CHAPTER 5

"Tales . . . coined": "W. Shakespeare" in Jaggard's The Passionate Pilgrim

> [William Jaggard was] an infamous pirate, liar, and thief [who produced a] worthless little volume of stolen and mutilated poetry, patched up and padded out with dirty and dreary doggerel.
>
> Algernon Charles Swinburne, *Studies in Prose and Poetry* (1894), 90

> With the 1623 First Folio and the 1599 and 1612 editions of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, William Jaggard had printed the first collections of both Shakespeare's plays and his poems.
>
> Margreta de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim* (1991), 167

The above epigraphs pinpoint changing critical perceptions of William Jaggard's role in Shakespeare's professional career. At the end of the nineteenth century, Swinburne works from a "Romantic" view of the autonomous author to judge Jaggard morally and *The Passionate Pilgrim* aesthetically. Jaggard is a cheat and the poetry poor. Since the poems' only begetter is a pirate, liar, and thief, and his little volume stolen, mutilated, patched, padded, dirty, dreary, and worthless, who could find interest in the enterprise? A hundred years later, de Grazia helps us begin to understand why. Even if we condemn Jaggard, he occupies a historic position in the printing of the national poet-playwright. He is the first to anticipate modern editors, including Malone, in the publication of both "the plays and poems of William Shakspeare." In between Swinburne and de Grazia, William Empson gets at the crux of the historical matter when he remarks, "*The Passionate Pilgrim* (1599) is a cheat, by a pirate who is very appreciative of the work of Shakespeare" ("Narrative Poems," 11).

The Passionate Pilgrim migrates to the center of a study of Shakespeare as a national poet-playwright because it prints a challenging historical enigma at the mid-point of his career. Without question, what is at stake, now as then, is the question of authorship.[1] *The Passionate Pilgrim* is a collaborative production presenting itself as a single-author work. What this should tell

[1] Much of the commentary in Rollins' *Variorum: Poems* is on this topic (538–58).

us is not just that Jaggard was a crook, or Shakespeare simply a collaborator, but that *The Passionate Pilgrim* is a site of transition between early modern and modern notions of authorship. The marvelous history of this volume's reception narrates a story of more than purely entertainment value.

TEXTUAL SCHOLARSHIP

We speak of "The Passionate Pilgrim," yet only to announce the difficulty. Which "Passionate Pilgrim"? By 1612, there are four distinct versions (extant): three separate editions – printed in 1598–99?, 1599, and 1612 – and two versions of the last edition, each having a different title page. What editors between the mid-seventeenth century and the early twenty-first do with this textual fracturing is part of the marvel. Today, a scholarly consensus protects it: we continue to be ignorant about the historical facts. This admission is somewhat belated, since it took much of the last century to become clear about what we do not know. The situation facing the critic of the new century is severe, since a long tradition of distinguished editors, starting with Malone in 1790, and continuing with Edward Dowden in 1883, Sir Sidney Lee in 1905, and "the all-but-infallible [Hyder] Rollins" in 1938 (Burrow, ed., *Sonnets and Poems*, 74n2), got it wrong. Yet with each new generation the narrative of candid ignorance continues to improve.

Today, for instance, we may not know the date of the first edition, but until World War II we did not even recognize it as a first edition. Housed in the Folger Shakespeare Library, it exists in fragment, signatures A3–A7 and C2–C7 (Poems 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 16, and 18). In 1939, Joseph Quincy Adams proved that this fragment was not what Rollins thought, a scrap from the second edition, but rather the first edition itself. Since the fragment lacks a title page, we cannot date it definitively, but speculation ranges between September 1598, when the printer, T. Hudson, set up his press, and 1599, before the second edition emerged. This latter edition does bear a title page, but does not identify itself as "The Second Edition":

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 title page identifies Shakespeare as the author of the twenty lyric poems in the octavo, yet editorial tradition, tracing to Malone, determines that only five are written by him: Poems 1 and 2, which are versions of Sonnets 138 and 144 from the 1609 quarto; and three songs and sonnets

(3, 5, 16) from *Love's Labor's Lost*.[2] Malone was the first to delete poems that belong to other writers: Poems 8 and 20 by Richard Barnfield, and Poem 19, which includes the first printed (and abbreviated) copy of Marlowe's "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love" and (an even more abbreviated copy of) Ralegh's "The Nymph's Reply." Subsequent editors have attributed Poem 11 to Bartholomew Griffin. The authors of the remaining eleven poems are still unknown. Over the centuries, editors have wondered whether some might be by Shakespeare, but recent editors – notably John Roe and Colin Burrow – have emphasized our lack of evidence for doing so.[3] We can, then, easily determine what outraged Swinburne: under Shakespeare's name, Jaggard published a volume that contained poems written – and presumably were known to be written – by at least five writers and probably more, most of whom were still alive in 1599: Shakespeare (the author of five poems), Barnfield (two), Griffin (one), Marlowe and Ralegh (a combined one, with Marlowe deceased back in 1593), and then the anonymous poets (the remaining eleven).

What do we do with such a compounded portrait of print-authorship? The scholarly judgment today is helpful: rather than attributing authorship to "W. Shakespeare," we can see W. Jaggard *presenting W. Shakespeare as an author*. Yet the judgment quickly divides, between those like Swinburne who accuse Jaggard of piracy, and those like Edwin Willoughby who defend him. Today, most would follow the version articulated by Empson, acknowledging the dubiousness of Jaggard's enterprise but allowing for the different, pre-modern notions of authorship.[4] Recent work on collaborative authorship (Orgel, "Text"; Masten, *Intercourse*, "Playwrighting") warns us not to impose on Jaggard (or on Shakespeare) a modern notion of authorship. Since William Leake owned copyright to *Venus and Adonis*, Jaggard was probably "trying to ensure that book-collectors picked up copies of *The Passionate Pilgrim by W. Shakespeare* as a companion volume to the narrative poem" (Burrow, ed., *Sonnets and Poems*, 75). Marketing, rather than piracy, most likely drove the afflicted production of the 1599 *Passionate Pilgrim*. The volume was afflicted, for, as editors have long pointed out,

[2] The versions of the poems from the play that Jaggard prints do not derive from the first extant edition of 1598. See Freeman and Grinke, "Four New Shakespeare Quartos?"

[3] Thus the argument of Hobday has been either ignored (Roe, ed., *Poems*) or rejected (Burrow ed., *Sonnets and Poems*, 79n2). Hobday argues that the Venus and Adonis sonnets are by Shakespeare. The *Oxford Shakespeare* includes the following poems as possibly by Shakespeare: 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12–15, 17, and 18 (777–82). Five poems – 7, 10, 13, 14, and 18 – "are all in six-lined stanzas, the metre of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*" (Lee, ed., *Passionate Pilgrim*, 39).

[4] See Roe, ed., *Poems*, 55. Roe concludes, first, that it is "most likely" that Jaggard either printed a commonplace book or assembled manuscript versions of several poems, and second, that it is "less likely that Jaggard commissioned them 'to look like Shakespeare', since . . . he probably did not intend to perpetrate an outright hoax" (56–57).

the octavo is rare in its printing of individual poems on rectos only, as if Jaggard did not have enough material to make up a complete volume.[5] Since Jaggard violated the economy of the day's printing practice, we can glean just how important he considered the Shakespearean venture to be. Empson was indeed on to something. Jaggard's motives might have been dubious but his savvy business judgment anticipates modern constructions of the Bard by at least two hundred years. If we look for an only begetter to "big time Shakespeare," we might do well to move William Jaggard into the spotlight.

Scholars call this edition the second one because in 1612 Jaggard printed what both extant title pages call "The third Edition." One of these title pages continues to bear the attribution "By W. Shakespere," but the other does not. While the two 1612 title pages differ in attribution, they share the printing of two new, related advertisements. The title page with Shakespeare's name on it reads:

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

The first new advertisement, about the sonnets between Venus and Adonis, no doubt intensifies the strategy noted, of Jaggard trying to capitalize on Shakespeare's fame as the author of *Venus and Adonis*, but it also singles out those four poems as a special group (4, 6, 9, 11). We shall return to them presently. The second piece of new advertisement is damning, because, as Malone first pointed out, the two "Loue-Epistles" were not written by "W. Shakespere" but by Thomas Heywood, who was so outraged that he objected to Jaggard's falsification in print. In a postscript to his 1612 *Apology for Actors*, Heywood accused Jaggard of dishonestly printing poems that Jaggard himself had published earlier in Heywood's own *Troia Britanica*. Heywood added that he knew Shakespeare to be "much offended with M. Jaggard (that altogether unknowne to him) presumed to make so bold with his name" (Rollins, ed., *Variorum: Poems*, 535). Heywood's objection probably prompted Jaggard to cancel the original 1612 title page and to print a corrected form, without Shakespeare's name. The situation, however, was worse than Heywood imagined, because he appears to have taken the title page at its word, assuming that Jaggard had printed only the two "Loue-Epistles" announced, when in fact Jaggard printed nine. In either version,

[5] At the end of the volume, the printer abandons this plan (Burrow, ed., *Sonnets and Poems*, 76).

the third edition does not so much clarify authorship as further compound it. Insofar as we can tell, during his lifetime Heywood never did receive the proper recognition for producing the overwhelming bulk of the 1612 *Passionate Pilgrim*. In a curious paradox that might have made Jaggard smile (for he alone discerned it), today it is Shakespeare, not Heywood, whose name most famously benefits from versions of *The Passionate Pilgrim* printed in collected editions of his works.

Despite this predicament, the volume (in all three editions) continues to be marginalized by the Shakespeare community. While editors now commonly print the whole of the second or 1599 edition, *The Passionate Pilgrim* still fails to produce its own literary criticism, having fallen almost exclusively under the watchful eye of editors – and more recently, of those interested in copyright and intellectual property (see Thomas, "Eschewing Credit"). (As we shall see in the next chapter, this situation contrasts sharply with that for "The Phoenix and Turtle.") Indeed, there is a real gap between the marginal role that the volume plays in modern Shakespeare studies and the visible role that it played during Shakespeare's career. We still lack a detailed analysis of the volume's poems as poems.[6] Between 1598–99 and 1612 – the latter part of Shakespeare's career – three different editions ascribe to Shakespeare authorship of a collection of poems. When we add this printing history to that of his other printed poems – the ongoing editions of *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, as well as the 1601 "Phoenix and Turtle" and the 1609 Sonnets and *A Lover's Complaint* – we can account for a considerable poetic print presence (see Figure 3 above). Finally, we need to combine this print history of the published poet with that of the published playwright in order more fully to grasp the compound identity of "W. Shakespere" at this time.

W. SHAKESPERE AS PASSIONATE PILGRIM

Concentrating on the poetry here, we can examine how Jaggard presents Shakespeare between 1598–99 and 1612 as an author of printed poems. The phrasing of the 1599 title page suggests that he presents Shakespeare *as a passionate pilgrim*: "*The Passionate Pilgrim. By W. Shakespere.*" The title intimates that the author has a distinct persona: W. Shakespeare *is* the passionate pilgrim. We do not know the origin of the alliterative title. It could have come from a commonplace book that Jaggard printed (Roe, ed.,

[6] The best commentaries are in the editions of Roe, *Poems*, and Burrow, *Sonnets and Poems*, and in S. Roberts, *Reading Shakespeare's Poems* (154–58).

Poems, 58n1; Rollins, ed., *Variorum: Poems*, 524), or it may have derived from Jaggard himself, who could have picked up on Shakespeare's reputation among contemporaries. As Edward Dowden suggested long ago (Dowden, ed., "*Passionate Pilgrim*," iv), the title evokes the memorable metaphor Romeo puts into play the first time he speaks to Juliet during the Capulet feast – to quote the first quatrain of this "Shakespearean" sonnet embedded in a tragedy:

> If I profane with my unworthiest hand
> This holy shrine, the gentle sin is this,
> My lips, two blushing pilgrims, ready stand
> To smooth that rough touch with a tender kiss.
> (*Romeo and Juliet*, 1. 5. 93–96)

The drama continues when Juliet addresses her future husband as "Good pilgrim" and again as "pilgrim" (97, 102). By presenting Romeo as a pilgrim who loves a lady, Shakespeare puts a passionate pilgrim on the stage. Since Romeo co-performs the self-conscious literary form of the sonnet in the theatre, we can note his resemblance to his author, as Juliet entreats: "You kiss by th' book" (110). Jaggard's 1599 title page, then, presents Shakespeare as a poet of desire within a religious cult of love.[7]

Yet Malone expressed puzzlement about the title: "Why the present collection of Sonnets &c. should be entitled *The Passionate Pilgrim*, I cannot discover . . . Perhaps it was so called by . . . Jaggard" (Rollins, ed., *Variorum: Poems*, 524). Rollins agrees, suggesting that Jaggard "had in mind a man who journeys a long distance as an act of devotion to his sweetheart; but, in any case, the alliteration of 'passionate pilgrim' led buyers to expect an anthology of love songs" (*Variorum: Poems*, 524). Judgments about the success of the marketing strategy once more divide. Characteristically, Swinburne judges the title "senseless and preposterous": "*The Passionate Pilgrim* is a pretty title, a very pretty title; pray what may it mean? In all the larcenous little bundle of verse there is neither a poem which bears that name nor a poem by which that name would be bearable" (Rollins, ed., *Variorum: Poems*, 524). Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch acknowledges Swinburne's objection regarding the facts but finds meaning elsewhere: "as a portly and attractive mouthful of syllables *The Passionate Pilgrim* can hardly be surpassed" (Rollins, ed., *Variorum: Poems*, 524).

[7] See Burrow, ed.: "The title probably alludes to the sonnet exchanged between Romeo and Juliet in 1.5.94–9" (*Sonnets and Poems*, 341). The first quartos of *Romeo and Juliet* appeared in 1597 and 1599, but Shakespeare's name did not appear on the title page.

The title's deployment of a metaphor draws attention to its self-conscious literary character. The pilgrimage is not real but figural, as the "attractive" alliteration implies. In doing so, the title evokes a literary heritage, for the religion of love stems from the courtly love tradition of the Middle Ages and later from Petrarch and the Petrarchan tradition.[8] In the words of Lisa Freinkel, Petrarch is the "eternal pilgrim"; his sequence of songs and sonnets, the *Rime sparse*, foregrounds "unconsummated desire": "In Petrarch's poetry, the flesh is never fulfilled" (*Reading*, 49). As Freinkel points out, Abel was the first pilgrim, becoming a type for Christ the great pilgrim, and the concept of pilgrimage suggests *peregrination, course, travel*. The pilgrim is always an exile: "The Christian is he who lives on the road" (16). We can then discover an affinity between pilgrimage as an action and the traditionally major genre of travel, epic, as depicted not simply by the authors of the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid*, but by the pilgrim-authors of *The Divine Comedy* and *The Canterbury Tales*. During Shakespeare's day, Spenser places himself in this tradition by making his holy Palmer the guide of Sir Guyon in the great Elizabethan travel epic, Book 2 of *The Faerie Queene*.[9]

A "passionate" pilgrim is a particular type of (epic) traveler; he is, as Lee emphasizes, "amorous" (Lee, ed., *Passionate Pilgrim*, 20). Thus the title Ovidianizes the epic and religious metaphor, opening up another affinity: between the Christian (and Petrarchan) pilgrim and the Ovidian (pagan) exile. Both live – or write – on the road. Critics typically emphasize the Ovidian nature of Jaggard's collection, calling the poems in it "lascivious" (Roe, ed., *Poems*, 56) and designating Shakespeare "an Ovidian writer" (D. Kay, "Shakespeare," 228). The title page to the third edition makes the Ovidian content explicit, referring to Venus and Adonis, a myth made famous in the *Metamorphoses*, and to the love-epistle genre of the *Heroides*, where indeed Helen and Paris exchange letters (*Heroides* 16 and 17; see Burrow, ed., *Sonnets and Poems*, 78). Yet the title page also fuses the Ovidian to the Petrarchan: "Amorous Sonnets, betweene Venus and Adonis." A "passionate pilgrim" does not actually traverse the terrain of epic so much as occupy the room of eros. Lee goes a step further: "'Passionate' . . . was a conventional epithet of 'shepherd' and 'poet' in pastoral poetry" (Lee, ed., *Passionate Pilgrim*, 20), as in Marlowe's "The Passionate Shepherd

[8] S. Roberts agrees: "Above all, literary skill and artifice becomes the real subject of *The Passionate Pilgrim*" (*Reading Shakespeare's Poems*, 156).

[9] See Quint, "Anatomy of Epic": "When we think of *The Faerie Queene* as an epic poem . . . we do so because of Book II, for it is there that Spenser's poem primarily attaches itself to the epic tradition" (28).

to His Love," a version of which shows up in the volume. In this way, the title to *The Passionate Pilgrim* transacts a crossover between Virgilian and Ovidian/Petrarchan career grids, and locates that cross-over in "W. Shakespere."

What appears to have escaped notice is just how such an authorial persona at this time appears to challenge Spenser's self-presentation. In his 1595 *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, the "Virgil of England" (in Nashe's phrase) presents himself as an Ovidian exile who is authorized by the "shepheards nation" of Ireland (17), where he acts as a Neoplatonic priest of love. Spenser's pastoral minor epic indicts the corruptions of courtly love (775–94) and narrates the magnificent hymn to Love (795–894), "religiously . . . esteemed," which prompts the shepherd Cuddie to declare Colin "Priest" of that "God" for such "deep insight" (830–32).[10] *Colin Clout* offers an inventory of twelve Elizabethan poets, one of whom is named "Aetion," often identified as the Shakespeare (444–47) who wrote *Venus* and *Lucrece* (Rollins, ed., *Variorum: Poems*, 568–72; Oram, *et al.*, eds., *Yale Edition*, 532, 541–42), but the poem has a specific intersection with Shakespeare's first narrative poem, when Colin plots the nursery of Love "in the gardens of Adonis" (804). As we shall see, *The Passionate Pilgrim* is unique in the Shakespeare canon for mentioning Spenser's name. Since England's Virgil had died on 13 January 1599, the publication of Jaggard's volume that year may have had a specific literary resonance for its first readers.

Without question, the persona of *The Passionate Pilgrim* – whom we might call Will (after Sonnet 136.14) – emerges as a different kind of passionate pilgrim than Colin: he is a counter-Spenserian priest of desire within a religious cult of love. Spenser's passionate shepherd is a communal figure; even though in exile, he belongs to a "nation." Indeed, Colin's standing as the high priest of love in his new Irish community constitutes a major change from the 1579 *Calender*, when Colin had withdrawn from the shepherds of Kent after Rosalind betrayed him. Sixteen years later, transplanted across the Irish Sea, Colin is now an authority regarding the "mightie mysteries" of Love that the false shepherds of Cynthia's court have "prophane[d]" (788). Not simply does Spenser identify himself as the high priest of love for the English (and Irish) nation, but he attacks those who have challenged his cult – those "licentious" (787) writers of the epyllion tradition like Marlowe, who had blasphemed Love and his mother in such poems as *Hero and Leander*.

[10] Material in the next three paragraphs derives from Cheney, "Pastorals," 83, 97–100.

Spenser's colleagues responded to his passionate project. Michael Drayton presents his 1598 minor epic *Endimion and Phoebe*, itself a Neoplatonic chastening of the form, as a companion piece to *Colin Clout*: "Colin . . . my muse . . . rudely . . . presumes to sing by thee" (993–94, in Reese, ed., *Verse Romances*). And Barnfield identifies his 1595 minor epic, *Cynthia*, as the "first" to "imitat[e] . . . the verse of . . . [*The*] *Fayrie Queene*" (*Dedicatory Epistle*, 19). Spenser's Neoplatonic hymn fuses body and soul, and the poem ends with his generous tribute to Rosalind, a "shepheards daughter" who appears "of divine regard and heavenly hew" (932–33). In this way, *Colin Clout* stands between the *Calender*, with its portrait of the author as the failed lover of the beloved's body (*Januarye*, 49–53), and the 1595 *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion*, with its portrait of the author celebrating the sacral flesh of his wife, a "handmayd of the Faery Queene" whose "heavenly hew" raises his "spirit to an higher pitch" (*Amoretti*, 80.11–14).

By contrast, the W. Shakespeare of *The Passionate Pilgrim* is not the author of companionate desire, even as staged tragically in *Romeo and Juliet*; he is the failed pilgrim of passion that we have seen in *Venus* and *Lucrece*, and that we will continue to see in the Sonnets and *A Lover's Complaint* – even in "The Phoenix and Turtle," where the avian principals are criticized for "Leaving no posterity" (59). *The Passionate Pilgrim* coheres with the general project of Shakespeare's poetry, diminishing the representation of desire from the plays by viewing the relation between the sexes as fundamentally fatal: "Desire is death" (Sonnet 147. 8).

Fifteen of the twenty poems in Jaggard's octavo proceed in the first-person voice, encouraging Elizabethan readers to identify "The Passionate Pilgrim" with "W. Shakespere." Of the five that do not, 4, 6, and 9 are on the myth of Venus and Adonis, and employ the third-person narrative voice from Shakespeare's 1593 poem, and could thereby be construed as "Shakespearean." The other Venus and Adonis sonnet, 11, differs from the first three in that its couplet suddenly breaks out of the narrative mode into the lyric voice of the poet: "Ah, that I had my lady at this bay!" (13). The fourth poem, 16, is a song from *Love's Labor's Lost*, and is even more easily assimilated to a Shakespeare author-function. That leaves only one poem lying outside it: Poem 13 includes no personal voice and lacks a Shakespeare connection (Burrow, ed., *Sonnets and Poems*, 354); it does sound like the dramatic voice we have been reading, using the third-person to describe "Beauty" as "a vain and doubtful good" (1). As this opening line nonetheless indicates, the volume coheres in presenting the printed voice of a single authorial persona, singing a complaint against love, beauty, and the female sex: "Fair is my love, but not so fair as fickle" (7. 1).

Viewed in these terms, *The Passionate Pilgrim* may be a more interesting volume than Swinburne imagined. What infuriated him could well fascinate us: the printer's counterfeiting of Shakespeare's authorial persona. The volume does not simply counterfeit the voices and poems of other poets; it reflects on its own counterfeiting:

> How many tales to please me hath she coined,
> Dreading my love, the loss whereof still fearing!
> Yet in the mids of all her pure protestings,
> Her faith, her oaths, her tears, and all were jestings.
> (Poem 7. 9–12)

Here the poet links fiction with infidelity, presenting his beloved as both a storyteller and a jester who uses discourse and action – "pure protestings" – to falsify her faith. The word "coined" refers to counterfeiting, an economical and monetary falsification of the queen's image, but the word acquires literary value during the period, referring to false imitation or plagiarism (Thomas, "Eschewing Credit," 278–79). This charge haunted not merely Jaggard and his three octavos but Shakespeare, for in 1592 Robert Greene had used another traditional metaphor of literary rivalry to accuse his colleague of being "an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers" (*Greenes, Groats-worth of witte*, reprinted in *Riverside*, 1959). There is a likeness between the fiction Jaggard prints and the print he fabricates. Whatever Jaggard's intentions were, *The Passionate Pilgrim* presents W. Shakespeare coining tales from other poets, its author a deliciously failed priest of erotic love, victimized by the allure of feminine infidelity. As in the Petrarchan tradition broadly, here a paradox may well suffice: there is much sweetness in his suffering.

Jaggard's printing of two sonnets that appear in the 1609 quarto hints that his portrait of the author aligns with that in Shakespeare's Sonnets, the Petrarchan part of which ends with Sonnet 152: "thou art twice forsworn, to me love swearing; / In act thy bed-vow broke, and new faith torn" (2–3). If the Sonnets are about betrayal, *The Passionate Pilgrim* fixes on this event, albeit in a less disturbing version.[11] Vows, oaths, swearings, faiths – and their inversions – organize the octavo's thought, appearing directly in five poems (1, 3, 5 16, 17), and narrated in five more (2, 7, 13, 18, 20) – half the total. The majority of these appear early, setting the volume's topic and tempo.

[11] Cf. S. Roberts, who emphasizes that the volume narrative treats the subject of desire with less "sting" than that in the 1609 Sonnets (*Reading Shakespeare's Poems*, 155).

WILL'S AUTHORIAL DESIRE

In Poem 1, we witness a 1599 printing of the 1609 sonnet that is "perhaps the most terrible of the whole [1609] sequence" (Cruttwell, *Shakespearean Moment*, 13–14). "When my love swears that she is made of truth" (1) sets the terms for the representation of Shakespeare as a passionate pilgrim, "Outfacing faults in love with love's ill rest" (8). We do not know whether this poem represents an early version of Sonnet 138 or a memorial reconstruction, with recent editorial opinion divided: whereas Roe argues for the latter (*Poems*, 238–39), Burrow keeps options open for the former (*Sonnets and Poems*, 341). Roe calls line 8 quoted above the "most radical departure from *Son.* 138" (239) – which reads, "On both sides thus is simple truth suppress'd." But the 1599 "Outfacing faults" is fine in itself, using alliteration to introduce the theatrical metaphor of the face, dominant in Shakespeare's poetry from *Lucrece* (as we have seen) to *A Lover's Complaint* (as we shall see). As the metaphor hints, from its opening line *The Passionate Pilgrim* is concerned with the language of falsified desire, wittily expressed by the male poet at the expense of the female: "When my love swears that she is made of truth, / I do believe her (though I know she lies)" (1–2). Yet in this scenario the female beloved is the active speaker, the linguistic maker of faith, while the male lover remains her thoughtful recipient, receiving her declarations and responding doubly: he believes in them and knows they are false. Belief, faith – masculine subjectivity – is detoured around truth. Such doubleness ensures the poet-lover's own complicity in feminine falsehood: "Therefore I'll lie with love, and love with me, / Since that our faults in love thus smother'd be." This is a grim parody of Spenserian companionate desire; the parodic doubleness helps explain a second theatrical metaphor, in line 11: "O, love's best habit's in a soothing tongue." For Will in 1599, as in 1609, love is no more than a falsifying actor strutting along in deceptive costume.

We shall discuss the 1609 version of Poem 2 in chapter 7 under the habit of Sonnet 144, but here we may note simply that it, too, employs theatricality, while moving the sensual into the religious sphere. (And here it must be noted that Swinburne exaggerated his case for the anomaly of the title; several of the poems do employ a religious representation, and all are passionate.) John Kerrigan helps us understand why this poem might be singled out for separate publication, calling the 1609 version "one of the strongest sonnets in the volume" (ed., "*The Sonnets*," 59). It is also distinctive for its summarizing narration of the triangular love affair between the poet, his dark lady, and their young man: the poet seeks to "know" truth from

falsehood, only to "live in doubt" (13). Unlike Poem 1 – or such 1609 sonnets as 15 and 23 – Poem 2 does not use the language of theatre so much as rely on the morality play tradition, with its staging of a struggle between good and evil, especially as performed through Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*. In Shakespeare's dramatic morality sonnet, corrupt humans replace good and bad angels to couple with each other, casting a grim cloud over the Christian sky. Not merely do two (basically) authentic Shakespearean sonnets open *The Passionate Pilgrim*, but both rely on theatre, foregrounding the authorial "I" in response to a dark lady's desire to be governor of the universe.

Poem 3, which recurs in *Love's Labor's Lost* (4. 3. 58–71), introduces a swerve into this narrative, for here the poet himself commits "false perjury" (3), persuaded by "the heavenly rhetoric of [the beloved's] . . . eye" to break a vow to another lady (1–3). As in the Petrarchan tradition, the new lady is not mortal but "a goddess" (6), and the poem transacts the poet's process of justifying his turn of faith: "My vow was earthly, thou a heavenly love; / Thy grace being gain'd cures all disgrace in me" (7–8). He concludes with a question that he does not answer: "If by me broke, what fool is not so wise / To break an oath, to win a paradise?" (13–14). If Poem 2 evokes the Christian narrative of desire within the morality play tradition, Poem 3 evokes this narrative within the tradition of Scripture itself, especially its genesis: a narrative of the creation of a divine woman in paradise. In Poem 3, the woman replaces the deity as a figure of "grace," curing man of his "disgrace" (8). The male's faithful love of a divinely born woman can redeem him from the sin of a previous fall into desire. While this poem maintains the theme of sexual betrayal from the first two, it changes the volume's mode from tragic to comic, emphasizing the regaining of paradise, a happy consequence of mutual desire. Occurring within a sequence of lyric poems, this sonnet from a play constitutes an intriguing 1599 conjunction of poetry and theatre.

As critics observe, the poet's reference to a "goddess" anticipates the group of sonnets on Venus and Adonis that unfolds with Poem 4. This group, like Poem 3, creates a pastoral oasis – literally a "paradise" – amid betrayal, or the "hell" (2. 12) introduced in the first two poems. Viewed in this way, these poems extend the lyric narrative of Christian desire – a paradox surely, since they deploy a classical myth. Here we can glean something of the intellectual complexity of "*The Passionate Pilgrim. By W. Shakspeare*": the opening set of poems – 1–7 – relocates redemption and relief in a space at once classical and pastoral. By moving from Christian to pagan, the fallen to the idyllic, a mortal to a goddess, the poet to his lady, we move from sordid history to idealized myth.

Of all the poems in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, the sonnets on Venus and Adonis have generated the most controversy. Recent editors reject these sonnets as authentic Shakespeare poems. Poem 11 appeared in Griffin's 1596 *Fidessa*, and the scholarly consensus runs that the "author of these four acts of homage to the nature of Venus is quite possibly Bartholomew Griffin" (Roe, ed., *Poems*, 56). Editors are not "certain," but they think "quite possibly" that Griffin rather than Shakespeare authored the poems of pagan pastoral retreat (Burrow, ed., *Sonnets and Poems*, 79–80). We have a rather curious situation here. If editors are so certain that Shakespeare did not author the Venus and Adonis sonnets, why do they devote space to them in their editions? The answer cannot be that they want readers to have access to the complete book in which some authentic poems circulated; if they did, presumably they would print the 1612 edition, which textually and in terms of reception, transmission, and authorship is and always has been more heated territory for thought and interpretation.[12] We might remain intrigued with the mystery of Shakespearean authenticity here.

If we do, we no longer would see the question of authenticity as the most significant to be asked, but rather its opposite, the question of counterfeiting. No longer would we be obsessed with whether Shakespeare wrote these poems; instead, we would submit to the *fiction* of Shakespearean authorship. This is what readers saw until the nineteenth century.[13] For over three hundred years, editors were intent to take the discourse of the title page at its word. Benson incorporated the poems in his 1640 edition of Shakespeare's *Poems*. Then, in 1709 Bernard Lintott made the first separate edition by reprinting the second edition in his *Collection of Poems*. Ignorant of the original three editions, Charles Gildon in 1710 rejected the Lintott edition and returned to the Benson version. Subsequently, Sewell (1725, 1728), Ewing (1771), Evans (1775), and others followed Gildon in printing the Benson text (see Figure 1 above). Not until Malone's editions (1778, 1790) does a critical edition appear; however, as we have intimated, it is a compromised edition. Malone does not print the two sonnets that appear in the 1609 quarto, since he has just published 138 and 144 in the previous unit of volume 10 on the Sonnets; nor does he print the three poems that he knows to be by other hands (the two by Barnfield and the compound poem by Marlowe-Ralegh); he divides Poem 14 into two poems; he inserts as Poem 19 some stanzas from Fletcher; he prints "The Phoenix and Turtle"

[12] In 1940, Rollins was the first to complain about this situation, which has not changed much: "Few scholars, indeed, appear to have examined it, in spite of its great importance in the biography of Shakespeare" (Rollins, ed., "*Passionate Pilgrim*," ix).

[13] The following account draws from Rollins, ed., *Variorum: Poems*, 531–33.

as Poem 20; and finally he brings the Venus and Adonis sonnets up front as a unit. As Rollins observes, "From Malone to the present day, editors have felt some qualms about reprinting [the 1599 or second edition] . . . entire" (Rollins, ed., *Variorum: Poems*, 532). Not until 1843 does that other Shakespearean pirate, John Payne Collier, print the complete 1599 edition, establishing the practice that prevails today. While the conversation about attribution continues at a dizzying pace – it is recorded at length in Rollins' *Variorum Edition* – we might recall Malone: "Many of these pieces bear the strongest mark of the hand of Shakspeare." Of primary interest to Malone were the Venus and Adonis sonnets:

> The title-page above given fully [to the 1612 edition] supports an observation I made some years ago, that several of the sonnets in this collection seem to have been essays of the authour when he first conceived the notion of writing a poem on the subject of Venus and Adonis, and before the scheme of his work was completely adjusted. (Malone, ed., *Plays and Poems*, 1790 edition 10: 322)

Like recent editors, Malone is not certain; unlike them, however, he is willing to entertain the possibility. Let us take his cue.

If we want to see what the "early" or "young" Shakespeare looked like, perhaps we can do no better than read the Venus and Adonis sonnets. Whether they are the *young Shakespeare* or the *counterfeit Shakespeare*, they are still *Shakespeare*, for the simple reason that even in the worst case they are *Shakespeare intertexts*. This is exactly what Jaggard found and published. For thirteen years, no one objected to the book "*By W. Shakespere*" – not even Barnfield, a committed Spenserian poet of the nascent print form, nor Griffin. No one called the editions in; no one cancelled any title pages or removed the author's name. During Shakespeare's maturity, when his reputation was at its height, the poems associated with the myth of his youth continued to flourish – much as Spenser's youthful pastoral of 1579, *The Shepheardes Calender*, flourished with editions in 1581, 1586, 1591, and 1597 – even after the publication of *The Faerie Queene*. In Spenser's case, as in Shakespeare's, the printer, not the author, accounts for the phenomenon, since Spenser had no hand in the four post-1579 *Calender* editions. With Spenser more than with Shakespeare, we might wonder what the author thought: even after Spenser announced his mature move into epic with the 1590 *Faerie Queene*, publishers printed and readers bought his youthful pastoral work. As we have seen, Shakespeare self-consciously presented himself in Virgilian terms in his dedications to Southampton, promising "some graver labour" to the "first heir" of his "invention,"

Venus and Adonis. As with Spenser's youthful Virgilian pastoral, however, Shakespeare's youthful Ovidian pastoral continued to be reprinted, and it is within this textual history of reception that we might place Jaggard's octavo(s).

We can view the problem of *The Passionate Pilgrim*(s) along a continuum linking authenticity and plagiarism, pinpointing the problem as one of imitation.[14] From Malone on, we have not been able to determine whether Shakespeare imitates himself or whether a contemporary imitates him. When we recall that at this time imitation was a cardinal principle of English poetics, and that Shakespeare shows up in the historical record (thanks to Greene) accused of having gone over the line, we should probably back off from Jaggard and his venture. Is there not a rather similar profile between the Shakespeare who appeared in print as the plagiarist of Greene and Company and the Shakespeare who appeared in print plagiarizing Griffin and Company? In *The Passionate Pilgrim*, we see a coin of such authentic mint that it took over two centuries to determine it counterfeit.

Poem 4, the first of the Venus and Adonis sonnets, joins Shakespeare's three narrative poems in its Elizabethan strategy of identifying the locus of agency for the conjunction of poetry and theatre primarily in the figure of a female:

> Sweet Cytherea, sitting by a brook
> With young Adonis, lovely, fresh, and green,
> Did court the lad with many a lovely look,
> . . .
> She told him stories to delight his [ear];
> She show'd him favors to allure his eye;
> To win his heart she touch'd him here and there –
> Touches so soft still conquer chastity.
> (Poem 7. 1–8)

Still conquer chastity: this is the soft counter-Spenserian touch from *Venus and Adonis*. As in that minor epic, here Venus appears as an author-figure, using "stories" and "show[s]" as social courting techniques to affect Adonis' senses of "ear" and "eye." She uses her compound literary project of narrative poetry and erotic theatre to accomplish her persuasive end: sexual consummation. In this Venerean poetics, the literary arts do not delight and instruct, nor move the viewer to virtuous action (as Sidney promoted in *The Defence of Poesie* and Spenser in the *Letter to Ralegh* prefacing the

[14] On plagiarism, see Orgel, "Plagiarist"; Thomas "Eschewing Credit."

1590 *Faerie Queene*); emptied of their ethical content, poetry and theatre prepare the mind and body for saturation in the sensual.

Poem 5, also from *Love's Labor's Lost*, is even more explicit about the literary character of the seduction and its threat to fidelity:

> Though to myself forsworn, to thee I'll constant prove;
> Those thoughts to me like oaks, to thee like osiers bowed.
> Study his bias leaves, and makes his book thine eyes,
> Where all those pleasures live that art can comprehend.
> (Poem 5. 3–6)

Justifying his change of faith with a torturous logic, the poet finds a model for his infidelity in the scholar who abandons his learned "leaves," only to find his "book" in the beloved's eyes. The purpose of such scholarly "art" is to "comprehend" the full range of "pleasures" that the eyes offer. Hence the subsequent attention to the poet's "Well learned . . . tongue," which commends the beloved with the "soul" of divine "wonder" for the "Celestial" figure she is, and which identifies the poet as a divine singer (8–13). Like Poem 3, Poem 5 does something salutary to our view of Shakespeare the working dramatist: it makes explicit the comedy's poem *as a poem*, pulling it out of its dramatic context and giving it an independent identity in print.

Poem 6 narrates the pleasures that art offers in a lovely vignette, when Venus

> A longing tarriance for Adonis made
> Under an osier growing by a brook,
> A brook where Adon us'd to cool his spleen.
> . . .
> Anon he comes, and throws his mantle by,
> And stood stark naked on the brook's green brim.
> The sun look'd on the world with glorious eye,
> Yet not so wistly as this queen on him.
> He spying her, bounc'd in, whereas he stood;
> "O Jove," quoth she, "why was not I a flood?"
> (Poem 6)

Reversing the situation of Petrarch's sight of Laura bathing in the Sorgue, or of Sidney's Pyrochles spying Philoclea in a similarly compromising situation, this sonnet imagines Adonis bathing in the brook, the female voyeur moved to religious devotion by the masculine body standing "stark naked." Among editors, Roe helps us to see a representation about the Ovidian merits of Spenser and Marlowe (*Poems*, 242–43). He cites "the opening section

of *Venus and Adonis*" for "the use of the sun as onlooker and the combination of heat and lust"; "Ovid's story of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus" in Golding's Book 4 of the *Metamorphoses* (430: "Scarce could she tarience make") for "a verbal echo" of line 4; Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, 3. 36. 5–6 for "the detail of Adonis bathing under Venus's slyly watchful eye"; and Marlowe's translation of Ovid's *Amores*, 1. 5 for the poem's "whimsical sensuality," especially Marlowe's rendering of lines 17–18 – "Starke naked as she stood before mine eye / Not one wen in her body could I spie" – but also the elegy's concluding line: "Jove send me more such afternoons as this." The intertextuality among Ovid, Golding, Shakespeare, Spenser, and Marlowe – the *Metamorphoses*, *Venus and Adonis*, *The Faerie Queene*, and *Ovid's Elegies* – is rather impressive. Whoever penned it, the poem's intertextuality contrasts with its narrative textuality: in the narrative, a female beholds a male body; but in the intertextuality of this narrative, the male poet has his eye on other male poets – an instance of what we might call inter-textual intercourse (cf. Masten, *Textual Intercourse*). The moment even gives voice to the excitement generated, as the great goddess stares at the naked youth and wittily critiques her father for not making her "a flood."

As we have seen, Poem 7 completes the opening unit by presenting the beloved as the coiner of tales in search of sexual desire. Once we see the self-conscious literary nature of the first seven poems, Poem 8 seems less anomalous than it might otherwise. Formally discoursing on the agreement between "music and sweet poetry" (1), it cites an actual harmony between two sixteenth-century artists, the musician John "Dowland," whose "heavenly touch / Upon the lute doth ravish human sense" (5–6), and "Spenser," whose "deep conceit is such / As passing all conceit, needs no defense" (7–8). The poem is important for showing the alliance between song and poetry during the period, and for locating that alliance in England's New Poet. As late as the eighteenth century, scholars such as George Sewell assumed that Shakespeare here is praising Spenser in print: "Shakespear took fire on reading our admirable Spenser . . . Be it to Spenser then that we owe Shakespeare!" (Pope, ed., Preface, *Works*, ix). Even though Sewell is mistaken, he helps us realize how compelling the fiction of *The Passionate Pilgrim* was for a long time. The author's reference to Spenser prompts the reader to view the fiction of the volume as a whole as in some sense "Spenserian," for the poet prints the name of his literary model. We may go further, and see here a printed sequel to what Shakespeare promised Southampton in his two dedications: a pattern of lower and higher verse forms, a typology that specifically relates *The Passionate Pilgrim* to *The*

Faerie Queene, amorous poetry to epic. Again, we might wonder what Spenser's reaction would have been (had he lived long enough to read the inscription; probably he did not). Presumably, England's New Poet would have been horrified to see his name validating an erotic project antithetical to his "Legend of Chastitie," with its core canto allegorizing the relation between Venus and Adonis as a myth of chastity making the individual "eterne in mutabilitie" (3. 6. 47). While the mention of "Spenser" seems to express debt and admiration, it simultaneously measures difference and subversion.

The remaining poems in the first part of the volume fill in details to the counter-Spenserian pastoral myth of Venus and Adonis. Poems 9 and 11 continue the mythic narration; Poem 10 uses Spenser's pastoral trope of the "rose" (1) from the *Calender*; Poem 12 relies on the trope of the "sweet shepherd"; and Poem 13 descants on the loss of "Beauty" as a form of death (1), including use of floral imagery: "A flower that dies when first it gins to bud" (3; see 8). All of this prepares the reader for Poem 14, which refers to "Philomela" (17), Spenser's arch-trope for the pastoral poet in preparation for epic. Burrow observes that here the "allusions to Philomel might have made attribution to the author of *Lucrece* plausible to the volume's first readership" (Burrow, ed., *Sonnets and Poems*, 355), but we need to extend the intertextuality to Spenser.

Poem 14 has long provoked editorial intervention. Malone divided it in two (after line 12) but only after Jaggard printed a heading after it, "*Sonnets to Sundry Notes of Music*," making this the last poem in a first part and drawing attention to its unique position in the volume. We can profitably understand this emphasis only after we turn to the last poem of the second part, which also refers to the Philomela myth. Here we may note that the myth functions to summarize the narrative printed so far: the poet is separated from his beloved, for

> She bade good night that kept my rest away,
> And daff'd me to a cabin hang'd with care,
> To descant on the doubts of my decay.
> (Poem 14. 2–4)

Unlike *A Lover's Complaint*, where the country maid will "daff" the "white stole" of her "chastity" under pressure from the young courtier's "art of craft" (295–97), here the female assumes the chaste habit of agency and power. This posture drives the poet into a Spenserian House of Care (*Fairie Queene*, 4. 5), a parody of the "greene cabinet" (*December*, 17) that is the central locus of the pastoral tradition (chapter 1), since it inspires a song of

doubt and decay. The poet's lady is all theatre, but he cannot decipher her show, which is exquisite:

> 'T may be she joy'd to jest at my exile,
> 'T may be again, to make me wander thither:
> "Wander," a word for shadows like myself.
> (Poem 14. 9–11)

Among editors, Burrow catches the theatrical resonance of "shadows": "people of no substance; also used of actors" (*Poems*, 355). As Puck puts it in the Epilogue to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: "If we shadows have offended, / Think but this, and all is mended" (5. 1. 423–24). In 1599, the word as used in Poem 14 – a shadow like the poet wandering in exile – could well evoke Shakespeare's role as an actor on the stage.

While waiting anxiously for the morning to arrive, the poet encounters the nightingale: "While Philomela sits and sings, I sit and mark, / And wish her lays were tuned like the lark" (Poem 14. 17–18). Editors have long found the passage garbled: line 17 with Philomela contains two extra syllables, while line 20 with the lark is missing two (see Roe, ed., *Poems*, 250). Acknowledging this crux, we may recall that the nightingale-lark dyad is conventional to pastoral literature, most famously emerging in the bedroom scene of *Romeo and Juliet* (3. 5). But where in the tragedy the avian pair evokes a transition from night to morning, in Poem 14 it evokes an authorial identity. First, the poet imitates the nightingale (they both "sit"); next he differentiates himself from her, as he "mark[s]" the nightingale's song; and finally he engages in a fantasy about the bird, as he wishes her song were like the lark's welcome to the day. The poem ends with the poet locked in this subjective condition, separated from his beloved but wishing he were not.

As the heading dividing the volume into two parts suggests, Poems 15–20 may have been "known to have musical settings which are now lost" (Burrow, ed., *Sonnets and Poems*, 357). Nonetheless, most of them continue to foreground the narrative of sexual betrayal and the separation of the sexes: "For now I see inconstancy / More in women than in men remain" (17. 11–12). While 16 is another song from *Love's Labor's Lost*, and 17, 19, and 20 are all in the pastoral mode, 15 sounds the note of national epic. A "lording's daughter" changes her affection from "her master" to "an Englishman": "Long was the combat doubtful, that love with love did fight, / To leave the master loveless, or kill the gallant knight" (1–6). Poem 18 introduces an interesting conjunction between epic and theatre. A worldly wise poet first offers advice to the (male) reader about how to deal with women, employing

a conceit familiar from *Lucrece*: "And to her will frame all thy ways . . . / The strongest castle, tower, and town, / The golden bullet beats it down" (13–18). Men need to besiege women because women merely perform their chastity: "The wiles and guiles that women work, / Dissembled with an outward show" (37–40). Men have their own theatre, and in Poem 16 from *Love's Labor's Lost* the poet toys with the prospect of breaking his "vow" (13), while in Poem 19 he uses the Marlovian voice to seduce his beloved into living with him and being his love.[15] Poem 20, which prints the figure of Philomela, brings the second part and the volume to a close.

Barnfield is now recognized as the author of the final poem to *The Passionate Pilgrim*. In the context of the present argument, this conclusion is not an impediment but a directive: it allows us to see the poet's posture as formally one of Spenserian pastoral. Imitating Colin Clout from the *Calender*, Barnfield's poet appears "Sitting in a pleasant shade" (3) communing with the nightingale. Yet within the fiction of Jaggard's volume, W. Shakespeare emerges as a type of Spenserian pastoral poet with a (homoerotic) difference. The poet's communion with Philomela evokes the violence of rape:

> She, poor bird, as all forlorn,
> Lean'd her breast up-till a thorn,
> And there sung the dolefull'st ditty,
> . . .
> For her griefs, so lively shown,
> Made me think upon mine own.
> (Poem 20. 9–18)

Philomela's posture, her breast against a thorn, refers to the ruddy patch on a nightingale's breast, but it evokes the princess of Athens' rape at the hands of Tereus, the brother-in-law whom she defies in her complaint. The theatrical ring of her song in "lively shown" is worth underscoring, especially since the poem will end with a familiar Spenserian (and Shakespearean) pun that we have glanced at in *Lucrece*: "bear a part" – both join in song and perform a role. Burrow notes "Barnfield's vaguely *Lucrece*-like plangency" here (*Sonnets and Poems*, 81) – suggesting that, just as the Venus and Adonis sonnets relate with Shakespeare's first minor epic, so the two Philomela poems relate with his second minor epic.

The male poet's identification with a raped female may help him process his shame over publication, but what is striking here is the way the author

[15] What we cannot quite see in the Jaggard version is the presence of Philomela here, since only the first stanza of "Love's Answer" or Ralegh's "The Nymph's Reply" is printed – perhaps, as Burrow and others speculate, because the printer ran out of space.

turns the myth of Philomela into a meditation on the infidelity of a "Faithful friend" (56) – a turn consistent with Barnfield's homoerotic verse but also with Shakespeare's Sonnets.

SHAKESPEAREAN INTRATEXTUALITY

The Passionate Pilgrim has become historically important for a number of reasons, not least (we have seen) for its intriguing intratextuality with several works in the Shakespeare canon, both poems and plays, from *Venus*, *Lucrece*, and the Sonnets to *Love's Labor's Lost*. In particular, the verse miscellany's intratextuality with the author's play provides a remarkable case study for the present project. Indeed, the re-production within the verse miscellany of three poems *presented as poems in the fiction* of *Love's Labor's Lost* draws attention to the special economy of poetry and theatre in late-Elizabethan England.

The three poems from the play all come from a single action, designated Act 4, scenes 2 and 3 in the *Riverside Shakespeare*. This action is not just any but constitutes the most striking instance in the entire Shakespeare canon of a play staging the writing and reception of poems. Whoever extracted the poems from the play, he registers Shakespeare's success in rehearsing the author's own special interest in this particular Elizabethan economy. Since Jaggard's volume attributes *The Passionate Pilgrim* to William Shakespeare, we can say that it presents the author printing the economy of poetry and theatre itself.

The origin of the printing, however, lies in the play. In 4. 2, Nathan reads Berowne's sonnet to Rosaline (105–18). In 4. 3, Berowne himself enters with his poem in his hand, only to withdraw and overhear the King read his sonnet aloud (25–40). Independently, Berowne and the King then withdraw to overhear Longaville read his sonnet to Maria (58–71). Finally, all three men independently withdraw to overhear Dumain read his poem to Katherine (99–118). Afterwards, Berowne self-consciously theatricalizes the staging of poetry: "O, what a scene of fooling have I seen" (161). Of the four poems recorded in the play, only the King's does not make it into *The Passionate Pilgrim*, perhaps because it alone addresses a queen who resembles Shakespeare's sovereign (see 4. 3. 226–27). In any event, the extended action in the comedy is central to the plot, since it forms the very moment of exposure, the revelation of the play's problem, the exact point wherein the audience joins with Berowne – and slowly the other courtiers – in seeing the folly of the masculine vow to study books in their academy at the expense of women.

The extended scene from *Love's Labor's Lost* forms the clearest instance from Shakespeare's plays of a phenomenon that we will see reversed in the next chapter. If in "The Phoenix and Turtle" Shakespeare uses the poem quite literally to print a (mini-)play or "Threnos," in *Love's Labor's Lost* he uses his play to perform a poem. The fact that Jaggard printed poems out of the play for Shakespeare's printed work of poetry registers acutely the fertile conditions for combining poetry and theatre at this time.

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