'by curious Art compild':
The Passionate Pilgrime and the Authorial Brand

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to cast some light on the ways in which Shakespeare's reputation as a poet and author was made between the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. The article focuses on *The Passionate Pilgrime*, a puzzling collection of poems by diverse hands, published under Shakespeare's name, probably in 1599, and in a 'corrected and augmented' edition, the third, in 1612. Though it raised issues of piracy and fraud, which recent criticism has much deflated, the collection is nonetheless a very interesting artefact from the point of view of the (collaborative) construction of authorship. Attention to the ways in which *The Passionate Pilgrime* was constructed, and made available during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, how its physical layouts, arrangements and paratextual materials encouraged particular readings will help us understand how Shakespeare was authored and what kind of poet he was thought to be by his contemporaries.

Keywords: Authorship, Jaggard, Paratext, Shakespeare's poetry, *The Passionate Pilgrime*

> … this is not my writing –
> Though I confess much like the character –
> William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, 5.1.339-340
>
> Thence comes it that my name receives a brand
> William Shakespeare, sonnet 111, 5
>
> All artistic work, like all human activity, involves
> the joint activity of a number, often a large
> number, of people.
> H.S. Becker, *Art Worlds*, 1982

1. *Introduction*

Counteracting the widespread Romantic concept of the author as the sole creator of the text, recent work in Shakespeare studies has confronted received ideas about authorship, text and dissemination, challenging not

only the notion of single authorship but also the idea of a single original text as a witness to the author's 'final intentions'. In this perspective, Shakespeare's dramatic production has attracted much attention and most studies have investigated it in terms of collaboration both in writing and performance; indeed, collaboration has been seen as 'a prevalent mode for textual production in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, only eventually displaced by the mode of singular authorship' (Masten 1997, 4). Such a claim, which implies a dispersal of authorship and authority, has been in turn strongly questioned on theoretical and historical grounds by Vickers (2002), Knapp (2005) and Jowett (2007), among others, who are adamant in upholding the centrality of the historical author. Jowett, for instance, states clearly that 'it does matter that a historical figure, William Shakespeare, creatively wrote the astonishing works associated with his name' (2007, 4); more radically, and generally, in his study on twentieth-century Shakespeare textual theory and practice, Egan 'insist[s] upon authors as the main determinants of what we read' (2010, 3). Another important contribution to the reassertion of the primacy of the Author in the works of Shakespeare is represented by Lukas Erne's studies on Shakespeare as 'literary dramatist' (2003, 2008) that claim that 'Shakespeare was acutely aware of, and cared about his rise to prominence as a print-published dramatic author' (2008, 29), not simply a playwright but 'a self-conscious literary author' (26). Erne's 2008 study was part of a forum, hosted by *Shakespeare Studies* and convened by Patrick Cheney, significantly entitled 'The Return of the Author'.[1] Cheney himself had previously argued in favour of Shakespeare as a 'poet-playwright', a writer who was 'a supreme theatrical man who wrote poems of matchless value, for his time and ours' (2004, 27). Cheney proposed a form of authorship that intertwines both printed poetry and staged theatre, a dynamic 'compound' that Shakespeare's dramatic and non-dramatic works sustain.

What both sides of the so-called 'Shakespeare Authorship Question' seem to share is, in most cases, a tendency to conflate two rather distinct entities, the writer and the author. While the former is someone who pens the text, the latter is the *persona* 'created in the world of print' (Hook 2011) by the interwoven, culturally contingent, and collaborative activity of compilers, editors, printers, stationers, and readers. It is by means of this joint activity that authors are constructed and reputations made, re-made, and un-made.

The aim of this article is to cast some light on the ways in which Shakespeare's authorial persona was created between the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. My interest lies here in how

[1] Among the contributors of the forum, Wendy Wall questions Erne's conclusions, claiming that they remain 'as speculative as the view being counteracted' (2008, 64). We have almost no evidence that Shakespeare was actively involved in the publication of his works, neither can we prove that he was concerned with their appearance in print.

Shakespeare became a revered poet, to whose works great value and much esteem were attributed. The 'Shakespeare' I am dealing with here is not William Shakespeare of Stratford but, as Adam Hook claims, 'a theoretical concept, a collaborative construction, and a profitable piece of merchandise' (2011).[2]

2. The 'beginning of Shakespeare'

In the early 1590s, after a few years of acting and playwriting, partly on a collaborative basis, Shakespeare entered the literary scene with the publication in 1593 of the 'unpolished lines' of *Venus and Adonis*, the first printed work to which his name was attached. This work was followed a year later by the 'pamphlet without beginning', *Lucrece*.[3] In both works, the title page bears no mention of the author, but they are far from being anonymous poems: the dedicatory epistle addressed to Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, was signed 'William Shakespeare', 'a writer who had never claimed authorship in print before' (Stallybrass and Chartier 2007, 37).

    Venus and Adonis became a 'bestseller' during Shakespeare's life and after, with its ten editions by 1617 and a further five reprints by 1636, whereas *Lucrece* reached six editions by 1616 with three further reprints by 1655.[4] The two narrative poems were also widely disseminated in manuscripts throughout the seventeenth century, thus taking new forms and different configurations that crucially contributed to shape their meaning.[5] Furthermore, through the practice of commonplacing, pervasive and fundamental in the early modern period, Shakespeare's poems (but also his plays) were scattered as fragmentary quotations which were sometimes accompanied by his name, sometimes left unattributed.[6] To add to the

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[2] See also Hook 2012. On the making of a reputation as a social process, see Becker 2008, 351-371.

[3] Quotations from *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* are from their respective dedications 'To the Right Honourable Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, and Baron of Titchfield' (Shakespeare 2002, 173, 239).

[4] For a recent assessment of the popularity of Shakespeare's narrative poems in the context of the late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century book trade, see Erne and Badcoe 2014, 33-57.

[5] On how the physicality of the text affects the construction of meaning, see McKenzie 1999, 9-53 and Chartier 1994, 25-59.

[6] During Shakespeare's lifetime, selections from his texts were included in popular anthologies such as Allott's *Englands Parnassus* and Bodenham's *Bel-védere*, both published in 1600. According to Murphy, the first contains thirty-nine extracts from *Lucrece* and twenty-six from *Venus and Adonis*; the second anthology includes ninety-one excerpts from *Lucrece* and thirty-four from *Venus and Adonis*). Further evidence of the popularity of Shakespeare's verse is provided by the presence of 'The Phoenix and the Turtle', ascribed to Shakespeare, in Chester's *Loves martyr: or, Rosalins complaint*, published in 1601 (2003, 19).

popularity of Shakespeare's verse it is worth mentioning the great number of allusions it elicited before 1649.[7]

Whatever reasons drove Shakespeare to compose the narrative poems, whether out of necessity, or out of an intention to leave his mark as a poet, a 'literary dramatist' (Erne 2003), or a 'poet-playwright' (Cheney 2004), the publication of *Venus and Adonis* represents in fact 'the beginning of Shakespeare'; as Colin Burrow states, 'for his earliest readers, Shakespeare was a poet' (2002, 10).[8] This fact supports the idea that Shakespeare's poems should be at the forefront of our discussions about Shakespeare as 'author', and it should also prompt us to reflect on why we do not think of Shakespeare as a non-dramatic poet in the first place.[9]

In early modern England, Shakespeare's poems, and those attributed to him, were appropriated, reshaped and then transmitted across a range of texts, including miscellanies, commonplace books, composite and single-authored volumes, all bound to renew time and again the experience of their reception. The forms of these texts, their modalities and structures inevitably affected the reading and interpretation of the poems themselves. From a more general perspective, they raise a wider concern about the early modern construction of authorship and the related issue of the control of meaning in literary texts. The active role transcribers, compilers and their editorial apparatuses, printers, stationers, booksellers, and also individual readers, both professional and common, had in the design of Shakespeare's poems and therefore in the construction of their meaning cannot be overlooked. As Chartier contends,

Readers, in fact, never confront abstract, idealized texts detached from any materiality. They hold in their hands or perceive objects or forms whose structures and modalities govern their reading or hearing, and consequently the possible comprehension of the text read or heard ... it is necessary to maintain that forms produce meaning,

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[7] In the *Shakspeare Allusion-Book*, *Venus and Adonis* is second only to *Hamlet* in the number of allusions before 1649, 44 and 58 respectively, while *Lucrece* achieved 25 allusions thus placing it behind *Romeo and Juliet*'s 36 allusions and ahead of *Othello's* 19 allusions (Ingleby *et al.* 1909, vol. II, 540). See also Roberts 2003, 2 and 198, n. 6.

[8] Burrow argues that the expectation for 'some grauer labour' raised by that the dedication to *Venus and Adonis* suggests that both *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* 'formed part of a continuing project' (2002, 10). Incidentally, we can also observe that at the beginning of his professional career, Shakespeare engaged with three 'interrelated professional roles' that, as Rhodes contends, not only 'follow an upward trajectory in terms of status, but none of them is ever really abandoned' (2013, 104).

[9] During the past century, Shakespeare was seen primarily as a playwright; his poems, when considered, were tendentially divided into two groups, the *Sonnets* and 'the rest'. The latter group, including the two narrative poems, *The Passionate Pilgrime*, the poem usually called 'The Phoenix and Turtle', *A Lover's Complaint* and other poems attributed to him during the seventeenth century, was relegated to the margins of the Shakespearean canon.

and that even a fixed text is invested with new meaning and being [*statut*] when the physical form through which it is presented for interpretation changes. (1992, 50-51)

While the materiality of Shakespeare's dramatic texts has been in the past decades investigated in detail, the materiality of his poems has only recently begun to attract attention (Marotti 1990; Wall 1993; Erne 2003, 2013; Roberts 2003; Knight 2013).

To illustrate how Shakespeare's reputation as poet and author was made, I will focus on *The Passionate Pilgrime*, a puzzling collection of poems by diverse hands, published under Shakespeare's name for William Jaggard, probably in 1599.[10] This small octavo volume was a contemporary successful commercial enterprise, a fact attested by the two separate c. 1599 editions (STC 22341.5 and 22342) and the issue of a third edition, 'corrected and augmented' in 1612 (STC 22343).[11] Approximately thirty years after its first appearance in print, *The Passionate Pilgrime* was included in Benson's edition of Shakespeare's *Poems* (1640). Attention to the ways in which *The Passionate Pilgrime* was constructed and made available during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and how its physical layouts, arrangements and paratextual materials encouraged particular readings will help us understand how Shakespeare was authored and what kind of poet he was thought to be by his contemporaries.

Although *The Passionate Pilgrime* helped promote the image of Shakespeare as a poet for nearly two centuries, this small collection of poems was either surrounded by ill feeling or altogether neglected by most readers and critics during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Swinburne's often-cited vehement comments well illustrate a shared attitude. In his *Study of Shakespeare*, Swinburne describes *The Passionate Pilgrime* as a 'worthless and impudent imposture' which 'should be exposed and expelled' from Shakespeare's poems; a 'rag-picker's bag of stolen goods'; a 'larcenous little bundle of verse'; 'worthless wares'; a 'ragman's gatherings'. In turn, Jaggard is defined as 'one Ragozine, a most notorious pirate', who 'hired … some ready hack of unclean hand to supply him with … doggrel sonnets … noticeable only for their porcine quality of prurience'; a 'felonious tradesman', stealing 'from the two years published text of *Love's Labour's Lost',* and reproducing 'with more or less mutilation or corruption, the sonnet of Longavile, the

[10] William Jaggard, printer and bookseller, is better known for his involvement in the publication of the 1619 Pavier quartos and 1623 First Folio of Shakespeare's dramatic works.

[11] The title page of the first (incomplete) edition does not survive. Lacking the title page, the edition cannot be dated with any precision; nonetheless, Burrow argues that it was printed 'conceivably as early as September 1598' (2002, 74). The edition is held at the Folger Library.

"canzonet" of Biron, and the far lovelier love-song of Dumaine' (1880, 63-64).[12]

The reasons for this ill repute and the accusation of piracy are essentially based on 'anachronistic assumptions about the conditions of literary production and dissemination in early modern England, a milieu in which restrictive contemporary notions of authorship, plagiarism, copyright, and authenticity often have little relevance' (Reid 2012, §4). Jaggard's critics have noticed that, although only five out of twenty poems contained in the miscellany are unquestionably by Shakespeare, the title page of the 1599 edition of *The Passionate Pilgrime* mentions his name only:[13]

THE | PASSIONATE | PILGRIME. | *By W. Shakespeare.* | [Ornament] | *AT LONDON* | Printed for W. Iaggard, and are | to be sold by W. Leake, at the Grey- | hound in Paules Churchyard. | 1599. |

The main objection raised against Jaggard is that by exploiting for economic reasons the popularity achieved by Shakespeare as the author of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, he sought to deceive readers and passed off other poets' compositions as Shakespeare's. According to Jaggard's detractors, this criticism is also borne out by the fact that, in the 1612 'newly corrected and augmented' edition, the additions consisted of nine poetic passages drawn from Heywood's *Troia Britanica*, a work that Jaggard himself had published in 1609. The title page runs as follows:

THE | PASSIONATE | PILGRIME. | OR | *Certaine Amorous Sonnets*, | *betweene* Venus *and* Adonis, | *newly corrected and aug-* | *mented.* | *By W. Shakespere.* | The third

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[12] In 1894, Swinburne again stigmatizes Jaggard as an 'infamous pirate, liar, and thief who published a worthless little volume of stolen and mutilated poetry, patched up and padded out with dirty and dreary doggrel, under the senseless and preposterous title of *The Passionate Pilgrim*' (90).

[13] The poems by Shakespeare are two versions of what became sonnet 138 and sonnet 144 in the 1609 Quarto (*PP* 1 and 2), a version of Longueville's sonnet to Maria in *Love's Labour's Lost* 4.3.57-70 (*PP* 3), a version of *Love's Labour's Lost* 4.2.106-119 (*PP* 5), and Dumaine's 'sonnet' from *Love's Labour's Lost* 4.3.99-118 (*PP* 16). Of the remaining fifteen poems, four can be attributed to other poets: 8 and 20 are by Richard Barnfield, 11 by Bartholomew Griffin, 19 is ascribed to Marlow in *Englands Helicon* (1600), and eleven (*PP* 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, and 18) are of 'unknown authorship' (Burrow 2002, 76). *PP* 12 might possibly be attributed to Thomas Deloney. However, while most critics hold, mainly on stylistic grounds, that fifteen out of twenty poems are not by Shakespeare, by means of stylometric analysis Elliott and Valenza suggest that two blocks of poems (*PP* 4, 6, 7 and 9, and *PP* 10, 12, 13 and 15) are 'strikingly Shakespearean' (1991, 204). References to *Love's Labour's Lost* are from The Arden Shakespeare (1998). While early modern editions do not number the poems, modern editions conventionally do so. In this article, when quoting from a modern edition, I use the text edited by Burrow (Shakespeare 2002).

Edition. | VVhere-unto is newly ad- | ded two Loue-Epistles, the first | from *Paris* to *Hellen*, and | *Hellens* answere backe | againe to *Paris*. | Printed by W. Iaggard. | 1612.

As the title page shows, Jaggard does not seem to attribute the additions to Shakespeare: they are in fact mentioned after Shakespeare's name. Moreover, as Burrow reminds us, Jaggard 'owned the right to print the poem [*Troia Britanica*], and was legally entitled to reprint it' since he had entered it in the Stationers' Register on 5 December 1609 (2002, 78).

Jaggard's use of excerpts from *Troia Britanica* aroused Heywood's bitter anger that he expressed in an oft-cited letter to Nicholas Okes, his new printer, appended to *An Apology for Actors*:

I must necessarily insert a manifest iniury done me in that worke [*Troia Britanica*], by taking the two Epistles of *Paris* to *Helen*, and *Helen* to *Paris*, and printing them in a lesse volume [*The Passionate Pilgrime*], vnder the name of another, which may put the world in opinion I might steale them from him; and hee to doe himselfe right, hath since published them in his owne name: but as I must acknowledge my lines not worthy his patronage, vnder whom he [Jaggard] hath publisht them, so the Author I know much offended with M. *Iaggard* (that altogether vnknowne to him) presumed to make so bold with his name. (1612, G4a-b)[14]

Heywood's position, however, was far from being dispassionate; previously, in the same account, he had charged Jaggard with 'negligence' in printing *Troia Britanica*, and claimed that Jaggard had refused to print a list of 'Errata' on the grounds that 'hee would not publish his owne disworkemanship, but rather let his owne fault lye vpon the necke of the Author' (G4a). In fact, the passage gives no evidence of Shakespeare's anxiety about his own authorship, rather it shows Heywood's and perhaps other writers' dissatisfaction about the lack of control over their texts once a printer owned the right to print them. Heywood's reaction might have prompted Jaggard to reissue the volume with a different title page, one bearing no mention of Shakespeare's name (Burrow 2002, 79; Cheney 2004, 154; Edmonson and Wells 2004, 4):[15]

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[14] It is worth noticing, however, that Heywood does not name Shakespeare as the 'offended' 'Author'. For a different reading of Heywoods's letter see Thomas 2000, 277-293.

[15] The copy of *The Passionate Pilgrime* held at the Bodleian Library, which formerly belonged to Malone, contains two title pages, bound so as to face each other. One title page omits the reference to Shakespeare's name, while the other includes it. According to STC, the title page without Shakespeare's name was 'probably intended as a cancel'. This leads Burrow to speculate that 'Jaggard's printers may have missed out the all-important name of Shakespeare on their first attempt, and may have been instructed to reset the page' (2002, 79, n. 1). This view is backed up by the fact that, in the copy at the Bodleian, the 'title-page without the name of Shakespeare (which is bound in first) is noticeably less worn than that which includes Shakespeare's name. This suggests that the volume was originally circulated

THE | PASSIONATE | PILGRIME. | OR | *Certaine Amorous Sonnets*, | betweene *Venus* and *Adonis*, | *newly corrected and aug-* | *mented*. | The third Edition. | Where-unto is newly ad- | *ded two Loue-Epistles, the first* | from *Paris* to *Hellen*, and | Hellens | *answere backe* | againe to *Paris*. | Printed by W. Iaggard. | 1612.[16]

Though it raised issues of piracy and fraud, which recent criticism has much deflated, the collection is nonetheless a very interesting artefact from the point of view of the (collaborative) construction of authorship. What Jaggard did was present a collection of poems as the work of a single poet and constructed it by choosing, assembling and re-ordering verses by different hands, a compilatory activity that was quite common at the time.[17] Being directly responsible for the configuration, actually the creation, of the Shakespeare text, Jaggard is not only an important agent in the construction of meaning but is also the '(co-)author' of a book of poems '*By W. Shakespere'*. Moreover, Jaggard's undertaking suggests that Shakespeare as an author 'was becoming important as a cultural phenomenon'. In this regard, *The Passionate Pilgrime* represents 'an important text in terms of the literary institutionalization of Shakespeare's works' (Marotti 1990, 153).

After nearly two centuries of discredit, Jaggard's reputation began to be restored thanks to Marotti's study on Shakespeare's sonnets published in 1990. Marotti persuasively argues that 'what [Jaggard] was doing in printing the Shakespeare poems and mixing them with the verse of other writers was quite legitimate' (1990, 153); indeed, 'There was absolutely no legal or moral need for Jaggard to have sought Shakespeare's cooperation in printing the texts he obtained' (154). Following Marotti's rehabilitation, much recent scholarship has reassessed *The Passionate Pilgrime* and Jaggard's editorial practices and investigated the use Jaggard made of Shakespeare's name to promote the collection of poems, as well as the related issue of Shakespeare's value in the marketplace (Thomas 2000, 277-293; Loewenstein 2002, 59-68; Erne 2003, 1-2; Roberts 2003, 143-190, *passim*; Cheney 2004, 151-172; Bednarz 2007, 252-267).[18]

with Shakespeare's name on the outermost leaf of the volume, and that Malone had the pages bound in their present order, having found the cancelled title-page originally inside the volume' (2002, 79).

[16] Apart from the presence of Shakespeare's name, or its omission, the two title pages differ in various typographic details (see Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen 2007, 495).

[17] For recent discussions on the culture of compiling and text collection in early modern England, see J.T. Knight 2013 and Zarnowiecki 2014.

[18] So far, very few studies have approached *The Passionate Pilgrime* from a different perspective. Among others, see Potter (2008) that reads *The Passionate Pilgrime* and Chester's *Love's Martyr* in the light of a widespread European tradition of collaborative and 'combative' verse; and Reid (2012) that calls attention to the 1612 edition of *The Passionate Pilgrime* and shows how Jaggard exploited the generic conventions and Ovidian tradition to provide the readership with 'a fictitious etiology of the miscellany's origins'.

3. *Passionate Pilgrimes*

The three editions of *The Passionate Pilgrime* – two in 1599 and one 'augmented' in 1612 – have a number of interesting features which are worth considering carefully: the title page, internal division, and texts included. Different textual and paratextual details are bound to produce different readings and also highlight the active part played by Jaggard, supposedly the compiler of the collection, in producing 'Shakespeare', and his authorial *persona*. More generally, attention to these details reinforces the idea that authorship is hardly an authorial construct and the creation of a literary work is not an autonomous activity but 'a social and institutional event' (McGann 1983, 100, see also de Grazia and Stallybrass 1993, 274).

All the editions of *The Passionate Pilgrime* are characterized by a paucity of paratextual apparatus: they lack dedications to patrons, epistles to readers, commendatory verses, and other features that are common in most coeval books.[19] Nonetheless, their title pages still convey enough information about the nature of the collection that predisposes the readership to a specific kind of reception. This information, however, varies from one edition to another; as such, it raises different expectations and elicits different readings.

Another feature of the collection is that it has a second, internal, dated title page announcing 'SONNETS | To sundry notes of Musicke.', without mentioning an author's name.[20]

As Wall argues, titles were extremely important in the early modern period for 'title pages served as the only means of advertising books' (1993, 62); they are likely to be the first piece of information readers see and read.[21] They arouse interest and curiosity (or lack of interest), help create initial impressions of what is yet to unfold and, as a consequence, raise expectations about the content of the book. Titles also evoke associations and memories as well as all sorts of other meanings which can be symbolic, personal and also idiosyncratic (Lindauer 2009, 70-71). Therefore, different titles have a different impact on readers, affecting their understanding of and response to the text: they prompt and guide interpretation.

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[19] The importance of epistles to patrons and/or readers is highlighted in the epistle 'The Stationer to the Reader' in the 1622 Quarto of *Othello*. The epistle opens as follows: '*To set forth a booke without an Epistle, were like to the old English prouerbe*, A blew coat without a badge' (A2r).

[20] The two 1599 copies held at the Folger Library (STC 22341.5) lack title pages; the first two poems in one copy, which are versions of Shakespeare's sonnets 138 and 144, are also lacking. Moreover, neither copy contains an internal title page. Confronted with the complete copy held at the Huntington (STC 22342), pages are not bound in the same order and therefore the poems follow a different arrangement that is likely to affect the reading process and change the interpretation of the poems themselves. This textual 'difformity' may also lead to a recognition of multiple texts for a 'single' book of poems, a difformity pointing to the complexity of the material text in terms of its construction and dissemination.

[21] 'If a text is an object to be read', Genette argues, then 'the title ... is an object to be circulated' (1997, 75).

4. *The 1599 Title Page*

The title page of the 1599 edition of *The Passionate Pilgrime* seems to appeal to a large readership encompassing both educated readers and theatre-goers. First of all, the title with its strategic alliteration, a pleasing device to the Elizabethan ear, echoes the titles of previously published collections, e.g., *The Paradyse of daynty deuises* (1576), *A gorgious Gallery, of gallant Inuentions* (1578), *The Forrest of Fancy* (1579), and others, therefore placing *The Passionate Pilgrime* within a specific intertextual context, that of miscellanies, books that gather disparate verse under a unifying title.[22] The epithet 'passionate', in the sense of 'affected with love', was conventionally used in pastoral poetry to qualify such terms as 'shepherd' and 'poet' (see Lee 1905, 19)[23] but also calls a well-known collection of love poetry to mind: *The Hekatompathia or Passionate Centurie of Loue* (1582) by Thomas Watson. In a commendatory 'quatorzain' prefacing the volume, the collection is described as a 'Booke of Passionat Sonnetes' (Bucke 1582), each 'passion' being a poem in the 'centurie'.[24] *The Passionate Pilgrime* does not only evoke a well-established tradition of love poetry but also reminds the educated reader of Meres' words in *Palladis Tamia* when he includes Shakespeare among those poets who 'are the most passionate … to bewaile and bemoane the

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[22] In their full title and preliminary material, these collections often make explicit the heterogeneity of the texts they include and the diversity of the authorial hands. *The Paradyse of daynty deuises* was – the title reads – 'deuised and written for the most part, by M. Edwards, … the rest, by sundry learned gentlemen, … viz. S. Barnarde. E.O. L. Vaux. D.S. Iasper Heyvvood. F.K.M. Bevve. R. Hill. M. Yloop, vvith others' (Edwards 1576); *A gorgious Gallery, of gallant Inuentions* was, according to its title, 'First framed and fashioned in sundrie formes, by diuers worthy workemen of late dayes: and now, ioyned together and builded vp: By T[homas].P[roctor].' (Proctor 1578); in 'The Epistle to the Reader', opening *The Forrest of Fancy*, H.C. says that he 'had gathered togither in one small volume diuerse diuises, … of sundry sortes, and seuerall matter' (H.C. 1579).

[23] See, for instance, a title like William Smith's *Chloris, or The Complaint of the passionate despised Shepheard* (1596), or Thomas Powell's *The Passionate Poet With a Description of the Thracian Ismarus* (1601). A longer version of PP 19, 'Liue with me and be my Loue', with the title 'The passionate Sheepheard to his loue', subscribed with Marlow's name, was reprinted in Bodenham's *Englands Helicon* the following year (1600b). For possible connections between the title of *The Passionate Pilgrime* and other contemporary works see Duncan-Jones' and Woudhuysen's note in their edition of Shakespeare's poems (2007, 386). In a passage suffused with religious language, 'the unfortunate traveller' Jack Wilton describes mockingly the lovesick expressions 'his master', Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, uses in wooing Diamante. Wilton's comments upon the empty magniloquence of Petrarchan imitators are illuminating: 'Passion vpon passion would throng one on anothers necke, he would praise her beyond the moone and starres, and that so sweetly and rauishingly, as I perswade myself he was more in loue with his owne curious forming fancie than herface, and truth it is, many become passionate louers, only to win praise to theyr wits' (Nashe 1594, F3r).

[24] The 'passions' contained in Watson's erotic sequence are not sonnets *sensu stricto* but eighteen-line stanza rhyming ABABCCDEDEFFGHGHJJ.

perplexities of Loue' (1598, 284). Furthermore Elizabethan readers were likely to associate *The Passionate Pilgrime* with Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* since the three works were all 'sold by W. Leake, at the Greyhound in Paules Churchyard'.

The title, however, is likely to evoke another context, one that contemporary theatre lovers would not fail to recognize. Many critics have pointed out that Jaggard's title probably alludes to the masked ball in *Romeo and Juliet*, when the two eponymous lovers, who have just met for the first time, 'co-author' and 'co-perform' a sonnet (2013, 1.5.92-105), animated by Christian imagery of profanity and sin, devotion and prayer, and punctuated by the wordplay 'palme'/'palmer'.[25] The popularity of *Romeo and Juliet* at the end of the sixteenth century is attested by the title page of the first Quarto (1597) which informs us that *Romeo and Juliet* 'hath been often (with great applause) plaid publiquely'. In the second edition, the title page witnesses once again the success of the play on the London stage (1599). By obliquely referring to *Romeo and Juliet*, Jaggard's places the collection of poems within the theatrical culture of the time, thus appealing to a readership that knew Shakespeare as a successful man of the theatre.

We should also bear in mind that the second Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* and the octavo of *The Passionate Pilgrime*, at least the second edition, were both published in 1599 and that the year before another play by Shakespeare appeared in print, *Love's Labour's Lost*, the first work issued with Shakespeare's name on the title page.[26] Significantly in both plays, poetry and its form have a fundamental role in the story and are part of the texture; moreover, both plays share interest in the sonneteering vogue, at its height in England during the last decade of the sixteenth century, following the publication of Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* in 1591.

In *The Passionate Pilgrime*, the dramatic intertext evoked by the title serves indeed to attract the play-goers' attention, especially if they had the chance to actually see, and maybe leaf through the quartos of the plays and the octavo of the collection of poems on display in bookshops. Moreover, three of the five poems by Shakespeare in *The Passionate Pilgrime* are versions of sonnets which are contained in act 4 of *Love's Labour's Lost*, a play that, as Woudhuysen shows, has formal, thematic and verbal links with Sidney's sequence (1998, 12-13), where the sonnet form displays that dramatic quality which is recognized as a distinctive trait of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*. And, indeed, in thirteen out of twenty poems in *The Passionate Pilgrime,* a dramatic situation is posited; in it, fictional characters are created and seem to interact; furthermore, in a few cases the speaker includes

[25] It is in this dialogic sonnet that Juliet addresses Romeo as 'Good pilgrime' (2013, 1.5.92).
[26] The 1598 full title of *Love's Labour's Lost* reads: *A* | PLEASANT | Conceited Comedie | CALLED, | Loues labours lost. | As it vvas presented before her Highnes | this last Christmas. | Newly corrected and augmented | *By W. Shakespere.*

in his/her discourse, in direct form, utterances spoken by other *personae*. Direct address markers do certainly indicate the presence – either real or imagined – of an interlocutor who is actualised in the instance of discourse but also function to bracket off the reader and therefore target the discourse expressed in the poems. Since the utterance is clearly directed away from the reader, he or she occupies a 'vicarious' position and characteristically becomes an eavesdropper, a role similar to that assumed by the audience in the theatre. Thus as in *Romeo and Juliet* and *Love's Labour's Lost*, *topoi* and stylistic features of contemporary love poetry are put at the service of the dramatic action, so in *The Passionate Pilgrime*, imagined characters are 'seen' and 'heard' to play out scenes.

By simultaneously evoking contemporary literary and theatrical culture, one in which the interplay between verse and drama is crucial for the configuration of the text, in *The Passionate Pilgrime,* Jaggard fashions Shakespeare's reputation as a well-accomplished and comprehensive 'author', engaged in different genres and having a familiarity with the conventions of both poetry and drama.[27] More generally, the allusion to *Romeo and Juliet* the title seems to make, and the poetic extracts lifted from *Love's Labour's Lost*, remind us that 'lovers' discourse' in Elizabethan poetics is not an unveiling of personal feelings but an acting out of a 'public' ceremony.

An examination of the texts contained in *The Passionate Pilgrime* shows that they are characterized by a variety of poetic and metrical forms that were conventional in early modern poetry and familiar enough to the readership that, therefore, would have no difficulty in responding appropriately to the text. In particular, the volume contains: nine regular sonnets; five six-line stanza poems (i.e., heroic sestet employed in *Venus and Adonis*); two seven-syllabled rhyming couplets; one four-lined stanza alternately rhymed and three less regular metres, suitable for musical accompaniments. This array makes *The Passionate Pilgrime* appear as a kind of 'poetic microcosm', containing most forms and metres used at the time; this, in turn, conveys an image of Shakespeare as a sonneteer, pastoral poet, song-writer, imitator of Ovid, in sum, a well-skilled poet whose compositional finesse is expressed through his ability to use different formal and metrical techniques.

Titles contain advance information which, as Genette has shown, influences the reception process (1997, 55-103); moreover, they conventionally point forward to, or establish significant connections with the contents of the text. A title such as *The Passionate Pilgrime* creates the expectation of a text dominated by the presence of one major, nameless character, possibly the speaker of/in the poems. It does not seem to suggest anything about the gender of the character (pilgrim being used of either sex); but an Elizabethan reader familiar with Shakespeare's

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[27] In a well-known passage in *Palladis Tamia*, Meres praises Shakespeare as the author of both poetry and plays (1598, 281-282). On Shakespeare as 'poet-playwright', see Cheney 2004.

recent theatrical production would probably recognize the allusion to *Romeo and Juliet*, and imagine that the passionate pilgrim is a male character.[28]

In an unusual way, however, the texts in *The Passionate Pilgrime* do not seem to fulfil the expectation created by the title: nowhere do terms such as 'passionate' and/or 'pilgrime' appear, neither do we find the specific figure it mentions.[29] In this sense, the advance information the title appears to convey can be seen as misleading. Moreover, diverging from most contemporary books, the title page of *The Passionate Pilgrime* omits an important piece of information: it does not contain any reference to the genre of the texts that follow. In this sense, the title may appear cryptic. Rather than pointing forward to the content of the *text* or a central character in it, the title page invokes a particular literary and theatrical *context,* one that a knowledgeable reader and theatre-goer would immediately associate with Shakespeare, a strategic move that helps corroborate the plausibility of Shakespeare authorship.

The Passionate Pilgrime of 1599 is organized in two sections divided by a separate title page, a partition that is not mentioned in the title page:

SONNETS | To sundry notes of Musicke. | [Ornament] | *AT LONDON* | Printed for W. Iaggard, and are | to be sold by W. Leake, at the Grey- | hound in Paules Churchyard. | 1599.

The first part includes fourteen poems, whereas the second contains the remaining six which possibly were 'known to have musical settings which are now lost' (Burrow 2002, 357n.). The two sections, Burrow claims, 'could not have been sold separately, since the new title page occurs in the middle of a gathering' (2002, 75); the internal title page may point out that 'Jaggard did not wish to attribute the following poems to Shakespeare (in which case Poem 16 from *L.L.L.* is anomalous)' (357n.).

When examining the volume, an early modern reader would have been struck by the unusual *mise en page* of the poems. Their texts are distributed on twenty-eight leaves of which twenty five are printed on rectos only and the last three (signatures D5-D7) are printed on both sides, a setup that deviates from customary printing practice. If, on the one hand, this has been interpreted as a device to bulk the book up; on the other, the blank space might have been

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[28] In his *Worlde of Wordes*, Florio defines 'Roméo, *as* Romitaggio, *a roamer, a wandrer, a palmer'* (1598, 333). In turn, 'Pellegrino' is translated '*a wandrer, a pilgrim, a palmer'* (2659).

[29] A possible, rather oblique connection between the title and the text appears in *PP* 14. Here the speaker reflects on how his mistress makes him 'wander'. She had bid him farewell and told him to 'come againe to morrow' (5): 'Yet at my parting sweetly did she smile, / In scorne or friendship, nill I conster whether: / 'T may be she ioyed to iest at my exile, / 'T may be againe to make me *wander* thither. / *Wander* (a word) for shadowes like my self, / As take the paine but cannot pluck the pelfe' (1599, 7-12, my italics). The term 'shadowes', Burrow reminds us, was also used of actors (2002, 355, n. 11).

cherished by readers and used to add poems of their choice, write comments and glosses, or even 'tear favourite pages out of the book' (Potter 2008, 10).[30]

5. *The 1612 Title Page(s)*

For the new and enlarged edition of the 1612 *Passionate Pilgrime*, as we have seen, Jaggard appended, without acknowledging their author, nine poetic excerpts lifted from Heywood's *Troia Britanica*;[31] he also expanded the title and, in so doing, provided the readers with a guiding framework for the interpretation of the texts which differs significantly from that given for the 1599 editions. As mentioned above, there are two versions of the title page, one including Shakespeare's name and one omitting it:
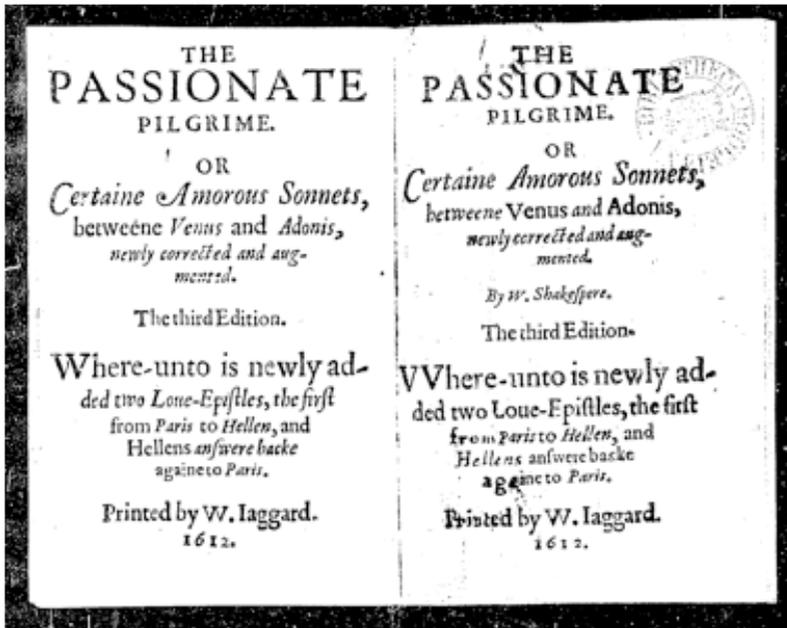

Fig. 1 – *The Passionate Pilgrime* (1612), STC 22343, Arch G g.1, Titlepages on sig. A1v and A2r.
By permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford

[30] On the annotating practices of early modern readers, see, among others, Mayer 2012 and 2016 in this volume; Roberts 2003, *passim*; Sherman 2002, 2008; Sumimoto 2013.

[31] Rollins observes that Jaggard borrowed the added poems, 'as typography, punctuation, and spelling show, directly from Heywood's *Troia*, not from manuscripts' (1940, xxix). The decision to add poems by Heywood may derive from the fact that they seem to accommodate well the general design of *The Passionate Pilgrime*, especially as far as the Ovidian strand is concerned. On the influence of Ovid in Heywood and Shakespeare and their 'shared Ovidianism', see Bate 1993, *passim*.

The 1612 title page differs from those of the 1599 editions in significant ways – it conveys much more information which creates a new set of expectations. After the main title, the first part of the title page not only makes explicit the content of the volume (it is a book of verse) but also illuminates the poetic genre and subject matter of the texts it contains (they are love sonnets). It also reveals the identity of the characters in the sonnets, Venus and Adonis, two mythological figures whose poetic exchange seems to constitute the subject matter and focus of attention of the poems themselves.[32]

The immediate association that will probably come to mind is with Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* which had already been through at least nine editions by 1612.[33] Early modern learned readers would have known that Shakespeare's narrative poem was a contribution to a genre of erotic poetry based on the elaboration of single tales from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a genre that became popular in European literature from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. Young writers in England, often with some connection to the theatre (e.g. Marlowe, Lodge, Beaumont), composed narrative poems in this genre, a genre in which they could exhibit their art and skills to an educated, elite male readership (Burrow 2002, 16-17).

The reference to Venus and Adonis as (fictional) characters in *The Passionate Pilgrime* evokes a possible context for the coeval reading of the poems, that of Ovidian erotic poetry, and arouses expectations according to that genre. However, another tradition is called upon through the phrase 'Amorous Sonnets', that of Petrarchan love poetry, to which Shakespeare's 1609 collection of sonnets is indisputably indebted. Thus, as the title page shows, Jaggard merges two poetic traditions, the Ovidian and the Petrarchan (see Cheney 2004, 157), in which Shakespeare had successfully engaged during his artistic career.

The second piece of advertisement contained in the title page informs the reader about the additions to the volume and reinforces the Ovidian context by evoking the *Heroides*, the collection of literary epistles which received special attention at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the

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[32] In the 1599 edition, as shown above, the title page mentions only one, and nameless, character: 'the passionate pilgrime'.

[33] That *Venus and Adonis* and *The Passionate Pilgrime* were perceived as closely connected at the time is also witnessed by their 'physical proximity' in a *Sammelband* (Folger STC 22341.8) containing a unique copy of *The Passionate Pilgrime*, Shakespeare's *Lucrece*; Middleton's *The Ghost of Lucrece*, the sequence *Emaricdulfe* by E.C. Esquier, and Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*. The publication date for all these texts, as estimated by the *Short Title Catalogue*, is 1599. On this compilation and its description, see Knight 2013, 70-72. In the introduction to the facsimile volume *The Passionate Pilgrim* by William Shakespeare, Joseph Quincy Adams explores the possibility that *Venus and Adonis* and *The Passionate Pilgrime* were sold together by the printer W. Leake (1939, xv).

seventeenth centuries, following the great success of Drayton's imitations of them, *Englands Heroicall Epistles*, first published in 1597, and augmented and reprinted in 1598, 1599, 1602, 1605 (Bate 1993, 188).[34]

It is significant that the information presented in the first part of the title page is to some extent reiterated in the second part. Here again we find an indication of the genre of the (added) poems – they are 'Loue-Epistles' – with their immediate association with Ovid's work. Again, mention is made of the characters involved in the exchange, in this case Paris and Helen, two other mythological figures described as the 'authors' of the letters we see written on the page, the letters we read, the letters that, in sum, constitute the poems.

The two parts of the title page are further linked by their rhetorical arrangement which relates, by means of syntactic parallelism, 'Amorous Sonnets, betweene Venus and Adonis' to 'Loue-Epistles … from Paris to Hellen', in which the names of the characters are chiastically disposed to stress the close connection between them. Such a rhetorical construction (parallelism and chiasmus) reinforces the internal coherence of the volume. Furthermore, the two parts emphasise that both the 'Amorous Sonnets' and the 'Loue-Epistles' are, respectively, 'newly … augmented' and 'newly added' (in the text the phrases form another chiasmus), an advertising move on Jaggard's part possibly aimed at luring readers.[35] And of course the modifiers 'amorous' and 'love' reinforce the 'passionate' nature of the 'new' volume of verse just printed and underscore its thematic consistency.

The title page of the 1612 *Passionate Pilgrime* can be seen as a metapoetic statement. By declaring the fictive nature of the poems contained in the volume and presenting them as acts of communication in canonical forms (sonnet and verse epistle), purportedly originating from mythological, fictional *personae*, the title page focuses attention on the work's status as an artefact and, at the same time, makes readers aware of its fictionality.[36]

The title page raises expectations not only as far as the form and contents of the volume are concerned but also with regard to its structural organization since it seems to indicate that the book falls into two main sections: one containing the 'Amorous Sonnets'; the other including the 'two Loue-Epistles'. Examining the volume, however, a careful reader would not fail to notice that

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[34] The allusion both to the *Metamorphoses* and the *Heroides* in the title page shows that Jaggard was perfectly aware that Shakespeare's work bore the marks of Ovid's influence, knowledge that he exploited in the construction of *The Passionate Pilgrime*.

[35] In fact, no augmentations are to be found in the first section of the book which contains the same poems as the 1599 edition.

[36] In her study on '*The Passionate Pilgrime* of 1612', Reid contends that the volume 'imaginatively restyles Ovidian-Shakespearean characters as poets who, much like the members of tantalizing exclusive Tudor and Stuart literary circle, craft texts and "responses to the texts of others in a continual literary flow" ' (2012, §30).

it is, in fact, divided into three parts. Part one comprises the first fourteen poems; these are followed by a new, dated title page, reading: 'SONNETS | To sundry notes of Musicke. [Ornament] | *AT LONDON* | Printed by W. Iaggard. | 1612.',[37] which, in turn, introduces the second part that contains six songs and poems. Finally, the third section, including nine poems, presents the 'newly added' texts, the Ovidian excerpts, culled from Heywood's *Troia Britanica*. These, unlike the preceding poems, are all titled, an indication likely to demarcate further the first (1599) two parts and the (1612) additions.[38]

The same attentive reader would soon realize that the expectations created by the title page are partly frustrated since the material added consists of more than 'two Loue-Epistles': the new poems are indeed nine. These poems are all translations from Ovid, but only the first two are from the *Heroides*. As to the remaining poems, six are translations from *Ars Amatoria*, and one from *Remedia Amoris*.[39] As far as the 'amorous sonnets' are concerned, only

[37] The partition between the first two sections reproduces the one in *The Passionate Pilgrime* of 1599. However, in the two editions, the internal title pages exhibit different ornaments and, perhaps more importantly, while the 1599 one informs readers that the 'Sonnets to sundry notes of Musicke' are 'Printed for W. Iaggard, and are to be sold by W. Leake, at the Greyhound in Paules Churchyard, the 1612 title page only states that the sonnets are 'Printed by W. Iaggard'.

[38] The third part of the volume opens with Paris' 'love epistle' to Helen entitled: 'The amorous Epistle of *Paris* to *Hellen'*. The modifier 'amorous' appears to be Jaggard's addition to the title of the epistle in Heywood's *Troia Britanica,* which reads: 'The Epistle of Paris to Hellen' ('Canto.9.'). The presence of the adjective on the title page of *The Passionate Pilgrime* and its repetition at the beginning of its third section is revealing of Jaggard's attempt to create a coherent text and establishes significant relationships among its parts.

[39] In particular, only the passage entitled '*And in another place somewhat resembling this'* (*PP* 1612, G7v) is a free translation from Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* (1982, 771-781). In *Troia Britanica*, Heywood always makes explicit his Ovidian sources by citing them, together with other authorities, in the marginal notes; on the contrary, Jaggard reproduces Heywood's text only, omitting all the marginalia, a move which obfuscates the intertextual links exhibited in Heywood's work. Moreover, Jaggard changes Heywood's titles, often by expunging all reference to Ovid as the author of the source texts which are, in *Troia Britanica*, translated into English. For instance, Heywood's long description: '*That* Menelaus *was at home when* Paris *Landed in the Isle* Cythere*, and gaue him friendly entertainment, though some seeme to disproue, yet* Ouid *in diuers of his workes affirms it*' (1609, 239) becomes in *The Passionate Pilgrime*: 'That *Menelaus* was cause of his owne wrongs.' (G7r). The omission of the reference to Ovid appears particularly revealing in the sixth poem from *Troia Britanica* added by Jaggard to *The Passionate Pilgrime*. Heywood's title reads: 'Vulcan *was* Iupiters *Smith, an excellent workeman, on whõ the Poets Father many rare workes, among which, I find one, not unnecessary to be remembred, which* Ouid *speaks of, and I thus English.*' (1609, 113). In *The Passionate Pilgrime*, the title is thus shortened and changed: '*Vulcan* was *Iupiters* Smith, *an excellent workeman, on whom* the Poets Father many rare *workes, among which, I* find this one.' To which, the following addition is made: '*Mars and Venus.*' (H2r). Here, not only the reference to Ovid is cut out, but perhaps more crucially the title erases the fact that the following text is the result of an act of translation. Another element appears rather problematic here: it concerns the identity of the 'I'

four poems (4, 6, 9, and 11) of the fourteen comprised in the opening section are, strictly speaking, exchanges between Venus and Adonis. By singling out a group of poems in the title, purportedly originated from two mythological characters, Jaggard seems to provide readers with a context for the interpretation of the remaining ones. Through this lens, all the poems are likely to be perceived as 'spoken' by Venus and/or Adonis, even when the 'I' is not explicitly identified. This creates the impression that, rather than simply being 'scattered rhymes', the poems in the section form an integrated whole, an organized sequence.[40] The sense of unity that the fictional *personae* seem to guarantee is reinforced thematically by the motif of betrayal, and, by implication, of truthfulness and falsehood, swearing and forswearing, that permeates the whole of the 1612 *Passionate Pilgrime*.[41]

Jaggard's attempt to create a well-formed and coherent text is also demonstrated by his careful selection of poetic materials from *Troia Britanica*. All the excerpts chosen deal with versions of betrayal, deceit, and related feelings, in (love) relationships; from a thematic point of view, they harmonize well with the other poems included in the volume. Moreover, intratextual links between the new poems added and the other sections help create a sense of internal aggregation.[42] And as *The Passionate Pilgrime* opens with two sonnets

speaking in Jaggard's text. In *Troia Britanica*, contemporary readers could easily disambiguate the personal reference—the 'I' being most likely Heywood in the role of translator of Ovid's works. In *The Passionate Pilgrime*, the deletion of all reference to the hypotext renders that identification almost impossible. Here, the 'I' cannot be viewed as a translator, but as someone that is only responsible for the choice of the text which follows, possibly the compiler of the volume, who, for the first and only time, describes himself in that role.

[40] On *The Passionate Pilgrime* of 1612 as 'a sonnet sequence in miniature', see Reid 2012, §20ff. If we read the opening section as a sonnet sequence, then we might perhaps notice that it is comprised of fourteen poems, a kind of 'macrosonnet' in which each individual poem fulfils the function of an individual line in a sonnet.

[41] According to Cheney, in the first two sections, 'Vows, oaths, swearing, faiths – and their inversions – organize the octavo's thought, appearing directly in five poems (1, 3, 5, 16, 17), narrated in five more (2, 7, 13, 18, 20) – half the total. The majority of these appear early, setting the volume topic and tempo' (2004, 160).

[42] See, for instance, the address to 'Air' in *PP* 16, 9-10 and in 'The Tale of *Cephalus* and *Procris*', 14-16. A more complex example of inter- and intratextual relationship appears in a few lines dealing with the seduction of Venus by Mars in *PP* 11. In this sonnet, almost certainly by Griffin, Venus tries to seduce Adonis while telling him how the god of war 'fell to her' and 'she fell to him' (4). The lines remind us of a brief passage in *Venus and Adonis* where the goddess describes Mars' submission to her (97-114). In Shakespeare's narrative poem, as well as in the sonnet in *The Passionate Pilgrime*, Venus omits an important detail: both she and her lover were caught in an invisible net, forged by Vulcan, Venus' husband, and exposed to the gods' gaze and ridicule. This story is told in one of Heywood's excerpt that Jaggard included in *The Passionate Pilgrime* ('*Vulcan* was *Iupiters* Smith, *an excellent workeman, on whom* the Poets Father many rare *workes, among which, I* find this one. *Mars and Venus.*, 1612, H2r-v-H3r). By adding Heywood's passage, Jaggard offers the readers the

by Shakespeare which, together with the reference to *Venus and Adonis*, set immediately the tone for the whole volume, so the two 'Loue-Epistles' between Paris and Helen,[43] introducing the third section, establish intertextual relationships with the other Shakespearean narrative poem, *Lucrece*, which are bound to reinforce the Shakespearean mood. In both stories, desecrating the laws of hospitality and betraying his host's trust, a prince carries off a beautiful young woman from her legitimate husband. In both stories, this action has catastrophic political consequences leading, in one case, to the Trojan War, and in the other, to the uprising against the rulers and the change of state government.

In an extensive passage in Shakespeare's *Rape of Lucrece* (1366-1578) that expresses the eponymous heroine's response to the painting of the siege of Troy, Lucrece attacks Paris, for his 'heat of lust' (1473) has caused the fall of Troy; she also blames the 'strumpet' Helen (1471) for, the implication is, encouraging him with her beauty.[44] Rape as a theme also recurs in the final poem of 1612 *Passionate Pilgrime*, '*Achilles* his concealement *of his Sex in the Court of* Lycomedes:' that recounts the story of Achilles and Deidamia, in which, among other things, the Greek hero's cross-dressing cannot but remind early modern readers of a common practice on the contemporary stage.

Though differently inflected, the recurring theme of violation which opens and closes the last section of *The Passionate Pilgrime* – the one containing the added poems – frames the section itself and helps foster a sense of cohesion in it. Moreover, this section appears to be linked to the preceding ones by the

'complete story' and, in a sense, makes them aware of Venus' reticence and manipulative strategy adopted to seduce young Adonis. This example seems particularly revealing of Jaggard's own strategy in constructing *The Passionate Pilgrime* and sheds some light on the highly collaborative nature of the volume itself.

[43] Apart from the popularity of Ovid's letters in verse, it should be remembered that Shakespeare made frequent use of letters in his plays. According to Alan Stuart, 'At a conservative estimate, one hundred and eleven letters appear on stage in the course of Shakespeare's plays, and his characters allude to many more, running through all the genres and his entire career' (2008, 4). When choosing to add love epistles to *The Passionate Pilgrime* and advertising them on the title page, Jaggard was probably aware of the importance that Shakespeare attributed to letters and expected that the readership would associate the form with Shakespeare himself.

[44] The rape of Lucrece and the rape of Helen were often associated in early modern English literature. For instance, in the epistle 'To the kind Reader' in *Loves Martyr*, Robert Chester mentions 'Hellens *rape, by* Paris Troian *boy*'' and 'Lucrece *rape, being rauisht by a King*' in parallel (1601, A4v). Similarly, in Richard Johnson's *Most famous Historie of the Seauen Champions*, the two violations are listed together: '*What became of* Hellen's *Ravishment, but the Destruction of Renowned* Troy? *What of* Romaine Lucresiaes *Rape, but the Banishment of* Tarquin?' (1596, 163). According to Fineman, the evocation of the Homeric story in *The Rape of Lucrece* 'gives an exemplary dimension to Lucrece's situation, making it another instance of the "primal" rape (or cuckolding) with which our literary tradition historically begins, another version of the same old story' (1999, 106). On rape and its different representations in early modern texts, both canonical and non-canonical, see Pallotti 2013.

presence of the same theme, evoked through several references to Philomel's 'ditty' in *PP* 14 and *PP* 20, the poems that end the first and second part of the collection respectively. These references, in turn, recall Lucrece's repeated mentions of Philomel in Shakespeare's *Lucrece* (especially, 1079-1148), and weave a significant web that closely links the poems and the sections together. It also establishes intertextual relationships between the texts of *The Passionate Pilgrime* and the Shakespearean poetic macrotext, thus interlacing poems from various sources in a new and compelling configuration. Attention to these details shows that Jaggard was first of all a sensitive reader of verse and ultimately sheds some light on his techniques of text appropriation and creative engagement with Shakespeare's and his contemporaries' poems.

The attribution on the title page of the 1612 *Passionate Pilgrime* (but also of the 1599 edition) to one and only one author reinforces notions of stylistic unity, the 'author' being, in early modern poetry, a 'powerful template for organizing sonnets' and other lyric forms (Spiller 1992, 92). Since the reputation of an artist has always an important influence on his/her works, the ascription of Shakespeare as the 'author' of the poems confers value on the poems themselves. In a sense, the act of ascription contributes to turn the artefact into a work of art. Rather than being a 'determinate origin', in the case of *The Passionate Pilgrime*, authorship is indeed 'a form of ascription' (Stallybrass 2011, 210).

6. *Conclusion*

As I have tried to show in the previous sections, the kind of information conveyed on the different title pages evokes expectations concerning genre, style and form as well as the system of reference about literary conventions that readers bring in while interpreting texts. Paratexts can play an important part in the construction of meaning, in guiding interpretation, and shaping texts. When paratexts change, expectations change, and so does interpretation. Indeed, as Stallybrass maintains, 'Paratexts do not just mark the book; they make it what it is' (2011, 219).

The examination of the different title pages has cast some light on the practices of text assembly and organization that Jaggard used in order to construct a Shakespeare text, and on how he created a 'book of poems' by aggregating poetic materials from different sources – works by Shakespeare and other writers – fashioning them in such a way as to present strong thematic and discursive coherence, creating for them a title and an 'author' that reinforce the impression of stylistic unity, ultimately giving them the sense of a whole.[45]

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[45] These practices of extraction and recontextualization inevitably make texts assume radically different meanings from those they had in their original contexts. Given the lack of evidence, it is impossible to know how 'these poems [i.e., those contained in *The Passionate*

Paradoxically, perhaps, some of the texts included in the volume are (still) known to us thanks to Jaggard's 'creation', his editorial interventions, and … Shakespeare's name. In this sense, not only is *The Passionate Pilgrime* a co-authored work, but so are the single texts contained in it.

By 'creatively' extracting, shaping, manipulating, and ordering, Shakespeare's and others' poems, Jaggard succeeded in producing a 'new literary artefact', *The Passionate Pilgrime*, which is also a significant, though baffling, document in the construction of an authorial role for the poet Shakespeare.

7. *Coda*

One of the excerpts culled from Heywood's *Troia Britanica*, '*The History how the* Mynotaure was begot' (*PP* 1612, H3v-H4r), narrates a story of concealment and deceit (as well as of excesses of female sensuality).[46] The phrase 'by curious Art compild' (33) is used there to describe Dedalus' creation, a wooden heifer wrapped in cow's skin, that allowed Pasiphae to quench her desire for the powerful white bull.

Dedalus-like, Jaggard planned and designed 'by curious Art', a unique artefact, *The Passionate Pilgrime*, which could possibly 'beguile', with its skilful configuration, a wide and (perhaps) demanding readership. He not only constructed ('compild') a book of poems, but more crucially created an 'author' for it, whose charmed name, '*W. Shakespere*', and known talents would testify to the special qualities of the work which that 'author' had not even written.[47] Under that name, however, many other names were concealed. Jaggard shrewdly used Shakespeare's name as a kind of 'brand' which would guarantee financial success. It was not slow in coming.

Pilgrime] came into Jaggard's hands, or about the kind of copy from which the printer of the volume was working', and also 'how closely the poems are related to Shakespeare' (Burrow 2002, 76). Some possibilities are illustrated by Burrow 2002, 76-77.

[46] Heywood's source is Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* I, 286-326. The translation condenses the original text slightly.

[47] According to the OED, in early usage, the verb 'compile' could also mean 'to compose as original work (esp. a work with definite form or structure, e.g., a sonnet)', in this relating the activity of a compiler with that of an 'original' author. An even stronger connection between the two activities is highlighted by Jeffrey Todd Knight who reminds us that John Palsgrave's 1530 translation dictionary defines 'compiling' in terms of authorship: to compile is '[to] make a boke as an auctor dothe' (2013, 8). As to the adjective 'curious', the OED records a meaning, now obsolete, but in use in early modern English: 'ingenious, clever, skilful', a sense which appears particularly relevant in the context of Heywood's poem.

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