, 2009), especially pp. xxiii-xxvii.

one-and-a-half, and four feet each (7, 3, and 8 syllables, respectively)[26] and sonically unified by an *aabccb* rhyme scheme, as is illustrated in the following transcription of stanza one (taken from Harleian ms. 6930, p. 101), which I have annotated in the conventional manner to indicate scansion and rhyme:

Psalme. 137. (aliter)

′ ⏑ ′ ⏑ ′ ⏑ ′

1. By Eu|phra·tes | flow··ry | side *a*

′ ⏑ ′

we did | bide *a*

′ ⏑ ′ ⏑ ′ ⏑ ′ ⏑

from deare | Iu·dah | far ab | sen·ted *b*

′ ⏑ ′ ⏑ ′ ⏑ ′

tear·ing‿th' | Aire with | mourn·full | Cries, *c*

′ ⏑ ′

and our | Eies *c* 5

---

[26] Like other poetry, Davison's verse exhibits the tensions between the "natural" accents of language and the pull toward rhythmical regularity exerted by the operative metrical pattern, accommodating these tensions by metrical substitutions, elisions, occasional hypermetrical locutions, and other means; further, as is evident in some of the illustrative passages quoted below, manuscript copyists do not always perceive Davison's intended rhythm and/or employ the linguistic forms it requires. Of course, the proper response to such disruptive factors must be—in the words of Karl Shapiro and Robert Beum—to "look for the general metrical pattern . . . and then interpret the meter of troublesome lines in terms of that pattern" (*The Prosody Handbook*, 1965; rpt. Dover publications, 2005, pp. 30-31). This caveat is relevant, e.g., to Ralph Crane's handling of the first version of Davison's "Psalme 23" ("God, who the Vniuerse doth hold") where in none of his three transcriptions does he mark the elision of "the" as the meter requires (and as is done in the copy of the poem included in Rawl. D. 316); O34 records an earlier version of the line in which the elision is not needed: "God (who all the world doth holde . . ." (see footnote 44 below).

′ ˘ ′ ˘ ′ ˘ ′ ˘

with their | Streames, the | Streame aug | men·ted. *b*

In the full Crane collections this poetic form makes its first appearance in Davison's own "Introduction (restyled an "Induction" in RP61 and Harl. 3357) to the Translation of the Psalmes"—

> Come Vrania, heavenly Muse
> and infuse
> sacred Flame to my Invention:
> Sing so lowd, that Angells may
> heare thy Lay
> Lending to thy Note, attention (ll. 1-6)—

and is also deployed in the first of the translations of "Psalme 23" cited above—

> God, who the Vniuerse doth hold
> in his ffold
> is my Shepherd, kind, and heedefull,
> is my Shepherd, and doth keepe
> Me, his Sheepe
> still supplide with all things needfull
>
> He feedes me in ffeildes, which beene
> fresh, and greene
> Motlied with Springs-flowry painting
> through which creepe, with murmuring Crookes
> christall Brookes
> to refresh my Spirits fainting. (stz. 1-2, Harl. 6930)

The particular aptness of this stanza for Psalm versification, moreover, was evidently recognized by others within Davison's circle of admirers, especially by Joseph Bryan, who followed the form not only in "An other Introduction" to the collection ("Rowse thyself, my high-borne Soule

. . ."), but also—among the 22 Psalm translations he supplied—in renditions of Psalms 65, 114, 124, and 146.[27]

Aside from the impossibility of imagining that, in a collection partly designed to showcase his own prosodic ingenuity, Davison would have elevated to such preeminence a form borrowed from an otherwise obscure translator (if, indeed, Davison was still alive when Bryan added his own translations to the collection), what assures us that Davison was Bryan's master (rather than disciple) in this usage is the recognition that Davison's use of the form for Psalm translation is more an act of reclamation than of innovation, as his original experiment with it harks back to the mid 1590s, when he was writing poems of a very different sort. In the preface "To the Reader" of the 1602 *Poetical Rapsody*, as part of an apology for having "suffer[ed] some of . . . [his] worthlesse Poems to be Published" (A3v), Davison avers that the "verses" that he himself contributed to the volume "were made most of them sixe or seuen yeeres since, at idle times as I iourneyed vp and downe during my Trauails" (A4v). Following introductory "Pastorals and Eglogues" by Sir Philip Sidney, "Anon," the Countesse of Pembroke, and his brother Walter, Davison finally introduces the first of his own compositions, "Strephons Palinode," which employs the signature stanza in

[27] Though linguistically less sprightly and innovative than Davison's, Bryan's translations exhibit a remarkable metrical variety, some of it imitative of Davison, some not. In addition to the 5 uses of Davison's "staffe" noted above, Bryan employs Davisonian verse forms in his Psalms 3, 23, 133 (following Davison 86 and 128); 8 (following Davison 6); 28 and 54 (following Davison 130); 93 (following Davison 23 ["St. Bernard"]), and 137 (following Davison 142). Bryan's other 13 translations employ both common forms (e.g., iambic pentameter couplets in Psalms 70 and 113) and some quite unusual, including a remarkable 8-line stanza in "Psalm 142" made up of successive pentameter, tetrameter, trimeter, and dimeter rhyming couplets. Whether Bryan consciously borrowed verse forms from poets other than Davison is not clear, but that he might have done so is evident from echoes of other poets in his work. KJV renders verse 3 of Psalm 113, e.g., as "From the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same the Lord's name is to be praised." Bryan's translation combines phrases from Donne's *El/Comp* ("As the Almighty Balme of th'early East," l. 3) and *GoodM* ("Without sharpe North, without declining West," l. 18)—both of which would have been available to him only in manuscript—to produce "Let him be praisd, ô Let his Name be blest/ from th'early *East*, to the declyning *West*."

registering the plea of the shepherd Strephon to be restored to the grace of his mistress "Vrania," whom he had offended and who had consequently "command[ed]" him "with great bitternesse out of her presence" (B8r-v):

Sweete, I doe not pardon craue, (1)
Till I haue, (2)
By deserts, this fault amended: (3)
This, I onely this desire, (4)
That your ire (5)
May with penance be suspended (6) (ll. 1-6).

And so on for five more stanzas. Following immediately are the six stanzas of "Vraniaes *Answer in inuerted Rimes, Staffe for Staffe*," recording the goddess's readmission of Strephon into her favor (B9r-v):

Since true pennance hath suspended (6)
Fained yre (5)
More Ile grant than you desire. (4)
Faults confest are halfe amended, (3)
And I haue, (2)
In this halfe, al that I craue (1) (ll. 1-6).

(Note: In this presentation I have assigned each individual rhyme word a unique number as a means of highlighting the interstanzaic correspondences. We should note that the scheme of "inverting" rhymes also entails inverting the order of the line lengths in each tercet from 7, 3, 8 (syllables) to 8, 3, 7.)

Among the "almost unrivaled assortment of literary types and verse-forms" (Rollins, II, [81]) contained in the *Rapsody*—including, e.g., epigrams, sonnets, odes, madrigals, airs, and elegies composed in meters ranging from dimeters to hexameters (and cast in forms ranging from sapphics to elegiacs to phaleuciacs) and reflecting the varying influences of Greek, neo- and classical Latin, French, Italian, and prior English authors—Davison's "staffe" is unique; and, in the still-uncontradicted words of Edward Arber, the matching inverted rhymes

exhibited in these paired poems are "the only ones of this kind in the literature."[28]

We cannot fully appreciate the workings of the creative genius that gave rise to the "staffe" without recognizing that the Sidneian aegis of "Strephons Palinode" consists not merely in its location among similarly pastoral poems by Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke in the opening pages of the *Rapsody*, but—more importantly—in its audacious appropriation of both the form and the substance of one of the most abject lover's laments in the language, Philip's translation of "Psalm 38":

′ ⏑ ′ ⏑ ′ ⏑ ′	
Lord, while | that thy |rage doth | bide,	a
′ ⏑ ′	
Do not | chide:	a
′ ⏑ ′ ⏑ ′ ⏑ ′	
Nor in | an·ger | chas·tise | me.	b
′ ⏑ ′ ⏑ ′ ⏑ ′	
For thy | shafts have | pierced me | sore;	c
′ ⏑ ′	
And yet | more,	c

[28] (a) Edward Arber, *The Shakespeare Anthology, 1592-1616 A. D.* (London, 1899), p. 122. (b) For an inventory of the diversity of poetic kinds included in the *Rapsody*, see the section "Style and Popularity" in Rollins's Introduction (pp. 81-88). (c) Rollins is inexplicably coy about Davison's authorship of "Strephons Palinode," asserting that the poem is "anonymous" in all editions of the *Rapsody* while conceding only that "it is answered . . . [in "Vraniaes Answer"] by Francis Davison, and *may have been* [italics mine] composed by him" (pp. 101-02). But this is bibliographical skepticism gone to seed. Even though not explicitly assigned to Davison (or anyone else), the poem is tightly paired with "Vraniaes Answer" in an intricately structured diptych, and the ascription of "Vraniaes Answer" to Davison is surely meant to apply to both halves of the whole—truly anonymous poems in the *Rapsody* are variously signed "Anon," "Ignoto," or "Anomos." Davison's later employments of this signature form, of course, further confirm his ownership of it.

′ ˘ ′ ˘ ′ ˘ ′

Still thy | hands up | on me | be. (ll. 1-6)[29] b

(Transcribed from *The Sidney Psalter*, ed. Hamlin *et al*., p. 73.)

The stanzaic pattern that Sidney uses for this Psalm is unique, and—as is obvious—Davison has replicated it almost exactly, differing in only two seemingly minor details: to lines 3 and 6 Davison has added a final, eighth syllable, thus completing Sidney's catalectic line and inducing a much longer pause at the end of each tercet than Sidney's half foot had required, pauses that profoundly alter the overall pace of the verse.[30] Exactly what may have recommended this Psalm to Davison as a model for the Strephon-Urania dialogue is a topic for a different discussion, but one might opine in passing that a biographico-political motive of the sort suggested by Rollins (p. 102) and McCoy (225-26) seems likely.[31] In any case, his subsequent revival of the "staffe" for his own

---

[29] That Sidney's translations were (obviously) completed before his death in 1586 (see Hamlin *et. al.*, *The Sidney Psalter*, p. xiv), even before Davison returned from his continental travels in 1597, establishes a chronology within which Davison could have known this translation of Psalm 38 in the years prior to publication of the *Rapsody*. That Davison already owned or had access to Sir Philip's Psalms is perhaps implied by the fact that he did not explicitly mention them along with those "by y^{e} Countes of Pembroke" in the above-cited list of "Manuscripts to get."

[30] Though he does not mention the origins of the "staffe" in the Strephon-Urania exchange in the opening pages of the *Rapsody*, Hannibal Hamlin notes the similarity of the stanza forms of Davison's "Psalm 137" and Philip's "Psalm 38," describing their differences as Davison's having merely "substitute[d] feminine rhymes for Sidney's masculine ones in line 3 and 6" ("'The highest matter in the noblest forme': the influence of the Sidney Psalms," *Sidney Journal*, vol.23, no. 1-2, [Jan 2005], par 32. Web 19 July 2022). Crowley, also without reference to the exchange in the *Rapsody*, calls the verse forms of the two translations "identical" (*MP*, 606; *MM*, 152).

[31] In 1931 Rollins first suggested that these poems might contain "a veiled account of the love-affair of Elizabeth and Essex" (p. 102), a suggestion echoed and further developed by McCoy (p. 225-26). In light of this (or a similar) possibility, epecially since the "Strephons Palinode"-"Vranias Answer" dyad is so carefully integrated into the Sidneian sequence at the beginning of the

translations of "Come Vrania," "Psalme 23," and "Psalme 137"—essentially a restoration of the form to its native generic habitat—seems inevitable, enabling him not only to conspicuously locate his practice within the Sidneian tradition of psalmistry, but also—by means of the rhythmical adjustments to lines 3 and 6—to place his personal stamp upon it.[32]

Rapsody, Davison's blaming "the Printer" for introducing the Sidneian material into the volume to preface "[his and Walter's] meane and worthles Scriblings" ("To the Reader," sig. A4) is best understood as a cloaking maneuver rather than a statement of fact.

[32] For a concluding glimpse of Davison's use of the "staffe"—one which, in light of the lofty purposes to which it had otherwise been put, might seem to reflect a deliberate degradation of the form—we should note its appearance in a bawdy epigram, apparently written in or before 1615, that puns on the possible meanings of the word *fucus* as both a component of facial cosmetics and a sexual invitation:

> We maddames that fucus Vse
> greately muse
> Being ripe fruite yee do not pluck vs
> Since characters redd & white
> plainely write
> In our painted faces fuc-us.

Only 4 copies of this wry *jeu d'esprit*—which must surely have circulated orally as well as in written form—are known to survive (in MC1 [f. 50v], Rosenbach ms 1083 [p. 33], O16 [f. 10], and Tanner ms. 169 [f. 68v]), all scribal and none recorded quite accurately; and the entire text in MC1 and the final *fucus* in Rosenbach 1083 are *faux*-cancelled with see-through ink markings. The text given here is based on MC1, marginally the most accurate of the four, but still requiring removal of an extraneous "That" at the head of line 3 for proper scansion. In addition to MC1's unique "That" all three other copies contain extra syllables in lines 1 and/or 4, showing how difficult the rhythmic pattern of the form was for many copyists to grasp, and a handful of other verbal discrepancies exist among the 4 witnesses (see the partial collation below). The most deviant copy is that in the heavily edited Tanner 169, which titles the poem "On painted Ladys. Epi:^{m}/ To bashfull yonge gentlemen" and labels it a "prosopopæia: or fictio personae loquentium." In the hand of the artifact's original owner Stephen Powle, Tanner 169 also attributes and dates the epigram "Mr. F. Davison 30 Ap: 1615."

V. Davison's Revisions

On a macro scale, Davison's propensity for experimenting with reformulations of an original poetic idea is manifest in his having composed the three distinct versions of "Psalme 23" previously discussed. And this proclivity for varying and refining, particularly easy to exercise on poems that remain in the pre-print fluidity of the manuscript medium, inevitably reveals itself at the micro level as well, as he adjusts ideas and images in individual stanzas, lines, and words.[33] Among other examples that might be cited in the artifacts described in footnote 21 above, a casebook illustration of Davison's revisionary tinkering is presented in the variant forms of "Psalme 130" that appear, in the final version, in the Crane manuscripts and, in an earlier rendition (among the four Davisonian psalms intermingled with others by Mary Sidney), in O34. The King James Bible (1611) frames verse 3 of this Psalm as a general rhetorical question: "If thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?"[34] In translation preserved by Crane (here quoted from Harl. 6930), this question has been recast as a personal confession, the "iniquities" redefined as "manifold Abuses" for

---

Collation: **1** that] which T169. fucus] doe ~ R1083 O16; e're ~ T169. **3** Being] That ~ MC1. yee] you R1083 O16; yowe T169. **4** redd] in ~ R1083 O16. **6** In] On R1083 R169 painted] shamelesse T169.

[33] Predictably, Davison's readiness to revise his work was not confined to his Psalm translations: Rollins includes a catalogue of "Variant Readings and Misprints" (1:313-53), e.g., that comprehensively cites textual changes in the early printings of the *Rapsody*, and—with reference to this list—avers that "[u]ndoubtedly after . . . [the 1602 *Rapsody*] appeared, . . . [Davison] revised, or rewrote, certain lines" and "corrected a few words" as he prepared copy for the subsequent edition of 1608 (2:76).

[34] KJV's is a slightly softened version of the Geneva Bible's "If thou, ô Lord, straightly markest iniquities, ô Lord, who shal stand?" (1560), which had itself modernized Miles Coverdale's "If thou (Lorde) wilt be extreme to marke what is done amysse, Oh Lorde, who may abyde it?" (1535)—the translation incorporated into the Great Bible (1539) and, subsequently, the various issues of the Book of Common Prayer (1549 *et seq.*). In the posthumous *Psalmes of King David* (1637) credited to "King Iames," William Alexander renders this verse in common meter: "Lord, who shall stand, if all our sins/ should marked be by thee?"

which the penitent can muster "no excuses," the Lord's "mark[ing]" them intensified to "behold[ing]" them "in Ire," and the potential consequence of being unable to "stand" particularized as dwelling in "eternall Fire":

> My manifold Abuses
> if Thou behold in Ire,
> Lord, I haue no excuses
> to scape eternall Fire.

The copy of the poem in O34, however, shows that this final formulation is merely the end product of successive manipulations of the material on Davison's part. As its primary version of the verse, O34 presents

> If of my huge abuses
> A strict accounte thou take
> Lord I haue no excuses
> To scape hells burninge lake

and in the margin to the right, neatly entered in the same scribal hand, records a variant form of the stanza:

> My many great offenses
> If thou behold in ire
> Lord I haue no pretences
> To skape eternall fyre.

It is not possible to be certain whether O34's compiler concocted this entry by combining readings from two separate manuscripts of the psalm or—perhaps more likely—rather worked from a single document that itself contained both versions of verse 3; what is clear from this example, however, is that, as he moved toward a final choice, Davison—perhaps unable to find a rhyme for the Biblical "iniquities"—considered both "offenses" and "Abuses" as a name for his sins, "tak[ing]" a "strict accounte" as well as "behold[ing] in ire" as a description of God's notice of those transgressions, and both "hells burninge lake" and "eternall fyre" as a designation for the place of punishment.

I recognize that some may question my identification of the alternate forms of the Psalm verse cited above as authorial. Joel Swann

(*Renaissance Studies*, pp. 683-85), e.g., who has studied the seventeenth-century circulation of Davison's psalms more extensively than anyone else, points to the printing of Davison's "Psalm 86" in John Standish's *All the French Psalm tunes with English words* (1632; STC 2734) as an easily recognizable instance of editorial manipulation in which Standish himself has reshaped Davison's verses to suit the demands of the accompanying French tune and the simplified requirements of communal worship[35]; in his analysis of the textual differences recorded in the various manuscripts of Davison's Psalms 6, 13, and the above-cited 130, however, Swann postulates similar external influences, outlining a scenario according to which scribal compilers, whom he refers to interchangeably as "readers" and "writers," drew widely on the various renditions of prior translators (including metrical versions, prose versions contained in worship manuals, and the several available Biblical translations); on a wide array of theologico-liturgical commentary surrounding these translations; and on their own aesthetic sensibilities to decide on the "particular expressions and emphases" (p. 685) that they wished to perpetuate in—or introduce into—the Psalms that they recorded. In such a fecund milieu, avers Swann, although Davison *may* have been "responsible for the difference between witnesses," there can be "no assurance of the authorial provenance of any variants" (682).

No one can doubt the existence of such diverse matter as Swann describes or the physical possibility that any given scribe could alter a text in the act of copying; but while Francis Davison's own reliance on multiple threads of that background material is plain enough, the extant

---

[35] Swann's analysis of Standish's handling of "Psalm 86," which cites Doelman's earlier discussion (*N&Q*, 1991, 162-63) of Standish's adaptations of certain Sidneian psalms, entails a comparison of the variant versions of the Psalm included in MC1, the Crane manuscripts, and Stephen Jerome's *A Seriovs Fore-warning to auoide the Vengeance to come* (1613). As with Standish's trivialization of Davison's "Save my Soule which thou didst cherish / vntill now; now like to perish" (ll. 5-6) to "Saue my life O my defēder / for my holy heart is tender," e.g., Jerome's revisions tend toward the conventional and cliché. For the Biblical prose "In the day of my trouble I will call upon thee: for thou wilt answer me (KJV, v. 7)," e.g., Davison versifies "As I haue, so will I ever / in my stormy Times persever / vnto Thee, to pray, and crie, / for thou hear'st me instantly"; Jerome, however, alters the second couplet to "To Thee (Lord) to cry and pray, / For thou seldom say'st me nay" (p. 74).

evidence suggests that those who entered the Davisonian Psalms into MC1, Rawl. D 316, and O34—and even Ralph Crane, who himself published verses—functioned primarily as copyist-compilers who sought to accurately record the Davisonian translations before them, not—*pace* Swann—as interventionist "readers" and "writers" who understood their task to include co-authoring the texts they transcribed: they behaved, in short, exactly as did other contemporary scribes who copied poems into their diaries, commonplace books, and poetical-literary collections.[36] As with the document depicted in Figures 1 and 2 above, the evidence supporting this conclusion is both bibliograpical and lexical.[37] Five of the collections/groups of Davison's Psalms—the three by Crane, that by the anonymous penman of MC1 (denominated "Hand E" by Swann [*Ren Stud.*, p 678]), and that by the (equally anonymous) scribe of Rawl. D. 316—are artfully formatted copies of the artifacts that lie behind them, preserving the patterns of line-length, indentation, and spacing that mark the translations as poems; and all are inscribed as continuous sequences of Psalms or Psalm-related materials in a single scribal hand. Crane's texts, of course, exhibit the consummate skills of the professional copyist, and the texts in MC1 are also recorded with notable smoothness, the only discernible blunder appearing at the bottom of f. 115, where the scribe—likely

[36] Apart from the analysis of the transmission of "Psalme 137" presented below, this judgment is based on my collation against the Crane texts—which appear to contain Davison's final versions—of every Davisonian Psalm that appears in any other seventeenth-century manuscript, as is specified in footnote 22 above. Among these, in addition to the usual scribal eyeskips, misreadings, and slips of the pen, a number contain what seem to me alternate (earlier) authorial readings, including 4 of the 6 psalms included in MC1 (Psalms 6, 13, 23 ["Great Jehovah"]. and 30), all 3 of the other (than 137) Psalms in O34 (Psalms 23 ["God, who"], 130, and 133), and 1 in Rawl. D. 316 (Psalm 23 ["Great Jehovah"]). To itemize and defend these variants as authorial is not to my present purpose; I cite them summarily here merely in order to indicate the prevalence of such readings within the manuscript corpus.

[37] The pioneering argument for the importance of distinguishing between the "linguistic code" and the "bibliographical code" (the "signifying functions which are comprised in the physical aspects of every book" [p. 56], which are obviously conveyed in manuscript inscriptions as well) was advanced by Jerome J. McGann 30 years ago. See McGann's essay "What is Critical Editing?" in *The Textual Condition*, ed. Jerome J. McGann (Princeton UP, 1993), pp. 48-68.

because of an interruption in his schedule of copying—makes a false start by recording the first two verses of "Psalme: 30" before reentering the heading and beginning the poem anew at the top of the following page. The least skillfully inscribed among these, the collection in Rawl. D. 316 evinces a number of errors in copying (misreadings, false starts, eye-skips, etc.), but none of them involves a reading that deviates from the normative wording observable generally throughout the manuscript corpus[38] nor implies any cause other than scribal inadvertence, haste, or misunderstanding. If any of these translations have been consciously revised by their copyists, no material trace of such alteration is evident in the manuscripts that embody them.

A commonplace book that began life as a bound volume of about 300 blank leaves into which successive owners copied a variety of prose and poetic materials, O34—the artifact containing the alternate versions of Psalm 130 under discussion—presents a somewhat different case. *CELM* describes O34 as

> [a] quarto verse miscellany, in English and Latin, including 37 poems by Donne, in several hands, written from both ends, 279 leaves (including numerous blanks . . .) . . . . Compiled in part by the Oxford printer Christopher Wase (1627-90), fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Mid-17th century

and proceeds to identify two later owners. *DV 2*:432 augments this description by identifying the artifact as a "transgenerational family heirloom" originally belonging to Wase's father John (see Richard Hodges's account of Christopher Wase in *ODNB*), whose signature appears among "An enuentorye of my bookes" in the artifact's endpapers and among whose entries are the Donne poems, recorded at a time when Wase could ascribe them only to "M^{r} [not "Dr."] Dunne" (f. 217 rev., e.g., records a copy of *SGo* headed "M^{r} Dunnes sonnett"). The extent of Christopher Wase's contributions to the volume (which,

[38] The possible lone exception occurs in line 18 of "Psalme 23 ("Great Iehouah"), where the copyist initially begins "To his shephard" before noting his anticipatory mistake, scratching through "shephard," and continuing with "shepcoat holy" to produce "To his shepcoat holy." MC1 also gives "sheepecott," whereas Crane reads "Sheepe-fold," apparently Davison's later revision.

given his date of birth, can hardly have begun before the 1640s—and probably stem from decades later) is uncertain. His signature (in an elegant italic script) appears in the (other) endpapers of the volume, as well as—in a more casual italic style—on folio 33v, amid a brief collection of "Anagrams" of (apparently) his own composition. Written on folios 267v rev.-254 rev. near the end of the book containing John Wase's signature, the above-cited Davisonian Psalms (see footnote 22) appear among a random sequence of prose extracts, other poetic materials (including the four Sidneian Psalm translations previously noted), and blank pages.[39] Which Wase—if either—is responsible for this particular sequence of miscellaneous materials is to me not clear. Given that it appears in the section of the volume containing the elder Wase's entries and that it is overwhelmingly of earlier seventeenth-century provenance, Swann's assignment of it to Christopher Wase (see *Renaissance Studies*, p. 681) seems doubtful,[40] but for the present discussion that scarcely matters: the Davisonian and Sidneian Psalms all appear to be the product of the same copyist, although their

[39] The exact sequence of these materials is as follows: (a) Davison's "Psalm 23" ("God [who ...") (ff. 267v rev.-267 rev.); (b) Davison's "Psalm 137" (ff. 267 rev.-266 rev.); (c) a one-line Latin motto ("tempore, mente, modo, condicione, loco") (266 rev.); (d) a transcription of Patrick Adamson's four-line Latin epitaph on the Scottish protestant martyr Walter Milne (d. 1558) (here designated "Willia[m] Mille") (266 rev.); (e) Sidney's "Psalme 44" (ff. 265v rev.-264v rev.); (f) excerpts from George Sandys's *Travels* (*A Relation of a Iourney* . . . [1st pub. 1615]) (ff. 264 rev.-262 rev.); (g) an untitled transcription of Richard Corbett's epitaph on Sir Thomas Overbury ("Hadst thou like other siers, & knights of worth" (1st pub. 1624) (f. 26v rev.); (h) a continuation of prose excerpts from Sandys (ff. 261 rev.-260 rev.); (i) two blank sheets (ff. 259v rev.-257v rev.); (j) Davison's "Psalme 133" (f. 257 rev.); (k) Davison's "Psalme 130" (numbered "131") (24 ll. only) (f. 256v rev.); (l) Sidney's "Psalme 46" (ff. 256 rev.-255v rev.); (m) Sidney's "Psalme 53" (f. 255 rev.); (n) Sidney's "Psalme 60" (f. 254v rev.).

[40] A chirographical solution to this problem has eluded me. The only external examples of Wase's hand that I have seen—signed letters to Joseph Williamson dating from the 1670s (January 12, 1670 [SP 29/272 f. 72], and October 2, 1675 [SP 29/373 f. 318], respectively)—evince an idiosyncratic italic style quite unlike any of the various hands in O34. I have not seen the collection of Latin poems contained in Wase's notebook (Oxford, Bodleian Libraries MS Add. B. 5) that date between 1642 and 1656.

scattered dispersal throughout the run of materials, as well as their varying employment of italic and secretary letter forms, suggests that they were entered into the volume individually or in small clusters as they came into the transcriber's hands over a period of at least weeks, if not months or years. The handwriting, in both italic and secretary styles, is adequately spaced and generally legible, the lines laid out on the page in clearly discernible poetic stanzas; and the transcriptions—though they record a sizeable number of misreadings—manifest no physical evidence of deliberate scribal experimentation with the wording of the poems: among these Psalms each of the nearly 20 insertions of omitted material or corrections of chirographical blunders, all of which are scribal, serves to restore the normative wording of the poem.[41]

In addition to the above-cited mechanical slip-ups, O34's Sidneian and Davisonian psalms collectively record, by my count, 78 verbal differences from the normative/final texts presented in Hamlin (for Sidney) and Harl. 6930 (for Davison). Forty-three of the 45 such variants scattered throughout the Sidneian translations are readily identifiable as minor deviations or outright mistakes resulting from the copyist's inadvertence, inability to decipher the hand in the copy-text, or failure to understand the syntactical and/or lexical choices of the translator.[42] The two variants that *might* bespeak the scribe's conscious

---

[41] Such corrections include overwritings of malformed letters, cancellations-*cum*-corrections of miswritten words and phrases, and interlinear or marginal insertions of initially overlooked words and lines. Those of significance are as follows: Davison's "Psalm 23" ("God [who ..."]), l. 25 (interlinear insertion of omitted "my board" after "Thou"); Davison's "Psalm 137," ll. 10 (cor. of eyeskip error "neer" to "wee") and 24 (miswritten "mercy" cor. to "merry"); Sidney's "Psalme 44," l. 73 (miswritten "one" cor. to "our"); Davison's "Psalme 133," l. 16 (miswritten "arteslye" cor. to "artlesslye"); Sidney's "Psalme 46," ll. 33-40 (initially omitted, entered on preceding blank page), 34 (miswritten "bownd" cor. to "crownd"), 35 (miswritten "one [for *on*] the earth" cor. to "rased high"); Sidney's "Psalme 53," l. 14 (eyeskip error "people" changed to nonsensical "god [for *name*]); Sidney's "Psalme 60," ll. 9 (omitted "harte" interlinearly inserted), 12 (dittographical "giddy gueddy" cor. to "giddy"), 14 (trivialization "doth make" cor. to "dismayes"), 21 (erroneous "straye" cor. to "stay"), 30-32 (ll. initially omitted, inserted in r. margin).

[42] These variations occur in "Psalme 44," ll. 1, 16, 21, 24, 30 36, 39, 55, 62, 68, 70, 72, 79, and 89; "Psalme 46," ll. 2 (2 instances), 8, 17, 18, 26, 27, 28, 31 (2 instances), and 32; "Psalm 53," ll. 4, 5, 9, 11, 12, 14, 19, 21, and 22; and "Psalme

alteration of an accurately perceived reading are "thy sole [for the normative *wise*] pleasure" in line 16 of "Psalme 44" and "foule [for *vile*] confusion" in line 19 of "Psalme 53." Possibly a simple misconstrual of "wise" (particularly if "wise" were written with a long "s [ſ]" before the final "e" in the source text), "sole" is obviously a trivialization of the authorial "wise," and "foule" may similarly be a misconstrual, sharing the final letters "le" with the conceptually similar "vile" and possibly being alliteratively prompted by the word "force" in the previous line. In any case, the existence of two such single-word changes within a body of 208 poetic lines hardly betrays an inclination to revise on the part of this copyist. Among the 33 variants dispersed throughout O34's 150 lines of Davisonian verse, by contrast, are a number of divergences, one or more within each of the 4 poems, that cannot plausibly be explained as mere blunders and must represent either (1) the scribe's deliberate alteration of the poem's normative wording or (2) his faithful transcription of an earlier authorial version of the text.[43] Both the fact that no similar program of rewording is carried out within the 4 Sidneian translations and—even more powerfully—the specific nature of these changes argue for the latter explanation. In line 1 of its copy of "Psalm 23," e.g., O34 records "God (who all the world doth holde" for the later "God, who the Vniuerse doth hold" found in Harl. 6930; and in a series of changes in lines 17, 18, and 19, O34 gives "Erring [for the later *wandring*] me," "To his righteous pathes [for the later *holy ffold*]

60," ll. 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 23, 24, 28, 30, 43, and 44. The deviations evinced in "Psalme 60" are typical of those encountered throughout the whole group (here presented in the format "*O34 error*" for "*Hamlin reading*"): l. 4, "new retake" for "now retake"; l. 6, "chinkes ... lay" for "chinked...lay"; l. 7. "his ruptures" for "her ruptures"; l. 9, "More hapes" for "Worse haps"; l. 11, "Dull sorrow" for "Dull horror"; l. 23, "in parcell lay" for "in parcels lay"; l. 24, "Succoths valleys yeild" for "Succoth's valley yields"; l. 28, "by Iudah knowne" for "by Judah shown"; l. 30, "ore Edom flonge" for "at Edom flung"; l. 43, "trust in mans repose" for "trust in man repose"; l. 44, "suppose in wind" for "repose in wind."

[43] Differences between the O34 and Harl. 6930 renditions of the Davisonian Psalms appear in "Psalm 23," ll. 1, 2, 10, 17, 18, 19, 22, 28, 30, 33, and 36; "Psalme 130," ll. 1, 9-12 (the two competing versions), 19, 22,23, and 25-32 (O34 lacks these lines); "Psalme 133," ll. 1, 5, 13, and 15; and "Psalm 137," ll. 3, 6, 10, 14, 25, 26, 43, 45, 49, 51, 59, and 60.

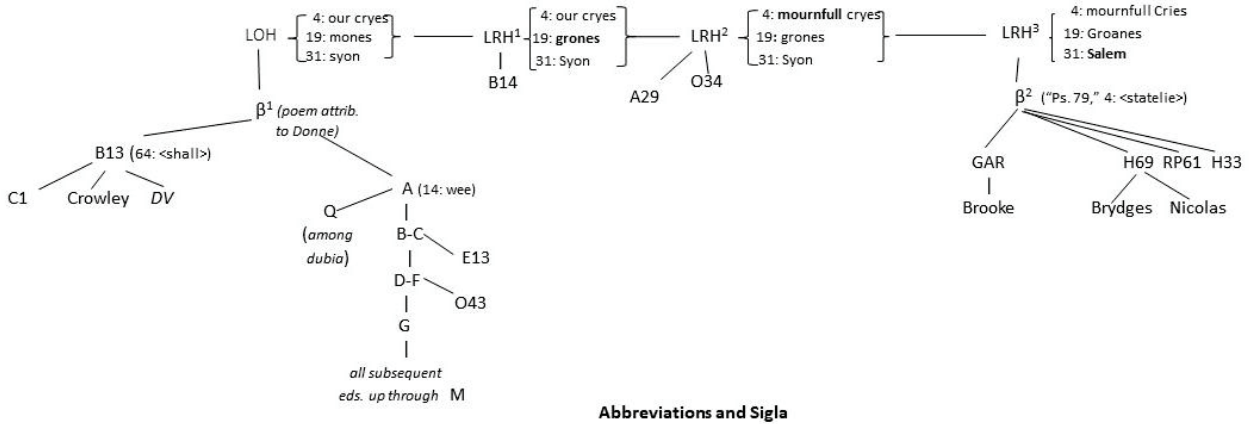
reduced," and "Should I wander [for the later *Yea, should I stray*] through deathes vale," respectively (except in insignificant details, Rawl. D. 316 reads with Harl. 6930 in these cases). Each of the alternatives in these four instances is clearly intelligible, grammatically and syntactically correct, thematically consistent with the language of the Biblical original, and metrically equivalent to its counterpart[44]: it seems impossible to imagine that any one of these changes, much less the whole series, could have been effected except by the one person who had a proprietary interest in the poem—Davison himself. Similar arguments could be mounted for certain variants in "Psalm 133," e.g., where—as he did with the alternate version of "Psalme 130," stanza 3—in line 1 the scribe has marginally recorded the Davisonian variant "amiable" (the reading of Harl. 6930) beside the "delectable" that appears in his primary version ("What is so sweet so delectable . . ."); and O34 exhibits a number of earlier authorial variants in the evolving text of "Psalm 137," as I shall describe below. For the present, however, we may conclude this thread of argument by noting explicitly a fact that is implicit in the above discussion of O34's alternate versions of "Psalme 130": except that it records a slight syntactical adjustment of the beginning of the stanza (ll. 9-10) and replaces "huge" with "manifold" as a descriptor of the penitent's "abuses," the (final) version of stanza 3 recorded in Harley 6930 essentially merges lines 1 and 3 from the formulation given in O34's primary entry with lines 2 and 4 from that given in the marginal variant. That Davison would have confected such a final pastiche from material not his own is unthinkable.[45]

---

[44] Although Rawl. D. 316 records an explicitly elided (though miswritten ["God (who oh']") form of the first foot of "Psalme 23," Crane—in all three of his manuscripts—writes out "the" in full, expecting the dominant trochaic rhythm of the verse to prompt elision of the word (see footnote 26 above).

[45] Coincidentally, the lexico-genealogical argument for O34's as an earlier authorial version of "Psalm 130" is historically buttressed by the fact that Jerome (pp. 69-70—see footnote 35 above) includes an adaptation of Davison's "Psalme 130" whose rendition of stanza three matches O34's primary version ("If of my huge abuses, / A strict account thou take . . ."), thus placing that version of the text in circulation as early as 1613, six to ten years before the likely compilation of β^2, the source of Crane's transcriptions (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Stemma for "Psalme 137"



Abbreviations and Sigla

Manuscripts

A29 (BL ms. Add. 29427, *ll. 1-12 only)*
B13 (BL ms. Add. 25707)
B14 (BL Add. ms. 27407)
C1 (CUL ms. Add, 29)
E13 (Bod. ms. Eng. misc. e. 13)
GAR (lost Gardyne ms.)
H33 (BL ms. Harley 3357)
H69 (BL ms. Harley 6930)
O34 (Bod. ms. Rawlinson Poet. 117)
O43 (Bod. ms. Tanner 466)
RP61 (Bod. ms. Rawlinson Poet. 61

Printed Editions of Donne

A (1633 *Poems)*
B (1635 *Poems)*
C (1639 *Poems)*
D (1649 *Poems)*
E (1650 *Poems)*
F (1654 *Poems*)
G (1669 *Poems*)
M (Lowell, *Poetical Works,* 1855*)*
N (Grosart, *Poems,* 1872-73)
Q (Grierson, *Poems,* 1912)
Brydges (*Davison's Poetical Rhapsody*, 1817)
Nicolas (*The Poetical Rhapsody*, 1826)
Brooke (*Christs's Victory … by Giles Fletcher,* 1888)
Crowley ("Donne, Not Davison," 2008 *Manuscript Matters,* 2018)
DV (*Donne Variorum,* vol. 7.2, 2021)

LOH = lost original holograph
LRH = lost revised holograph
<…> = omitted

VI. The Genealogy of "Psalm 137"

Because of its publication in the successive editions of Donne's collected *Poems*, "By Euphrates flowry side" was the most widely circulated of Davison's Psalms in the seventeenth century, appearing not only in A-G, but also in ten extant manuscript copies, as is shown on the stemma presented in Figure 3. Of these copies, two (E13 and O43) derive, respectively, from the third (C) and fourth (D-F) editions of the *Poems* and are duly ascribed to Donne by their copyists; three (B14, A29, and O34) bear no scribal attribution and thus present the psalm as an anonymous work (although—as noted in footnote 22 above—a second hand has written "by D. Donne" beside the poem's heading in O34); and the three penned by Ralph Crane (H69, RP61, and H33) are assigned to Francis Davison in Crane's hand. The only ascriptions of the poem to Donne that clearly precede its appearance in print are those in the parent-child pair B13 and C1, which derive from the same lost archetype that gave rise to the text printed in A and its descendants. Further comments on these ascriptions appear below in the discussion of the various seventeenth-century embodiments of the Psalm and the stemmatic relationships among them.

Based on a collation of all seventeenth-century sources of "Psalme 137," the stemma depicts—in left-to-right order across the page—the evolution of the translation from its earliest embodiment in Davison's lost original holograph (LOH) through two intermediate lost revisions (LRH^1 and LRH^2) to its final manifestation in a third revised holograph (LRH^3), also lost.[46] Additional missing urtexts in the lineages descending from the LOH and LRH^3 are represented by the Greek letters β^1 and β^2. Enclosed in brackets beside each lost holograph is a trio of readings that correspond to their counterparts in the other three,

---

[46] (1) The collation was carried out by means of *The Donne Variorum Textual Collation Program* (*DVColl*), available for free download at *DigitalDonne: the Online Variorum* (http:// donnevariorum.dh.tamu.edu/toolsandresources/collation-software). (2) This stemma, of course, is a synecdochic construct, representing the relationships amongst only the texts that survive. An indeterminate number of other copies may well once have existed. See the discussion of O34 below. (3) For purposes of this discussion a "revision" is defined as any verbal alteration of the text by the author.

Figure 4: Supporting detail for the stemma

Line	revised?	LOH (B13 C1 A-G E13 O43)	β¹ (B13 C1 A-G E13 O43)	B13-C1	A-G E13 O43	LRH1 (B14)	LRH2 (O34)	LRH3 (β²: "Ps. 79," 4: <statelie>) (GAR H69 H33 RP61)	Notes and rationale for positing revision
4	R	y^{e} ayre	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~ (B14: th' ~)	**th'** ~ (O34: ~ ~)	th' ~	g. a, g. p.; B14, O34 *err.*
4	R	our cryes	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	**mournful** ~	mournful Cries	g. a, g. p.
6	*err.*	y^{eir} streames	~ ~	y^{e} ~ (B13: >>y^{e}→~<<)	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	B13 *err.*
6	?	his stream	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~ (B14: ~ streames)	~ ~ (O34: ~ streames)	**the** ~	g. a.; B14, O34 *err.*
9	*err.*	enthralled	**enthrald**	enthrald	enthrald	~	~	~	β¹ *err.*
10	?	the Temple	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~ (B14: our ~)	~ ~	**thy** ~	g. a.; B14 *err.*
12	*err.*	called	**cal'd**	cal'd	cal'd	~	~	~	β¹ *err.*
14	?	wear hunge	~ ~	~ ~	**wee** ~	~ ~	~ ~	**we** hung	A *err.*; LRH³ *err.*
16	R	wher	~	~	~	~	**When**	When	g. a., g. p.
16	R	all forlorne	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	**soe** ~	so ~	g. a, g. p.
19	R	mones	~	~	~	**grones**	grones	Groanes	g. p.
20	R	grones	~	~	~	**Mones**	mones	Moanes	g. p.
22	R	Tune...& singe us lays	~...~ ~ ~ ~	~...~ ~ ~ ~	~...~ ~ ~ ~	~...~ ~ ~ ~	**To ...sing vs some** ~	To...sing vs some ~	g. a, g. p.
25	?	mones	~	~	~	**Grones**	~	**Groanes**	B14 or O34 *err.*
26	?	groanes	~	~	~	**Moanes**	~	**Moanes**	B14 or O34 *err.*
29	R	In y^{e} praise	~ ~ ~	~ ~ ~	~ ~ ~	**to** ~ ~	to ~ ~	To ~ ~	g. a, g. p.
31	R	syon	~	~	~	~	~	**Salem**	g. a.
31	R	I yet	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~ (B14: wee ~)	~ **fayle**	~ faile	g. a, g. p.; B14 *err.*
32	R	doe forget	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	**To bewayle**	to bewaile	g. a., g. p.
43	R	curse	~	~	~	~	**plague** (O34: blague)	plague	g. a, g. p.; O34 pen slip
43	*err.*	traitrous	**traterous**	traterous	traterous	~	~ (O34: trayterous)	~	β¹, O34 *err.*
45	?	ruines	~	~	~	~	~	**Ruyne**	g.a.
46	R	sack, kill, burne	~, ~, ~	~, ~, ~	~, ~, ~	~, ~, ~ (B14: ~, burne, kill)	**kill, sacke burne**	Kill, sack, burne	g. a, g. p.; B14 *err.*
46	*err.*	cry'd	~	**cryed**	~	~	~ (O34: cryed)	~	B13, O34 *err.*
51	R	growes to turninge	~ ~ ~	~ ~ ~	~ ~ ~	~ ~ ~ (B14: comes a ~)	**falles to** ~ (O34: falles a ~)	falls to ~	g. a., g. p.; B14, O34 *err.*
52	*err.*	shalt	**shall**	shall (B13: >>shall →~<<)	shall	~ (B14: shall)	~	~	β¹, B14 *err.*
53	*err.*	shalt	**shall**	shall (B13: >>shall →~<<)	shall	~ (B14: shall)	~	~	β¹, B14 *err.*
55	R	Happy he	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	*l. om*	~ **man**	~ man	g. a., g. p.
59	R	poor we	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	*l. om*	**from thee**	**by** Thee	g. a., g. p.; auth. vascillation in LRH³?
60	R	By thy meanes	~ ~ ~	~ ~ ~	~ ~ ~	*l. om*	**Wee, poor wee**	wee (poore wee)	g. a., g. p.
64	*err.*	shall dash	~ ~	***om*** ~	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	B13 *err.*

Symbols and abbreviations

R = authorial revision
? = possible revisioin
err. = scribal or compositorial error
boldface = point of revision or scribal change
~ = agrees with reading of the LOH
g. a = genuine alternative
g. p = genetic perseverance
>>...<< = change or insertion in second or later scribal hand
→ = changed to

selected to provide a thumbnail view of the textual evidence supporting the stemma and horizontally aligned to facilitate comparison. Successive authorial changes among these readings are flagged by boldfaced type at the point of their initial appearance. Similarly, several other sigla are followed by brackets containing definitive scribal or compositorial variants/features that enter the line of transmission at the point specified. In accordance with standard bibliographical practice, any variant listed within a particular genealogical branch is understood to perpetuate itself to the subsequent members of the branch. In order more thoroughly to validate the stemma and to facilitate tracing each variant's fate in successive stages of the poem's transmissional history, moreover, a fuller selection of the evidence generated by collation of the texts is presented in Figure 4, a chart that lists variant readings vertically on the page by poem line number and arranges them horizontally in columns headed by the sigla of the various sources collated (the readings upon which this chart draws are comprehensively cited in the Historical Collation of textual sources included in Appendix A). In addition to the columns of variants, the figure also registers, in a column to the immediate right of that giving the line numbers, a designation of the causal category into which each variant is judged to fall—whether that of an authorial revision (R), of a possible revision (?), or of a scribal/compositorial error (*err.*)—and a final column at the right of the chart records a brief justification for each such categorization. Parenthetical readings given at several line-column coordinates record a given artifact's deviation from the inferred reading of the missing holograph.

Like those in Figure 3, most of the symbols and abbreviations used in Figure 4 are either familiar bibliographical notations or are intrinsically intelligible, but two in particular, which refer to principles essential to understanding the stemmatological significance of given bits of data, are peculiar to the interpretation of Figure 4 and thus require explanation. The first, the abbreviation "g. a.," stands for "genuine alternative," a phrase coined by Helen Gardner[47] and used

[47] See Gardner's *John Donne:"The Elegies" and "The Songs and Sonnets,"* (OUP, 1965), p. 124. *The Donne Variorum* cites Gardner's use of the term to characterize "certain powerfully appealing readings that she . . . [was] not willing to set down as 'revisions'" and appropriates it as a label for one of the

here to designate any variant—such as those described in the foregoing discussion of Davison's revisions—that (1) "cannot be dismissed as a scribal effort at improvement or clarification (i.e., 'sophistication' or 'trivialization')," (2) evinces an "aptness of sound and/or sense [that] is essentially equivalent to that of the alternative," (3) is not "readily explicable as a scribal misreading or slip of the pen" (see *DV* 7.1: 112), and (4) can thus plausibly be ascribed to the author. The second, "g. p." ("genetic perseverance"), essentially invokes the criterion that any variant reading proposed as an authorial revision must also be "appropriately located" at "the head of a line of transmission" (*DV* 7.1:112), but directs attention specifically to the fact that, when viewed in the overall context of the figure, the mere recurrence of a given change in successive lines of transmission can identify it as authorial. In lines 19 and 20, e.g., the flip-flopping of the rhyme words "mones" / "grones" to "grones" / "Mones" in LRH^1 might not, in and of itself, appear to constitute a "genuine alternative," since there is apparently nothing to recommend one arrangement over the other and since any copyist could make this switch—which alters neither rhyme nor meaning—inadvertently; the perpetuation of the inversion in LRH^2 and LRH^3, however, each of which evinces Davisonian changes of its own, marks it, also, as the author's. I shall comment on other appearances of the "g. a" and "g. p." abbreviations in the discussion of Figures 3 and 4 to follow.

Evincing the readings listed in the LOH column on Figure 4, the original text of "By Euphrates flowry side" first appears in a scribal copy in the artifact designated β^1 on the stemma. Though β^1 generally presents a clean text of the poem, it does introduce a handful of errors, distorting the meter in lines 9 ("enthralled" is elided to "enthrald") , 12 ("called" is elided to "cal'd"), and 43 ("traitrous" is expanded to "trayterous" in line 43), and—apparently owing to a misunderstanding of the sentence that spans lines 49 to 54 (...thou Babel ...shalt ...) recording the ungrammatical "shall" in line 52. Whether initiated in β^1 itself or merely passed along from a superior source, β^1's most consequential error, of course, is the misattribution of the poem to Donne, a misattribution that—along with the errors in lines 9, 12, 43,

---

criteria useful in differentiating authorial from scribal changes of the text (see *DV* 7:1: 111, where the date of Gardner's edition is mistakenly given as 1958).

and 52—is perpetuated in both B13 and Donne's 1633 *Poems* (A) and their descendants.[48]

From β^1, as is shown on the stemma, the text of "Psalme 137" descends—on the one hand—to B13, parent of C1 and source of the modern editions in Crowley and *DV*, and—on the other—to A and its seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century successors down through Lowell's edition of Donne in 1855 (M). Adding to the above-cited errors received from β^1, B13 carelessly reduces "their streames" to "y^e streames" in line 6, expands the elided form "cride" to "cryed" in line 46 (producing 8 syllables where the stanzaic pattern requires 7), and destroys both syntax and meter by omitting "shall" from the normative phrase "'gainst the Walls shall dash their bones" in line 64 (producing "'gainst the Walls dash . . .).[49] Although sloppily entered and much corrected in a second hand, the final text in B13's offspring C1 closely follows that in the parent, adding to the accumulation of

---

[48] (1) It is impossible to know exactly how the ascription to Donne got into β^1, but unless its scribe deliberately intended to deceive, we may assume that he did not take his copy directly from a manuscript he knew to be Davison's. Other lost manuscripts, any one of which could have added the attribution to Donne, may thus once have existed between the LOH and β^1, but in accordance with the "principle of parsimony" (see *DV* 3: lxvi) I have declined to posit the quondam existence of any artifact for which there is no specific evidence—hence the stemma's depiction of β^1 as a direct descendant of the LOH. (2) That the source from which the compilers of A added "Psalme 137" to the volume appeared to be reliable is suggested by B13's similar acceptance of the attribution, a fact which bolsters the argument (see section II above) that they approached the task of establishing Donne's canon with due bibliographical skepticism.

[49] As Figure 4 indicates, B13's copyist initially recorded the mistaken "y^e" in line 6, but—at some point after the copy in C1 was taken—corrected it to "y^{eir}." Although the supplemental "ir" in the entry has obviously been crowded in beside the superscripted "e" of the original "y^e," the similarity of the resultant "y^{eir}" to the repetition of the same form in line 64 suggests that the original scribe was responsible for the change, perhaps effecting it at the same time as he corrected his erroneous "shall" in line 52 to "shalt" by imposing a short horizontal bar medially across the second looped "l" of "shall" (see Figure 4). In light of the concern for detail manifest in these corrections, the scribe's failure to attempt emendation of the defective line 64 seems all the more curious.

error only a metrically anomalous (and non-scribal) "vpon" (for the normative "On") in line 15 (see the Historical Collation). The text reproduced in Crowley and *DV* is that of B13 as scribally corrected.[50]

---

[50] The cognates B13 and C1 are among the manuscripts originally inventoried by Grierson, who judged C1 either copied "directly from . . . [B13], or from the collection . . . which . . . [B13] itself drew from" (2:cviii). In my earlier work I identified these artifacts as siblings (see, e.g., the discussion in *DV 2*: 15 and the stemma for *ElBrac* on page 46 of that volume), but longer experience working with the two has convinced me that C1 is copied from B13. Comprising poems by Donne, Henry King, Thomas Carew and others, B13 is, as Beal describes it in *CELM*, a "composite volume of verse and some prose, in various . . . hands, written over an extended period" by members of the Skipwith family of Leicestershire and tenuously associated with Donne through his friend Henry Goodyer, who was linked with the Skipwiths through marriage. As is evident in the present discussion of "Psalme 137," however, the sociological credentials of the artifact do not translate into a warrant of textual reliability, as B13's transcriptions of (at least) the Donne poems are generally several steps removed from holograph and correspondingly corrupt: B13 appears at 5 levels below the LRH on the *ElBrac* stemma, e.g., and its texts of the Satires (the first 4 of which it misnumbers) are similarly derivative, *Sat1* being 4 steps removed from the holograph, *Sat2* 5 levels, *Sat3* 3 levels, *Sat4* 3 levels, and *Sat5* 2 levels (see the respective stemmas in *DV* 3, pp. 40, 86, 131, 202, and 241). The 36 copies of Donne poems (24 complete, 12 partial) that appear in C1—and that constitute its principal content—all appear in B13, and to these poems the two affix essentially identical headings (including the anomalies "Mon tout" [for *LovInf*], "The nothing" [for *NegLov*], and "Epithalamion at the Mariage of the Princess Elyzabeth, and the Palzgraue celebrated on S.ᵗ Valentines daye" [for *EpEliz*]) and subscriptions (23 poems are mutually attributed to "I. D."; 4 are attributed to "I. D." in B13, but left unascribed in C1; and 9 remain unascribed in both artifacts). As with Davison's "Psalme 137," moreover, both manuscripts spuriously ascribe to "I D" an anonymous poem beginning "O frutefull garden, and yet neuer tilde" (B13 misattributes other poems to Donne as well). What marks C1 as B13's copy rather than sibling is that although they contain scores of mutual idiosyncratic readings throughout their 1300-plus shared lines of Donne's poetry ("needles [for the normative *needs*] Lawles law" in *ElComp* 9, "too stronge for fancy [for the correct *phantasie*]" in *Dream* 4, "sublimary [for the authorial *sublunary*] louers" in *ValMourn* 13, e.g.) *in no case* does C1 record a correct or normative reading where B13 gives an error, whereas numerous instances of the opposite occur (to cite a single example, in *Har* 195 the C1 scribe records "toles of

"Psalme 137" appears on pages 157-[161] in A, inserted into a generically mixed section that follows Donne's epithalamions. In addition to programmatically regularizing spelling and strengthening punctuation throughout, the edition alters the β^1 text primarily by (1) imposing Roman numerals at the head of each poetic stanza and (2) changing the passive "wear hung" to the active "wee hung" in line 14.[51] The subsequent seventeenth-century editions, in which the poem is moved to appear among the Divine Poems near the end of the collection, are set successively from A, their principal verbal variant being B's respelling of A's characteristic "N'er" (for "never") in line 11 as "Neare," which blunder persists in C-G. E13—dated "*c.* 1643" in *CELM*—is a commonplace book compiled by Dr. William Lynnett (1622/3-1700) of Trinity College, Cambridge, whose signature, followed by the date "1642," appears at the bottom of folio 8. Apparently deriving from either B or C, a transcription of "Psalm 137" subscribed "John Donne" in Lynnett's hand and evincing the lineal readings noted above (including B's respelled "Neare") follows on folio 10r-v. In addition to numbering sections by Biblical verse (rather than

---

ignorance," where B13 gives the correct "Coldes . . ." [C1's error is marginally corrected to "coldes" in a second hand; neither the error nor the correction is reported in *DV* 6]). Within the entire body of Donne text shared by these artifacts, the only verbal substance in C1 that is entirely absent from B13 is the explanatory "y^{t} his m^{ris} should not trauaile wth in habit of a page [*sic*]," belatedly crowded into the space on f. 39v rev. between the heading ("Elegie 11") and the first line of the artifact's partial copy (ll. 33-44 only) of *El/Fatal* as a means of rendering the fragment intelligible.

[51] (1) While it might seem possible that A derives "wee" from the LOH through β^1 and that B13's "were" is a scribal error, the recurrence of "were" in LRH^1 and LRH^2 suggests that the mistake ("wee") lies in A, as is shown on the stemma. Whichever the case, "wee" remains a defining reading of the lineage stemming from A. (2) The use of Roman numerals to itemize poetic stanzas is a compositorial convention imposed thoughout A, appearing, e.g., in the printing of *Metem*, the Holy Sonnets, *EpEliz*, *Eclog*, and *Lit*, and this practice is observed in B-G as well. The manuscript members of the lineage (E13 and O43), however, resort to the more convenient arabic numbering, and O43—while preserving the normative 11-stanza format of the poem—deploys the numbers to demarcate the 9 Biblical verses covered in the translation (see the apparatus in Appendix A).

poetic stanza—see footnote 51), O43—a mid-seventeenth century poetical collection written in the hand of Willliam Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury—attempts to clarify B's misspelled "Neare" in line 11 by means of elision (producing "Ne'are") and similarly reduces the hypermetric "traiterous" in line 43 to "traite'rous." Written in Sancroft's hand at the foot of the poem, the attributive note "D^{r} Donne pöem. p. 327. &" identifies his source text as one of the issues of the fourth edition (D-F), in which the poem appears on those pages. As noted above, Grierson (Q) reproduces a slightly emended text of A.

Davison's first revision of "Psalme 137," designated LRH^{1} on the stemma, is solely available in B14, a scribal copy entered onto the front and back of a single leaf inserted into the composite manuscript volume Additional MS 27407 in the British Library (see Figure 5). The poem proper is prefaced by a brief letter in the poet's own words that provides important insight into the cultural milieu within which his translations subsisted, into the contemporary reputation of "Psalme 137," and into Davison's understanding of the function he fulfilled in the creation and dissemination of metrical Psalms:

> *My most honoured Lord*;
> I forgott my selfe when I sent yo.^{ur} Lo^{pp} word, that I had not y^{e} *Psalme* yo^{u} sent for; I doe not vse to p[*ar*]aphrase so much vppon my other translated *Psalmes*, but tye my Self more strictly to the Originall, holding those Translations best y^{t} suffer y^{e} least Translation: But thus; Sings the bolder *Poet* to the 137.th *Psalme* [f. 65].

That this note, whose original—however far removed from this copy—almost certainly consisted in a specifically addressed and authorially signed letter enclosing Davison's separate handwritten copy of the Psalm, is directed to a nobleman is consistent with what the "Papers-Lent" list shown in Figure 1 tells us of the variety of Davison's literary correspondents, and the circulation of artifacts denoted in Figures 1 and 2 defines a fluid environment of lending and gathering in which Davison might well not, at any given time, have been able to lay immediate hands on every poem he had written (the previously cited letter of 1614 in which Donne seeks to retrieve the "old book" of his poems from Henry Goodere, e.g., describes just such a circumstance—see footnote 8). The abruptness with which Davison here launches into a *non-sequitur* apology for the amount of "p[*ar*]aphras[ing]" in "Psalm 137," however,

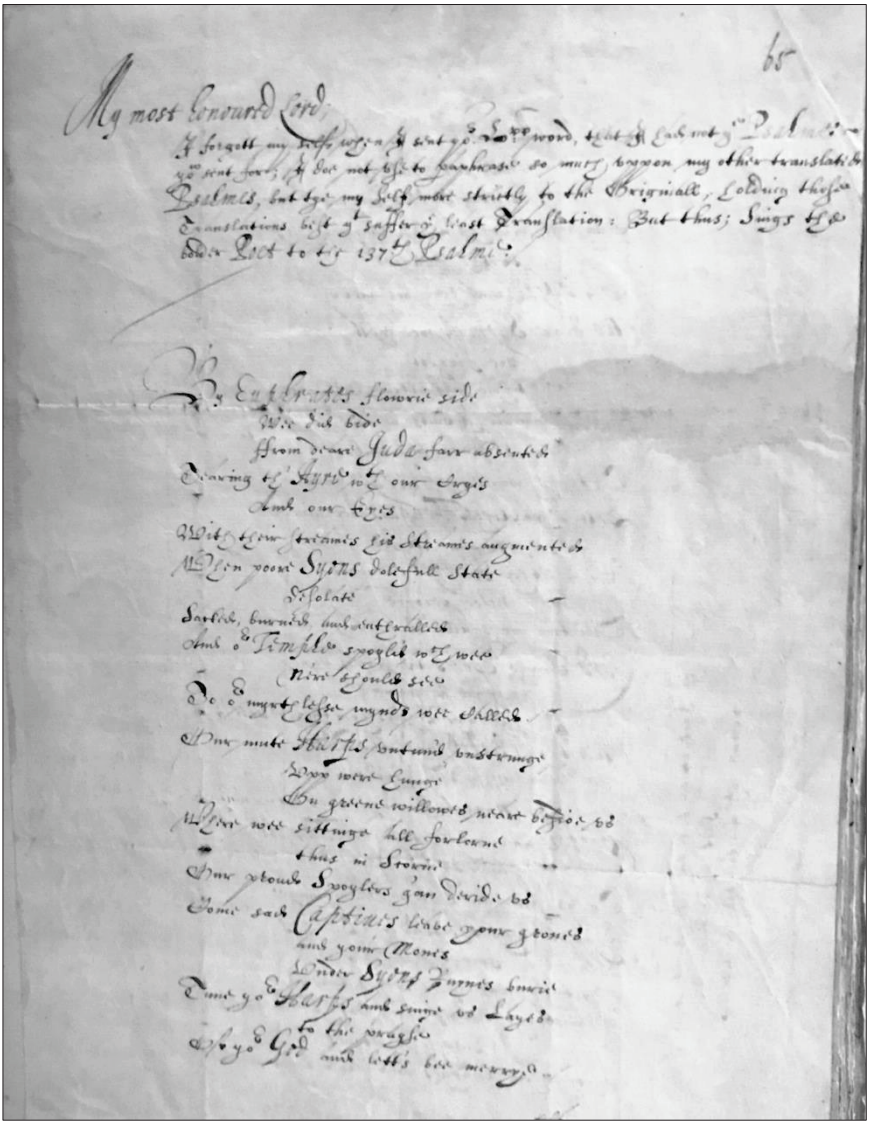


Figure 5. British Library Additional MS 27407, f. 65.

together with his insistence that in his "other translated *Psalmes*" he adheres strictly to a non-interventionist orthodoxy ("those Translations [are] best y^{t} suffer y^{e} least Translation"), suggests rather that his delay in sending the translation had been merely politic, that he had been

uncertain why the "honoured Lord" should have requested "Psalme 137" in particular, was anxious as to whether his treatment of it might appear unseemly, and needed to reassure himself on these matters before complying with the request. In the event, he defends the translation as a "bolder" product than that of a mere translator, as the imaginative excursion of one exercising the creative license of a "*Poet.*" No one who has studied the full body of Davison's Psalms can take seriously his claim that among them "By Euphrates flowry side" is atypically "poetical," but we can appreciate his open avowal in this letter of what is made abundantly clear in the foregoing discussion—that every time the man who in "Psalme 133" described the "Greenes" of "Mount Hermon" as "artelesly diapred" with "speckled Flowres" (14-16) took his translator's pen in hand, he consciously embraced the role of poet.[52]

That role, of course, entailed the opportunity to revise, and even though the copy of the poem preserved in B14 is extremely corrupt (conflating lines 37-39 into a single, two-line clause; omitting lines 55-60 entirely; recording the initially overlooked lines 46-48 in the margin; and registering nearly twenty individual verbal blunders in lines scattered throughout the poem, as is shown in Figure 4 and the Historical Collation), it also records two minor authorial adjustments, switching—as noted above—the original rhyme sequence "mones"/"grones" in lines 19-20 to "grones" / "Mones" and changing the original "in the praise" of line 29 to "to the prayse"—both alterations persevering in the subsequent evolution of the poem (see Figure 4). We may also note that on purely intrinsic grounds, B14's

[52] It should be noted that, in conjunction with the publication of "Psalm 137" in the editions of *The Poetical Rhapsody* of Brydges and Nicolas, the copy of the poem in B14, with its accompanying letter, proved sufficient to persuade Grosart (certainly) and Chambers and Grierson (with practical certainty) of Davison's authorship, even though none of them seems to have known much about Davison's Psalms in general and none understood the genealogy of "Psalme 137" in particular (see section I above). Crowley avoids what to me seems the clear implication of the letter by, first (see "Donne, not Davison," p. 617), casually misreading and, subsequently (see *Manuscript Matters*, pp. 140-41), attempting to ambiguate the reference to a "bolder *Poet*," an interpretive maneuver in which the *Variorum* editors concur. Uncharacteristically, Beal (*CELM*) fails to mention the letter at all.

second reversal of "mones" / "grones" to "Grones" / "Moanes" (in ll. 25-26) might appear also to qualify as authorial, especially in light of the appearance of the latter sequence in LRH[3], but in this case the evidence is ambiguous (the original "mones" / "grones" order is reinstituted in LRH[2], intervening between B14's reading and that of LRH[3]), failing to satisfy the "genetic perseverance" criterion; B14's reading must therefore be regarded as a scribal blunder.

The most extensive authorial revision in the transmissional history of "Psalme 137" is effected in LRH[2], parent of the above-described O34.[53] In addition to those inherited from LRH[1], LRH[2] entails—as cited on Figure 4—Davison's alterations in lines 4 (of "ye Aire with our cryes" to "th' ayre w[th] mournefull . . ."), 16 (of "wher we sittinge all forlorne " to "When . . . so forlorne"), 22 (of "Tune y[r] harpes, & sing us layes" to "To . . . singe vs some . . ."), 31-32 (of "if I yet / doe forget" to "if I fayle / To bewayle"), 43 (of "curse Edoms traitrous kinde" to "plague Edoms . . ."), 46 (of "sack, kill, burne" to "kill, sacke burne"), 51 (of "growes to turninge" to "falles to turning"), 55 (of "Happy he" to "Happy man"), and 59-60 (of "What poor we / By thy meanes . . ." to "What from thee / Wee, poor wee . . ."). Each of these changes constitutes a genuine alternative, and each (with the minor deviation of "from" to "by" in line 59) perseveres genetically into the final revision of the poem embodied in LRH[3], as is shown on Figure 4. To my mind, the most curious among them is the recasting in line 22 of "Tune y[r] harpes, & sing us layes" as "To your harpes singe vs some layes," which flattens the line and drains it of vigor. This changed wording, however, conforms more closely to the normative prose rendition ("Sing vs one of the songs of Zion" [KJV]); and the above-cited scribal identification in MS Tanner 169 of the "painted Ladys" epigram as a "prosopopæia" may provide a further clue to Davison's rationale here, since these prosaic words are put into the mouths of the anti-musical Babylonians, whose tone deafness and cruelty they further

[53] As noted in footnote 22 above, the attributive phrase "by D. Donne" appears beside the heading of the poem in O34, written in the same second hand that on f. 216v rev. similarly identifies *EpEliz* (headed "Epithalamiū") as "by D. Donne." Following this latter attribution, in yet a third hand whose annotations recur sporadically throughout the volume, appears the citation "pag. 103," indicating the location of the poem in either B or C.

emphasize.[54] Though vaguely connected to the LRH^2 on the stemma because of the reading "mournfull cryes" in line 4, the partial copy of the poem set to music in A29 (ll. 1-12 only) cannot be filiated more precisely.

Along with his 17 other psalm translations, Davison's final version of "By Euphrates flowry side," derived from LRH^3 and mediated through the lost artifact β^2, appears in the collection of metrical psalms "manuscribed"—in three separate copies—by Ralph Crane and in the lost Gardyne manuscript (GAR) as mediated through Brooke (see Appendix F).[55] Perpetuating the authorial changes successively introduced in LRH^1 and LRH^2, these artifacts record a further 8 variants in the evolving text, including "the [for *his*] Streame" in line 6, "thy [for *the*] Temple" in line 10, "vp we [for *weare*] hoong" in line 14, "Groanes" and ""Moanes" (for "mones" and "grones") in lines 25 and 26, "deere Salem [for *Syon*]" in line 31, "in our Ruyne [for *ruins*] . . . revell'd" in line 45, and "what by [for *from*] Thee" in line 59 (see Figure 4). That Crane's repeated transcriptions of this psalm—produced over a span of perhaps 10 or 12 years and comprising two whose known dates of distribution separate them by something over seven years—and GAR collectively evince only a single minor variant (in line 23 RP61 records "to [where the others give *in*] the praise") leaves no doubt that these variants existed in β^2; and all of them may be Davison's (as opposed to

---

[54] We might note that O34's variant "exempted" in line 3—recorded in the Historical Collation—is semantically apt according to the obsolete sense of "exempt" as "[t]o take out or away; to put far away, remove, cut off" recorded in *OED* definition 1.a., which presents illustrative quotations dating between 1553 and 1635. Even though it forms only a slant rhyme with "augmented" in line 6, I should certainly have identified this variant as Davison's if it had persisted into LRH^3.

[55] Among other pieces of evidence, the independent descent of GAR from β^2—rather than from one of Crane's transcriptions—is proved by (a) Brooke's inclusion of Thomas Carey's "Psalm 91" (a poem absent from H69), by (b) Brooke's recording the entirety of Davison's "Psalm 86" (whereas H33 omits line 4 of that poem), and by (c) Brooke's sharing with H69 and H33 the reading "gratefull" (where RP61 gives "joyful") in Davison's "Psalm 30," l. 18). And that all four of these manuscripts omit the metrically necessary "statelie" in Davison's "Psalm 79," line 4, establishes their common derivation from β^2 (see Appendix F).

those of the β^2 copyist), though that is impossible to prove certainly and in at least one case seems to me unlikely. That the β^2-derived transcriptions preserve the Psalm in its last stage of transmission, of course, renders the genetic-perseverance criterion inoperable, and—with one exception—none of these variants exhibits the distinctive traits of a change that only the author himself could imaginably have imposed. It might be argued, for example, that the active-voice "vp we hoong" in line 14 is preferable to the LRH^2's passive "vp weare hunge" because grammatically closer to the Geneva-King James's "we hanged our harps," but—either deliberately or inadvertently—the compositor of A also made this very change (see Figure 3); and line 6's alteration of "the Temple" to "thy Temple" actually seems to weaken the poem's semantic coherence, since it leaves the possessive pronoun without a grammatically appropriate referent. The single change that clearly meets the criterion of a genuine authorial alternative and distinguishes the text preserved by β^2 as Davison's fourth and final version of the Psalm is line 31's "Salem," which replaces the "Syon" used in all of Davison's earlier versions (and, in the possessive form "*Sions*," in three previous lines of this revision), climactically marking the poem's first direct address to the devastated city and—for the first time among his repeated reworkings of this material—bringing the poem into conformity with the wording of the received translations of the Bible, all of which replace earlier references to "Syon" with an apostrophe to "Ierusalem" here in verse 5.

VII. "sing vs some Layes": the Sidneian burden of "Psalme 137"

In a statement that might well have been written with Francis Davison specifically in mind, Hannibal Hamlin sums up his landmark study of the impact of Psalm 137 on the culture of Renaissance England by observing that in its provision of "a source of consolation for a variety of situations of exile, alienation, loss, and estrangement, according to the religious and political views or the personal circumstances of the interpreters," the poem "particularly appealed to writers, since it represented the condition of exile in terms of loss of voice and skill, the inability to *sing*" (p. 254). At least two particular "political" and/or "personal" issues for which Davison would have found "By Euphrates flowry side" an apt vehicle of protest and indictment are traced in the

discussion above: one is the anger and sense of betrayal he felt at Elizabeth's scapegoating of his father in the affair of the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, which—as McCoy points out (p. 226)—is figured among the opening pastorals of the 1602 *Poetical Rapsody* ("I. Eglogve," ff. B10-C3) in the lament of the faithful shepherd Eubulus, who for "fifteene yeeres" (i. e., since 1587—the year of William Davison's disgrace) has found "all . . . [his] seruice, faith, and patient mind" repaid with nothing but the "burning-hot Disdaine" of his mistress Astrea.[56] The second issue, of course, involves the legal and royal roadblocks to the independent publication of Psalm translations, which not only thwarted his entrepreneurial ambition to put the Sidneian Psalms into print (see Figure 1), but also—judging from the modest number of translations he eventually completed (12% of the Biblical total)—seems to have chilled his own ardor for that project as well.[57]

Unlike such translators as Sir John Oldham (who paraphrased Psalm 137 only) or Richard Crashaw (who translated just two—Psalms 23 and 137), Davison did not make "Psalme 137" physically conspicuous by versifying it solely, of course, but embedded it in a larger assortment of 18 translations (and it was even less noticeable among the larger

---

[56] Secretary Davison's political career is described in the *ODNB* entry by Simon Adams, which also offers a detailed account of Davison's role in the Queen of Scots matter, concluding that in an orchestrated show trial "Davison was persuaded to forgo his innocence, justify Elizabeth . . . , and suffer only nominally [i.e., retaining his salary and certain other "emoluments and profits of office]," but—despite his own appeals to both Elizabeth and James, the sustained advocacy of the Earl of Essex, and the widespread perception that he was an "unconvincing" scapegoat—died in disgrace 23 years later, never having obtained the exoneration of "restoration to office" (12-13). See also McCoy, 216-17.

[57] We can only speculate as to the exact impact of the failure of the Sidney Psalms project on Davison's planned career as a publisher and writer. In the *Rapsody*, his prefatory "To the Reader" concludes with the hope that "ere long" he will be able to follow it with "some grauer Worke [A4v]," but whether he had then in mind the Sidneian Psalms specifically—or indeed any particular project—is unclear. In any case, after bringing out an enlarged and corrected *Rhapsody* in 1608—the last edition of that work in which he was directly involved (see Rollins , p. [75])—his life fell into an "obscurity" that Nicolas later characterized as "impenetrable" (p. iii).

collection of 45 Psalms eventually gathered in the Crane manuscripts). The poem is nevertheless distinguished prosodically from the surrounding Psalms and endowed with particular significance by its employment of the "Davisonian staffe"—the unique stanzaic pattern rooted, as shown above, in the Sidneian soil of the early pages of the *Rapsody*—and by its verbal and thematic links to one of his only two other uses of that form in the collection—the introductory "Come Vrania, heauenly Muse," to which it stands in an antiphonal relationship much like that of the earlier "Strephons Palinode" to the pastoral Urania's "Answer."

Structurally, "Come Vrania" occupies a position in Davison's collection analogous to that of the Countess of Pembroke's "Even now that care," written to accompany the planned presentation of the Sidneian Psalms to queen Elizabeth at Wilton House in 1599 (see fn. 20 above); substantively, however, two poems could hardly be more different. As Hannay *et. al.* point out, "Even now" continues a tradition—"assiduously cultivated" by the Tudors—of "identifying the monarch as a symbol of piety" who both "receiv[es] and disseminat[es]" the scripture and for whom Psalm translations constitute a "particularly appropriate" gift because "they were believed to have been written by a king, David" (*Collected Works*, I, pp. 91-92 and *passim*). Accordingly, after an opening apology for presuming to divert the queen's attention from crucial affairs of state with a gift of "Rimes" and a plaintive biographical reflection on her and her brother's division of labor in preparing the Psalm translations, Pembroke characterizes the Sidneys' Psalms as merely a "small parcell" of an "undischarg[able]" debt that they owe to the queen and extolls Elizabeth as the very author and proprietor of English, who in accepting the Sidneys' translations merely receives back her "owne" (41), one whose "brest" enshrines the "Muses . . . memories" and "Wit" and "Art" and "all that is divine" (45-47) and who serves as a "meet . . . Patrones" for both "Authors state" and "writings argument" (51-52). She then elaborates an extensive roster of parallels illustrating the superiority of Elizabeth's reign to that of king David and concludes with the prayer that Elizabeth herself may, like David, "Sing what God doth, and doo what men may sing" (96). Written some 10 to 15 years later, when the Countess's aspirations had long since fallen into limbo, "Come Vrania"—a poem preeminently about *singing*—systematically dismantles this Sidneian agenda. Davison begins

by invoking the "heavenly Muse" Urania (now translated from her former classico-pastoral setting) to "infuse" his "Invention" with "sacred Flame" and to sing a "lay" audible to an audience of "Angells," pledging the collaboration of his own "Powres of Soule, and Bodie" in the creation of a music "Sweet, and full . . . [of] pleasure." He next raises the possibility of dedicating this music to the monarch ("the King" or "Prince *Charles*"), only to reject it in favor of composing "Hymnes of Praise; Psalmes of Thancks-giving" to the one sovereign to whose "grace, and powre" he credits his very existence—"*Iohouah*." The author of the hymns he then identifies as David ("*Israels* sweete, and roiall Singer") and their original language as "Hebrew," averring that they were first sung before the "heavenly Quire" and augmented by the "Orbs Celestial" in a cosmic music whose "pleasure" is inconceivable to earthly ears. Addressed to the King of Heaven in His trinitarian nature ("Sacred triple Maiestie, / one in three"), the prayer with which this poem concludes expresses the "desire" that, upon its eventual release from the "Gaole" of the "Bodie," the poet's soul may be allowed to "sing" in that same "blest Quire."[58]

"By Euphrates flowry side" responds to the promises and aspirations of "Come Vrania" in both general and specific ways. The principal English prose translations of the Psalm available—in the Great (1539), Geneva (1560), Bishops' (1568), Rheims-Douay (1610), and King James (1611) Bibles—range from 163 to 174 words in length, averaging 167; and the metrical renditions to which he had access—William

[58] For a full transcription of "Come Vrania," see Appendix B. Historico-bibliographical evidence indicates that Davison's knowledge of the circumstances of Pembroke's planned presentation to the queen—and therefore his acquaintance with "Even now that care"—dates from very near the time of Elizabeth's proposed visit in 1599. The opening pages of the 1602 *Rapsody* contain the first printing of a second poem written by the countess in praise of Elizabeth—"A Dialogve *betweene two shepheards*, Thenot *and* Piers, *in praise of* Astrea"—whose subtitle identifies its author as "*the excellent Lady, the Lady* Mary *Countesse of* Pembrook" and-- tactfully declining to name Wilton or spell out the date in full—specifies the occasion of the poem as that of "*the Queens Maiesties being at her* [Pembroke's] *house at* [blank space] *Anno* 15[blank space] (sig B5)." For a discussion of the dating of this poem, see Hannay, p. 82.

Whittingham's (printed in Sternhold-Hopkins [1562]), Pembroke's (in manuscript, mid 1590s), and Campion's (printed 1612-13)—use 224, 263, and 158 words, respectively. The 315 words of Davison's 11 poetic stanzas roughly double the word-count of the prose versions and exceed the average length of the poetical versions (215 words) by about a third, producing what he characterizes in the above-cited letter (see B14 in Figure 5) as a "p[*ar*]aphrase" not "strictly [tyed] to the Originall," its innovative and allusive vocabulary (as well as his use of the "staffe," of course) bespeaking the marshaling of his full "Powers of soul and body" for the composition of what turns out to be his most skillfull and memorable translation—a jeremiad powerfully lamenting, ironically, the death of song and calling down horrible vengeance upon the heads of those responsible for it. Besides introducing about six dozen words not found in the above-cited group of texts,[59] the poem's language reflects Davison's strategic positioning of his effort vis-à-vis not only "Come Vrania," but also the various Biblical translations and the poetic renditions of Wittingham and Pembroke as well (there is no certain indication that he had actually seen Campion's score). The Biblical translations divide into 3 strands of transmission over their handling of a textual crux at the end of verse 5, where the Hebrew gives *tiškāḥ yĕmînî* ("let it forget . . . my right [hand]"), merely implying which organ is intended and the organ's intended action, thus leaving translators to complete the sense according to their own lights.[60] Following Jerome's

[59] Among others, these include (cited by line nos.; italics not reported): "Euphrates," "flowry" (1); "Iudah," "absented" (3); "tearing," "mournful" (4); "Streame augmented" (6); "dolefull State" (7); "desolate" (l. 8); "Burned," "enthralled" (9); "Temple spoiled" (10); "vntun'd, vnstroong" (13); "greene" (15); "scorne" (17); "prowd Spoilers," "deride" (18); "sad," "Groanes" (19); "Moanes" (20); "Ruynes bury" (21); "bewaile" (32); "Affliction" (33); "nimble Ioynts" (34); "parched" (39); "reioyce" (41); "renewed" (42); "plague," "traitrous kind" (43); "revell'd" (45); "kill" (46); "pride" (50); "flowing, fall," "turning" (51); "thrall" (52); "low," "ebb," "Mourning" (54); "without," "Mercie" (57); "tender Barnes" (61); "Armes" (62); "Mothers tearing" (63); "ruthles" (65); "besmearing" (66).

[60] In the Biblical Hebrew, correct order most often dictates that the subject follow the verb. And Hebrew often personifies organs, as in this instance. In modern translations, the relevant verb is often emended ("let my right hand wither"), given different vowels (" . . . be forgotten"), or supplied with an

Vulgate ("in oblivione sit dextera mea"), both the Great Bible and the later Rheims-Douay here read "let my right hand *be forgotten*"; the Bishops' Bible and—echoing it—the King James Version expand the Hebrew to "let my right hand forget *her cunning* [responding in part to the fact that the Hebrew word for "hand" is feminine]." The Geneva translators, however, specifically link the hand's hypothetical amnesia to the Psalm's focus on the loss of musical capacity, recording "let my right hand forget *to play*," and this rendition begets Wittingham's "let my fingers quite forget/ the *warbling harpe* to guide" (ll. 19-20) in Sternhold-Hopkins.[61] Perhaps for reasons of policy, the Countess of Pembroke opts for a version closer to that sanctioned by the Bishops, although she substitutes "skill" for "cunning" and regenders the pronoun (producing "forgett his skill" [l. 19]); Davison, however, for both thematic and—I suggest—political reasons (see below) aligns himself with the protestant version, in line 36 adopting "warbling harpe" from Wittingham ("to touch *Warbling Harp* vnable"). He also echoes Geneva (as does Pembroke in the first of two references to the city) in styling the conqueror's city "Babel" (rather than "Babylon"), employing a "traditional conflation" of the two names (see Hamlin, "Culture," 245) in order to exploit the conventional equation of Babel with pride—a sin for which he alone, among all translators, explicitly condemns the Babylonian destroyers (see ll. 18 ["our *prowd* Spoilers gan deride vs"] and 49-51 ["thou Babell, when the Tide / of thy *pride* / now a flowing, falls to turning . . ."])—and to identify the death of song under the Babylonians typologically with the original confusion of languages at Babel.[62]

---

object. For this transliteration and information on the workings of the Hebrew, I am endebted to the kind instruction of Jack Sasson.

[61] The reliance of the Sternhold-Hopkins compilers on the Geneva translation, which appeared two years before publication of *The Whole Booke of Psalms*, is further demonstrated by their verbatim replication of Geneva's lengthy headnote to the psalm.

[62] The Genevan glosses on Gen. xi: 1-9, which records the story of the tower of Babel, describe the builders as "moued w^{t} pride and ambition" and characterize the consequent "plague of the confusion of tōgues" as "Gods horrible iudgemēt against mans pride and vaine glorie" (sigs. b.1.-b.1.v).

The conceit of Davison's opening stanza—that the "Streams" of the exiles' tears "augmented" the "Streame" of the "Euphrates," whose life-giving moisture nurtures the river's "flowry side"—is obviously reminiscent of Pembroke's imagination that the Israelites' tears compounded the volume of the water to a fruitful effect—

> Nigh seated where the river flowes,
> That watreth Babells thanckfull plaine,
> Which then our teares in pearled rowes
> Did help to water with their raine, . . . (ll. 1-4).[63]

And the adoption of several other unique locutions from Pembroke's translation (some in slightly altered form) serves further to position "By Euphrates flowry side" as a successor to that translation, enabling Davison both to draw on the power of Pembroke's linguistic ingenuity and to provide her (and the larger Sidneian translation project) a stake in the success of his own poem. In addition to the above-mentioned "**skill**" of the "right hand" (in Pembroke, l. 19), which reappears in Davison as an attribute of the tongue ("Let my Tongue loose Singing-*skill*" [l. 37]), these borrowings include the following (items boldfaced and italicized for ease of reading): "**mute**" (Dav.: "our *mute* Harps [13]"; Pem.: "let my tongue . . . / . . . ly *mute*" [21-22]; "**Salem** [for *Ierusalem*, found in all the Bibles]" (Dav: "No, deere *Salem*" [31]; Pem.: "If . . . / . . . ought I do, but *Salem* sing" [24-25]); "**touch**" (Dav.: "to *touch* Warbling Harp" [36]; Pem.: "our harpes . . . /. . . [hanged] *untouched*" [6-7]; also "Come Vrania": "to heare *touch'd*" [30]); "**still**" and "**glewed**" (Dav. "let my Tongue . . . / . . . *still*/ to my parched roofe be *glewed*" [37-39]; Pem.: "lett my tongue fast *glued still*/ Unto my roofe ly mute" [21-22]); "**voice**" (Dav.: "if in either Harpe, or *voice* / I reioyce" [40-41]; Pem.: "we have nor *voice*, nor hand" [15]"; "**victor**" (Dav.: "*Victor* now, shalt then be thrall" [52]; Pem.: "Did thus the bloody *victors* whett" [29]); and—in an ironic echo of Psalm 34: 8 ("O taste and see that the Lord is good"—KJV)—"**taste**" (Dav.: "And shall make thee *tast* and see/ What by Thee/ wee (poore Wee) have seene, and *tasted*" [58-60]; Pem.: "Like bitterness shall make thee *tast*" [37]). Among all these echoes, of particular significance is designation of the songs to be sung as "**layes**"

---

[63] Hamlin describes this commingling as "pouring water into water" and credits Pembroke as the "first to exploit" the notion ("Culture," 226).

(Dav: "To your Harps sing vs some *Layes*" [22], "Can we in this Land sing *Laies*" [28]; Pem: "Come sing us now a Sion *lay*" [14]), a word with which Davison's history reaches back to the pastoral world of the *Rapsody* and of which this is the sole occurrence within the 150 translations of the Sidneian psalter. In the only other occurrence of the word in the textual corpus here under examination, it is for a "*lay*" that the poet entreats the Muse in "Come Vrania" ("Sing so loud that angels may/ Hear thy *lay*" [4-5]); appellation of the songs of the exiles as "*Layes*" thus ensures that "Psalme 137," so heavily infused with Sidneian matter and spirit, will be understood as a response to that introductory poem as well.[64]

After devoting two full six-line stanzas to the 15 words used by the Genevan translators of Psalm 137:1, Davison's point of greatest dilation in "By Euphrates flowry side" occurs at the end of the poem, where the 33 words in verses 8 and 9 are rendered in three stanzas totalling 90 words,[65] these latter numbers suggesting how zealously he embraced the realization that Psalm 137 both "sanction[ed]" and "offer[ed] a model for vengeful cursing" (Hamlin, "Psalm Culture," p. 254). There is much to unpack in these final stanzas—they contain about twenty-five percent of the new vocabulary that Davison has added to the above-cited lexicon of psalmic text, e.g.—but for the present argument I shall attend to only a single tercet in the final stanza: "Happy, Who thy

---

[64] In the 1602 *Poetical Rapsody* "layes" are mentioned in A. W.'s "III. Eclogve . . . *vpon the death of Sir Phillip Sidney*" ("aduance thy mournfull layes" [l. 36, sig. C4]; "layes of sweete delight" [l. 72, sig. C5]) and in I. D.'s [John Davies's] "A Hymne in prayse of Musicke" ("If ioyous pleasure were not in sweet layes" [l. 15, sig. K2]; "the pleasing profit of sweet layes" [l. 39, sig. K2v]). The 1608 second edition records one further use of the term is Davison's own "Complaint/ Of which all the staues end with the/ *words of the first* . . . " (. . . so *Philomele* . . . Doth day and night her mournfull layes encrease" [ll. 29-31, sig. 4v]). The only other appearance of the word among Davison's poems occurs in line 57 of his "Psalme 30" ("but sing sacred Laies for ever")—a poem, as noted in footnote 25 above, also linked to Sidneian practice through its intermingling of trochaic and iambic meters within each stanza.

[65] "By the riuers of Babel we sate, and there we wept, when we remembred Zion. [vs. 1] . . . O daughter of Babel, worthie to be destroied, blessed *shal he be* y^{r} rewardeth thee, as thou hast serued vs. [vs. 8] Blessed *shall he be* that taketh & dasheth thy children against the stones. [vs. 9]"—Geneva translation.

tender Barnes/ from the Armes/ of their wayling- Mothers tearing . . ." (61-63). Although Davison elsewhere rhymes "like" with "seek" (in "Psalme 79," ll. 67-68) and "tarried" with "unbarred" (in "Psalme 96," ll. 21-22)—both of which instances, at least to modern ears, seem slightly out of tune—his rhymes are otherwise unfailingly true, and matching of "Barnes" with "Armes" here is one of only two instances (the other being the "began"-"stand" pairing in "Psalme 73," ll. 9-10) in which he settles for mere assonance. The inexactitude of this rhyme, I think, is deliberate, intended to focus attention on a passage in which Davison tendentiously chooses the name "Barnes" to refer to the infants whose "Braines and blood" he imagines as "besmearing" the "Walls" against which their "Bones" are to be "dash[ed]." In arguing against Donne's authorship of "Psalm 137" in favor of Davison's in 1873 (see section I above), Grosart opined that "Barnes" was "foreign to Donne" (2:xxvi), thereby implying that the word was *not* foreign to Davison. If by "foreign" Grosart meant "not otherwise used by," he was right about Donne, but he was essentially wrong about Davison, who also *never elsewhere* employs this lection. Indeed, among the entire body of translations of Psalm 137 surveyed by Hamlin ("Psalm Culture," *passim*)—which includes not only the 8 (both prose and verse) cited above, but also versions by Francis Bacon (1625), the Kirk of Scotland [*The Psalmes of David in meeter*; adopts Sternhold-Hopkins] (1630), George Wither (1632), Phineas Fletcher (1633), Francis Quarles (1635), John Saltmarsh (1636), George Sandys (1636), King James I [William Alexander] (1637), Jeremy Taylor (1644), Richard Crashaw (1646), Henry King (1651), Thomas Carew (1655), Edmund Elys (1655), Sir John Oldham (1676), and John Norris (1687)—the word "Barnes" is unique.[66]

---

[66] (a) An initial excursion into the lexicon of these translations, to which I am much indebted, was carried out in the fall of 2009 by my student Brittany A. Henry, *née* Swihart, who prepared a comparative vocabulary analysis of Donne and Davison based on the online *Complete Concordance to the Poems of John Donne* (http://digitaldonne.tamu.edu/resources/completeconc/index.html) and her own newly created concordance to the various renditions of Psalm 137 cited by Hamlin. For the present study I have vetted the data anew and expanded the scope of the study to include a few additional printed renditons of the Psalm, all manuscript versions of Davison's Psalms, and the texts of all poems in the 1602 and 1608 *Poetical Rhapsodies*. (b) The appelations used by these translators

It is also—as noted by Brooke, who alone of editors/commentators other than Grosart glosses the term—Scottish ("Babes: *Scotice*, bairns" [p. 273]), and those who have followed the discussion above will have anticipated the final turn of my argument: as he surveyed the decayed circumstances of his life and career in the period following the early success of the *Rapsody*, including the demise of his plans to promote the Sidneian literary heritage in which he was so deeply invested, the Muse—in words he might have chosen himself—"fire[d]" Davison's "Invention" to discover in this dialectal variant a means of directing the horrible curse legitimized by this Psalm against the one figure whose entry into the arena of Psalm translation was most responsible for scotching his own ability to compete—the Scotsman James Charles Stuart, King James VI of Scotland and James I of "Great Britain and Ireland."

University of Southern Mississippi, Emeritus

for the children referred to in verse 9 are as follows: (1) *children/children's*: Great Bible (which supplied the text for the various issues of The Book of Common Prayer), Geneva Bible, Sternhold-Hopkins, Bishops' Bible, Bacon, Kirk of Scotland, Wither (ver. 2), Sandys, Taylor, Crashaw; (2) *little ones*: Sidney, Douay-Rheims Bible, King James Bible, James I/Alexander, King; (3) *babes:* Campion, Wither (ver. 1); (4) *infants*: Carew, Oldham; (5) *brats*: Fletcher.

Appendix A

(The text below is diplomatically transcribed from Harley ms. 6930, the earliest of the three collections of Davison's psalms "manuscribed" by the poet and professional scrivener Ralph Crane. Crane's italic forms are fairly easy to recognize, but distinguishing his majuscule *w*s and *l*s from their minuscule counterparts is frequently a matter of uncertainty. To the transcription is affixed a reduced apparatus listing all verbal and metrically significant variants in the seventeenth-century artifacts, as well as noting subscriptions/attributions and the numbering system—whether by poetic stanza or biblical verse—employed in the various copies.)

Psalme. 137. (aliter)

1. By *Euphrates* flowry side
we did bide
from deare *Iudah* far absented
tearing th' Aire with mournfull Cries,
and our Eies
with their Streames, the Streame augmented

When poore *Sions* dolefull State
desolate
Sacked, Burned, and enthralled
and thy *Temple* spoild (which we
neu'r should see)
to our mirthles mindes we called.

2. Our mute Harps, vntun'd, vnstroong
vp we hoong
on greene Willowes neere beside vs.
3. When we sitting so for-lorne
thus in scorne
our prowd Spoilers gan deride vs

Come, sad Captives, leave your Groanes,
and your Moanes
vnder *Sions* Ruynes bury!
To your Harps sing vs some Layes
in the praise
of your *God*, and let's be merry.

4. Can, ah can we leave our Groanes
and our Moanes
vnder *Sions* Ruynes bury?
Can we in this Land sing Laies
to the praise
of our God, and here be merry?

5. No, deere *Salem*, if I faile
to bewaile
thine Affliction miserable,
Let my nimble Ioynts become
stiffe and nombe
to touch Warbling Harp vnable.

6. Let my Tongue loose Singing–skill,
let it still
to my parched rooffe be glewed
if in either *Harpe*, or voice
I reioyce
till thy Ioyes shalbe renewed.

7. *Lord*, plague *Edoms* traitrous kind
beare in mind
in our Ruyne how they revell'd,
kill, Sack, Burne, they cride out still
Sack, Burne, kill,
downe with All, let all be levell'd.

8. And thou *Babell*, when the Tide
of thy pride
now a flowing, falls to turning,
Victor now, shalt then be thrall
and shalt fall
to as Low an ebb of Mourning.

9. happy man, Who shall thee Wast
as thou hast
vs, without all Mercie, wasted,
And shall make thee tast, and see
what by Thee
Wee (poore Wee) have seene, and tasted.

Happy, Who thy tender Barnes
from the Armes
of their wayling-Mothers tearing
'gainst the Walls shall dash their Bones,
rutheles Stones 65
with their Braines and blood besmearing.

finis.|. / »Fr:D:«

Symbols and abbreviations used in the historical collation:

∼ = base word
→ = changed to
›...‹ = change or insertion in the scribal hand
»...« = change or insertion in a second or later scribal hand
Σ = all sources not otherwise cited

Copy-text: H69 (*unemended*). **Texts collated (*Donne Variorum* sigla used where available): A29** (BL ms. Add. 29427, *ll. 1-12 only*, ff. 20v-21v); **B13** (BL ms. Add. 25707, ff. 16v-17v); **B14** (BL Add. ms. 27407, f. 65r-v); **C1** (CUL ms. Add, 29, f. 5r-v); **E13** (Bod. ms. Eng. misc. e. 13, f 10r-v); **H33** (BL ms. Harley 3357, ff. 59v-61v); **H69** (BL ms. Harley 6930, pp. 101-04); **O34** (Bod. ms. Rawlinson Poet. 117, ff. 267r-266r[rev.]); **O43** (Bod. ms.Tanner 466, f. 17r-v); **RP61** (Bod. ms. Rawlinson Poet. 61, ff. 62r-64); **A** (1633 *Poems*, pp. 157-[61]); **B** (1635 *Poems*, pp. 345-48); **C** (1639 *Poems*, pp. 345-38: **D** (1649 *Poems*, pp. 327-30); **E** (1650 *Poems*, pp. 327-30); **F** (1654 *Poems*, pp. 327-30); **G** (1669 *Poems*, pp. 322-25); **BR** (William T. Brooke, ed., *Divers Selected Psalms in Verse . . . by Francis and Christopher Davison, Joseph Bryan, Richard Gipps, and T. Carey* [1888], pp. 273-75).

HISTORICAL COLLATION

Headings: Psalme. 137. B13 C1 O34 A-G. the 137th Psalme. B14.
Psal. 137. (H33. Psalme. 137. (aliter) H69 RP61.
PSALME CXXXVII / Super Flumina. BR *om* A29.

3 absented] exempted O34

4 th'] the A29 B13 C1 E13 O34 O43 A-G BR. with mournfull] ~ our B13 B14 C1 E13 O43 A-G.

5 and] whilst A29

6 their Streams] the ~ B13(»→ ~ ~«) C1. *2nd* the Streame] his streames A29 B14 O34; his ~ B13 C1 E13 O43 A-G;

9 enthralled] enthrald B13 C1 E13 O43 A-G.

10 thy Temple] H33 H69 RP61 BR; o^{r} ~ B14; the ~ Σ.

11 neu'r] near B13 C1 O34 B-G; Ne'r A; Ne'are A29 O43; nere B14 H33; Ne're BR. should] shall A29 O34.

12 mindes] minde A29 E13. called] cal'd B13 C1 E13 O43 A-G.

14 vp we] ~ were B13 B14 C1 O34.

15 on] »one→vpon« C1.

16 When] Wher B13 B14 C1 E13 O43 A-G. so for-lorne] H33 H69 O34 RP61 BR; all ~ Σ.

19 Groanes] mones B13 C1 E13 O43 A-G.

20 Moanes] grones B13 C1 E13 O43 A-G.

22 To your Harps sing vs some] H33 H69 O34 RP61 BR; Tune ~ ~, & sing us Σ.

23 in the praise] to ~ ~ B14 E13 O34 RP61.

25 ah can] ô ~ B14 O34. Groanes] mones B13 C1 E13 O34 O43 A-G.

26 Moanes] grones B13 C1 E13 O34 O43 A-G.

28 this] y^{e} E13.

29 to] in B13 C1 E13 O43 A-G.

31 Salem] H33 H69 RP61 BR; syon Σ. I] wee B14. faile] H33 H69 O34 RP61 BR; yet Σ.

32 to bewaile] H33 H69 O34 RP61 BR; doe forget Σ.

34 my] o^{r} B14.

35] nombe] H33 H69 RP61; numb BR; num Σ.

37 *line om* B14.

38 let it still] Lett o^{r} partched Tongues bee glued B14.

39 to my parched rooffe be glewed] To our Rooffes B14.

41 I] Wee B14.

42 Ioyes] ioy B14.

43 plague] H33 H69 O34(blague) RP61 BR; curse Σ. traitrous] traterous B13 C1 E13 O34 A-G.

45 Ruyne] H33 H69 RP61 BR; ruines Σ.

46 *line scribally inserted in l. marg.* B14. kill, Sack, Burne] sack, kill, burne B13 C1 E13 O43 A-G. Sack, burne, kill B14. cride] cryed B13 C1 O34 BR.

47 *line scribally inserted in l. marg.* B14.

48 *line scribally inserted in l. marg.* B14. let] till B14.

51 falls to] growes ~ B13 C1 E13 O43 A-G; comes a B14; ~ a O34.

52 shalt] shall B13(›→ ~‹) B14 C1 E13 O43 A-G.

53 shalt] shall B13(»→ ~«) B14 C1 E13 O43 A-G.

54 of] in B14.

55 *line om* B14. happy man] ~ he B13 C1 E13 O43 A-G.

56-58 *lines om* B14.

59 *line om* B14. by Thee] poor we B13 C1 E13 O43 A-G; from ~ O34.

60 *line om* B14. wee (poore wee)] By thy meanes B13 C1 E13 O43 A-G.

61 thy] the B14.

64 walls] wall E13. shall] *om* B13 C1.

Subscriptions/attributions: Martin Pierson: Ba: Mu: A29 I. D. B13 C1. ffinis. B14. Iohn Donne E13. Fr: Da: H33 RP61. finis. / »Fr: D:« H69. »by D. onne.« [*to the right of the heading*] O34. Dr Donne pöem. p. 327. O43. *om* BR.

Stanza/verse numbering:

a) E13 O34 A-G: each poetic stanza numbered sequentially 1 through 11.

b) H33 H66 O43 RP61: each biblical verse numbered sequentially 1 through 9, as follows: vs.1. (at line 1); vs. *2* (at l. 13); vs. 3 (at l. 16); vs. 4 (at l. 25); vs. 5 (at l. 31); vs. 6 (at l. 37); vs. 7 (at l. 43); vs. 8 (at l. 49); vs. 9 (at l. 55--except O43 at l. 61).

c) A29 B13 C1 B14 BR: no numbering.

Appendix B

(Like the text of "Psalme 137" in Appendix A, the text below is diplomatically transcribed from Harley ms. 6930, the earliest of the three collections of Davison's Psalms "manuscribed" by Ralph Crane. It is here presented as a reading text for the convenience of readers.)

An Introduction to the
Translation of the
Psalmes

Come Vrania, heavenly Muse
and infuse
sacred Flame to my Invention:
Sing so lowd, that Angells may
heare thy lay
Lending to thy Note, attention.

Oh my Soule, beare thou a part
and my hart
with glad leapes, beate thou the Measure,
Powres of Soule, and Bodie meete
to make sweete,
Sweet, and full this Musicks pleasure.

But to Whom (Muse) shall we sing?
to the King?
or Prince *Charles*, our hope, and glorie?
To any great *Mecœna's* Fame?
or some Dame
proud of Beutie transitorie?

No, (Muse) to *Iohouah* now
we doe vowe
Hymnes of Praise; Psalmes of Thancks-giving[;]
by whose onely grace, and powre
at this howre

I doe breath among the living.

Hymns, w^ch^ in the Hebrew tongue
first were soonge
by *Israels* sweete, and roiall Singer
whose rich harpe th' heavenly Quire
did desire
to heare touch'd with his sweet Finger.

To which th' Orbs Celestiall
ioining all
made all Parts, so fully sounding,
as no thought, till Earth we leave
can conceave
aught, with pleasure so abounding.

Sacred triple Maiestie
one in three
Graunt, ô graunt me this desire,
when my Soule, of Bodie fraile
leaves the Gaole,
Let it sing in this blest Quire. |

finis. »Fr: D:«

Appendix C: Spurious Poems in C2, DT1, WN1, H6

UL= *Union First Line Index of English Verse*
(https://firstlines.folger.edu)
• nal= no author listed • pnf = poem not found

Heading	1st line/phrase	ff./pp.	author	Added in B
			JD=John Donne	
Spurious poems in C2				
none	The world's a bubble	f. 81r	UL: Francis Bacon	no
Lipps and eyes	In Celias face, a question did arise	f. 81v	UL: Thomas Carew	no
Of Frendshippe	Friendship on earth wee may as easily find	f. 82r	UL: R., W.	no
An Elegy on the death of the Countesse of Rutland	I may forgett to eate, to drink, to sleepe	ff. 82r-83v	UL: Francis Beaumont	no
An Elegy on the Lady Marchum	As Vnthrifts groane in Straw	ff. 83v-84v	UL: Francis Beaumont	no
On his Loues Inconstancy	O faithless world	f. 85r	UL: Henry Wotton	no
Verses on the Excellency of his Mi^{rs}	Excellent Mistris brighter then the Moone	f. 86r	UL: Thomas Forde	no
Spurious poems in DT1				
A Paradox	Who so termes Loue a fire	ff. 48v-49	UL:nal	no
none	Each woman is a Briefe of woman kind	ff. 136r-140v	UL: Thomas Overbury	no
Epitaph	The span of my dayes measur'd, here I rest	f. 142v	UL: Thomas Overbury	no
none	Shall I goe force an Elegie?	ff.142v-143	UL:John Roe	no
none	Dear Loue continew nice, & chast	ff. 143v-144	UL: JD; John Roe	no
none	The Sun wth doth the greatest comfort bringe	ff. 144-145	UL: Francis Beaumont	no
Spurious poems in WN1				
Verses made of y^{e} Lord Chancellor Viscount Saynt Albans	When you awake Dull Britaines, and behowld	pp. 208-214	UL: William Lewes	no
Verses made by S^{r} Iohn Luson of the Lady: M: Cooke	Nature and Heaven, did in thy birth aspire	pp. 215-16	UL: pnf [*see* HE]	no
none	Cruel beauty that engagest	pp. 216-17	UL: pnf	no
none	I sought in court where Cupids starrs appeare	pp. 217-18	UL:pnf	no
To my good Angell Assistant	Wounded all ore wthin, wiithout I came	pp. 218-19	UL:pnf	no
Spurious poems in H6				
On the blessed Virgin Mary	In that, ô Queene of Queenes thy birth was free	p. 15	UL: Henry Constable	yes
none	Nature amaz'd sawe man without man's ayde	pp. 18 - 20	UL: nal	no
Ode	Vengeance will sitt aboue our faults	p. 50	UL: JD; Edward Herbert	yes
Satyre	Men write that Loue and reason disagree	pp. 80 - 82	UL: JD; John Roe	yes
A Satyricall letter, To S.^{r} Nich. Smith*	Sleepe, next Society and true frindshipp	pp. 82 - 87	UL: John Roe	yes
Elegie	True Love finds wit	p. 143	UL: JD: John Roe	no

Appendix C (cont.)

Elegy	The greatest and the most conceal'd imposter	p. 146	UL: nal; Benjamin Ruddier†	no
Elegy / Fragment	Now why should Love a footeboyes place despise	p. 147	UL: JD; Benjamin Ruddier†	no
none	Believe not him whome loue hath made so wise	p. 148	UL: JD	no
none	Pure linke of bodies, where no lust controules	p. 148	UL: nal; Benjamin Ruddier†	no
Elegie	Who so termes Love a fire, may like a poet	p. 149	UL: nal	no
Elegy. To Chast Loue.	Chast Loue, let mee embrace thee in mine armes	p. 151	UL: nal	no
Vpon his scornfull Mistress. / Elegy.	Cruell since that thou dost not feare the curse	p. 152	UL: nal	no
Elegy.	Hee that cannot chuse but loue	p. 153	UL: JD	no
Elegie	Death bee not proude, thy hand gaue not this blowe	pp. 167-68	UL: Lucy (Harington) Russell	yes
Vpon the same M.rs Boulstred	Stay, view this stone, and if thou beest not such	p. 171	UL: Ben Jonson	no
none	Here do repose, but in lamented wast	p. 171	UL: Nicholas Hare	no
To Ben: Iohnson. 6 Ian. 1603.	The State and Mens affayrs are the best playes	p. 196	UL: John Roe	no
To Ben: Iohnson. 9 Nov.bris 1603.	If greate men wrong mee I will spare my selfe	p. 197	UL: JD; John Roe	yes
To S.r Tho. Rowe. 1603.	Deare Tom./ Tell her if shee to hired Seruants showe	pp. 212-13	UL: John Roe	yes
A Letter.	No want of duty did my mind possesse	p. 213	UL: nal	no
A Letter	Thou sendst me prose and rimes, I send for those	p. 214	UL: JD; Thomas Woodward	no
Sonnet	Madame that flea wch crept betweene yor brests	p. 256	UL: nal	no
The Hower Glasse	Do but consider this small dust	p. 276	UL: Ben Jonson	no
Sonnet	Stay ô sweete and doe not rise	p. 290	UL: JD; John Dowland	no
none	Dear Loue continew nice and chast	pp. 304 -05	UL: JD; John Roe	yes
Sonnet	If I freely may discouer	p. 305	UL: Ben Jonson	no
Song.	Now y'have killd mee with yor Scorne	p. 307	UL: nal	no
Song	Soules ioye, now I am gon	p. 308	UL: William Herbert	no
none	Absence, heare thou my protestation	p. 309	UL: John Hoskins	no
Song	Loue bredd of glaunces t'wixt amorous eyes	p. 310	UL: attr. John Donne	no
none	Loue if a god thou art	p. 312	UL: Francis Davison	no
none	Greate Lord of loue, how busy still thou art	p. 313	UL: nal	no
none	To sue for all thy Love, and thy whole hart	p. 314	UL: nal	no
On a Ladyes window looking towards the Thames	She that through glass sees water runne, doth see	p. 336	UL: nal	no
In Rabulam	Hinc te nec Satyrae nec saeua Epigrāmata mordent	p. 337	UL: pnf	no
Dubia in H6				
Elegie	I sing no harme, good sooth, to any wight	p. 140	UL: JD	yes
Elegy. Iulia	Harke newes, ô Enuy, Thou shalt heare descry'd	p. 150	UL: JD	yes

* subheading: Quere if Donnes or Sir Th: Rowes.

† fragments of a poem beginning "No praise it is that him who Python slew" assigned to Benjamin Ruddier in *Poems...by...Pembroke [and] Ruddier* (1660), pp. 7-11

Appendix D:
Canonical and non-canonical poems added in B-G

Canonical poems added	B	C	D	E-F	G	in H6*
Fare	√	√	√	√	√	√
Lect	√	√	√	√	√	√ + others
ElBrac	√	√	√	√	√	√ + others
ElPart *(42-ll. version)*	√	√	√	√	●	√
Julia (*dub.*)	√	√	√	√	√	√
Citizen (*dub* .)	√	√	√	√	√	√
HuntUn	√	√	√	√	√	●
ElFatal	√	√	√	√	√	√ + others
BedfCab (2)	√	√	√	√	√	√
Sidney	√	√	√	√	√	√
Tilman	√	√	√	√	√	√
Sickness	√	√	√	√	√	●
Libro	√	√	√	√	√	●
HSLittle	√	√	√	√	√	√
HSMade	√	√	√	√	√	√
HSSighs	√	√	√	√	√	√
HSSouls	√	√	√	√	√	√
Coryat	●	●	√	√	√	●
Token	●	●	√	√	√	√
Amic	●	●	●	√	√	●
GHerb	●	●	●	√	√	●
Gaz	●	●	●	√	√	●
SelfL	●	●	●	√	√	√
ElPart (*104-ll. version*)	●	●	●	●	√	√
ElProg	●	●	●	●	√	√ + others
ElBed	●	●	●	●	√	√ + others

Noncanonical poems added†	First line/phrase	B-C	D	E-F	G
Song	Soules joy, now I am gone	√	√	√	√
Song	Deaer Love continue nice and chaste	√	√	√	√
Eleg. XIII	Come, Fates; I feare you not	√	√	√	√
Satyre VI. [VII. in G]	Men write that love and reason	√	√	√	√
A Dialogue ...Wotton, and M[r] Donne	If her disdaine least change in you	√	√	√	√
To Ben. Iohnson, 6 Ian. 1603	The State and mens affaires	√	√	√	√
To Ben. Iohnson, 9. Novembris, 1603	If great men wrong me	√	√	√	√
To Sir Tho. Rowe. 1603	Dear Tom: Tell her if she to hired servants	√	√	√	√
Elegy on Mistris Boulstred	Death be not proud, thy hand gave not	√	√	√	√
On the blessed Virgin Mary	In that, ô Queen of Queens	√	√	√	√
Ode	Vengeance will sit above our faults	√	√	√	√
On the Sacrament	He was the Word that spake it	√	√	√	√
untitled	The heavens rejoyce in motion	●	●	√	√
Break of day	Stay, O sweet, and do not rise††	●	●	●	√
Satyre VI.	Sleepe next, Society and true friendship	●	●	●	√

√ = present
● = absent

*See DV vols. for setting texts of various poems.

† Does not include *Elegies Upon the Author* , other commendatory poems, or poems to and by the bookseller.

†† 4 ll. only, added to beginning of *Break.*

Appendix E: Davison's stanzaic forms
(Harl. 3357 copy-text)

Poem (vss. trans.)	Opening words	stzs, length	total ll.	rhyme scheme	meter	syllables	no. of Bib vss. A.V.	stz nos . align with Bib vs. no?
***An Induction**	"Come Vrania, heauenly Muse".	7, 6-ll stz .	42	aabccb	troch	7,3,8,7,3,8	x	xx
Psal. 1 (vss. 2,3 only)	"But makes Gods Lawe, his sweet delight" (v. 2)	4, 4-ll stz	16	abab	iamb	8,9,8,9	6	no
*Psal. 6	"Lord while thy iust Rage is biding"	10, 6-ll stz	60	aabccb	troch	8,8,5,8,8,5	10	yes
Psal: 13	"Lord, how long, how long wilt Thou"	9, 4-ll stz	36	abab	troch	7,8,7,8	6	yes
***Psal. 23**	"God, who the Vniuerse doth hold"	6, 6-ll. stz	36	aabccb	troch	7,3,8,7,3,8	6	yes
Psal. 23	"Great Iehouah daignes"	8, 6-ll stz	48	aabbcc	troch	5,5,5,5,6,6	6	no
Psal. 23.	"The Lord my Pastor is: He tends me heedfully"	10, 2-ll stz	20	aabb *etc*	iamb	12,12,12,12	6	no
Psal. 30	"Lord, to thee, while I am living"	12, 5-ll stz	60	aabbc	tr.(1-2); ia. (3-5)	8,8,10,4,5	12	no
Psal. 43	"I appeal (Ô Lord) to Thee"	17, couplets	34	aabb *etc* .	troch	7,7,7,7,7,7	5	no
Psal. 73 (vss. 1-5 only)	"Calm thy tempestuous Thoughtes, (My Mind)"	5, 5-ll stz	25	ababb	iamb	8,8,8,6,6	28	yes
*Psal. 79.	"Ô God, into thine owne deere Heritage"	13, 6-ll stz	78	aabccb	iamb	10,10,5,10,10,5	13	yes
Psal. 86	"To mine humble Supplication"	18, 4-ll stz	72	aabb	trochaic	8,8,7,7	17	no
Psal. 123	"With Miserie enclos'd"	5, 6-ll stz	30	aabbcc	iamb	6,6,6,6,6,6	4	no
Psal. 128	"Howsoere the World doth deeme-thee"	7, 4-ll stz	28	aabb	troch	8,8,7,7	6	no
Psal. 130	"From deepe Gulphes of Misfortune"	8, 4-ll stz	32	abab	iamb	7,6,7,6	8	yes
Psal. 131	"Ô Lord, My Mind puffd vp with Pride"	5, 4-ll stz	20	abab	iamb	8,9,8,9	3	no
Psal. 133	"What is so Sweet? So Amiable"	6, 4-ll stz	24	abab	iamb	9,6,9,6	3	no
***Psal. 137**	"By Euphrates flowry side"	11, 6-ll stz	66	aabccb	troch	7,3,8,7,3,8	9	no
Psal. 142	"With sobbing Voice, with drowned Eies"	9, 4-ll stz	36	aabb	iamb	8,8,8,8, etc.	7	no

***bf** = uses Davisonian "staffe"

Appendix F: The Crane Mss.

Along with similar information on another dozen works written and/or transcribed by Ralph Crane, T. H. Howard-Hill presents formal bibliographical descriptions, an inventory of spelling preferences, a catalogue of Crane's habits of inscription, and a comparative collation of the textual contents of H33, H69, and RP61 in his "Spelling-Analysis and Ralph Crane: a preparatory study of his life, spelling, and scribal habits" (unpublished dissertation, Victoria University, Wellington, NZ, 1960). A comprehensive formal account of these manuscripts is not required for the present essay, but—since their transcriptions of "Psalm 137" differ in only one substantive reading (in line 23 RP61 records "to [where the others give *in*] the praise," perhaps caused by an eyeskip to the identical phrase in line 29)—a discussion of pertinent bibliographical and lexical features is necessary in order to justify their respective locations on the stemma of "Psalme 137."[1]

Except that RP61 and H33 contain a translation of Psalm 91 by Thomas Carey omitted in H69, the psalmic content of the three manuscripts is identical, although RP61 and H33, each prepared for a specific patron, are composite artifacts containing devotional works not present in H69:

• **H69**, Crane's first manuscription of the Psalms (see below), opens with three prefatory poems—Davison's "An Introduction to the Translation of the Psalmes" ("Come Vrania, heavenly Muse"), Joseph Bryan's "An other Introduction" ("Rowse thyself, my high-borne Soule"), and William Bagnall's "An Introduction, to so many of the Psalmes, as are of M^{r}. Fra: Dauisons composure" ("Theis Psalmes, so full of holie meditation")—and continues with 44 metrical Psalm translations, including 18 by Davison himself, 22 by Joseph Bryan, and 2 each by Richard Gipps and Davison's brother Christopher (see

[1] Howard-Hill's comments on Crane's Davisonian mss. are dispersed throughout his various chapters, which are titled—but not numbered—and individually paginated. I here cite specific *loci* by chapter and page number, using the following abbreviated forms: "Life" (for "Ralph Crane's Life"), "Works" for ("Crane's Works"), and "Char." for ("Crane's Scribal Characteristics").

section "III. Francis Davison and Psalm Translation" above, especially footnote 22). Although Bryan's translation of "Psalme 3" is mistakenly entered between Gipps's rendition of "Psalme 6" and Bryan's "Psalme 8" and although the pages containing Davison's "Psalme 86," Bryan's "Psalme 93," and Bryan's "Psalme 107" are misordered in the current binding, causing a jumbling of the contents, the Psalms in this manuscript are otherwise recorded in logical numerical sequence. Except in three instances, in which the subscription is atypically omitted, each poem in the manuscript is subscribed "finis," and—apparently added by Crane after the fact—to the right of or below this marker, frequently in the page margin, appear initials identifying the author/translator of the poem (e.g., "Fr: D:," "Ios: Br:," "Rich. Gipps," "Chr. Dauison").[2] Three translations (of Psalms 43, 123, and 128) remain unattributed, though they are eventually assigned to Davison in either or both of the later manuscripts, and a version of "Psalme 142" (the second, labeled "aliter") beginning "With sobbing voice, with drownded Eies" is here ascribed to Davison, but later to Bryan (in RP61), and finally to Davison again (in H33).

• **RP61**, Crane's second manuscript, evinces some misordering of content in the current binding, and the intended overall arrangement

[2] H69 employs 8 attributive forms for Joseph Bryan, including "Ioseph Bryan," "Ios. Bry:," "Ios: Bryan.," "Io: Br.," "Ios: Br:," "Io: B.," "I. B.," and "Io: Bryan." Davison is signified with both "Fr: D:" (usually) and "F. D." (twice), while both mentions of Richard Gipps and Christopher Davison are signaled as shown in the main text above. RP61 uses "Fr: Da:," "Ios. Br.," "Rich Gipps," and "Chr: Da:" consistently throughout, as well as "W.^{m} Bagnal" and "Th. Carey" once each. Penned six years later, H33 credits Davison as "Fr: Da:" usually, but as "Fra: Da:" and "F. D." once each; Bryan most commonly as "Ios: Br:," but also as "Ioseph Brian" and "Ios: Brian" once each; Gipps as "Rich Gipps" in both instances; Christopher Davison as both "Christopher Davison" and "Chr: Da:"; and Bagnall and Carey as "W. Bagnall" and "T. Carey" once each, respectively. These discrepancies are noteworthy only in that the comparative inconsistency of the ascriptions in H69 supports the argument (presented below) that H69 represents Crane's first, tentative handling of the material. I agree with Nicolas that the ascriptions were not added as part of the initial transcriptions, but disagree that they are "not in the same autograph [i.e., Crane's] as the manuscript itself" (II. 321).

of the volume is unclear. The artifact opens with an ornamented title page—"Certain selected Psalmes of Dauid (in Verse) different from Those usually sung in the Church"—and "An Index of the seuerall Psalmes, here in conteined." Following those—on pages scribally numbered 1-7—appear the three introductory poems noted above (each more formally renamed an "Induction") and—on pages 8-32, in correct numerical order—the sequence of Psalms as in H69 up through line 37 of Davison's second translation of "Psalme 23" ("Great Iehouah daignes"). At this point, apparently displaced from its intended position at the initial item in a combined section of meditations and Psalms, appears an interpolated 12-folio unit comprising (a) a second ornamented title page (unnumbered) introducing "Meditations" by "W. Austin, esq^{r}" upon Job 17, verses 1 and 13, "Together with diuers selected Psalmes of Dauid, / (in Verse,) translated after a different / manner from Those usually soong in the / Churches) [parentheses *sic*] / by Fra: Dauison esq.^{r} deceased: & other Gent. / Manuscrib'd by R. Crane" and (b) a separately numbered, 22-page section containing Austin's two meditations, versified in pentametric couplets. The sequence of Psalms then continues in the original page numbering, beginning page 33 with line 38 of "23. Psalme (aliter)"; and the remaining translations follow as in H69 (except for the inclusion of the previously noted Carey translation in the proper numerical place), concluding on page 107 with the last two stanzas of Bryan's "Psalme 146" and marking the end of the Psalms with a centered "Finis" and a series of whirlwind flourishes. On pages scribally numbered in sequence with the foregoing ("108" and "109"), the collection of "Meditations" and "psalms" announced on the interpolated title page cited above closes with Austin's "An Hymne" ("What a gratious God haue Wee?")—here unascribed, but attributed to "W. A. esq^{r}" in H33 and apparently added here as an afterthought. In addition to the sectional title pages used to indicate content and authorship, Crane's design in RP61 includes neatly marking the end of each Psalm translation with attributive initials only ("Fr. Da.," "Ios. Br.," e.g.—except that numbers 43 and 123 remain unascribed), the definitive "Finis" being reserved for the conclusion of the collection on page 107.

To this collection of Psalms RP61 adds, in the following order, (a) an unnumbered, titled copy of Philip Massinger's "London's Lamentable Estate," subscribed "Finis Ph. M:"; (b) an ornamented title page

inscribed "Certaine / deuine Hymnes, or Carrolls / for / Christmas-daie" / Together with diuers deuout and Zealous / Meditations vpon / our Sauiours Passion, on / Good-Fridaie /[rule] Composed by W:[illiam] A:[ustin] Esquire. / written by R. C. / 1626"; (c) a dedicatory epistle "To his much-esteemed / good Frend, / M.r John Peirs"— dated "23. Oct. / 1626" and signed "Yours in all thanckfull / Readines. / Ra: Crane"; and (d), on pages scribally numbered 1-44 in a continuous sequence, the texts of the "Hymnes and Carrols," the "Meditations," and Crane's own "Sum̄arie, and true / Distinction betweene the / Lawe & ye Ghospel." Crane's dedication characterizes his present to Peirs as "This small Labor of mine," a description that seems more appropriate to the ensuing sequence of Austin hymns and meditations and Crane's own "Sum̄arie" than to the whole of RP61's contents (indeed, Howard-Hill would limit the reference to the eight-page "Sum̄arie" only ["Works," p. 16]). But however that is, at some stage in his preparation of a manuscript for Peirs, Crane clearly intended that 44-page module as the principal content to be included. It is not clear whether the aforementioned sections containing Austin's meditations on Job, the Psalms, and the Massinger poem originally accompanied this "small Labor" sent to Peirs or were subsequently added and eventually bound with it into a single, composite volume, but the introductory nature of Crane's dedicatory letter, bearing the October 1626 date, almost certainly places all the material in the volume—including the manuscription of the Psalms—no earlier than 1626.[3]

• **H33**, the most polished of Crane's three manuscripts containing Davison's Psalms, opens with a dedicatory epistle "To / the rightly-worthie of Titles of Worship. / S.r Francis Ashley, Knight. / One of his Ma.ties Serjeants at Law. etc." and bears the date "Decemb: 1632" beside Crane's characteristically spelled signature "Raph Crane" (see Wilson, p. 196). This is followed by an elaborately ornamented title page denominating the entire volume "A / Handfull of Celestiall /

[3] This judgment reflects my concurrence in Howard-Hill's assumption that since the copy-texts Crane transcribed "provided his livelihood," he must always have kept them "in his possession" and that "as soon as he had prepared a transcript he presented it to a patron," deriving "all poetical texts from the same copy-text" ("Char.," p. 21).

Flowers: . . . . Composed by diuers worthie & learned Gentlemen:" and "Manuscrib'd by R. Cr:" and accurately itemizing the order and contents of the manuscript as "1. Diuers selected Psalmes of Dauid, / (in Verse) differently translated from / those Vsed in the Church" (scribally paginated 1-125); "2. Diuers Meditations Vpon our Sauiors Passion" (by Austin, as in RP61; introduced by a separate title page and scribally paginated 1-33); "3. Certaine Hymnes, or Carrolls, for Christmas daje' (by Austin; as in RP61, except that "What a gratious God haue Wee" [as in RP61] is appended as a fourth ["another"] hymn, scribally paginated 34-40); "4. A diuine Pastorall Eglogue" (attributed to "T. Randolph gent." and scribally paginated 41-47); and "5. Meditations Vpon the 1. & 13.th Verses/ of y^{e} 17.th Chap. of Iob (Austin's, as in RP61, but here unattributed, unpaginated, and perhaps added as an afterthought). Like its predecessors, the collection of Psalms opens with the three aforementioned introductory poems (the first two—but not Bagnall's—again restyled "inductions") and contains the 45 translations as in RP61. Alone among Crane's Psalm manuscriptions, H33 attributes Psalms 43 and 123 (to "Fr: Da:), and—after being assigned to Bryan in RP61—"Psalme 142" is restored to "Fr: Da:," as in H69. Also as in RP61, each translation is attributed solely by the author's initials, a concluding "Finis" marking the end of the collection.

In his dedicatory epistle to Ashley, Crane comments directly on the relationship of the accompanying manuscript to other devotional collections that he has prepared and thus records, if only by implication as part of a more general statement, his only known remarks about his handling of the Davisonian Psalms. Conceding that nothing in the volume is his except the "Manuscription," he nevertheless aspires to win approval simply for purveying "y^{eis} *Rarieties*," just as "*Cookes* haue sometimes byn well, and thanckfully esteem'd, merely for ordering and Setting forth of other mens *Dishes*." He calls them "*Rarieties*," he explains, "as well, in regard of their Vertuous-Method, as of their In-Com̄unitie, (there not being three such any where extant; and not one (vnles surreptitiously gotten) but of my Pen:)" (parentheses *sic*). Individually and as a generic group, of course, the Psalms are included among the "*Rareties*," the "Cellestiall Flowers," that Crane commends distributively for their "Vertuous-Method." But the "*Rareties*" defined by their "In-Com̄unitie," averred to exist in only two copies, must be

RP61 and H33—the near-identical devotional anthologies prepared, respectively, for John Peirs in 1626 and the current one for Francis Ashley in 1632.[4]

For the absence of H69 from this group various reasons might be offered (that Crane forgot its existence, that he suppressed mention of it in order to enhance the alleged rarity of his gift to Ashley, e.g.), but to my mind the best explanation—and one that avoids aspersion of either Crane's memory or his honesty—is that he had not prepared H69 for presentation to a patron and never regarded it as a vehicle for dissemination of the Psalms. A number of the details in the foregoing description support this conclusion: (a) the manuscript contains no title page, table of contents, prefatory identification of the translators or of the copyist, or dedicatory epistle; (b) its contents are partly jumbled in the copying and –lacking Carey's translation of Psalm 91—incomplete (see the discussion below); (c) the conclusion of each Psalm is signalled with a separate "finis," which tends to atomize the artifact's contents rather than presenting them as parts of a collective whole; (d) the attributive initials at the end of each poem are added peripherally and in no settled, uniform format, the need for them apparently having been recognized at some point after the initial transcription. In sum, these features, which distinguish H69 from RP61 and H33, suggest that H69 represents Crane's first, somewhat rough attempt to impose a professional scribal style on an amateur collection of materials that had somehow come into his possession. From this observation, of course, follow questions about who supplied the collection to Crane, what the purpose of the transcription of H69 might have been, and what the bibliographical characteristics of the manuscript collection were.

Howard-Hill reasonably conjectures that these Psalms had been "provided by some friends of the Inns of Court" ("Life," 14), although

[4] It is unclear whether Crane's allusion to other, "surreptitously gotten" copies implies a specific suspicion or merely reflects his recognition that such piracy is always a possibility in the realm of manuscript circulation, but that Brooke derives Davison's Psalms from the unlocated Gardyne manuscript (see Figure 3 in the main article) indicates the validity of Crane's concern. And the manuscript of Davison's Psalms said by Nicolas (2: 321) to have been owned by the Marquess of Stafford—if it and the Gardyne manuscript be not one and the same—provides another example.

his account of the date of acquisition and of the order of the three transcriptions that Crane eventually prepared seems implausible. Noting that the line "O my deiected Spirit, rowse thy selfe" on signature $A8^{V}$ of Crane's 1621 *The Works of Mercy* echoes the line "Rowse thyself, my high-borne Soule" with which Joseph Bryan's "Introduction" to the Psalms opens, Howard-Hill correctly observes ("Works," 13) that this suggests "an acquaintance with . . . [the Psalms] much earlier than" 1626—the date of Crane's preparation of the volume for John Peirs (RP61), which Howard-Hill takes to be Crane's initial transcription of the poems, prepared shortly after Crane had lost employment transcribing dramatic texts (in about 1625) and received the collection of Psalms from friends in the Inns of Court ("Life," 13-14). Howard-Hill is led to view RP61 as Crane's first transcription of the Psalms and, correspondingly, to date H69 *after* the preparation of H33 in 1632 by a remarkable variant in the text of Joseph Bryan's partial translation (verses 23-32) of Psalm 107. Having enumerated a series of "wonders" and "works of the Lord" manifest to those "that go down to the sea in ships" (KJV, vss. 23-24), the Psalmist exclaims, "Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men! Let them exalt him also in the congregation of the people, and praise him in the assembly of the elders" (KJV, vss. 31-32). In RP61 and H33 Bryan's rendering of these verses, in a stanza numbered "31" in all 3 Crane manuscripts, reads as follows:

> 31. Oh therefore let Men never cease [55]
> Gods countles Mercies to expresse,
> with thanckfullnes;
> And show, that all the World may see
> What, and how mightie Wonders He [60]
> for the Sonnes of Men effecteth.

For "with thanckfullnes" in line 57, however, H69 gives "but them confesse," which Howard-Hill deems a "substitution . . . hardly . . . worthy of authorial interference [i.e., unlikely to have been concocted by the author]" and therefore likely the intervention of Crane himself. In explanation of this judgment Howard-Hill further opines that if Crane had purposely introduced such a "radical alteration [in penning his initial copy]," he would not likely have "disregard[ed] his own revision when making further transcripts of the text" ("Char.," 24).

Howard-Hill's solution to the problem he has thus framed is to posit the transcription of H69 *after* Crane's other two transcriptions of the Psalms, where its recasting of "with thanckfullnes" as "but them confesse" represents Crane's eventual discernment of how Bryan's translation ought to have read all along.

The central premise upon which this argument rests—that the reading "with thanckfullnes" must be solely the author's (a judgment apparently based on its numerical superiority), whereas the alternative "but them confesse" is an inferior scribal alteration—seems to me to get things exactly backwards.

In its exhortation that men would both "expresse" the Lord's "countles Mercies" (a use of "express" denoting "[t]o portray, represent" that, incidentally, can include "representing them" by such artistic forms as Psalm translations [*OED* II.5]) and "them confesse, / And show that all the world may see" God's "mightie Wonders" (a sense of "confesse" drawing on the meaning "avow formally, ...as an article of faith" [*OED* I.3]), the "but-them-confesse" version of this stanza reflects the poet-translator's close attention to the Psalmist's admonition that humans should not only privately "praise the Lord for his goodness" and "wonderful works," but "*also* [my italics]" publicly "exhalt him in the congregation" and "praise him in the assembly of elders." The "with-thanckfullnes" version leaves untranslated one half of this two-pronged injunction, replacing Bryan's nuanced response to the biblical original with a cliche locution from the vocabulary of psalmifying that any competent copyist could have supplied. In sum, I have no doubt that "but them confesse" is Bryan's original and only reading and that "with thanckfullnes" is Crane's trivialization, perhaps imposed in order to eliminate a mistakenly perceived redundancy in the exhortation that worshipers should not only "never cease/ God's countles Mercies to expresse," but also "them confesse."

• • • •

Howard-Hill's citation of the "with thanckfullness" / "but them confesse" crux appears amid a list of discrepant readings revealed by his collation of the 3 separate transcriptions of the Psalms included in H69, RP61, and H33, an expedient undertaken—in the absence of an "identified copy-text" for any work Crane transcribed—in an effort to

assess the scribe's accuracy and fidelity to source (see "Char.," 21-24). I have verified (and in a number of instances corrected and supplemented) his roster of variant readings and—in order to locate the missing Gardyne manuscript in relation to those prepared by Crane—have also compared the texts printed by Brooke. The results are presented in Chart F1, which also adds the single most stemmatologically significant variant in the entire body of Davison-Bryan translations—the hitherto-unnoticed omission in all of Crane's and in the Gardyne scribe's transcriptions of Davison's "Psalme 79" of a necessary word that, fortunately, is preserved in MC1—the only other surviving copy. Based on the 5499 extant lines of Crane's transcriptions (of 1843 lines of poetical text) of the Davison-Bryan translations, Chart F-1 lists roughly three dozen instances of lexical inconsistency, categorized by apparent cause of error, as follows:

a. Careless errors/memory lapses. This largest category includes common scribal slip-ups, ranging from the replacement of an article by a similarly spelled pronoun ("the" → "their" [as in JB1,2]) to the alteration of a singular to a plural ("way" → "Wajes" [as in JB 1, 25]) to the replacement of a word by a metrically equivalent synonymn or semantically appropriate word that inserts itself from the psalmic vocabulary ("grateful" → "ioyfull" [as in FD 30,10]; "numberless" → "manifold" [as in JB 65,12]). In the column of "Notes" at the right of the figure, I have labeled this latter form of substitution a "trivialization."

b. Omissions. Also errors of inadvertency, these omissions range from single words (as with JB 65,4) to whole lines (as with FD 86,4) to entire poems (as with TC 91).

c. Misreadings. The three instances cited in this category all involve alphabetical letters or sequences of letters that can easily be mistaken one for the other in a seventeenth-century scribal hand: (1) "st" / "fr" (from "straine" and "frame"—especially when followed by the visually similar "ain" and "ame" character strings)—in JB Intro,40); (2) "e" / "o" (from "when" and "whom") in FD 6,25); (3) "dam" / "dau" (from "endamage" and "endanger") in JB 112,18. Such confusions are facilitated by the conceptual plausibility of each alternative in context

(it is my judgment that "endamage," the more uncommon lection, is Davison's intended reading, "endanger" Crane's trivialization).

d. Conscious interventions. This category comprises not only variants of structure or format—such as (1) Crane's abandonment, in the presentation manuscripts to Peirs and Ashley, of the Vulgate-derived Latin sub-headings to the individual Psalms and (2) his restyling of the heading of Davison's "Introduction" ("Come, Vrania") to the more formal "Induction" —but also 4 instances of deliberate verbal and/or syntactical sophistication of the translator's original language. These include (1) Crane's revision of the normative H69-RP61 sentence "Lord of Lords, and King of Kings / him that Sings / to him Loves, and is his Patron" in JB Intro 28-30 to the gramatically dubious "Lord of Lords, and King of Kings / he that sings / him; he loves . . ." in H33; (2) the change—in JB 56, 38—of the normative "my ffoes shall fly, all heartles, and dismaid" (found in H69 and H33) to the more complex "my Foes shall fly, and (heartles) be dismaid" in RP61; (3) the previously discussed "but-them-confesse"-to-"with-thanckfullnes" alteration in JB 107,57; and (4) the trivialization—in JB 137, 30—of the biblically precise "Let my furd-Tongue cleave fast vnto / my Clammy-Roofe" that initially appears in H69 to ". . . my Clammy-Mouth" in RP61 and H33.

e. Errors in Crane's copy-text (β^2). In 3 instances the evidence points to scribal errors in the lost ur-manuscript from which Crane and the Gardyne scribe derived their texts of the Psalms: (1) in FD 6,42, H69 records the anomalous "made" ("my head graie haue made"), which is stanzaically positioned to rhyme with "dried" in line 39 ("witherd is, and dried"). For "made," RP61 and H33 substitute "dyde" (RP61: "died"), also the reading in MC1 ("dyed") and RD316 ("dyde") and undoubtedly authorial. Like H69, however, Brooke also gives "made," and his printing the non-rhyming error suggests that both Crane and the Gardyne scribe saw "made" in the copy-text and that Crane later intervened to repair the blunder by imposing "dyde" in RP61 and H33. (2) In JB 8,42, both H69 and H33 erroneously record the past tense "did" ("Not a Beast . . . / But to man . . . / did obeysaunce yeild" [40-42]), whereas the intermediate RP61 records the grammatically correct "doth obeysance yeild," suggesting that the error

Chart F1: Substantive variants in Crane and Gardyne mss.

Ps no., ln no. (translator)	H69	RP61	H33
	Careless errors/memory lapses		
1,2 (JB)	their perverse	~ ~	the ~ (*err*)
1,25 (JB)	way	~	Wajes (*err*)
6,6 (JB)	griefes	~	Woes (*err*)
8,32 (JB)	thy hands	~ hand (*err*)	~ Hands
8,43 (JB)	winged Troope	~ ~	~ Troopes (*err*)
8,50 (JB)	their homage	this ~ (*err*)	~ ~
23,3 (JB)	vouchsaffe (*err*)	vouchsaffes	vouchsaffes
30,18 (FD)	grateful	ioyfull (*err*)	~
43,24 (FD)	O God	~ ~	my ~ (*err*)
65-35 (JB)	mad not stowt	~ ~ ~	~ and ~ (*err*)
043,1 (FD)	O God	~ ~	~ Lord (*err*)
65,12 (JB)	numberles	~	manifold (*err*)
65-65 (JB)	thou didst bless	~ dost ~ (*err*)	~ ~ ~
91,24 (TC)	*poem missing*	if they meete	~ thou ~ (*err*)
93,8 (JB)	old Times	all ~ (*err*)	~ ~
107,5 (JB)	distance	~	Distant (*err*)
113,2 (JB)	Ye Saints, his Seruants	His ~, ~ ~ (*err*)	~ ~, ~ ~
130,28 (FD)	boundles Mercie	~ ~	~ Mercies (*err*)
133,5 (FD)	that pretious	the ~ (*err*)	~ ~
137,23 (FD)	in the praise	to ~ ~ (*err*)	~ ~ ~
142,14 (JB)	Snares for Me	Snare ~ ~ (*err*)	~ ~ ~
	Omissions		
65,4 (JB)	To Thee, who with	~ ~, [*om*] with (*err*)	~ ~, ~ ~
86,4 (FD)	*l. present*	*l. present*	l. *om* (*err*)
91,1-30 (TC)	*poem missing (err)*	*poem present*	*poem present*
	Misreadings		
Intro,40 (JB)	straine your Power (*err*)	frame ~ ~	fframe
6,25 (FD))	when death (*err*)	whom ~	whom ~
112,18 (JB)	endamage none	endanger ~ (*err*)	endanger ~ (*err*)
	Conscious interventions		
all Pss.	Latin tags in 1,3,6,8,13,15	Latin tags *om*	Latin tags *om*
Intro, HE (FD))	Introduction	Induction (*err*)	Induction (*err*)
Intro, 29-30 (JB)	him that Sings/to him Loves	~ ~ ~/ ~ ~ ~	he ~ ~/him; he ~ (*err*)
56,38 (JB)	fly, all heartles and	~, and (~) be (*err*)	~ ~ ~ ~
107,57 (JB)	but them confesse	with thanckfullnes (*err*)	with Thanckfullnes (*err*)
137,30 (JB)	Clammy-Rooffe	~-Mouth (*err*)	~ Mouth (*err*)
	Errors in Crane's copy-text (β^2)		
6,42 (FD)	graie haue made	~ ~ died (*cor*)	~ ~ deyde (*cor*)
8,42 (JB)	did obeysaunce	doth ~ (*cor*)	~ ~
79,4 (FD)	great Salems [*om*] fframe (*err*)	~ ~ [*om*] ~ (*err*)	~ ~ [*om*] ~ (*err*)
Abbreviations:	~ = agrees with reading in H69	*om* = omitted	*err* = error
Sigla:	• H69 (Harley 6930)	• RP61 (Rawlinson poetical 61)	• H33 (Harley 3357)

GAR (Brooke)		Notes
x		
x		
x		triv.
x		
x		
x		
x		
~		triv.
~ ~		triv.
~ ~ ~		
~ ~		triv.; H33 eyeskip to "Lord" in l. 2
~		triv.
~ ~ ~		"didst" needed for subjunctive
~ they ~		
x		KJV: "old"
x		
x		RP61 dittographical *err*
~ mercies (*err*)		
~ ~		
~ ~ ~		
x		
~ ~, ~ ~		
l. present		
poem present		
x		OED defs. justify both readings; "st" and "fr" similar in scribal hand
whom ~		confusion of scribal "e" and "o"; RD316 and MC1 have "whom"
x		triv.; H69's reading less common; "dam" and "dan" similar in scribal hand
Latin tags		tags in β^2; either Crane stopped including them or Brooke adds later ones; tags in RD316
~		RC imposes "house style"
x		sophistication in H33
x		sophistication in RP61
x		triv. In RP61 and H33
x		triv. in RP61 and H33; KJV: "roof";
~ ~ ~		β^2: "made"; Crane corrects for rhyme; "dyed" in MC1 and RD31 6
x		error in β^2
~ ~ *[om]* ~ (*err*)		Crane and GAR mss. metrically deficient; MC1: ~ ~ statelie ~
cor = scribal correction		x = poem absent triv. = Ralph Crane trivialization
• GAR (missing Gardyne ms.)		• MC1 (Farmer-Chetham ms. 8012) • β^2 = missing copy-text of Crane and GAR mss. • RD316 (Rawl. D. 316)

existed in the copy-text, but that Crane noticed and corrected it when preparing RP61. (3) All 3 Crane manuscripts and Gardyne/Brooke omit a metrically necessary word in FD 79,4, recording the tetrametric "rude heapes th' haue made great Salems fframe." The copy of the poem in MC1, however, gives the correctly pentametric "Rude heapes th haue made greate Salems *statelie* [italics added] frame," preserving the complex 10, 10, 5, 10, 10, 5 syllable-pattern required by Davison's 6-line stanza.

The data marshaled in Chart F1 enable several stemmatologically relevant observations:

(1) The most important, of course, is that the absence in FD 79,4 of "statelie" in all the Crane manuscripts and in Gardyne indicates the derivation of each of these artifacts from the same lost transcription of the Davison-Bryan collection (labeled β^2 on the stemma of "Psalme 137"), a transcription standing at least one remove—and likely further—from the authorial originals and thus lacking holographic authority.

(2) The previously undescribed Gardyne manuscript of Davison's Psalms was taken from β^2 before the latter came into Crane's possession and apparently without his knowledge: passing over—for reasons suggested above—the existence of H69, Crane's dedicatory epistle to Francis Ashley avers that only two copies of the collection (those embodied in RP61 and H33) have been made, and the absence of TC 91 in H69 obviates that artifact as Gardyne's possible source.

(3) H69's sharing with Gardyne Latin subheadings on (some of) the individual Psalms,[5] the anomalous "made" in FD 8, 42, and the label

[5] In H69, Latin tags are affixed to only 6 Psalms, at the beginning of the collection: Bryan's "Psalme 1 (aliter)," Davison's "Psalme 6," Bryan's "Psalme 3," Bryan's "Psalme 8," Davison's "Psalme 13," and Christopher Davison's "Psalme 15." Brooke's printing of Gardyne—which omits all but a representative handful of the non-Davisonian Psalms—moves the "Beatus Vir" subheading from Bryan's "Psalm 1" to precede Davison's unfinished "Psalm 1" and subsequently includes the standard Latin tag under each Psalm heading

"Introduction" for Davison's "Come, Vrania" (all lexions derived from β^2) makes it virtually certain that, like its counterpart, H69 should also have included TC 91—that its omission (repaired in the later RP61 and H33) is a blunder consistent with Crane's misordering of H69's contents in the early pages of the artifact (see the description of H33 above) and likely caused by β^2's existence as a sheaf of unbound leaves that initially came into Crane's hands in a state of disarray.

(4) The repetition in RP61 and H33 of such variant readings as "frame" (for "straine") in JB Intro,40, "endanger" (for "endamage") in JB 112,18, and "with thanckfullness" (for "them confesse") in JB 107,57 constitutes evidence of what seems practically inevitable in any case—that in his recurrent handling of these Psalms over the years, Crane kept β^2 in his possession and annotated it with a record of the lexical and stylistic alterations he had successively made.

(5) Though he imposed a "house style" of spelling and formatting on the two presentation copies of β^2, Crane was a generally reliable copyist, the vast majority of his outright mistakes appearing in the later artifacts, where he was handling the material for a second and third time (see Chart F1). Further, especially in light of his own pretentions as a poet, he seems notably reluctant to tinker with the texts of other poets, normally doing so only to correct obvious errors (as with the "made"-to-"dyde" change in FD 6,42 or the "did"-to-"doth" change in JB 8,42, e.g.) or to select among plausible alternatives in ambiguous cases (the "straine" / "frame" choice in JB Intro, 40 or the "endammage" / "endanger" choice in JB 112,18). The "them-confesse"-to-"with-thanckfullness" revision discussed above thus stands with only three

---

in the collection. It is unclear whether this discrepancy indicates that β^2 contained a full complement of tags, which Crane decided to dispense with after copying the first few (a decision he later followed in both RP61 and H33), or that β^2 contained only a few tags at the beginning, which Brooke supplemented on his own. That Latin subheadings are included for Francis Davison's "Psalme 13," Christopher Davison's "Psalme 15," Francis Davison's "Psalme 6," and Francis Davison's "Psalme 23" in Rawl. D. 316's partial collection (see fn. 22 above) suggests that the tags may have been authorially affixed to these Psalms prior to their appearance in β^2.

other—those in JB Intro 29-30, JB 56,38, and JB 137,30—as an instance of rank intervention.

• • • •

Rather than post-December of 1632, it seems likely that Crane transcribed H69 sometime soon after Davison's death in 1619, close to the time of his borrowing of Bryan's "Rowse-thyself" conceit for his own *Works of Mercy* in 1621. Although, as noted above, it lacks the elaborate panoply of design features with which Crane formatted manuscripts intended for patrons and although it evinces a few minor flaws in organization, on the whole H69 is an attractive fair copy, devoid of the marginal notes, interlineations, cancellations, and false starts typically found in the working drafts that lie behind finished transcriptions.[6] In short, although not a formal presentation manuscript, it gives every appearance of having been prepared *for* somebody, and the most likely (though by no means the only imaginable) candidate would have been one of the contributing lawyer-translators—perhaps, judging from his evident enthusiasm for developing the collection, Joseph Bryan. Whoever initiated the project, Crane was apparently provided a manuscript of the Psalms (β^2) and charged with preparing the supplier a neat, professional copy, the original manuscript being left with Crane for his own subsequent use. In the event, it provided him little benefit. As is implied by his repeated rubric "Psalmes of Dauid (in Verse) different from Those usually sung in the Church," he was aware of the royal and legal inhibitions that prevented Davison and others from printing metrical Psalms during this period (see section III. in the main article) and was thus unable to publish the collection, and his two eventual manuscriptions of the poems were essentially private, addressed to patrons with whom he could legitimately claim personal connections.[7]

---

[6] The sole marginal note recorded in the artifact—possibly in Crane's hand—is the variant "wake," offered as an alternative to "shake" in l. 30 of Davison's translation of "Psalme 30" (p. 45).

[7] The main thrust of Crane's dedicatory epistle to "his much-esteemed good Frend, Mr. Iohn Peirs" in RP61 is to assure Peirs that he "Ranck[s] . . . amongst those fewe ...[that Crane] has found worthie of . . . [the] sacred Title [of

The exact provenance and bibliographical makeup of the manuscript delivered to Crane cannot be known with certainty. The collection of Psalms that it contained was obviously developed and curated by Joseph Bryan, who not only (see footnote 27 in the main article above) imitated many of Davison's verse forms, but also relied heavily on Davison's verbal and organizational structures for his own translations.[8] And in 4

---

friend]" (f. 78); and his later letter to Sir Francis Ashley concludes by reminding Ashley that he had been an "Vnfortunate Seruant" of long standing to Ashley's "deceased Brother" Sir Anthony Ashley. By limiting his distribution of the Psalms to personal acquaintances, Crane could avoid even the appearance of having flouted the prohibitions against Psalm publication, and to assure Ashley, a lawyer, of his discretion in this regard may have been one of his purposes in stressing in the above-discussed letter the "In-Comunitie" of the collection.

[8] Bryan's verbal debt to Davison is evident throughout the collection, a signal example appearing in his treatment of "Psalme 23," where he follows Davison's second version of the poem in an opening address to "Great Iehouah, Iacobs Keeper" (Davison: "Great Iehouah daignes") and then proceeds with a series of explicit borrowings and adaptations from Davison's first version ("God, who the Vniuerse doth hold"): Davison's conceit "Springs-flowry painting" (9) yields "Springs rich various vesture" (10); Davison's "through which creepe, with murmuring Crooks, / christall Brookes" (10-11) becomes "honey bubling brookes / [that] glide in their Meandring Nookes" (11-12); Davison's "Deathes Vale, / where his pale / Shades" (19-21) becomes " deathes sad valley/ where pale-ashie-Shades" (25-26), Davison's "dreadles, having Thee for Guide,/ should I bide" (22-23) becomes "thou being there, / dreadles, I noe Ill would feare" (27-28), Davison's "Thou my Board with Messes Large / do'st surchage" (25-26) becomes "Thou my Table hast enlarged/ and with pretious Cates surcharged" (33-34), and Davison's "Balme vpon my head thou showrest" (30) becomes "Balmey-Oile thou ha'st appointed/ and therewith my head anoynted" (27-28), amongst other examples that could be cited. And Bryan's introductory poem is essentially a pastiche of Davisonian elements, not only appropriating the signature "staffe" as a verse form, but also echoing many of Davison's tropes and topoi, including invoking the "Heavenly Muse" (FD: 1, IB: 5); calling on the poet's soul to aid in the effort (FD: "my Soule, beare thou a part" [7]; IB: "Rowse thyself, my high-borne Soule" [1]); eschewing the patronage of "the King" (FD: 14; IB: 25) or "some Dame" (FD: 17; IB: 26) or other earthly patron (FD: "great Mecaena's" [16]; IB: " ffather, ffrend, or zealous Matron" [27]) in favor of addressing "Hymns" (FD: 21; IB: 6, 60) to "Iohouah" (FD:19) or "Iehouah's praise" (IB: 42); crediting the poet's current

of the 6 instances in which he and Davison produced versions of the same Psalm, his rendition precedes that of Davison in the arrangement (in nos. 23, 133, 137, and 142), relegating Davison's to the "aliter" ("another") status used to flag instances of duplication—a prioritization not likely to have been instituted by Crane, who in his title-page advertisement of the contents of RP61 explicitly cites "Fra: Dauison esq.^{r} deceased," but includes Bryan only by implication among the "other Gent[lemen]" translators. Bryan's personal papers, of course, would have contained his own translations in his own hand and very likely authorial copies by some of the other contributors as well; further—as we noted in the previous discussion of Davison's list of "Papers lent" and Donne's request for return of his "old book" from Goodere (see Figure 1 and footnote 8 in the main article)—it is not unimaginable that Bryan would have turned his own unique transcriptions over to Crane for copying, although one wonders whether he would have intended to leave them with the scribe permanently. More likely, in my view, is that β^2 was a copy of Bryan's personal papers, made by him or someone else, and that that copy introduced the few blunders itemized above, including the omission of "statelie" in line 4 of Davison's "Psalme 79."

existence and state of well-being to the "grace, and powre" of God (FD: 22-24; IB: 37-42); associating the current translations with the original Psalms of David (FD: "Israels sweete, and roiall Singer" [27]; IB: "Israels sweete Singer" [15]); labeling the poet's song a "lay" (FD: 5; IB: 34).