"Better place no wit can finde": The Compiler as Author in Early Modern Verse Miscellanies[1]

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Abstract: This paper reflects on concepts of early modern authorship during the early modern period based on miscellanies and the roles of their compilers. The statement "I Compyle: I make a boke as an auctor doth" from Palsgrave's *Dictionary of French and English* serves as a starting point: here, the compiler becomes a co-creative agent in that he plays with identities in composing the collection of poetry as much as with concepts and notions of individuality and community. This will be illustrated on the basis of a single poem, "Harpalus' Complaint" from *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557) up unto the second edition of *England's Helicon* (1614). A variety of interactions between several roles can be observed: compilers become co-authors themselves, but so do readers when poems are newly arranged and integrated into a narrative. While *Tottel's Miscellany* plays with identities and attributions, in *England's Helicon* the (re)contextualisation of poems within newly created narratives is central. The paper thus shows that concepts of authorship around 1600 go beyond our contemporary notions that are often based on ideas of the creative genius: compilation becomes authorial business, and is creative.

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More than fifty years after the 'death of the author' was proclaimed (Barthes 1967), and some twenty years after the return of the author was, in turn, postulated (Jannidis et al. 1999; Nünning 2001), in their joint Introduction on "Authorship as Cultural Performance," Berensmeyer, Buelens and Demoor remind us that the "connections between historical author concepts […] and empirical situations of writing" (2012: 1) are still rather rarely taken into account. In order to bridge the gap between theory (i.e. authorship concepts) and practice (i.e. empirical situations of writing), I propose to take the early modern compiler as a starting point to learn more about notions of authorship during the period.[2] In his 2013 book publication, Jeffrey Todd Knight precedes his Introduction with the epigraph: "I Compyle: I make a boke as an auctor doth" (Knight 2013, 1) from

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[2] See also David Scott Kastan's plea not to produce "more theory but more facts […] that will reveal the specific historical conditions that have determined the reading and writing of literature" (Kastan 1999, 31). See also Hackel 2005, 7.

Palsgrave's 1530 *Dictionary of French and English* (Palsgrave 1969, Fo.C.xciii.); the compiler, accordingly, is an author or is *like* an author. To follow the traces of the compiler will, I would like to claim, help us understand better how authorship was conceptualised during the early modern period and how it (implicitly as well as explicitly) integrated a co-creative approach. Early modern miscellanies, a highly popular genre in England from Tottel's 1557 first edition onwards, are key to understanding the roles of a compiler: not only did the compiler arrange the miscellanies, he could also influence the meaning of a poem or poems by (re)contextualising it or them in a particular manner. There is an ongoing play with identity and anonymity, individuality and collaboration that yields insight into concepts of early modern authorship. In a first step, the story of a single poem, "Harpalus' Complaint," will be told, following its path through two early modern verse miscellanies in various editions, from its first publication in 1557 up into the year 1614. The story of this poem will then be linked to the stories of the miscellanies and embedded into one of readers, compilers and authors, and it exemplifies how compilation becomes authorial business during the early modern period, as well as how early modern notions of co-authorship are based on interaction.

"Harpalus' Complaint": The Story of a Poem

The story of the poem under consideration begins in 1557, with the publication of *Tottel's Miscellany*. The miscellany was the most influential of its kind (see Bauer et al. 2020) and became famous as the medium of establishing the sonnet in England. It comprised poems by Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey, Thomas Wyatt, Nicholas Grimald, and "Uncertain Authors"; and it had gone into eight editions by 1587. The second edition, published also in 1557, a few weeks after the first publication, was substantially revised and reorganised: while the poems attributed to Surrey remained unchanged, Wyatt 'lost' one poem, the number of poems attributed to Grimald decreased to 10, and those attributed to 'Uncertain Authors' increased from 94 to 134.[3] Among the additions was no. 150 in the second edition (see Marquis 2007, Index 2), "Harpalus complaint of Phillidaes love bestowed on Corin, who loved her not and denied him, that loved her." It focuses on the dwindling of Harpalus because he is spurned by his beloved, as a consequence of which he even imagines his own epitaph:

> But since that I shall die her slaue,
> her slaue and eke her thrall:
> Write you my friends vpon my graue,
> this chaunce that is befall.
> *Heere lyeth vnhappy Harpalus,*
> *by cruell Loue now slaine:*
> *Whom Phillida vniustly thus,*
> *hath murdred with disdaine.*[4]

The poem has been described as "[a] pastoral narrative with embedded complaint. One of the earliest examples of pastoral in English, and a fine example too [sic]. There are no known MS versions, but the poem was much copied and imitated" (*Tottel's Miscellany* 2012, 456-57n); Holton and

[3] The contents of the miscellany and order of the poems remained the same for subsequent editions. See http://versemiscellaniesonline.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/texts/tottels-miscellany/; and Bauer et al. (2020).

[4] *Tottel's Miscellany* (2012), 155-56.97-104. All references follow the edition of *Tottel's Miscellany: Songs and Sonnets of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt and Others* by Amanda Holton and Tom McFaul (2012).

McFaul go on to note that "Corin is a standard pastoral name, as is Phyllida, but Harpalus was a boyhood friend of Alexander the Great" (457n). Apparently, this is the first appearance of Harpalus, whereas Corin or Choridon and Phyllida were conventional names in pastoral poetry, dating back to classical antiquity (*Brewer's Dictionary* 2007, 314 and 1063).[5] The compiler of *Tottel's Miscellany* ascribes the poem to "uncertain authors"[6] and embeds it in a collection of voices that can be assembled under the heading of *misery*; these voices are accordingly related to each other by the compiler (emphasis added):

> #148. Hell tormenteth not the damned ghostes so sore as unkindnesse the lover.
> #149. Of the mutabilitie of the worlde.
> **#150. Harpalus' Complaint.**
> #151. Upon Sir James Wilfordes death.
> #152. Of the wretchednes in this world.

#152 is (retrospectively) linked to the preceding poem by stating that "no state on earth may last / But as their times appointed be, to rise and fall as fast"; the wretchedness expressed can be read as an extension of the elegy "Upon Sir Wilfordes death". The latter is concerned with an identifiable individual and his death, "Sir James Wilford (c. 1517-50) was a soldier and friend of the younger Sir Thomas Wyatt."[7] The preceding poems focus on, first, a speaker who tries to express his unhappiness on the basis of comparisons – e.g. to the fate of Sisyphus and Prometheus in #148 – and one that tries to find a way out of his misery by reflection (#149). Individual fates of wretchedness provide the context for these poems, reminiscent of commonplace books that grouped texts under the same heading (see, e.g., James 2013; Schurink 2010); accordingly, #150 is embedded in a group of poems that not only reflect on these fates but also play with identities – even more so as Harpalus is an identity newly added to the pastoral canon here. The poem itself remains anonymous, of "uncertain" origin.

Independent of the question whether or not those authors listed under "uncertain authors" were indeed unknown to the compiler, this arrangement allowed for a grouping of related poems by different authors – it is here vital to remember that *identified* authors had their *separate* sections in Tottel's.[8] By this arrangement, the quasi-collaborative authorship of the group of poems as instigated by the compiler/editor becomes probably as important as the individual authorship of individual poems. What is more: in this way the persona playfully chosen in each poem, the *feigned* identities of the speakers (such as the rejected shepherd-lover) and the focus on the

[5] The reference in *Brewer's* is to Greek legends and Virgil's *Eclogues*. While Harpalus in the context of the miscellany does not refer to the friend of Alexander, the link to Virgil has been made, for instance, by Domínguez Romero (2002) who suggests that "Harpalus' Complaint" "could be analyzed as a variation of the first 44 lines of Virgil's second eclogue" (60); see also her 2011 paper on *Helicon* (21). Such an analysis would add the dimension of diachronic co-authorship which, however, goes beyond my present line of argument. One of the reviewers of this paper also reminds me that Erasmus introduces a character named "Harpalus" into his "Ementita Nobilitas", which provides a further and more contemporary reference. Reiff (2021) notes that Harpalus, in Greek, means 'the lovely' (363).

[6] The section with poems by "uncertain authors" opens with #138: "The complaint of a lover with sute to his love for pitie".

[7] He fought in France in 1544-45 and was provost-marshal of the Duke of Somerset's army invading Scotland in 1547. He was the leader of a 'masterly' (*ODNB*) defence of the town of Haddington against the Scots, but was later captured, and his imprisonment ruined his health. Other poems on his death are 158 and A156-7" (*Tottel's Miscellany* 2012, 457n).

[8] Anonymity was still a sort of standard case at the time: "More than 800 known authors were published anonymously between 1475 and 1640" (North 2003, 3).

deceased Sir Wilford are not obscured by the authors' names. It is the point of these poems that they do not focus on their authors' biographical identities but on the roles they play.

A few years later, "Harpalus' complaint" makes a second appearance in another miscellany, *England's Helicon*, first published in 1600, with a second edition to follow in 1614[9]; the collection capitalized on "the vogue for pastoral poetry in the late 1590s".[10] The compiler Nicholas Ling, presumably under the auspices of London grocer John Bodenham (see James 2013, 16), attributes the poem to Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey (1516/17-1547): this means that, more than fifty years after his death, Surrey is turned into, *made*, the author of this poem.[11]

The compiler, however, does more than turning Surrey into an author, as he recontextualizes the poem in having another poem follow which he titles: "Another on the Same Subject, but Made as It Were in Answer."[12] In this poem, Harpalus no longer complains in quiet but takes action and confronts Phyllida: he wishes to persuade her to forget Corin, who does not love her anyway and, therefore, is not worthy of her; instead she should rather be with himself, who does love her. This "Answer" is attributed to "Shepherd Tony", identified, e.g. by Arthur Henry Bullen in his 1899 edition of *England's Helicon*, as Anthony Munday.[13] By adding the title "Made as It Were in Answer," the compiler creates a sequential order. In other words: the poem was not originally written in response to 'Harpalus' complaint' but the compiler turns it into one.[14] The re-contextualization furthermore has the effect, in quite a tongue-in-cheek manner, that Harpalus stays alive: while the earlier poem ends, as seen above, on an epitaph, with Harpalus anticipating his death, the answer is definitely spoken by someone not dead. Harpalus has indeed found an answer and warns Phyllida: "Yet vouchsafe an ear / To prevent ensuing ill / […] (25-26); if she does not listen, he remarks self-consciously, "then thy harme I feare" (30).

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[9] Pomeroy mentions "Harpalus' Complaint" in passing: "The single shepherd's complaint from Tottel is reprinted here [in *England's Helicon*], some forty years later, in the fair company of a fully developed convention" (Pomeroy 1973, 24). It is unclear, however, if the compiler resorted to Tottel when he decided to include the poem in his own miscellany or found it elsewhere; an implicit link between the two editions is made by Heffernan (2021, 45): "In this long circulation, we can witness the impact of Tottel's experimental compilation" (49).

[10] http://versemiscellaniesonline.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/texts/englands-helicon/

[11] The 1928 edition by Frederick Morgan Padelford (U of Washington P) somewhat adheres to this attribution and lists "The Complaint of Harpalus" in its Appendix, noting "On the authority of *England's Helicon* […], two of the poems attributed to unknown authors in *Tottel's Miscellany* should be accredited to Surrey. These pastorals are spirited and musical, and the diction is clearly reminiscent of Surrey; it is not improbable that they are his work." (277). The second poem is "The Complaint of Thestilis" (#170. in Tottel). The poem is, however, not listed in the 1854 edition of Surrey's *Poetical Works* (published by Little, Brown and Co. in Boston) nor in the 1964 edition by Emrys Jones (Oxford, Clarendon P). It is equally not listed by Teresa Kirschner in her 1991 Regensburg dissertation on *The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey* nor in the 2013 Delphi Books edition.

[12] See also Fraistat (1986) on the ordering of poetry in anthologies. See Marotti, "Social Textuality" (1995), on the fashion of answer poems during the early modern period (160ff); he also notes that "as it Were" points to the poem not being an actual answer but alluding to this fashion (163).

[13] Munday was, if not an editor, then one of the compilers of another miscellany published in 1600, equally under the auspices of John Bodenham, *Belvedere*, a dictionary of quotations. The attribution therefore makes some sense. See also James 2013, 16.

[14] On "answer poems" see, e.g. Marotti 1995, 158-71. To assume a temporality of the poems also makes sense because of the sequentiality of miscellanies in more general terms: the compiler makes the "Answer" follow the earlier poem as a reaction to it (see, e.g., Korte 2000 and Domínguez Romero 2011; see also below). Heffernan notes how, "in an evolving system of textual transmission, compilers were actively experimenting with how to contain individual poems within larger volumes. By paying attention to how they navigated and shaped the exchanges between poems and their organization, we can begin to witness the basic power of imaginative writing over the material text" (Heffernan 2021, 4).

What happens in the 1600 *Helicon* is conspicuous with regard to notions of authorship and the play with identity and anonymity in at least two ways: firstly, the compiler sets two poems in a dialogic relationship with one another, and, secondly, he attributes authors to the poems.[15] He thus creates a personalized co-authorship *post-festum*: two texts are linked in a fictional co-authorship, with the compiler turning into a co-author in that he adds the title "as it were" in answer (not "made in answer"), and he does create this co-authorship on the basis of identifiable identities. Co-authorship, accordingly, becomes a personalized and asynchronous construct based on the compiler.

England's Helicon: The Compiler as Plotter and Co-Author

Where Tottel creates anonymous co-authorship by assembling poets that represent facets of a subject, the *Helicon* compiler, using the same poem, creates co-authorship by constructing a dialogue between named authors. But the story of the compiler does not end here.

In the opening poem of *England's Helicon*, "The Shepherd to His Chosen Nymph" by Sir Philip Sidney,[16] we read, at the beginning of the third stanza, "Better place no wit can finde". The line can be read as programmatic of the miscellany which attempts to tackle the problem where to place poems in the collection so as to give them additional meaning or a meaning it could not have on its own; the example of Harpalus speaks for itself in this respect, in both *Tottel's Miscellany* and *England's Helicon*. The latter has been characterized by Rollins as the "most beautiful of the Elizabethan poetical miscellanies" (Rollins 1935, II.3) and, on the project website for verse miscellanies, as "certainly the most carefully designed" (http://versemiscellaniesonline.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/texts/englands-helicon/)[17]: Even when poems originally bore little trace of the pastoral mode, they were altered to fit the conventions through new titles, or other devices, such as the addition of speakers, thereby converting them into pastoral dialogues (see Pomeroy 1973, 22). Yet the compiler of *England's Helicon* modified the meaning even on a greater plane, namely with regard to the collection as a whole, in the 1614 edition of the miscellany[18]: nine poems were added as well as a dedicatory poem "To the truly virtuous and honorable Lady, the Lady Elizabeth Carey"[19]; the title was also slightly extended to: *England's Helicon. Or The Muses Harmony*. The most conspicuous change, however, concerns the respective endings of the miscellany.

Whereas the 1600 edition concluded on "Oenones complaint in blanke verse" by George Peele and "The Sheepheards Consort" "Out of Master Morleys Madrigals" – ending with the line

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[15] Miri Tashma-Baum regards Ling's arrangement of poems as the creation of a poetic community where the "shepherds" respond to each other "as in an Arcadian song contest" (2002, 138).

[16] This poem is the fourth song from *Astrophil and Stella* (Sidney 2008, 189-90, l. 13).

[17] Beal differentiates between "the utilitarian commonplace book" and "verse miscellanies" (see Beal 1993, 143; qtd. in Marotti 173) by calling the latter "the 'pleasurable' rather than the 'strictly' useful side of the genre" (Beal 1993, 143).

[18] See also O'Callaghan, who regards the new print in 1614 as representative of the "vitality of a tradition of Elizabethan pastoral poetry in this period" (2002, 22). She also comments on the new motto given to the second edition which "took an aggressively 'anti-court' tone and located English pastoral in a virtuous commonwealth that was defined by its independence from the court […]. Whereas the Latin motto to the first edition had stressed the pure classical origins of pastoral, this new motto gives voice to the plain-speaking shepherd of a native tradition of pastoral satire who also presides over *The Shepheards Pipe*" (29). All quotations from *England's Helicon* follow Bullen's 1899 edition.

[19] The dedication to Carey suggests that she was chosen as the fit successor to Sidney's sister, Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, to preside over this revived pastoralism. Cary had recently published her Senecan closet tragedy, *The Tragedie of Miriam* (1613), which followed in the footsteps of the Countess of Pembroke's *Tragedy of Antonie*. http://versemiscellaniesonline.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/texts/englands-helicon-1614/

"With Ecchoes sweet rebounding", thus inviting a continuation of the "consort"[20] – the 1614 version had three poems added: "Thyrsis's Praise of His Mistress" by William Browne, author of *Britannia's Pastorals* (1613-16; see Bullen 1899, xxx); "A Defiance to Disdainful Love", by "Ignoto", also printed in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody* (1602) with the signature "A. W."; and, finally, "An Epithalamium [upon the bridal chamber], or a Nuptial Song, Applied to the Ceremonies of Marriage", written by Christopher Brooke, who, in 1614, joined William Browne and George Wither to write *The Shepherd's Pipe* (see Bullen 1899, xxx). The multiperspectivity on the topic of pastoral love as expressed in *England's Helicon* is eventually used to bring about a happy ending, an *Epithalamium, a Nuptial Song*. This also means that Edmund Spenser is structurally, if not textually, added by the compiler as another co-author of the collection as a whole: he becomes a co-author through the generic impact of his sonnet sequence.[21] As a reader, one may wonder why: Whereas sonnet sequences, as a rule, ended unhappily, it was Spenser who introduced, in 1595, a happy ending to *Amoretti* by adding an epithalamium to it.[22] The addition to *England's Helicon* thus also shows how one can add an author and his name without mentioning him or it to a group of poems, simply by adopting a specific order and concept.

The publisher (and probable editor) of the 1614 edition, Richard More, has been viewed as belonging to a "younger generation of self-styled Spenserian poets" (Rollins 1935, II.70): "The two new poets included in this second edition of *England's Helicon*, William Browne and Christopher Brooke, contributed previously unpublished poems, which suggests that they might have been invited by More to join in the editorial revision of the volume. Browne's collaborative volume of eclogues, *The Shepheards Pipe*, which included an eclogue by Brooke, was also published in 1614, and More had published the joint elegies of Brooke and Browne for Prince Henry in the previous year" (O'Callaghan 2000, 28-29).[23] Because of the additions, the 1614 edition of the miscellany in itself has been regarded as the product of co-authorship between Brooke, Browne, and More (see Tylus 1990, 182-83).

With regard to Harpalus, the question remains open as to whether his love interest in Phyllida ends happily. The composition of *England's Helicon* as a whole, however, strongly suggests that the story of the poem does not end unhappily, as the compilers made a fervent statement against the conventional ending of sonnet cycles and in favour of comedy.

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[20] See *OED*, "consort, *v.*": †7. To combine in musical harmony; to play, sing or sound together. See also Strahle (1995, 87-88).

[21] This addition of Spenser goes beyond a mere "chain of influence", as suggested by one of the reviewers of this paper; the title "Epithalamion" evokes Spenser's contribution to generic changes, i.e. to make a sequence of poems end happily. See also Domínguez Romero on how "*England's Helicon* takes advantage indeed of the popularity of its pastoral romances and sonnet cycle models" (2011, 16). Heffernan notes how "multiauthor compilations […] were increasingly invested in how material organization might accommodate poetic genre" (2011, 192) and refers to the fourth edition of Francis Davison's *A Poetical Rapsody* (1621; the first had appeared in 1602) which ended on "The sixth [book], Epistles and Epithalamions" (192): apparently, at that point, to end miscellanies on epithalamions had become somewhat conventional.

[22] *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion* were published together; the sonnets were probably written earlier. The *Epithalamium* was meant to mark the occasion of Spenser's courtship of Elizabeth Boyle and their marriage in the summer of 1594. Thus, the *Epithalamium* turns the *Amoretti* into a narrative with a happy ending. See the Norton Critical Edition of Spenser's Poetry (1993, 637).

[23] See also O'Callaghan's introduction and the term "textual communities" she introduces (3) to describe the "continuity between a manuscript and a print culture" (3) particularly among Spenserian poets in the first decades of the seventeenth century.

Compilation and Early Modern Authorship: A Few Conclusions

Where does this leave us with regard to the role(s) of the compiler and questions of authorship in the early modern period? The story of our poem has shown (at least) three things: firstly, a play with identification; secondly, the role of (re)contextualization in (re)interpreting poetry; and, thirdly, how a compiler becomes a plotter.

As to the first point, there is, in *Tottel's Miscellany*, a play with the identification of authors. Some are named (Surrey, Wyatt, Grimald) but many of the poems are attributed to "uncertain authors". While this suggests anonymity to the reader today, the authors of these poems must have been known to the compiler(s), and, potentially, to contemporary readers. The question remains why their names were left out. As the editors of the recent Penguin edition point out: "One thing of which we can be certain is that the compiler of the *Miscellany* was not uncertain as to the authorship of at least some of the poems by 'uncertain authors'" (Holton & McFaul 2012, xxii). Perhaps some were omitted for political reasons. The role of Nicholas Grimald is noteworthy in this respect: in the first edition, he has a section of his own with 40 poems, in the second edition "his poems, reduced in number to ten, appear at the end, under the heading '*Songes written by N. G.*'" (Holton & McFaul 2012, xx; see also Bauer et al. 2020). Most of his poems to be removed were biographical in nature: it has been suggested that the omission may hence be viewed in the light of his imprisonment during the reign of Queen Mary.[24] While a major contributor to the first edition, with his full name given, he was accordingly reduced to mere initials, a kind of play with identification used by compilers to (dis)attribute authorship post-festum; a positive case in point is the case of Surrey in *England's Helicon*. Such play contributes to making the compiler a creator of authorship.

Secondly, the compiler plays an equally important role when it comes to the contextualization and recontextualization of poetry. In the case of *England's Helicon*, this has to do with the compiler becoming an author by making changes to his material when integrating it into a pastoral whole. Within this framework, a dialogue is instigated between two poems hitherto unconnected with each other: because of their being placed next to each other they enter into a relationship of co-authorship through dialogue, a sort of co-authorship different from the one that existed already in *Tottel's Miscellany*, where it was based on shared topics and groups of personae. As Korte has noted: "printing poems in close vicinity was not only used to save space but also specifically to signify unity and coherence" (2000, 20), which means that at least some of the poems were supposed to be read "as sequences" (Domínguez Romero 2011, 14).[25] One of the two probably most

[24] According to the DNB, Grimald "fell under the suspicion of Mary's government and was sent to the Marshalsea," where he "abandoned protestantism" and was pardoned ("Grimald, Nicholas," *DNB* 8: 692). As Bauer et al. note (2020): "The reasons for the changes to the second edition remain obscure, and in the *ODNB*, his imprisonment is no longer explicitly dated at 1555 – Brennan refers to 'a letter of January 1558' where 'Ridley noted that Grimald had been in the Bocardo and mentioned that he had even been under threat of being 'hanged, drawn and quartered' before being removed to the Marshalsea and ultimately freed.'" The refer to Merrill, who suggests that Grimald (after his conversion) generally counted as a "questionable character" (Merrill 271) and "was nothing more than a time-server, shifting from the Roman Catholic faith, and then back again, recanting secretly and betraying his friends as was necessary to save his life" (218).

[25] Domínguez Romero also suggests to conceive those poems that "somehow deal with the love story of the shepherds Phillis and Coridon" in terms of forming "part of a single pastoral narrative […] that could be entitled [sic] 'Pastoral of Phillis and Coridon'" (2011, 27). On "anthological reading" in Tudor England, see also Lethbridge (2000). Lethbridge, however, distinguishes between strong and weak authorship as well as "between works which an author structures" (he names *King Lear* and Shakespeare's *Sonnets* in this context) and "works which merely are structured (or can be said to possess a structure)", including one "found in it or imposed on it by an inventive reader or critic" (2000, 62). The notion of compilation as authorship

famous cases of recontextualization (and appropriation) can be found in *Tottel's Miscellany*: Poem #182, "The aged lover renounceth love", which would become the Gravedigger's song in *Hamlet* 5.1.61-97; Hamlet thus turns into the commentator on the poem by pointing out "That skull had a tongue in it, and could sing once."[26] The second famous example is "On a day (alack the day)" in *England's Helicon* (1899, 74).[27] It is printed there as "The Passionate Shepherd's Song" by "W. Shakespeare"; it was first published in his comedy *Love's Labour's Lost* (1598), then a year later in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, and, finally, in *England's Helicon* (1600). In *England's Helicon*, it is preceded by Nicholas Breton's "Astrophell his Song of Phillida and Coridon" and followed by "The Unknown Shepherd's Complaint." The latter poem is signed "Ignoto" and, as Bullen notes, was "appended to *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 1599" (1899, xix). Bullen goes on to explain that "[i]t had previously appeared, set to music, in Thomas Weelkes' *Madrigals*, 1597, without an author's name" (xix).[28] He attributes the poem to Richard Barnfield, "for the poem that follows, which undoubtedly belongs to Barnfield, is headed 'Another of the same Shepherd's'" (xix). The compiler accordingly embeds the poem in the context of the story of two lovers, "Phillida and Corydon", in *England's Helicon* and establishes links between the poems by way of their arrangement. The meaning of the poem hence changes slightly in comparison with the context of *Love's Labour's Lost*, where it is read out loud by Dumaine (in 4.3.98-117): Reading the poem in the context of the play sheds a different light on it. Since we know that *Love's Labour's Lost* is a comedy, the vow seems somewhat ridiculous because Dumaine will eventually end up with his beloved anyway. The melodramatic poem is only one in a sequence of poems in the same fashion. The fact that this poem is so unlike Shakespeare's other poetry, and that Rosalind makes fun of similar love poetry in 3.2. of *As You Like It*, suggests that "The Passionate Shepherd's Song" is a mere parody of the lamenting lover, which makes its presence in *England's Helicon*, surrounded by pastoral poetry, slightly ridiculous: it is preceded by a poem with a happy ending ("And Sunday shall be holiday", 74) and followed by one expressing the despair of the lover ("My flocks feed not, my ewes breed not", which follows both in *The Passionate Pilgrim* and *England's Helicon*), with the shepherd complaining about the "inconstancy" of women (1899, 75) and finally deciding that he "must live alone" (76). This kind of irony works particularly well in *England's Helicon* if the reader recognises the poem's original context. Otherwise, having read many poems of this kind in *England's Helicon*, the reader would grant "The Passionate Shepherd's Song" a certain seriousness, and would rather not be susceptible to irony.

The compiler, lastly, becomes a plotter and hence co-author of the miscellany in structurally integrating patterns, such as adding an epithalamion in the tradition of Edmund Spenser to bring about, or at least suggest, a happy ending. He thus contributes to creating a whole out of miscellaneous poems; or, as the editors of the Penguin edition of *Tottel's Miscellany* put it, "a coherent collection of verse" (Holton & McFaul 2012, xxvi).[29]

The compiler thus creates a text, indeed, he "make[s] a boke as an auctor doth" and tells a story, or several stories, that are, in themselves, telling about how authorship may (and, in fact, did) work: authorship in the light of early modern compilation is shown to be quintessentially one of interaction and of co-authorship, with the compiler creating the actual meaning of a poem by

as well as the obvious and overt sequencing of poems in *England's Helicon*, for instance, speak against such a distinction.

[26] George Herbert's "Death" takes up the poem as well, see esp. ll. 1-4.

[27] The following findings mainly go back to discussions in my class on "Early Modern Miscellanies: Authorship and Dialogue" taught at Tübingen University in the winter term of 2019/2020.

[28] On musical links in *England's Helicon*, see Greer (1990).

[29] In the case of *Tottel's Miscellany*, "through its juxtaposition of differing modes and poetic stances, express a multi-stranded response to the uncertain worlds of love and politics" (2012, xxvi).

making it interact with others. Authorship, in the early modern period, accordingly goes beyond our contemporary notions of 'authoring the text', i.e. conceiving and writing/composing it. The entry in Palsgrave's dictionary on "Compyle" tells us as much, as it stresses the authority of the compiler in (re)arranging and even changing assumedly 'authoritative' texts: "For the makers of early modern books, the material arrangement of poems was an act of creation" (Heffernan 2021, 4).

The story of one poem has shown us how this poem moves from being somewhat typical in a row of similar poems – "Harpalus' Complaint" about his unrequited love – and, hence, anonymous, into a dialogical constellation, with a poem added "made as it were in answer," which is why names and attributions suddenly become important. Whether or not it makes sense to link this to emerging notions of individual authorship as well, leaving behind the more 'medieval' anonymity, remains to be asked.

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