

Doctoral Dissertation

PASSIONS, AUTHORSHIP AND GENDER IN EARLY MODERN WOMEN WRITERS
FOCUSING ON MARY SIDNEY WROTH

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Graduate School of Humanities and Sciences
Tokyo Woman's Christian University

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英国初期近代女性作家における熱情，作家性とジェンダー
— メアリー・シドニー・ロウスに焦点を当てて —

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Introduction

I. Critical History of Early Modern Women's Writing

At the dawn of critical history of early modern women's writing, as Margaret J. M. Ezell notes, scholars focused on the 'absence' and 'discovery' of women writers.¹ Virginia Woolf famously speculated about the absence of early modern women writers in *A Room of One's Own* (1929): 'It would have been impossible, completely and entirely, for any woman to have written the plays in the age of Shakespeare'.² Woolf's literary discussion of the history of women's writing and the myth of Judith Shakespeare have been repeatedly shared by critics as an example of a tragic woman who 'had the quickest fancy, a gift like her brother's, for the tune of words'.³ At the same time, scholars tried to revise Woolf's views that regarded only Margaret Cavendish (c.1623-1673) and Aphra Behn (c.1640-1689) as pioneering women writers in English literary history.⁴ They discovered a substantial number of women writers of both high and modest social standing around and even before the age of

¹ Margaret J. M. Ezell, 'Invisibility Optics: Aphra Behn, Esther Inglis and the Fortunes of Women's Works', in *A History of Early Modern Women's Writing*, ed. by Patricia Phillippy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 27-45 (p. 30); The understanding of the time period of 'early modern England' varies depending on the sources; Jean E. Howard claims in 'Was There a Renaissance Feminism?', in *A New Companion to English Renaissance*, ed. by Michael Hattaway (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010) that it roughly covers the time period which stretches from the reign of Henry VIII (1509-1547) to the Restoration (1660), while the *Oxford English Dictionary* says that it is roughly from the late fifteenth to the eighteenth century. The *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, early modern, *adj.* Generally speaking, 'early modern England' roughly covers the time period which corresponds with the Tudor (1485-1603) and the Stuart (1603 to 1714) dynasties.

² Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), p. 54.

³ Woolf, p. 55.

⁴ Mihoko Suzuki, 'Introduction', in *The History of British Women's Writing, 1610-1690*, ed. by Mihoko Suzuki, 10 vols, III (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 1-30.

Shakespeare.

One of the earliest works on early modern women's writing is Charlotte Kohler's groundbreaking PhD thesis, entitled 'The Elizabethan Woman of Letters: the Extent of Her Literary Activities'. She wrote her thesis in 1936 at the University of Virginia, only seven years after the publication of Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*. It discusses works of several early modern women writers: Jane Lumley (1537-1578), Margaret Tyler (*fl.* 1558-1578), Isabella Whitney (*fl.* 1566-1573), Elizabeth Cary (1585-1639), and Lady Mary Sidney Wroth (1586/87-1651). Kohler examines the relation between women's education in Renaissance England and the increasing number of the works they produced. What is intriguing is that she already dealt with various literary genres, such as poetry, drama, romance, pamphlet and translation by a broad range of women from Queen Elizabeth I to those of lower social standing. Then, the development of scholarship in women writers in the English Renaissance seemed to stop temporarily.

The rise of feminism accelerated the thriving body of research on women's writing around the 1970s and 1980s. In contrast to women writers in the nineteenth century, the presence of early modern women writers appears to have been ignored by feminist literary critics even after the discovery of women writers in the history of English literature. The important feminist critics, both French and Anglo-American schools, mainly focused on analyses of nineteenth-century women novelists in England. For instance, Hélène Cixous, who played an important role as a French feminist critic chiefly in the 1970s, did not recognise the presence

of women writers in the history of English literature. It is because, for Cixous, *l'écriture féminine* lacked the past history of women's writing: 'It is well known that the number of women writers (while having increased very slightly from the nineteenth century on) has always been ridiculously small'.⁵

At the same time, Elaine Showalter omitted early modern women in British literary tradition in her pioneering work, *A Literature of Their Own* (1977), though she was also a leading figure among Anglo-American feminist critics. Showalter discussed English women novelists only from the Brontës to Doris Lessing, whom she regarded as professional writers, who want 'pay and publication', rather than as diarists or letter writers.⁶ In addition, Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar's *The Madwoman in the Attic* (1979) and Nina Auerbach's *The Woman and the Demon* (1985) also focused on the nineteenth-century female novelists in England. In short, Anglo-American feminist scholars marginalised early modern women's writing as the prehistory of English literature.

In 1986, a very influential feminist critic, Joan Kelly, wrote an article entitled 'Did Women Have a Renaissance?' in *Women, History, and Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly*. While Kelly discusses if women had a Renaissance as a social historian in the context of Italian Renaissance, she argues that 'there was no Renaissance for women — at least not during the Renaissance'.⁷ The studies of early modern women writers seem to have

⁵ Hélène Cixous, 'The Laugh of Medusa', *Signs*, trans. by Keith Cohen and Paula Cohen, 1.4 (1976), 875-893 (p. 878).

⁶ Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 12.

⁷ Joan Kelly, 'Did Women Have a Renaissance?', in *Women, History, & Theory: The*

started in a real sense by refuting Kelly's assertion, arguing that some women did have a Renaissance.⁸ The publication of the two groundbreaking criticisms, Suzanne W. Hull's *Chaste, Silent & Obedient: English Books for Women 1475-1640* (1982) and Elaine V. Beilin's *Redeeming Eve: Women Writers of the English Renaissance* (1987) greatly changed the direction of the studies of early modern women's writing. Hull suggests that women's reading tastes contributed to the shaping of male authors' literary style.⁹ On the other hand, Beilin explores early modern women's engagement with social and cultural upheavals, which was their invasion of the male sphere of literary activities, in terms of the issue of gender.¹⁰ The characteristic of the task for these pioneering critics was to discover women's voice as something unified in male-centred literary culture.

II. The Relevance of the Study of Early Modern Women's Writing in the Twenty-First Century

One of the latest collections of essays about early modern women's writing is *A History of Early Modern Women's Writing* (2018) edited by

Essays of Joan Kelly (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 137-64.

⁸ Elaine Beilin, *Redeeming Eve: Women Writers in the English Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 290; Betty S. Travitsky, 'Introduction', in *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print & Counterbalancing the Canon*, ed. by Anne M. Haselkorn and Betty S. Travitsky (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press), pp. 3-41 (p. 7).

⁹ Suzanne W. Hull, *Chaste, Silent & Obedient: English Books for Women 1475-1640* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1982)

¹⁰ Jean E. Howard, 'Was There a Renaissance Feminism?', in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. by Michael Hattaway (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 492-501 (p. 496): 'By writing, and in some cases by publishing their texts, women authors were usurping a masculine subject position, though they seldom did so for overtly subversive purposes.'

Patricia Phillippy. Ezell insists in this collection that continuous relevance and importance of early modern women's writing lie neither in 'their anomalous nature nor their female uniformity' but rather in 'their sparkling multiplicity'.¹¹ Therefore, for the scholars, who are currently working on early modern women's writing, the important task is to demonstrate multiple voices in their works in view of various social contexts and cultural networks in which they wrote. Women's voice is not a unified and single voice; rather, it embraces multiplicity. This multiplicity of early modern women's voice can be a bridge to understand better our own life in the twenty-first century, because it is now essential to respect the cultural diversity in terms of religion, race, politics, sexuality and gender. Wroth's works themselves also embody such multiplicity.

At the beginning of the history of criticism on Mary Wroth's literary texts, critics focused on the theme of gender, and the familial and biological allegories codified in them. Much attention has also been placed upon the comparison between Wroth and the Sidney family members, particularly focusing on her renowned uncle, Sir Philip Sidney, her father Robert Sidney and her aunt Mary Sidney Herbert, the Countess of Pembroke.¹² The scope of early modern women studies has broadly expanded since the 1990s. Recent feminist criticism does not only deal with gender politics but also with women's greater engagements with

¹¹ Ezell, 'Invisibility Optics', p. 45.

¹² Mary Ellen Lamb, *Gender and Authorship in the Sidney Circle* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990); Gary Waller, *The Sidney Family Romance: Mary Wroth, William Herbert, and the Early Modern Construction of Gender* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993).

social, religious and political cultures.¹³ The issues of female authorship, literary genre, and constructions of female subjectivity have also been widely discussed.

The first monumental collection of essays focusing on Wroth was *Reading Mary Wroth: Representing Alternatives in Early Modern England* (1991) edited by Naomi J. Miller and Gary Waller. One of the volumes of *Ashgate Critical Essays on Women Writers in England, 1550-1700*, edited by Clare R. Kinney, also featured Wroth (2009). In 2010, Margaret P. Hannay published a massive biography, *Lady Mary, Sidney Wroth*. Mary Ellen Lamb edited an abridged version of *The First Part of the Countess of Montgomery's Urania* in 2011. In the same year, Akiko Kusunoki published the first book featuring Wroth in Japanese, entitled *Mary Sidney Wroth: Shakespeare ni Idonda Josei*. In 2015, two seminal works were added to the pile of scholarly criticism about Wroth: they were *Mary Wroth and Shakespeare* edited by Paul Salzman and Marion Wynne-Davies, and *Re-Reading Mary Wroth* edited by Katherine R. Larson, Naomi J. Miller and Andrew Strycharski. The former is the first book-length study, which focuses on a comparison between the works of Wroth and Shakespeare. The latter is, as the title implies, a re-reading of the still-compelling *Reading Mary Wroth* (1991).

Several articles about teaching Wroth's works have also been published by critics, such as Sheila T. Cavanagh.¹⁴ In the UK and other

¹³ Sarah C. E. Ross, *Women, Poetry, and Politics in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 6.

¹⁴ Sheila T. Cavanagh, 'The Long and Winding Road: Teaching Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania*', in *Re-Reading Mary Wroth*, ed. by Katherine R. Larson and Naomi J. Miller with Andrew Strycharski (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 209-

English-speaking countries, Wroth's texts are now part of the literary canon taught in university classrooms alongside the works of male authors, such as Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser, Christopher Marlowe, Thomas Nashe, William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. At the same time, critics have been discovering the works of lesser-known women writers and try to anthologise them.¹⁵ The recent publication of various anthologies of the works of women poets of the English Civil War have contributed to expand the scope of literary canon. For instance, Sarah C. E. Ross and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann edited *Women Poets of the English Civil War* (2017). Studies of Hester Pulter (1605?-1678) and Lucy Hutchinson (1620-1681) have newly come to light. Hutchinson's epic poem *Order and Disorder* has also been edited by David Norbrook and published in 2011. An online database called 'Pulter Project' contains digitised editions of Pulter's poetry with annotations both for university students and scholars.

In view of such critical history, this thesis aims to show the diverse and complex 'multiplicity' of early modern women's writing, focusing on the works of Mary Wroth. The thesis will also try to establish a new direction for the study of early modern passions and authorship through close reading of Wroth's texts alongside the works of male authors, reading passions as an important source of Wroth's and her characters' authorship. This approach has not yet been much adopted in feminist critique and gender studies. Studies of passions have come to prominence in the field of early modern studies since the turn of the twenty-first century. At the

22.

¹⁵ Sarah C. E. Ross and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann eds., *Women Poets of The English Civil War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018).

beginning of its critical history, scholars argued that passions were experienced corporeally, because of the influence of Galenic humoralism in the Renaissance. It is a theory of the workings of the human body, based on the idea that one's character and behaviour depend on a balance of four bodily humors — blood, phlegm, black and yellow bile.¹⁶ Among such previous works written by the scholars are Michael Schoendel's *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England* (1999) and *Reading Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (2004) edited by Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson.

Current directions of studies of emotion have extended their scope and attention to larger intellectual and creative frameworks rather than championing only the Galenic discourse. This new approach includes discussions about 'religious and philosophical belief, political performance, or rhetorical and dramaturgical style', all of which formed early modern emotional culture.¹⁷ For instance, *Passions and Subjectivity in Early Modern Culture* (2013), edited by Brian Cummings and Freya Sierhuis, and *The Renaissance of Emotion* (2015) edited by Richard Meek and Erin Sullivan represent the latest approach to passions. In view of these previous scholarly works, this thesis seeks to explore early modern emotion studies by looking at the interplay of passions, authorship and gender, focusing on the works of Mary Sidney Wroth. The thesis will

¹⁶ 'Humors', in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry & Poetics*, ed. by Roland Greene, Stephen Cushman, Clare Cavanagh et al., 4th edn (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 640-41.

¹⁷ Richard Meek and Erin Sullivan, *The Renaissance of Emotion: Understanding Affect in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), p. 5.

examine the complexity and diversity of Wroth's representations of passions in relation to her authorship in a dialogue with her male predecessors, such as Sidney, Spenser and Shakespeare. Wroth's originality can be revealed by an intertextual reading with the works of her male predecessors and peers. Wroth subtly engages with their works as a vehicle to accentuate her originality.

The thesis also aims to offer 'a nuanced reading' of early modern women's writing. A nuanced reading reflects a desire to make feminist reading more subtly historical, to work with the nuances and the modulations without making unnecessary generalisations that cannot be demonstrated historically. Such a reading will shed light on a far more complex interplay between the concept of gender and other factors which influenced early modern women's writing. While it is true to state that early modern England was patriarchal, it cannot reasonably be said that Wroth was in the same position as one of her male servants. Wroth might have had less scope for political or social action than her male relatives, but she still had financial and class advantages that offered her more agency than any person of both genders who belonged to lower social standing. As Elizabeth Scott-Baumann puts it, '[t]he problem faced by seventeenth-century women was not invisibility; it was in fact a very problematic visibility'.¹⁸ As will be closely examined in the latter part of Introduction, Wroth was also grappling with the 'the problem of visibility'.

¹⁸ Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, 'First "Nasty Women"', *Times Literary Supplement*, 26 July 2017 <<https://www.the-tls.co.uk/articles/private/early-modern-womens-writing/>> [accessed 28 January, 2018].

III. The Etymological Summary of Early Modern Passions

This section briefly summarises the etymological background of the three terms which are used in this thesis: passion, affection and emotion. Passion was originally used in Christian contexts, meaning '[t]he suffering of Jesus in the last days of his life, from the Last Supper to his death; the Crucifixion itself' and '[t]he sufferings of a martyr'.¹⁹ Etymologically, passion has an analogous meaning with the Latin 'patio', which means passivity.²⁰ At the same time, as Garrett A. Sullivan Jr. attests, passions are related to motion within and across the body and environment rather than something which embodies passivity.²¹ In *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (1600), Thomas Wright (1561-1623), religious controversialist, argues that passions cause uneasy perturbations²²:

They are called passions [...] because when these affections are stirring in our minds, they alter humours of our bodies, causing some passion or alteration in them. They are called perturbations for that [...] they trouble wonderfully the soule, corrupting the iudgement, & seducing the will, inducing (for the most part) to vice, and commonly withdrawing from virtue [...] These passions then be certaine internall actes or

¹⁹ The *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, passion, n.1.b, c.

²⁰ Richard Meek and Erin Sullivan, 'Introduction', in *The Renaissance of Emotion* (2015), pp. 10-11.

²¹ Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., 'Romance, Sleep, and the Passions in Sir Philip Sidney's "The Old Arcadia"', *ELH*, 74.3 (2007), 735-57.

²² As this title shows, in early modern England, the term passion was often used in the plural form. One of the latest collection of essays on early modern passions, *Passions and Subjectivity in Early Modern Culture* (2013), edited by Brian Cummings and Freya Sierhuis, also uses the plural form in its title, as quoted above (p. 8). In this thesis, the term will be often used in the plural form, depending on the contexts.

operations of the soule, bordering vpon reason and sense,
prosecuting some good thing, or flying some ill thing, causing
therewithall some alteration in the body.²³

While Wright defines passions as 'internall actes', this is not necessarily the case because, as Sullivan Jr. demonstrates, as long as passions prosecute 'some good thing' and 'flying some ill thing', they are in dialogue with the external world.²⁴ In early modern romance, characters' passions are often contagious and one of the ways through which they communicate with their beloveds, friends and family members. In addition, as Wright's use of the term shows, passions meant various sorts of strong and overwhelming emotions, such as 'desire, hate, fear' and 'an intense feeling and or impulse'.²⁵

The original meaning of affection also embodied the notion of suffering, passivity and disease, meaning 'powerful and controlling emotion as passions' opposed to 'reason' in medical contexts.²⁶ However, theologians, such as St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, considered it important to distinguish problematic movement of the soul, such as lust and passions, from the Godly love of affections and compassion.²⁷ In contrast to passion and affection, emotion is a relatively new term, which was brought by John Florio in his translation of Michel de Montaigne's

²³ Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (London, 1600), p. 8.

²⁴ Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., 'Romance, Sleep, and the Passions', p. 737.

²⁵ The *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, passion, n. II. 6a.

²⁶ Thomas Dixon, 'Emotion: The History of a Keyword in Crisis', *Emotion Review*, 4.4 (2012), p. 340; The *Oxford English Dictionary*, affection, n. I 1b.

²⁷ Dixon, P. 339.

Essays.²⁸ It meant ‘physical disturbance and bodily movement’.²⁹ In terms of its perturbation, emotion could be linguistically equivalent to early modern passions. However, while René Descartes tried to introduce emotion as an alternative to passion in his *Passions of the Soul* (1649), it was in the early nineteenth century that the term emotion began to be fully used as a theoretical category in mental science apart from medical contexts, providing a substitution for passions and affections.³⁰ The force of feelings, such as deep sorrow, is rather powerfully represented in Wroth’s works and even sometimes so consuming that it is not always compatible with the concept of passivity which was originally attached to the meaning of passions. In consideration of the etymological history of these three terms and the difficulty of choosing the right term in expressing feelings in early modern England, the term passions will primarily be used in this thesis, because Wroth herself deploys the term to express various kinds of feelings including sorrow.

IV. The Concept of Authorship in Early Modern England

In early modern England, the idea of authorship was relatively flexible. The idea of a single author was less fixed. Literary creation, particularly drama, was understood and undertaken as a fruit of collaborative work.³¹ Some of Shakespeare’s plays seem to have been

²⁸ Dixon, p. 340.

²⁹ Dixon, p. 340.

³⁰ Dixon, pp. 340-41.

³¹ Patricia Pender and Alexandra Day, ‘Introduction’, in *Gender, Authorship, and Early Modern Women’s Collaboration*, ed. by Patricia Pender (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 1-22 (p. 4); Jeffrey Masten, *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge:

composed collaboratively with other playwrights. For instance, Shakespeare collaborated with John Fletcher in writing *Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. In considering that early modern plays were often created collaboratively, the publication of 'the works of Benjamin Jonson' in 1616 introduced a new direction in understanding the concept of authorship at that time.

With the rise of the new concept of textualism, which sheds light on 'the materiality of the text and the creativity of non-authorial agents',³² the study of early modern women writers has recently shifted its focus: in the 1980s, women writers were considered solely as single authors of the texts. However, the more diverse apparatus of female authorship has come to be the centre of interest. Moreover, following the development of manuscript studies, critics have gradually paid attention to 'the recovery of the material cultures of writing'.³³ Studies of marginalia, readers' annotation and authors' editorial processes have begun to be explored. Ross summarises the recent shift in the study of early modern women's writing:

The discussion of early modern women's writing increasingly focuses on the *textuality* of authorship, in explorations of women as readers and consumers of texts, of textual compilation and collaboration as modes of authorship, and of the complexly

Cambridge University Press, 1997).

³² Lamb, 'Out of the Archives: Mary Wroth's *Countess of Montgomery's Urania*', in *Editing Early Modern Women*, ed. by Sarah C. E. Ross and Paul Salzman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 197-214 (p. 203).

³³ Ezell, 'Introduction: Sparkling Multiplicity', in *A History of Early Modern Women's Writing*, p. 10.

mediated nature of authorial 'agency' in texts that occur in manuscript culture. Early modern women's writing is in this way a field that is moving away from simple conception of the female author as the originator and agent of textual production towards the more complex consideration of the nexuses of textual, social, and material forces through which articulations of gender – and authorship itself – are produced and reproduced.³⁴

In considering the '*textuality* of authorship', Wroth's authorial agency can be revealed through her character's choices of materials for writing, poetic forms as well as through the whole process of Wroth's literary production; that is, editing of her manuscripts and the ways of its circulation and reception. As the recent study of early modern women writers looks at 'the nexuses of textual, social, and material forces' which enabled women to write, it is also essential to consider familial factors in exploring Wroth's literary texts.

Concerning editing of early modern women's literary texts, recent scholars, such as Ross and Paul Salzman, realise the ongoing tension between the mainstream editorial work and the editing of women's writing since the late twentieth century; while the mainstream editorial work began to centre on 'the elision of the author and authorial intentionality', the studies of early modern women's writing continue to work on recovering

³⁴ Sarah C. E. Ross, 'Early Modern Women and the Apparatus of Authorship', *Parergon*, 29.2 (2012), 1-12 (pp. 1-2). The term 'agency' is taken from Elizabeth Clarke and Jonathan Gibson, 'Introduction', in *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Poetry*, ed. by Jill Seal Millman and Gillian Wright (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 1-10 (p. 2).

‘authorial identity’.³⁵ The aim of studies of women’s works in early modern England remains to recuperate the lesser-known or still hidden presence of female authors. This area of research contains diverse challenges and potentialities for further research about early modern authorship and editing.

V. Wroth’s Biography and Her Literary Activities

Mary Sidney Wroth was born in 1586/87 as the eldest daughter of Robert Sidney, the 1st Earl of Leicester and younger brother of Sir Philip Sidney and Mary Sidney Herbert, the Countess of Pembroke. In particular, Philip Sidney was a very important figure in the English Renaissance as a courtier, scholar and poet. He and Mary Sidney are also well-known for their literary activities; he composed a prose romance, *Arcadia*, which has various versions, and a sonnet sequence, *Astrophil and Stella*, while the Countess mainly worked as a translator and an editor of Sidney’s romance. She translated Petrarch’s *The Triumph of Death* (c.1600) from Italian, Philip de Mornay’s *A Discourse of Death and Life* (1590) and Robert Garnier’s *The Tragedy of Antonie* (1590), both from French. She also supervised the editing of her brother’s prose romance, the 1593 and 1598 editions of *Arcadia*.

Wroth’s father also wrote a sonnet sequence. Her mother was Barbara Gamage, the Welsh heiress and a distant cousin of Sir Walter Raleigh. Her first cousin and long-standing lover, William Herbert, the eldest son of

³⁵ Sarah C. E. Ross and Paul Salzman, ‘Introduction: Editing Early Modern Women’, in *Editing Early Modern Women*, pp. 1-18 (pp. 1-2).

Mary Sidney and the 3rd Earl of Pembroke, also wrote sonnets. Recent critics, such as Lamb and Ilona Bell, argue that Wroth and Herbert almost certainly exchanged their poems.³⁶ Wroth grew up exceedingly educated, surrounded by these highly literary members of the Sidney family. Unlike most men of lower social standing, she could receive the necessary rhetorical and classical education to write her literary works. It is thus important to acknowledge Wroth's privileged social position to explore her authorship.

In the history of scholarship of Wroth's literary texts, critics' emphases have been placed largely on the pioneering nature of her writing as the first Englishwoman that wrote three new genres for women's writing: a prose romance, *The First Part of the Countess of Montgomery's Urania* (1621) and its continuous part (1999), a sonnet sequence, *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* (1621), and a pastoral tragicomedy, *Love's Victory* (c.1617).³⁷ Wroth's sonnet sequence echoes those of Philip Sidney and of Robert Sidney. She also reworked male-authored romances, such as her uncle's *Arcadia*, Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* and several Iberian romances, such as *Amadis de Gaule* and *Don Quixote*, and Italian romance, such as *Orlando Furioso*.³⁸ Wroth also alluded to Shakespeare's plays and sonnets. Her allusions to the works of her relatives and male

³⁶ Lamb, "Can You Suspect a Change in Me?": Poems by Mary Wroth and William Herbert', in *Re-Reading Mary Wroth*, ed. by Katherine Larson, Naomi Miller with Andrew Strycharski, pp. 53-68; Ilona Bell, 'The Autograph Manuscript of Mary Wroth's *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*', in *Re-Reading Mary Wroth*, pp. 171-81.

³⁷ Hereafter the title will be abbreviated as *Urania* I for *The First Part of the Countess of Montgomery's Urania*, and *Urania* II for *Urania* I's subsequent part in this thesis.

³⁸ In 1612, the English translation of the first part of *Don Quixote* was published, while the second part was printed in 1620.

predecessors produced the outcome to accentuate her literary originality in these genres.

However, Wroth's choice of these genres (i.e. sonnet-sequence, prose romance and pastoral tragicomedy) paradoxically embodies women's belated arrival in the history of early modern literature. As Wynne-Davies points out, one of the characteristics of Wroth's writing is to adopt literary genres which were already prevalent or relatively old-fashioned in the 1620s.³⁹ For instance, the sonnet sequence had been highly popular among the Elizabethan poets. Famous male sonneteers are members of the Sidney family and those who had close ties with them, such as Edmund Spenser, Fulke Greville, Samuel Daniel, Michael Drayton. Shakespeare's sonnets were published relatively later than those of these poets in 1609 by Thomas Thorpe. Wroth's composition date of *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* is rather closer to that of Shakespeare than that of her male relatives.

By 1621, satirical attitudes to romance became common, while the genre was at the height of its popularity approximately twenty years before.⁴⁰ In addition, Wroth's tragicomedy, *Love's Victory*, also followed Samuel Daniel's *Hymen's Triumph*, *Queen's Arcadia*, and William Browne's *Britannia's Pastoral*. All of these works were influenced by Torquato Tasso's *Aminta* (1573) and Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* (1590), translated into English from Italian by Edward Dymock in 1602.

³⁹ Marion Wynne-Davies, *Women Writers and Familial Discourse in The English Renaissance* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 96.

⁴⁰ Jennifer Lee Carrell, 'A Pack of Lies in Looking Glass: Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania* and the Magic Mirror of Romance', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 34.1 (1994), 79-107 (pp. 100-01); Akiko Kusunoki, "'Sorrow I'le Wed': Resolutions of Women's Sadness in Mary Wroth's *Urania* and Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*", *Sidney Journal*, 31.1 (2013), 117-30 (pp. 118-19).

Aminta was reworked by Abraham Fraunce as *The Countess of Pembroke's Ivychurch* in 1591. Wroth's use of tragicomedy seems to follow the contemporary trend of Anglicisation of the Italianate genre. And yet, she still followed the trend which had already been pursued by these male dramatists.

Wroth was almost the last member of the Sidney family who actively got involved in literary productions. The genre which Wroth used last was tragicomedy, which none of the Sidney family used. It also seems that she did not borrow directly from literary sources written by her male predecessors. It is thus tempting to speculate on Wroth's development as an author who eventually came to keep some distance from the Sidneian tradition.⁴¹ In the history of English literature, the genre of sonnet sequence, which she chose first, does not seem to have been used much after Wroth's composition of *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* before its revival in the Romantic period. As Maureen Quilligan says, Wroth was the last to use a sonnet sequence in the English Renaissance, while her uncle, Sir Philip, was the first to do so.⁴² Therefore, Wroth was the first female poet to use the genre, but also almost the last of the Sidneys and even of early modern poets. Wroth's belated use of these three genres (i.e. sonnet

⁴¹ Wynne-Davies, *Familial Discourse*, Chapter 5.

⁴² Maureen Quilligan, 'The Constant Subject: Instability and Female Authority in Wroth's *Urania Poems*', in *Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century Poetry*, ed. by Elizabeth D. Harvey and Katharine Eisaman Maus (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 307-35 (p. 307); Ilona Bell argues against scholars who consider Wroth's poetry was written a decade after the flourish of the genre. Bell rather suggests a possibility that Wroth might have started writing her poetry around the time of her marriage in 1604, when the Elizabethan love poetry was still at the height of its popularity. See Bell, 'Introduction', in *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus in Manuscript and Print*, ed. by Ilona Bell (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2017), p. 49.

sequence, prose romance and pastoral tragicomedy) might have been related to her gender. However, this thesis argues that this belatedness also opened a huge amount of space for Wroth to engage with her authorship by recycling, reshaping, reassessing and reworking them, eventually transforming male-authored works in many significant ways.⁴³

There is no clear external evidence for the chronology of her works. It seems apparent that Wroth began to write her poetry as early as 1613 and ended her literary life with writing *Urania* II around 1630. *Urania* I was published in 1621 with selected and revised poems of *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* as its coda. There is no evidence of *Love's Victory's* publication during Wroth's lifetime. However, scholars, such as Alison Findlay, suggest that it was privately performed by members of the Sidney family and Wroth's friends at Penshurst Place, where Wroth was born and grew up.⁴⁴ In 2018, Findlay led the first professional production of *Love's Victory*, which was performed in Baron's Hall at Penshurst Place, the exact place where the original performance might have been held during Wroth's lifetime.

The thesis will place Wroth in the genealogy of preceding early modern male and female writers who gradually expanded the scope of their literary activities. Like Wroth, a lot of women of various social standing exercised their authorship in terms of their choices of their literary genre. Emilia Lanier (bap.1569-1645), a daughter of an Italian Jewish court

⁴³ Sarah Lewis explored an interplay of delay, gender and temporality on early modern stage in her PhD thesis: 'Gender and Delay in Early Modern Theatre' (unpublished doctoral theses, King's College London, 2011).

⁴⁴ Alison Findlay, *Playing Spaces in Early Women's Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

musician, Elizabeth Cary (1585-1639), Viscountess of Falkland, and Rachel Speght (c.1597-1661), a daughter of a Calvinist minister of London, are amongst the best-known. Unlike Wroth, Lanier and Speght were not noblewomen. It is noteworthy that women, who did not belong to courtly culture, wrote their own works, using their writing skills to show their cultural autonomy. Lanier dedicated her poems in *Salve Deus rex Judæorum* (1611) to nine royal and aristocratic ladies. By contrast, Speght became embroiled in the pamphlet controversies about feminine virtues as a polemicist by writing and publishing *A Mouzell for Melastomus* (1617) to refute Joseph Swetnam's misogynous pamphlet, *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women* (1615). Furthermore, Cary is the first Englishwoman who composed a tragedy, *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613). The play represents female conflicts within the domestic spheres in which they were supposed to stay. She also wrote *Edward II* in 1626-27, while it was not published until 1680. Wroth was in line with these female authors in seventeenth-century England.

VI. Women Writers and Literary Genres

Whether women writers fit within an ideal image of womanhood in early modern England largely depended on kinds of genre they engaged with. Although it is important to avoid oversimplified understanding of women as a single category, Hull's definition of early modern ideal womanhood — 'chaste, silent and obedient' — is still useful to grasp the general cultural contexts in which most of early modern women lived. 'Chaste, silent and obedient' women were regarded as opposite to Eve, who

was solicited by Satan. Women, who were regarded as ‘disobedient, talkative, lascivious shrews’, could be classified as Eve’s followers.⁴⁵ This categorisation of women was easily applied to the early modern women writers depending on the literary genre they chose. Importantly, the eloquence of early modern women writers was generally associated with their sexual promiscuity.⁴⁶ Hence, virtuous women were supposed to write works, which did not undermine certain genre limitations so as not to breach the feminine virtue of silence and modesty at that time.

Wroth’s female predecessors mostly worked within the framework of the following genres: translation, pious works, diaries, and letters. Most of early modern women’s works seemed to fit into the categorisation as supplementary texts. Jane Lumley (1537-1578), the eldest daughter of the 12th Earl of Arundel, translated Euripides’s drama, *The Tragedy of Iphigeneia* (c1553). Margaret Tyler (1558-1578) translated a prose romance, Diego Ortuñez de Calahorra’s *The Mirror of Knighthood* (1578), from Spanish into English. Several women wrote mother’s advice books for their children, a genre which includes such works as Dorothy Leigh’s *The Mother’s Blessing* (1616) and Elizabeth Clinton’s *The Countess of Lincoln’s Nursery* (1622). Leigh’s *Mother’s Blessing* (1616) was reprinted in twenty-three editions until 1647.

At the same time, Margaret Hoby (*bap.* 1571-1633),⁴⁷ wife of Sir

⁴⁵ Beilin, *Redeeming Eve*, p. xix.

⁴⁶ Ann Rosalind Jones, *The Currency of Eros: Women’s Love Lyric in Europe, 1540-1620* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), p. 1; S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies, eds, *Renaissance Drama by Women Texts and Documents* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 3.

⁴⁷ Margaret Hoby married three times in her life. In 1588 or 1589, she married Walter, the son of Walter Devereux, the 1st Earl of Essex. After the death of her

Thomas Posthumous Hoby (1566-1644), and Anne Clifford (1590-1676), the 4th Countess of Montgomery by her second marriage to Philip Herbert (1584-1650), the second son of Mary Sidney Herbert, are the two well-known diarists in Elizabethan and Jacobean England. Among the best-known patronesses are Mary Sidney Herbert, Lucy, the Countess of Bedford (*bap.*1581-1627), and Susan de Vere (1587-1629), who was Wroth's close friend and the first wife of Philip Herbert. Susan de Vere lent her copy of *Amadis de Gaule* to Anthony Munday (*bap.*1560-1633) for its translation into English.⁴⁸

These genres, such as translation, were at first glance regarded as secondary and derivative in comparison to the original literary production of male writers.⁴⁹ Randall Martin classifies religious works, advice to children, and the translation of male-authored works as 'feminine' genres of early modern literature.⁵⁰ Martin also observes that these 'private' genres were traditionally regarded as inferior to the masculine genres, such as 'epic poetry, tragedy, and history'.⁵¹ He concludes that female inaccessibility to these masculine genres was due to the lack of opportunity for them to gain a classical education.

In considering this social pressure on women's choice of literary genre, it is easy to understand that Lord Edward Denny, Baron of Waltham,

first husband, in 1591, she married Thomas Sidney, brother of Sir Philip Sidney. Her third husband is Thomas Posthumus Hoby.

⁴⁸ Garcí Rodoíguez de Montalvo, *Amadis de Gaule*, trans. by Anthony Munday, ed. by Helen Moore (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). *Amadis de Gaule* is a medieval chivalric romance, which is one of the sources Wroth drew upon to compose *Urania*. Philip Sidney also refers to the romance in *Arcadia*.

⁴⁹ Randall Martin, ed., *Women Writers in Renaissance England*, 2nd edn (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2010), p. 5.

⁵⁰ Martin, p. 5.

⁵¹ Martin, p. 5.

verbally abused Wroth, while complementing her aunt, Mary Sidney Herbert. He blamed Wroth for her satirical allusion to his family scandal and her use of romance genre which contains amorous episodes. After the publication of *Urania* I in 1621, he sent a letter with his verse, which harshly criticised Wroth and her work. Due to its *roman à clef* topicality, Wroth's prose fiction contains subtly knitted allusions to her close friends, family members, contemporary courtiers, and topical events and political issues. Her readers would have been provoked to speculate on Wroth's veiled views. Thus, the aristocratic readers, such as Lord Denny, would have been astonished that his private life was disclosed to the general public.

Lord Denny suspected that Wroth's characterisations of Sirelius, a gentleman, and his father-in-law reflected his own family scandal.⁵² In *Urania* I, Sirelius's father-in-law is characterised as being 'a phantastical thing, vain as Courtiers, rash as mad-men, and ignorant as women' (1.516.7-8). Sirelius's wife was disloyal to her husband. It is now a critical commonplace that Wroth's representations of Sirelius and his father-in-law mirror James Hay and Denny himself. Hay, Viscount Doncaster and later the 1st Earl of Carlisle, was a husband of Denny's only daughter, whose name was Honora. Hay and Honora married in 1607. Wroth actually alludes to the scandal of Hay's marriage, including Honora's adultery and Lord Denny's involvement in the affair. Far from protecting his only daughter, Lord Denny tried to kill his daughter.

⁵² Josephine A. Roberts, 'The Life of Lady Mary Wroth' in *The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), pp. 3-40 (p. 32).

In his poem entitled 'To Pamphilia from the father-in-law of Seralius', Denny accuses Wroth as being a '[h]ermophradite in show, indeed a monster', while regarding her romance as 'an idell book'. Denny also orders her to 'leave idle books alone / For wise and worthy women have writte none'.⁵³ Denny's use of the term 'idle' echoes Juan Luis Vives's definition of romance in *The Instruction of a Christian Woman*. Vives regards romances as 'bokes but ydel men wrote unlerned, and set al upon filthe and viciousness'; therefore, he criticises women who read romance, including Ovid's works, because they contain many erotic scenes which might awaken female sexuality.⁵⁴

In his second letter sent as a response to Wroth, Lord Denny directly criticises Wroth's allusion to his family scandal and the publication of *Urania I*: 'your own mouth hath published me to be the man whom that spitefull and scornfull passa[g]e did concerne'.⁵⁵ Denny considered that Wroth's aunt, Mary Sidney Herbert, had devoted her life to writing pious works, which were regarded as suitable for women's writing. Hence, he even lectures Wroth to follow the footsteps of her aunt, urging her to repent her folly to spend a long time for writing *Urania I*:

you may repent you of so many ill spent yeares of so vaine a

⁵³ Roberts, 'Introduction', in *The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth*, p. 32.

⁵⁴ Juan Luis Vives, *The Instruction of a Christian Woman*, ed. by Virginia Walcott Beauchamp et al. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), pp. 24-28. Helen Hackett suggests that the assumptions that the presence of a large body of female readership of romance in that period and the definition of them as frivolous and credulous women readers are 'exaggerations and caricatures with clear rhetorical purposes, probably constructed by male authors implicitly addressing male audience'. See Hackett, *Women and Romance Fiction in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 19.

⁵⁵ Roberts, 'Appendix: The Correspondence of Lady Mary Wroth', in *The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth*, p. 239.

booke and that you may redeeme the tyme with writing as large a volume of heavenly layes and holy love as you have of lascivious tales and amorous toys that at the last you may followe the rare, and pious example of your virtuous and learned Aunt, who translated so many godly books and especially the holly psalmes of David.⁵⁶

In fact, Mary Sidney Herbert completed the metric paraphrasing of *The Psalms of David* after the death of her brother, Philip Sidney, at Zutphen on 17th October 1586. Denny's letter shows several reasons why Wroth's prose fiction became the centre of social criticism soon after its publication.

Nevertheless, it is also important to note that the relationship between women writers and their choice of genre is not easy to define, since early modern literary genres were mutually interwoven. Danielle Clarke makes the valid observation about the limitation and fluidity of genres in the English Renaissance: 'Generic organization has its limitations, not least that early modern categories of genre do not map cleanly onto modern ones — genre in any case is notoriously fluid and unstable'.⁵⁷ The concept of genre is not a criterion that can be used in making clear distinctions among literary texts depending on their different characteristics; rather, there are domains which overlap with one another in the notion of genre due to the similarities in each text.

⁵⁶ Roberts, 'Appendix: The Correspondence of Lady Mary Wroth', in *The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth*, p. 239.

⁵⁷ Danielle Clarke, *The Politics of Early Modern Women's Writing* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001), p. 7.

VII. 'Stigma of Print' and Difficulties in Publishing

Wroth's publication of *Urania* I and *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* violated the aristocratic norm — known as the 'Stigma of Print', which demands that aristocrats refrain from showing their inner feelings in public regardless of gender. Ezell persuasively argues the unfamiliarity of the act of publishing in early modern England: 'to publish was the exception for both men and women, and the most common practice was the circulation of manuscript copies'.⁵⁸ Even the poetry of William Herbert was published in 1660 by John Donne, the younger (1604-1662/63), thirty years after his death.

The low rate of female literacy also demonstrates that Wroth's publication of her works was an unprecedented case. The rate of female literacy was around 5% in 1550 and it did not increase much until the time of the Civil War.⁵⁹ A mere 0.5% was the ratio for the amount of materials published by women at that time, increasing to 1.2 % after 1640.⁶⁰ The data clearly shows the unbalanced number of publications due to gender. There is some truth in the assertion that early modern women faced strong pressure forced by a male-centred society not to use their voice by means of writing for publication. However, in the mid-seventeenth century, there

⁵⁸ Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1993), p. 34.

⁵⁹ David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 176; Helen Hackett rebukes Cressy's view of early modern women's literacy because of the lack of his attention to women's ability to read — Cressy focused on women's writing ability when they wrote their signatures. Hackett estimates that early modern women's reading ability was higher than Cressy's suggestion. See Hackett, *Women and Romance Fiction in the English Renaissance*, p. 6.

⁶⁰ Kate Aughterson, ed., *Renaissance Woman: A Sourcebook: Constructions of Femininity in England* (Routledge: London, 1995), p. 230.

was an established female readership of prose romances.⁶¹ The increase of female readership also implies the expansion of female literacy. Therefore, even though Wroth's fiction was written by an aristocratic lady in an exceptionally privileged social position, one of her greatest legacies was to leave a footstep to be followed by her literary descendants, such as Lady Hester Pulter, Margaret Cavendish, and Aphra Behn.

VIII. Chapter Plans

This thesis consists of five chapters, each of which will explore an interplay of passions, authorship and gender in poetry, prose romance and drama written by both male and female writers in early modern England, focusing on Mary Sidney Wroth.

Chapter 1 will examine how gender informs the sub-verbal forms of voice which appear between speech and silence in early modern literature. These less articulate forms of voice include sighs, breath, whispers and suspended voice, such as aposiopesis, a speaker's interruption in the middle of speech. Even though most of them are not fully-structured sentences, they are nevertheless eloquent in expressing one's passions. This chapter will argue that these elusive forms of voices breathed out especially by female characters in Wroth's works eventually contribute to construct their authorship.

Chapter 2 will address women's engagement with intellectual activities with a particular focus on eloquence, about which Wroth often

⁶¹ Hackett, *Women and Romance Fiction in the English Renaissance*, p. 19.

expresses different views from her male predecessors, such as William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. This chapter will also discuss the way in which Wroth deals with the issue of gender and education; she was highly educated and played an important role as a dedicatee of male-authored literary works. It is important to consider what eloquence meant for women and how it is related to authorship in early modern England.

Chapter 3 will study the nexus between poetic forms and expressions of women's inner feelings in early modern literary and cultural history. This chapter will focus on representations of female poets in *Urania* I, and their poetic styles and the use of the genre of 'Female Complaint'. This chapter will also look at how Wroth gives authorial voice to invisible and immaterial passions of both male and female characters especially at the height of their emotional turbulence.

Chapter 4 will explore the interplay of male tears, passions and the idea of masculinity in Wroth's *Urania* and male-authored early modern romances. Special attention will be paid on Wroth's representations of Amphilanthus, a male protagonist of *Urania*. Amphilanthus is ambivalent as he is an embodiment of ideal manhood, but at the same time, the most tearful man in the romance. This chapter will compare Wroth's portrayal of Amphilanthus's tears with male tears represented in Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, and William Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*. The discussion will be centred on why, where and how male characters are prone to weep and what kind of outcomes their tears bring to each work. This chapter aims to demonstrate that Wroth developed what male authors did not write; they are the long process of purging

mistakes in their romantic relationships and the character's psychological growth through a series of tearful complaints.

Chapter 5 will discuss Wroth's engagement with editing as a belated but creative form of authorship with reference to Derrida's idea of 'différance'. In spite of Wroth's achievements to transcend the scope of literary activities for early modern women writers, her works embody a dilemma which Wroth also faced as a pioneering woman writer at that time. This chapter will examine traces of her editing, including her self-censorship, during the process of manuscript writing to its publication in the form of print. The chapter will firstly compare scenes of editing and self-censorship in Wroth's *Urania* with those in male authored texts, such as Sidney's *Arcadia*. This chapter will also develop discussions for how a study of manuscripts provides clues to unveil or rather mask Wroth's passions in the process of preparing for the publication of *Urania* I. Thus, the thesis aims to demonstrate intertextual readings of Wroth's literary texts and those of her predecessors of both genders. Such ways of reading will highlight the 'multiplicity' of both Wroth's and women's writing in early modern England.

Chapter 1. Voice between Speech and Silence: Sighs, Whispers and Aposiopeses

Introduction

This chapter examines how gender informs the sub-verbal forms of voice on the threshold between speech and silence in early modern literature, focusing on the works of Mary Sidney Wroth. These forms of voice include sighs, breath, whispers and suspended voice, such as aposiopeses, a speaker's interruption in the middle of speech.⁶² Most of these do not constitute audible voice or fully grammatically structured language. Nevertheless, they are eloquent in revealing a speaker's passions in various ways. Those forms of voice provide a subtle outlet for women's emotions without directly violating cultural restriction on female speech and linguistic decorum. In addition, these sub-verbal expressions have social aspects in that they facilitate communication and create intimacy among characters who share their passions.

These elusive forms of voice often appear in a variety of ways in early modern literary texts, such as interruptions or discontinuities in the flow of a dialogue on the stylistic or sentence levels. On one hand, it seems that they temporarily stop the progress of narrative and verbal communication. On the other hand, such interruptions and discontinuities open up an experimental space for writers of both genders to deal with representations of emotions. In Wroth's works, passions, associated with

⁶² Although the term 'voice' is normally used in a singular form as a vocal sound, this thesis uses it in a plural form when it specifically means kinds of less articulate forms of voice, such as sighs, breath, whispers, and aposiopeses.

these less voluble and audible forms of voice, eventually lead characters and Wroth herself to cultivate their authorship. For the sake of further discussions of the relations between passions and poetic styles in Chapter 3, this chapter firstly explores how these sub-verbal forms of voice contribute to Wroth's representations of passions and how they are gendered or less gendered. By comparing her works with her male predecessors, this chapter argues that this temporal disjuncture of verbal communication is not an aesthetic instability in Wroth's writing, which shows her inability to control authorship, but rather an important source for demonstrating her originality as distinct from her male predecessors.

To deepen understanding of the role of voice between speech and silence, this chapter has been indebted to preceding studies by Bruce R. Smith, Gina Bloom, Christina Luckyj and Katherine R. Larson. The groundbreaking work on vocal sound as physical acts in early modern England is Bruce R. Smith's *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (1999). Focusing on the role of listening, Smith demonstrates voice as physical and political acts as well as sensory experience and an act of communication. Drawing on Smith's monograph, Gina Bloom has largely developed this area of research with special attention to gender and voice on the early modern stage. Bloom convincingly argues how the practical performance of breath, whisper and echo work as linguistic tactics for female characters to show their vocal agency in male-authored literature.⁶³ Focusing on Shakespeare's *King John*, for instance, Bloom discusses the

⁶³ Gina Bloom, *Voice in Motion: Staging Gender, Shaping Sound in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

importance of Eleanor's whispered rebuke for King John's bold boast and of Constance's petitions in soft voice as examples of female vocal power. Many critics, including Smith and Bloom, have contributed to exploring female voice represented by male writers in the English Renaissance.

Critics also use the term 'voice' metaphorically to unveil female writers' presence in male-centred literary culture. This is represented by a series of titles of critical studies, such as *Ventriloquized Voices: Feminist Theory and English Renaissance Texts* (1992), written by Elizabeth D. Harvey, and *'This Double Voice': Gendered Writing in Early Modern England* (2000), edited by Danielle Clarke and Elizabeth Clarke. There have been two main strands in the study of early modern women's writing and voice: 1) women and rhetoric and 2) women and oral traditions. The scholars who take the former approach include Danielle Clarke, Jennifer Richards, Alison Thorne, while Mary Ellen Lamb takes the latter approach. Recent critics share the common ground to deal with 'the varieties and effectiveness of women's eloquence in a range of contexts'.⁶⁴

Two outstanding monographs expanded readings of the relationship between voice and gender in early modern women's writing: Christina Luckyj's *'A Moving Rhetoric': Gender and Silence in Early Modern England* (2002) and Katherine R. Larson's *Early Modern Women in Conversation* (2011). Luckyj argues that silence can be rhetorically powerful in the English Renaissance. She claims that feminine silence is not simple obedience, but a sign of resistance. On the other hand,

⁶⁴ Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne, eds, *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 10.

regarding conversation as a 'legitimate and strategic tool for social negotiation and political intervention' for women, Larson convincingly explores the intersection of conversational theories, gender and space in early modern women's texts.⁶⁵ In 2019, Larson published *The Matter of Song in Early Modern England: Texts in and of the Air*, the latest addition to the scholarship of voice and gender in early modern women's writing. Larson focuses on the song as embodied and gendered performance, emphasising the significance to closely look at musical dimensions of literary production and circulation. Despite a growing critical interest in early modern women's writing and voice, how women writers engaged with less articulate forms of voice on the threshold between speech and silence, such as sighs, breaths and interruptions of speech, has received little attention.

Voice between speech and silence, which has less vocal power, has a potential to make a binary of men and women unstable in terms of speaking — man as an active speaker and woman as a passive and silent listener. It is also important to consider that the destabilisation of the sexual binary by these elusive forms of voice does not always empower women and give them vocal authority in *Urania*. Helen Hackett, Danielle Clarke and some others assert that romance was a highly gendered literary genre in early modern England.⁶⁶ In the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century, it

⁶⁵ Katherine R. Larson, *Early Modern Women in Conversation* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 3-4.

⁶⁶ Helen Hackett, *Women and Romance Fiction in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), see especially Chapter 10, 'Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania*'; Danielle Clarke, *Politics of Early Modern Women's Writing* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001), p. 245.

was a commonplace that romance was read by women, because an overflow of dangerous passions was supposed to appeal to them. As a result, it was classified as a 'woman's genre' whose contents were 'light and frivolous'.⁶⁷ Hackett, however, regards the affinity between women and romance as a kind of fiction created by male authors; they appeal to male readers who enjoy voyeuristic reading of romance, which was supposed to be read by women in their chambers.⁶⁸ In consideration of Hackett's discussion, this chapter also examines how Wroth engages with sub-verbal forms of voices, which exist between speech and silence in such a highly feminised form of literature, *Urania* I and II.

I. Liminality, Aristotle and Voice in Early Modern England

Early modern theories of acoustics generally followed Aristotle as an authority, though his theory also has limitations. His *De Anima* ('On the Soul') systematically investigated philosophical interpretations of the soul. Ronald Polansky regards *De Anima* as 'a work of the self and a work of self-knowledge', which deals with the soul as 'the genuine self'.⁶⁹ With an emphasis on the importance of 'hearing' in *De Anima*, Aristotle defines voice as 'a particular sound made by something with a soul' (Book II, Chapter 2, 420^b5).⁷⁰ Aristotle also asserts that what is crucial about voice is awakening the human mind. This is because voice is a sound produced

⁶⁷ Hackett, *Women and Romance Fiction*, pp. 39-40.

⁶⁸ Hackett, *Women and Romance Fiction*, pp. 39-40.

⁶⁹ Ronald Polansky, 'Introduction', in *Aristotle's De Anima* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 5.

⁷⁰ Aristotle, *De Anima Books II and III*, trans. by D. W. Hamlyn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 32; Polansky, pp. 32-33.

by 'something with a soul' and has various meanings which need interpretations by listeners.⁷¹

William Shakespeare's *Hamlet* offers an interesting example for further discussion of Aristotle's treatise on voice and its interpretation by listeners. In Act 3 Scene 4, Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, has an argument with his mother Gertrude in her chamber about her swift remarriage with Claudius, her brother-in-law. During the argument, Gertrude tells Hamlet that she will not reveal to Claudius that he is actually sane and is only pretending to be mad: 'Be thou assured, if words be made of breath / And breath of life, I have no life to breathe / What thou hast said to me' (3.4.195-67). Using the term 'breath' both as a noun and a verb, Gertrude anatomises corporeal association between 'words' and 'breath'. She also expresses her psychological fluctuation caused by Hamlet's words. What she can breathe is only sighs at her meeting with King Claudius in Act 4 Scene 1, which soon follows the heated conversation between Hamlet and Gertrude. Claudius recognises her awkward attitude through her lack of words, while she shows abundant sighs and sobs: 'There's matter in these sighs, these profound heaves' (4.1.1-2). He asks her to 'translate' these inarticulate voices. It is necessary for listeners to decode less articulate forms of voice, such as sighs breathed by Gertrude. Less voluble and audible sounds, produced by one's vocal organs, illustrate a person's passions and sometimes even his or her identity.

The relation between voice and self is inseparable, because selfhood

⁷¹ Polansky, p. 297.

is often encapsulated in one's voice. For instance, in *Urania* I, Parselius, Pamphilia's brother, recognises his beloved's identity through her voice, while her face is covered with a black veil. At the court of the Kingdom of Morea, soon after Parselius listens to her voice, he cannot believe that she has traveled all the way to Morea with their baby. Hence, he hopes to see her face: 'Her voice he then began to know, yet being impossible (as hee thought) for Dalinea to come thither, he desired to see her face' (1.242.37-38). This scene will be further explored later in this chapter.

Orators play roles like actors and the words in Greek and Latin that signify selfhood or personhood incorporate the idea of the role; that is, in Greek, *Prosopopeia*, which means 'making a mask' and, in Latin, *Persona*, which means a mask, and all words describing personhood come from this word.⁷² Gavin Alexander argues that words, which someone speaks, could be a device to reveal one's selfhood: 'personhood as it is configured and enacted in Renaissance fictions is built on the rhetorical idea that a self is the words it speaks'.⁷³ As Gertrude's speech shows, spoken words are made of a person's breath. Hence, the relation between spoken words and a speaker's self can be extended to that between a self and sounds of human voice, produced by a physical body through sighs and breath. Even though all sounds of human voice are not necessarily self-motivated, they create meanings to be translated by listeners. As 'spirit' means 'the breath of life' and 'the soul of a person',⁷⁴ one's breath plays a vital role in giving life

⁷² Gavin Alexander, 'Prosopopeia' in *Renaissance Figures of Speech*, ed. by Sylvia Adamson, Gavin Alexander, and Katrin Ettenhuber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 97-112.

⁷³ Alexander, p. 102.

⁷⁴ The *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, spirit, n. 1.1a; n. 1. 2a.

and soul to the human body.

In addition, these elusive forms of voice are liminal, because they fluctuate between speech and silence. Etymologically, the term 'liminality' stems from Latin, '*limen*,' which means a threshold. At the beginning of the twentieth century, this meant 'a transitional and indeterminate state between two states'.⁷⁵ It is Victor Turner, a British cultural anthropologist, who developed the idea of liminality in his exploration of initiation rites of boys in puberty. Turner defines 'liminality' as 'the Nay to all positive structural assertions, but as in some sense the source of them all, and more than that, a realm of pure possibility whence novel configurations of ideas and relations may arise'.⁷⁶ The idea of being at a threshold between two states gives a rich context for us to understand the shifting cultural climate in early modern England. Representations of sub-verbal forms of voice, which are exactly in a transitional and indeterminate state between speech and silence, embody some of those dynamic cultural transitions in terms of passions, authorship and gender. These forms of voice show not only women writers' engagement with cultural boundaries imposed on them in terms of speech, but also become the source to construct their authorship.

II. The Historical Background of the Studies of Voice and Gender

As stated in Introduction of this thesis (p. 20), Suzanne W. Hull's definition of early modern women's ideal femininity, which is 'chaste, silent and obedient', has been recycled among critics in various ways.

⁷⁵ The *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, *limen*, *n*.

⁷⁶ Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), p. 97.

Women's open mouth was often associated with their sexual promiscuity, while silence was equated with chaste women. As Larson notes, Elizabeth Cary's *Tragedy of Mariam* (1613) explicitly dramatised male anxiety for women's open mouth as a sign of promiscuity and thus as a threat to male superior power over women.⁷⁷ Herod, who is deeply anxious about his wife Mariam's sexual fidelity, orders her death, saying 'She is unchaste; / Her mouth will ope to every stranger's ear' (4.7.77-78).

In *The English Gentlewoman* (1631), a conduct manual, Richard Brathwaite considers that moderate conversation corresponds with female sexual modesty: 'An open countenance and restrained bosome sort not well together. Sute your discourse to your action'.⁷⁸ Early modern plays or pamphlet debates, which dealt with women's gossiping and garrulity, often attributed them to their shrewish nature, which was to be bridled by their fathers or husbands. Brathwaite's comments on 'A Shrew' in *Essays upon Five Senses* (1620) summarise socio-cultural prejudices towards clamorous women, saying '[h]er tongue-fever is quotidian, for it is ever shaking; her nature is so far out of temper as she hath vowed to be frantic forever'.⁷⁹ As Larson notes, silence is the most extreme form of women's self-control of their voice in the English Renaissance. Put simply, 'speaking, they are shrews or whores; silent, they are blanks to be inscribed by others'.⁸⁰

As far as women's voice is concerned, there may seem no middle

⁷⁷ Larson, *Conversation*, p. 30.

⁷⁸ Richard Brathwaite, *The English Gentlewoman* (London, 1631), p. 72.

⁷⁹ Richard Brathwaite, *Essays upon the five senses* in *Renaissance Woman: A Sourcebook: Constructions of Femininity in England*, ed. by Kate Aughterson (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 245-46 (p. 246).

⁸⁰ Christina Luckyj, *A Moving Rhetoric, Gender and Silence in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 71.

space between speech and silence in theories. However, in reality, the explicitly binary classification of women's speech and silence were not employed by recent critics, such as Clarke and Larson. This is particularly due to the reconceptualisation of silence in early modern English culture, which was in fact much more nuanced than as had been asserted by preceding critics.⁸¹ Women were not entirely prohibited from speaking; rather, they were required to moderate their speech. Brathwaite writes 'as modesty giues the best grace to your behauiour, so moderation of Speech to your discourse'.⁸² Of course, as will be argued in Chapter 4, men were also advised to moderation in similar terms, especially in expressing their emotions, such as shedding tears.

Less articulate forms of voice, such as sighs, breath, whispers and suspended voice as often expressed by aposiopesis, are less audible. Thus, they are sometimes regarded as moderate in terms of its volume for both men and women. What complicates these elusive forms of voice is that they also sometimes suggest immoderate emotions, such as erotic desire or sexual frustration. This complexity of these elusive forms of voice seems to be a driving force for Wroth to engage with early modern emotional culture in terms of gender and authorship. While the sound of these forms of voice itself is fundamentally gender-neutral, the gender of its speaker and how and where they deploy these voices often produce cultural meanings.

⁸¹ See Clarke 'Speaking Women: Rhetoric and the Construction of Female Talk', in *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, pp. 70-88 (p. 75-76); See also Larson's *Early Modern Conversation*, especially Chapter 1.

⁸² Brathwaite, *The English Gentlewoman in Renaissance Woman*, p. 84.

III. Sighs and Breath in Early Modern English Literature

One of the characteristics of *Urania* is that the dialogue between characters forms the basis of the romance. In this regard, Mary Wroth is directly influenced by Philip Sidney, whose romance is also full of verbal exchanges among characters. However, *Urania* contains dialogues between female characters much more than Sidney's *Arcadia*. In particular, Wroth's characters of both genders often use voice between speech and silence, especially sighs and breath, which often occurs at the culmination of an emotional experience. This raises a question especially about masculine identity. In *Urania*, the male protagonist, Amphilanthus, the King of the Romans and the future Holy Roman Emperor, is one of the characters who breathes those less articulate forms of voice, especially sighs with groans. As will be closely examined in Chapter 4, his inability to breathe out fully articulated words poses a question of his manhood.

On the other hand, women's use of less articulate forms of speech does not necessarily cause uneasiness for their femininity. For women in general, sub-verbal forms of articulation were often perceived as appropriately moderate. This section examines Pamphilia's use of sighs. Pamphilia is the heroine of the romance, characterised as the Queen of Pamphilia. In Corinth, after her solitary walk, she is asked by Urania, her best friend and Amphilanthus's sister, to discover the cause of her melancholy. Musalina, one of Amphilanthus's 'first Loves in his youthful travailes' (1.397.28-29) and the Queen of Bulgaria also join Urania. Because Pamphilia does not want to be thought 'too covetous' by them, 'shee gave them store of sighes to counterpoise the want of speech'

(1.459.32). Her sighs, which are of the liminal presence between speech and silence, testify to her corporeal passion that refuses full translation of her secret love for Amphilanthus into fully-structured sentences. This is also a temporal refusal of her speech even to her friends. Pamphilia's sighing is an action in order to avoid the disclosure of her secret, which she does not want to share with others.

Wroth and her male predecessors, such as Shakespeare and Robert Jones, a composer and theatrical entrepreneur, also use a metaphor of breath in order to explore the idea of inconstancy. The idea of constancy is, through Wroth's affiliation with Stoicism, one of the primary themes explored in *Urania*.⁸³ Wroth's aunt, Mary Sidney, was also familiar to the Stoic ideal, which was given validity in Elizabethan England. The narrator satirically comments on Amphilanthus, since 'for inconstancy, was, and is the onely touch thou hast' (1.362.23). Amphilanthus himself acknowledges its importance, though, ironically, he is the most inconstant man in the romance: 'Constancy I see, is the onely perfect virtue, and the contrary, the truest fault' (1.135.15-16).⁸⁴ Even though Amphilanthus is described as 'the strongest and bravest man breathing' (2.197.32-33), there are deep concerns about male fickleness in Wroth's works. While *Urania* I and II include inconstant female figures in their sub-plots, as shown by Hackett, constant women and inconstant men occupy the centre of the romance.⁸⁵

Wroth's representations of inconstancy through the descriptions of

⁸³ See Luckyj, pp. 139-40.

⁸⁴ Alexander, *Writing After Sidney*, p. 304.

⁸⁵ Helen Hackett, "'Yet Tell Me Some Such Fiction': Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania* and the "Femininity" of Romance', in *Women, Texts and Histories 1575-1760*, ed. by Clare Brant and Dian Purkiss (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 39-68 (p.60).

less articulate forms of voice will be compared with those of Shakespeare and Robert Jones, a close friend to the Sidney family. Wroth could have read their works through taking advantage of her familial network as a member of the Sidneys, a dominant literary family in the Renaissance. She was a dedicatee of Jones's songbook as well as a lover of Shakespeare's patron, William Herbert. For Wroth, volatility and temporality of breath are literary sources for her expressions of inconstancy of both genders. In *Urania* I, Limena, daughter of a Sicilian Duke, shows distrust of male voice during her story-telling of Alena, who is forsaken by her lover: 'mens words are onely breath, their oaths winde, and vowes water' (1.228.10). Wroth repeatedly uses the analogy between words, breath and inconstancy in her characterisation of the Duke of Brunswick. Singing a Sapphic, a poetic form named after Greek female poet, Sappho, he seduces a young lady by raising pity in her mind through his complaint: 'But words were breath then, and as breath they wasted into a lost Ayre. / So soone is love lost, not in heart imprinted' (1.604.19-20). Wroth's emphasis is placed on the ephemeral nature of one's voice which is affiliated with variable 'breath', 'winde' and 'water'.

Female disloyalty is also expressed by the same metaphor of wind and breath in Robert Jones's *The Muses Garden for Delights or the fifth Booke of Ayres* (1610): 'The many vowes giuen by my faire, / Were none of hers: the *wind* did owe them, / Then weare they breath. now are they ayre'.⁸⁶ Soon after these lines, the speaker warns the audience not to be

⁸⁶ Robert Jones, Song XVL in *The Muses Garden for Delights or the fifth Booke of Ayres, onely for the Lute, the Base-Vyoll, and the Voyce* (London, 1610).

surprised at women's change of mind. Jones dedicated the songbook to Wroth, describing it as 'my youngest and last Babe'. This is because he dedicated his first songbook to Wroth's father, Robert Sidney, saying that 'my eldest and first issue' was 'thriu'd so well vnder protection of your Right Honourable Father.'⁸⁷

Interestingly, an episode in the story of the Duke of Brunswick in *Urania* I alludes to Jones's line quoted above. Like the speaker in Jones's song, the Duke of Brunswick gives a poem to his lady, but it was actually written by his friend. His lady unfortunately believes that he wrote it. After his departure, she continually sings the poem and 'even ware it out of breath with singing, kis'd the original Coppy because in his owne hand [...] great pittie it was not his owne worke' (1.606.31-34). The unreliability of one's handwriting leads to the unreliability of one's words. In early modern England, the concepts of honour were gendered and constructed in relation to one's words. A male honour 'depended on the reliability of his spoken word', while a woman's honour relied on 'her reputation for chastity'.⁸⁸ Hence, a male honour was partly constructed by the words they spoke, while female honour was formed by the words spoken about them by others. Wroth focuses on the insincere lyric voice of the Duke of Brunswick, who deceives his lady by giving a poem written by his friend as his own. She also emphasises the lack of his honour here.

Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle upon Tyne, uses simile of less articulate forms of voice differently. She deploys them to show male

⁸⁷ See Jone's dedicatory epistle to Wroth in *The Muses Garden for Delight*.

⁸⁸ Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England* (New York: Harper, 1979), p. 316.

disparagement of women's words in *Orations of Diverse Sorts* (1662): 'our words to men are as empty sounds, our sighs as puffs of wind, and our tears as fruitless showers, and our power is so inconsiderable as men laugh at our weakness'.⁸⁹ Cavendish's usage of the simile demonstrates women's resignation and even anger in their verbal communication with men. She emphasises the lack of male understanding of women's words and emotions, which eventually leads to men's laugh at female 'weakness'. In contrast, Wroth juxtaposes three metaphors, 'breath,' 'winde,' and 'water', which equally show the ephemeral nature of men's voice. For Wroth, breath is one of the mediums to express a critical response to male inconstancy.

However, Wroth's use of breath and sighs does not necessarily disempower men. Her rhetorical use of those forms of voice can be a vehicle to show male comradeship. In an episode introduced towards the end of *Urania* I, two men, Peryneus, Duke of Bavaria, and Alarinus, lose their lovers for different reasons but the scenes of each lover's death are represented similarly. Peryneus's beloved, Elyna, dies for her misunderstanding that he was slain due to the devilish plot of the nephew of the King of Lycia, who loves her. In contrast, Alarinus's lover, Myra, dies for 'the weights of love and suspition' and 'disgrace' from her Empress, who also loves Alarinus (1.598.14). Myra's last word, 'my onely deare Ala—,' is untimely cut off by her death (1.595.96), while Elyna's last 'daintier breath' is breathed into Peryneus with 'eternal sorrow' by her

⁸⁹ Margaret Cavendish, *Oration of Divers Sorts* (London, 1662). See especially Part XI, ii (pp. 226-27).

kiss as she departs (1.600.22-24).

The untimely and eternal suspension of one's words made of breath means one's death. Breath represents a threshold between life and death as well as the devotion of lovers to each other with strong passions. Peryneus's sorrowful confession, 'I breathe her [Elyna's] breath' (1.600.26-27), and the late Myra's suspended voice can be reminiscences of Sidney's representations of Parthenia's voice in *New Arcadia*. At the death of her beloved, Argalus, who dies at the combat with Amphialus, 'she [Parthenia] with her kisses made him happy, for his last breath was delivered into her mouth' (3.508.33-34). Her own last word is also untimely suspended by her death: "'I come, my Argalus, I come [...] O Lord—'" But there Atropos cut off her sentence' (3.529.17-19). Wroth reshapes this usage of breath to fit into her representation of male comradeship. After each man's grievous storytelling, Peryneus, embracing Alarinus in his arms, says "'none liker Patience of misfortune, none fitter to agree together [...] sigh you, Ile do so, complaine, Ile answere you, and both conclude as the Period'" (1.600.38-41). As Josephine A. Roberts mentions, Wroth reworks the episode to demonstrate 'they are "equally unfortunate in losse"'.⁹⁰

This episode also resembles the second of the thirteen questions of love in Giovanni Boccaccio's *Il Filocolo* (c.1336), which is supposed to be the first novel written in prose in Italian literature, but Wroth changes the gender of mourning lovers in *Urania* I. In a dialogue between Longanio

⁹⁰ Roberts, 'Commentary', in *Urania* I, p. 795.

and Queen Filocolo, he tells the story of the beautiful sisters, who grieve over the misfortune of their love, asking the Queen to decide which ‘adversity’ is ‘most bitter’.⁹¹ Responding to each other’s sighs and complaints is one of the means to exchange Peryneus and Alarinus’s passions as well as to strengthen their friendship. It further raises a question of the possibility of their homosexual relationship, which is hinted by the absence of their beloveds and by their physically sharing of emotions with their male companion by embracing each other.

While Wroth also uses the act of sighing to show female friendship and sisterhood, she does not express the fundamental equality in the depth of their passions of love.⁹² On Pamphilia’s way to see her aged father, the King of Morea, she and her sister-in-law, Orilena, write verses together to express sorrows caused by the absence of their lovers. Here, they express their passions together: ‘Pamphilia sighed with her [Orilena], and so sister-like condoled with her’ (1.364.17). The scene of sharing sorrow between Pamphilia and Orilena foregrounds their sisterhood and solidarity. Both of them breathe their sighs truly for their friends to show compassion, sharing their grief. Their sighs are not rejection of speech, but rather spontaneous actions of enhancing their shared lamentation. Yet, the narrator explains that Pamphilia’s passions excel Orilena’s, as expressed ‘most painefull to

⁹¹ Giovanni Boccaccio, *Il Filocolo*, in Thomas Frederick Crane, *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth-Century and Their Influence on the Literatures of Europe*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), P. 71.

⁹² For a close analysis of Wroth’s description of female friendship, see Miller “‘Not Much to Be Marked’ Narrative of Woman’s Part in Lady Mary Wroth’s *Urania*”, *Studies in English Literature*, 29.1 (1989), 121-37, and ‘As She Likes It: Same-Sex Friendship and Romantic Love in Wroth and Shakespeare’, in *Mary Wroth and Shakespeare*, ed. by Marion Wynne-Davies and Paul Salzman (New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 137-50.

eudure' (1.364.14). This is because Pamphilia has to keep her love secret, bearing 'the weight it selfe', while Orilena has more 'libertie' to 'boldly say she wanted Philarchos' (1.364.14-16). In contrast to male friends whose shared grief foregrounds their equality in loss, there is an implicit hierarchy of the depth of passions among female friends. Wroth's use of sighs reveals this complexity of the nexus of gender and the idea of friendship in *Urania*.

What should be particularly emphasised here is that in *Urania* women's expression of passions through sub-verbal forms of articulation are related to their realisation of authorship. Just before the scene mentioned above, when Pamphilia and Orilena write sorrowful verses together at the sea, the narrator describes in detail how their passions are interwoven with their versification:

While they were at Sea, they made verses, comparing the evening to the coolnesse of absence, the day break, to the hope of sight, and the warmth to the enjoying, the waves to the swelling sorrowes their brests indured, and everything they made to serve their turnes, to expresse their affections by. By the Sun they sent their hot passions to their loves; in the cold Moones face writ Characters of their sorrowes for their absence, which she with pale wan visage delivered to their eyes, greev'd as to the death, she could not help those amorous Ladyes. (1.364.4-12)

Now both Pamphilia and Orilena are 'amorous Ladyes', who compose passionate poetry together. They share the theme, time and space for their

poetic composition.⁹³ The contents of their verses are complaints of ‘the coolnesse of absence’ and ‘the hope of sight’, comparing the waves with ‘the swelling sorrowes’. Using traditional tropes of the Sun and the Moon in Renaissance amorous poetry, they are now poets, who express their ‘hot passions’ by means of writing.

Mary Ellen Lamb examines the potential dangers of making love poetry for early modern women: ‘[p]oets woo, but virtuous women do not; so a virtuous woman poet, especially a writer of love poems, would seem to be an anomaly in the Renaissance.’⁹⁴ In fact, Wroth’s sonnet sequence is full of the representations of Pamphilia’s hopeless but passionate love for Amphilanthus. As Hackett contends, one of the new insights Wroth put in *Urania* is ‘voicing female passion in a more intense and fervent register than is found in the romance before’.⁹⁵ In relation to female authorship and Hackett’s comment on Wroth’s focus on women’s passions, there is another interesting scene in *Urania* I.

At the very beginning of the long romance, Pamphilia passionately engages with her writing alone in her bed chamber. Wroth describes how she ‘breath[es] out her passions’:

Being heavie, she went into her bed, but not with hope of rest,
but to get more libertie to expresse her woe [...] taking a little
Cabinet with her, wherein she had many papers, and setting a
light by her, [she] began to reade them, but few of them

⁹³ Josephine A. Roberts points out that the portrayal of Pamphilia and Orilena writing poetry together reflects how coterie verse was composed and circulated in manuscripts at that time. See Roberts, ‘Commentary’, in *Urania* I, p. 760.

⁹⁴ Lamb, *Gender and Authorship in the Sidney Circle*, p. 180.

⁹⁵ Hackett, *Women and Romance*, p. 181.

pleasing her, she took pen and paper, and being excellent in writing, writ these verses following. (1.62.1.14-31)

Dissatisfied with 'many papers' kept in her cabinet, Pamphilia begins to write her own verses. It is unclear who the author of these papers is; these works might have been written by Pamphilia herself, or by other male and/or female characters. It is also uncertain what kinds of literary genre she was reading before starting to write her own work. Nevertheless, Pamphilia appears to read something related to the issue of love, because she went to her bed in order to 'get more libertie to expresse her woe'. She consoles herself, deeply lamenting her hopeless love. It is tempting to speculate that these works in her cabinet were originally written by men. If so, this scene is particularly interesting, because it shows a woman keen on revising male-authored texts in order to demonstrate 'her woe'. Although this is a matter of speculation, what is important here is that her passion is a driving force for her literary creation, that is, for the construction of her authorship. As is the case with Orilena, one of the characteristics of *Urania* is that there appear more than ten female characters who express their passions in various forms of writing. Thus, writing is a means of self-expressions for Pamphilia as well as some other female characters as it was for her author, Wroth.

Nevertheless, Wroth recognises the limitation of sub-verbal forms of voice as well as their potential for the construction of female authorship. In *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, a sonnet sequence attached to *Urania I*, Pamphilia, the speaker, expresses the inability of her breath to voice her inner passions:

My breath nott able is to breathe least part
Of that increasing fuell of my smart;
Yett love I will till I butt ashes prove. (Print 55)⁹⁶

This sonnet is placed at the end of the first half of the sequence with Pamphilia's signature. Her use of breath is liminal as being on the boundary between one's breath and words made of breath, which fail to be transformed to verbal languages. Pamphilia is finally choked with saturation of her passions. As Bloom says, breath is essential to keep 'the health of the heart', working as 'the body's ventilation system'.⁹⁷ Too much plight of love's lamentation causes immobility of Pamphilia's voice. Breath, one of the less articulate forms of voice, exemplifies Wroth's complex conflict as an author, oscillating between what she desires to write in language and what she is unable to express. Chapter 3 will further examine how Wroth's sense of authorship is demonstrated in Pamphilia's linguistic styles in expressing her passions.

IV. Whispering, Softness and the Sense of Ownership

Wroth cultivates the relation between the sense of ownership and less voluble forms of voice between speech and silence especially in her representation of female characters in *Urania*. The less articulate forms of voice which she uses for this is whispering. In Sidney's *Arcadia*, whispering is associated with political gossiping and cowardice. For

⁹⁶ 'Print' signifies 'a printed text' and its subsequent number shows the ordering of the sonnet in the printed edition of *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*.

⁹⁷ Gina Bloom, *Voice in Motion*, p. 91. Here, referring to Shakespeare's *Richard III*, Bloom summarises that '[t]he wind, air, and breath that comprise lament help "ease the heart"'.

instance, Clinias, a cowardly and corrupt servant of Cecropia, sister-in-law to Basilius, the King of Arcadia, is characterised as ‘bold only in busy whisperings’ (3.466.9). As has been stated in Introduction of this chapter (pp. 32-33), Bloom argues that, in Shakespeare’s history plays, in particular, in *King John*, whispering is a way of negotiation with female vocal authority in political arena.⁹⁸ In contrast, in Wroth’s *Urania*, the volatile nature of less voluble voice creates uneasy tensions in terms of passions and gender. While passions are often under the control of female characters, there are also fears, which female passions suggest, if they are out of control. In Wroth’s romance, the main female characters, such as Pamphilia and Limena, whisper to avoid being heard of speaking their beloveds’ names by others. The term which Wroth frequently uses to modify the less voluble voice is softness.

At the beginning of *Urania* I, Limena, daughter to the Duke of Sicily, is rescued from physical violence of her husband by Parselius, Pamphilia’s brother. Her husband’s vehement jealousy and anger toward Limena make him violent, since he knows that she is in love with Perissus. During the process of rescue, looking at some blood bleeding from herself, Limena softly talks to Perissus, who is not there but always stays in her heart: ‘Many more then these [...] have I inwardly shed for thee my deare Perissus’ (1.84.38-39). The narrator explains that Limena spoke the last word ‘softlier then the rest’, because she does not want Parselius to hear her or ‘she could not afford that deere name to any, but her owne eares’

⁹⁸ Bloom, *Voice in Motion*, especially Chapter 2, pp. 66-110.

(1.84.40-41). She is temporarily successful in avoiding leaking the soft voice from her body.

In addition, Pamphilia often whispers her love for Amphilathus in his absence. While she is walking alone ‘in loves best clothes apparreld’ (1.366.11), she talks to his miniature sent by him as a love token:

My deare selfe [...] what happinesse find I in thee? [...] thou sayst thou wilt not bee ungratefull, I assure my selfe of that, and blame my selfe extremely, if I said any thing might make thee thinke I doubted thee [...] but those deare eyes assure mee, those lippes swell in anger I should thus dispute then, and now dearest, take mine unto thine, which with whispering let my breath say, I doe long onely to see them move againe, and tell me of thy love, soules comfort. (1.365.33-366.7)

Pamphilia looks back on Amphilanthus’s vow of love for her with some doubt of his change of mind. Her use of the term ‘thee’ in talking to the miniature emphasises the intimacy with its sender, Amphilanthus. The ability to control the volume of such soft voice signifies a sense of ownership of their own secret. This scene may also heighten readers’ absorption in reading. What is especially evocative is that Pamphilia’s ‘whispering’ is sensual. She whispers her desire to ‘see them [his eyes and lips] to move againe’, telling him her love. The act of whispering is associated with Pamphilia’s erotic desire.

Softness of voice has diverse and complex meanings in early modern literature. It was also associated with femininity in writing style in that period. In *Timber, or, Discoveries* (1641), Ben Jonson satirically and

figuratively comments on 'Women's poets', describing the category of poets:

Others there are that have no composition at all, but a kind of tuning and rhyming fall in what they write. It runs and slides and only makes a sound. Women's poets they are called, as you have women's tailors.

They write a verse as smooth, as soft, as cream,

In which there is not torrent, nor scarce stream.

You may sound these wits, and find the depth of them, with your middle finger. They are cream-bowl-or but puddle-deep.

(722-30)

Using a rhyming couplet ('cream'/'stream'), Jonson mocks the style as feminine 'smoothness' and 'softness' of poems written by male poets.

Danielle Clarke and Marie Louise-Coolahan explain that 'women's poets' here are not female poets, 'but rather, poets who appeal to women'.⁹⁹ By associating cookery images with authorship and declaring 'the depth' of their wits are only the length of 'your middle finger', Jonson scornfully dismisses poets whose works are 'smooth' and 'soft' and which 'runs and slides and only makes a sound' without creating any poetic form. Although Jonson deploys the terms 'smooth' and 'soft' as mockery for male poets, Wroth's use of the term also corresponds with her sense of self-censorship in relation to a woman's voice. An interplay of soft voice, the sense of ownership and Wroth's self-censorship will be further examined in Chapter

⁹⁹ Elizabeth Scott-Baumann and Ben Burton eds, *The Work of Form* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 146.

5, focusing on the shifting mode of literary production from manuscript to print circulation.

V. Politics of Suspended Voice: Aposiopeses and Interruption of Speech

In addition to sighs, breath and whispers, this section examines suspended voice, such as aposiopeses, a speaker's interruption in the middle of speech. This rhetorical device also opens up an experimental space for Wroth to engage with the works of her male predecessors and contemporaries. In Wroth's literary texts, aposiopeses play an important role as a temporal suspension of one's voice at the height of passions. It is a moment when various tensions clash in terms of gender and politics. For instance, at the beginning of *Urania II*, one bifolio sheet is missing; in this scene Wroth probably describes what is happening to Amphilanthus at the Candian Court.¹⁰⁰ Reading the empty space as a textual interruption, in *Writing After Sidney* (2006), Alexander interprets that it was caused by Wroth's self-censorship to stop her story temporarily; Alexander interprets that Pamphilia is in an intense misery in this scene and there is a danger of associating her life story with Wroth's own.¹⁰¹ It is generally considered that Wroth's characterisation of the ill-natured Queen of Candia echoes Queen Anne, who particularly favoured William Herbert, the 3rd Earl of Pembroke. This section develops Alexander's insightful discussion by further exploring Wroth's use of broken voice in the boundary between

¹⁰⁰ Josephine A. Roberts, Suzanne Gossett and Janel Mueller, 'Textual Introduction: The Nature of the Manuscript', in *Urania II*, p. xxv-xxvi.

¹⁰¹ Gavin Alexander, *Writing After Sidney: The Literary Response to Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 324.

silence and speech in terms of gender and politics.

In *The Arte of English Poesie* (1588), George Puttenham (1529-1590/91) classifies aposiopesis as 'the figure of silence, or interruption'.¹⁰² By contrast, the rhetorical device originally meant 'becoming silent' in Greek.¹⁰³ Therefore, aposiopesis does not necessarily signify the static state of being silent, but rather indicates the process of becoming silent. In this sense, aposiopesis embodies the idea of liminality. Aposiopesis is also defined as 'a speaker's abrupt halt midway in a sentence, due to being too excited or distraught to give further articulation to his or her thought'.¹⁰⁴ This gradual or sometimes abrupt mobility towards an end of speech produced by aposiopesis embraces a number of emotions of a speaker. Puttenham considers it suitable to express various emotions, such as fear, shame, anger, moderation of wrath, distraction, or momentary forgetfulness.¹⁰⁵ In Wroth's texts, gender often complicates the rhetorical effect of temporal suspension of voice, while it also opens up possibilities of various textual interpretations.

Aposiopesis was also a familiar rhetorical skill for early modern male writers, such as Sidney, Spenser and Shakespeare.¹⁰⁶ It is often used to show the threshold between life and death in their works by abruptly cutting off one's speech at death. As Alexander shows, Wroth could draw

¹⁰² George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesy: A Critical Edition*, ed. by Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), p.250.

¹⁰³ 'Aposiopesis', in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry & Poetics*, pp. 60-61.

¹⁰⁴ Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, in *Early English Books Online*, p.250; 'Aposiopesis', in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry & Poetics*, pp. 60-61. This definition is based on Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, Book 9.2.96-106. See Quintilian, *The Orator's Education Books 9-10*, ed. and trans. by Donald A. Russell, 5 vols (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 65-67.

¹⁰⁵ 'Aposiopesis', in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry & Poetics*, pp. 60-61.

¹⁰⁶ Alexander, *Writing After Sidney*, p. 321.

on this technique used by Sidney and Shakespeare.¹⁰⁷ In Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* (1606-07), the last word of Cleopatra is untimely cut off due to her death. Charmian, her lady in waiting, takes over her last word:

Cleopatra: O Antony! — Nay I will take thee too.

What should I stay —

Charmian: In this vile world? So fair thee well. (5.2.311-13)

Shakespeare's use of aposiopesis allows Charmian to contextualise or imagine what would have come if Cleopatra were alive. Wroth may have known the scene and the play itself, since she echoes Charmian's description of Cleopatra as 'eastern star!' (5.3.306) to represent Pamphilia in *Urania*.¹⁰⁸ The completion of the speech is not temporarily but eternally delayed by Cleopatra's death. This suspension of voice gives sorrowful resonance to Charmian left in the earthy world, though she follows her lady soon afterwards.¹⁰⁹

Several critics, such as Alexander and Luckyj, argue that Wroth uses aposiopesis to show 'feminine bashfulness' in her representations of both constant and inconstant women. Both critics particularly look at Wroth's satirical characterisation of Lucenia, who, though married, artificially commands the rhetorical skill to seduce Amphilanthus. When he introduces himself as the King of the Romans, she excuses her boldness: "Pardon mee my Lord, (said shee) that I have been thus bold with you, which was

¹⁰⁷ Alexander, *Writing After Sidney*, p. 321.

¹⁰⁸ Roberts, Gossett and Mueller, 'commentary' in *Urania II*, p. 498.

¹⁰⁹ As has been discussed in the previous section, Wroth also represents the death of Myra and Elyna by untimely cutting off their last words and breath in *Urania I*.

caused by —” (with that shee blushing held her peace, desiring to be thought bashfull, but more longing to bee intreated for the rest)’ (1.163.19-21).¹¹⁰ Since Lucenia hopes to be thought ‘bashfull’, she intentionally suspends her voice, pretending that she is hesitant to be bold.

What is interesting in the relation between aposiopesis and bashfulness is that not only women but also men become bashful in *Urania*. Moreover, bashfulness does not necessarily show women’s cunning performance. During Parselius’s romantic courtship in Achaya, his ‘bashfulnesse with-held him’ from speaking to Dalinea (1.126.4). Parselius confesses his love for her, saying ‘I see most perfect Lady [...] that this bashfulnesse is neither profitable nor commendable’ (1.126.31-32). He even cries that ‘Fear [...] makes men spechlesse, and admiration hinders the declaring their affections’ (1.126.27-28). Thus, not only women but also men temporarily stop their speech, feeling fearful or hesitant to confess his passions toward his beloved.

In contrast, his beloved, Dalinea, daughter of the King of Achaya, effectively uses aposiopesis caused by bashfulness during her amorous conversation with him. While Dalinea responds to his confession, she temporarily stops her speech: ‘With that shee blush’d so prettily, and look’d so modestly amorous, as shee neede have said no more, to make him know she lov’d him’ (1.127.4-5). Her use of aposiopesis caused by bashfulness transforms the temporal suspension of voice into an eloquent confession of her love. Later, she confesses her love with words, because

¹¹⁰ Alexander, *Writing after Sidney*, p. 322-25; Luckyj, *Moving Rhetoric*, p. 139.

Parselius urges her not 'to barre me [Parselius] from the hearing of my [Parselius's] blisse' (1.127.7). Being 'modestly amorous' (1.127.4), she can reveal her passions through feminine bashfulness and aposiopesis. They are not languages, but eloquent means for romantic communication between Dalinea and Parseiuls. The contrast between feminine bashfulness and female assertiveness of love is compromised beautifully in these examples as long as she is constant to a man.

However, aposiopesis creates uneasiness in the light of gender especially when male speech is interrupted by a woman. After the courtship quoted above, Dalinea marries Parselius, but is forsaken by him. After Parselius's abandonment, Dalinea quests for him like a saint-martyr without the conventional device of cross-dressing for travelling women in Renaissance prose romance and drama. Setting off to the Kingdom of Morea, she makes a direct plea for his parental relation with her child in front of his father, the King of Morea.¹¹¹ When Parselius tries to nullify his marriage with her, she interrupts his voice:

"If ever," cry'd he, "I gave my word to marry any, or had a child by any, let Heaven — " "Bless you," said the Lady [Dalinea], staying him from further proceeding. "Vow not," said the Lady, "for never knew I man but you, and you are husband to me, and father to this babe." Her voice he then began to know, yet being impossible (as hee thought) for Dalinea to come thither, he desired to see her face.

¹¹¹ For further analysis of traveling women in Renaissance prose romance, see Hackett, 'Suffering Saints or Ladies Errant?: Women Travel for Love in Renaissance prose', *The Year Book of English Studies*, 41.1 (2011), 126-40.

Thinking it impossible for Dalinea to travel alone to the Kingdom of Morea, Parselius is unable to accept that the woman speaking in front of him is Dalinea. Thus, he wants her remove the black veil covering her face. Here, her interruption of his excuse for his innocence from his self-defence makes an interesting space for a nuanced reading of the relation between gender and aposiopesis. In this scene, Parselius's suspended voice is taken over by Dalinea, making his incomplete speech one complete sentence. The speaker/listener positions change; Dalinea spontaneously takes over the role of speaker from Parselius. Her action of interrupting a man's voice does not smoothly fit into a moderate manner of feminine speech. Nevertheless, her languages, which testify her marital constancy, allow her to stay within the boundary as a virtuous wife. What she insists on in her plea is that Parselius is the only man whom she has ever known, having born him a son. It can also be read that Dalinea interrupts Parselius's words in order to provide her baby a father out of her motherly emotion.

The ultimate example of Wroth's use of aposiopesis is in the incomplete last sentences of each volume of *Urania*. While *Urania* I ends with 'And',¹¹² the last sentence in *Urania* II stops soon after 'Amphilanthus was extremely'. This section looks at the latter closely, since it provides us a more compelling material for the discussion of Wroth's use of voice which is in the middle of speech and silence. Several critics regard the broken sentence as Wroth's imitation or tribute to her

¹¹² For further analysis of Wroth's use of 'And' in *Urania*, see Coleen Rose Rosenfeld 'Wroth's Clause,' *ELH*, 76.4 (2009), pp. 1049-54.

uncle whose romance also ends in mid-sentence.¹¹³ For instance, Salzman views the unfinished sentence ‘as part of Wroth’s homage to Sidney’ and also ‘as part of the resistance to closure of the romance form itself’.¹¹⁴ The last sentence, spoken by the narrator, expresses Amphilanthus’s response to Andromarko, an illegitimate son of Polarchos, his lord chamberlain. Andromarko reports that the enchantment must be finished by the Emperor and the Faire Designe, who is strongly suggested to be Amphilanthus’s natural son in *Urania* II.

The grammatical function of the last word ‘extremely’ as an adverb is to be discussed first. The incomplete sentence is exactly on the threshold between speech and silence, since the narrator’s speech is suspended and the blank space is left open as silence. As Angela Leighton says that ‘[t]hresholds are limits as well as an opening’,¹¹⁵ the idea of liminality contains such an ambivalent notion, denoting both an opening and limits. Wroth’s use of ‘extremely’ as an adverb also denotes both the limitation as a suspended ending of the narrative and yet still powerful potential of voice for further readings. This is because the term ‘extremely’ here is waiting for something to come to express Amphilanthus’s feelings, after he hears the Faire Designe’s recent state. In this sense, the term ‘extremely’ is apocalyptic and prophetic. In The Book of Revelation, Jesus’s Second

¹¹³ Roberts, ‘Textual Introduction’, in *Urania* I, pp. cx-cxi; Salzman, *Literary Culture in Jacobean England – Reading 1621* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 223; Alexander, *Writing after Sidney* (2006), pp.319-20; Hannay, *Mary Sidney, Lady Wroth* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 265.

¹¹⁴ Salzman, *Literary Culture in Jacobean England*, p. 223.

¹¹⁵ Angela Leighton, ‘Threshold of Attention: On Listening in Literature’, in *Thinking on Threshold*, ed. by Subha Mukherji (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 199-212 (p. 200).

Coming is repeatedly expected: 'I am coming soon' (22.7).¹¹⁶ Actually, however, He has not come yet. As the term following 'extremely' is not written on the last page of *Urania* II, John, the disciple, is waiting for Jesus's forthcoming arrival. The Book of Revelation is about 'things happening and the things that will happen' (1.19).¹¹⁷

The suspended voice gives readers freedom of various readings, mobilising the narrative closer to the conclusion. Alexander notes that 'extremely' is an 'impasse' put by Wroth, who had 'nothing more to say', because 'Wroth's own life has not organized itself to provide a pattern that could fulfil Pamphilia's hopes'.¹¹⁸ In this sense, the 'extremely' is 'in a way conclusive' in comparison to 'And', the last word of *Urania* I.¹¹⁹ It seems that 'And' expects more to come at the sentence level. On the other hand, the form of the word 'extremely' as an adverb implies that there is still something left to say. As it lacks an adjective to follow, its use is rather a continuous signaling gesture towards suspended but forthcoming words to finish the whole narrative. Wroth's readers would easily have guessed emotionally positive words to follow after the term 'extremely', which shows Amphilanthus's joy to hear the news. The adverb may possibly lead to a potential fulfilment of Pamphilia's hope for a delayed reunion between Amphilanthus and his supposed illegitimate son. Such a happy reunion between a father and an illegitimate son might reflect Wroth's political and personal desire.

¹¹⁶ *Holy Bible, New Living Translation*, 2nd edn (Carol Stream: Tyndale House Publishing, 1996), Revelation, 22.7,

¹¹⁷ Revelation, 1.19.

¹¹⁸ Alexander, *Writing After Sidney*, p. 331.

¹¹⁹ Alexander, *Writing After Sidney*, p. 330.

The apocalyptic tone implied in Wroth's choice of the term 'extremely' at the end of *Urania* II also creates a liminal space for a political implication. Roberts explains that in *Urania* there exists Wroth's veiled hope for political resurrection of militant Protestantism in the West.¹²⁰ It is generally believed that the composition date for *Urania* II is from around 1620 to 1630.¹²¹ The years of its composition coincide with the political turmoil caused by the Thirty Years War in the European Continent.¹²² Wroth's father Robert Sidney, her cousin-lover William Herbert, Lucy, Countess of Bedford, were all supporters of the royal marriage of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth of Bohemia, daughter of King James I.¹²³ On the 8th of November 1620, Frederick V, who accepted the crown of Bohemia in a Protestant move to fight against Catholic power, lost at the battle of White Mountain. As a result, he was exiled to The Hague in 1622 together with Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia. She was an embodiment of Protestant hope for an Elizabethan chivalric revival after the untimely death of Prince Henry on the 6th of November 1612.¹²⁴ Through the fulfilment of the suspended reunion between the Emperor and the Faire Designe, Wroth could have fictionally sustained the

¹²⁰ Roberts, 'Critical Introduction', in *Urania* I, p. xxxix.

¹²¹ Hannay, *Mary Sidney, Lady Wroth*, p. 263.

¹²² Roberts, 'Critical Introduction', in *Urania* I, p. xxxox, xlv; Salzman, *Literary Culture in Jacobean England*, pp.74-5; Brennan, *The Sidneys of Penshurst and Monarchy* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 135; Hannay, *Lady Mary, Sidney Wroth*, Chapter 6; Nandini Das, *Renaissance Romance: The Transformation of English Prose Fiction, 1570-1620* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); Julie Crawford, *Mediatrix: Women, Politics, & Literary Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹²³ Brennan, *The Sidneys of Penshurst and the Monarchy*, p. 126.

¹²⁴ For further detailed analysis of Princess Elizabeth's role in Jacobean England, see Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (London: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 45-65.

long-standing hope for the Sidney-Herbert families; that is, the fictional construction of the Holy Roman Empire under the Protestant faction. At the personal level, Wroth might have implied her hope for the legal acknowledgement of her son by his father, William Herbert, a model of Amphilanthus. In the spring of 1624, Wroth bore him twins, named William and Katherine. Margaret P. Hannay assumes that their paternity was known at least among Wroth's family and friends.¹²⁵

The construction of the Holy Roman Empire under the Protestant power did not happen in history. Moreover, Wroth's illegitimate twins were not legally acknowledged by William Herbert, while the reunion between Amphilanthus and the Faire Designe does not take place in *Urania* II. The last page of the Newberry Library's autograph copy leaves a large space open soon after the last word 'extremely.' There is no textual trace in the manuscript that Wroth tried to edit the incomplete last sentence. The blank space is the site for contemporary or future readers to imagine what 'could have, should have, and might have been'.¹²⁶ Wroth's use of aposiopesis on the last page, which is temporarily suspended, connects Wroth's past and the present when she wrote, looking back at the history of the Sidneian Protestant dream around the 1620s. Its dynamic form produced by grammatical function of 'extremely' perform as an apocalyptic prophecy of forthcoming British history: the enthronement of Princess Elizabeth's grandson as King George I of England in 1714.

¹²⁵ Hannay, *Lady Mary, Sidney Wroth*, p. 252.

¹²⁶ Roberts, "'The Knott Never To Bee Untide": The Controversy Regarding Marriage in Wroth's *Urania*', in *Reading Mary Wroth: Representing Alternatives in Early Modern England*, ed. by Naomi J. Miller and Gary Waller (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), pp. 109-32 (p. 126).

Conclusion

Sub-verbal forms of voice on the threshold between speech and silence unveil Wroth's and her characters' engagement with the complex diversity in the relation between passions and authorship. These less articulate forms of voice blur binary oppositions in early modern culture, such as speech and silence, male and female, life and death, assertiveness and bashfulness, and present and future. In Wroth's texts, such voice between speech and silence serves not only for engagement with gender issues but also with political matters especially representing her tacit desire for the expansion of the Protestant factions in the Catholic European Continent. Wroth's personal desire might also have been intended in strengthening the relationship between William Herbert and their illegitimate children. Both political and personal levels of Wroth's interests influence the whole story of *Urania*. Making use of the function of liminal nature of voice between speech and silence, Wroth shows the difficulties and possibilities, happening in the shifting cultural climate of the period, through which she made negotiations with her authorship.

Chapter 2. Eloquence and Education in the Works of Wroth, Shakespeare and Jonson

Introduction

This chapter explores Mary Wroth's engagement with the issues of eloquence and education in her texts in comparison to early modern English plays by male-dramatists, in particular, William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. The focus is to be placed on how eloquent and educated women are represented in their literary texts. The issue of education is to be an axis of discussions, since it enabled women to be eloquent both in speech and writing. Wroth made full use of her education in her intellectual activities, namely writing, testifying to the weight it had on her works. Eloquence, education and writing are deeply related to each other in Wroth's characterisations of women in *Urania*. The chapter also aims to throw light on the paradox of women's education in the culture of the English Renaissance, which enabled some women to write for self-expression, but, at the same time, confined most of them within idealised notions of womanhood.

I. Wroth as an Educated Patroness

In addition to music and dancing, Mary Wroth must have been familiar with the usual schoolbooks, such as Ovid's *Heroides* and the dialogues of Plato.¹²⁷ Apparently, like her aunt, Mary Sidney Herbert, the

¹²⁷ Hannay, *Lady Mary, Sidney Wroth*, p. 72.

Countess of Pembroke, Wroth learnt French, Italian and Latin. Some male authors, such as Ben Jonson and George Chapman, dedicated their literary works to her. Jonson dedicated *The Alchemist* to Wroth in 1612, writing epigrams and sonnets to her, too. Michael Brennan suggests that Jonson's dedication of *The Alchemist* 'may be interpreted as a key moment' in her 'transition from private to public status as a patron and guardian of the literary reputation of her illustrious uncle'.¹²⁸ Margaret Hannay points out that Jonson appears to be the first poet that recognised her as a writer.¹²⁹

Jonson's compliment on Wroth's poetic skills is particularly important in considering the interplay of passions, education and authorship. In 'A Sonnet to the Noble Lady, the Lady Mary Wroth' in *The Underwood*, he wrote:

I, that have been a lover, and could show it,
Though not in these, in rhymes not wholly dumb,
Since I exscribe your sonnets, am become
A better lover, and much better poet.¹³⁰

Jonson claims that not only reading but also 'exscribing' Wroth's sonnets made him '[a] better lover' and 'much better poet'. In early modern England, to 'exscribe' one's sonnets meant '[t]o copy and write out' and 'to transcribe'.¹³¹ Jonson insists that copying out Wroth's love poetry

¹²⁸ Michael Brennan, 'Creating Female Authorship in the Early Seventeenth Century: Ben Jonson and Lady Mary Wroth', in *Women's Writing and the Circulation of Ideas: Manuscript Publication in England, 1550-1800*, ed. by George L. Justice and Nathan Tinker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 73-93 (p. 73).

¹²⁹ Hannay, *Lady Mary, Sidney Wroth*, p. 152.

¹³⁰ Ben Jonson, *The Underwood* in *The Oxford Authors: Ben Jonson*, ed. by Ian Donaldson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 349.

¹³¹ *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, exscribe, v.

taught him how to measure passions in the form of poetry. As Wroth's poetry educates Jonson as a poet and lover, Pamphilia says that her passions educate her as a lover in *Urania* I, making her feel her woe. In her complaint, she talks to passions as if they are personified: 'You bred me to this woe, will you forsake me now in necessitie? you have given me education, brought up in the learning of love' (1.244.32-34).

Male authors may have been motivated to write their compliments on Wroth by their desire to acquire her patronage as a nexus of further network of the male members of the Sidney family, particularly William Herbert. Jonson dedicates his epigrams ('the ripest of my studies') to him; 'I must expect, at your Lo[rds]hip's] hand, the protection of truth and liberty, while you are constant to your own goodness'.¹³² As Brennan and Melissa E. Sanchez note, after the deaths of the two members of the Sidney family, Elizabeth, the Countess of Rutland, Philip Sidney's daughter, and Wroth's brother William Sidney, Wroth was regarded as 'a figure of central importance' to writers; they wanted to reinforce their careers both literally and politically by preserving their relationship with the Sidney family.¹³³

In an elegy and epistle for the commemoration of Wroth's brother William Sidney, which was attached to *Lachrimae Lachrimarum* (1613), Joshua Sylvester implied Wroth as the descendant of Philip Sidney's literary legacy by using the anagram of AL-WORTH:

¹³² Ben Jonson, 'Epigrams: To The Great Example of Honour and Virtue, The Most Noble William, Earl of Pembroke, L[ord] Chamberlain, Etc', in *The Oxford Authors: Ben Jonson*, p. 221-22.

¹³³ Melissa E. Sanchez, *Erotic Subjects: The Sexuality of Politics in Early Modern English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 124-25; Brennan, 'Creating Female Authorship in the Early Seventeenth Century: Ben Jonson and Lady Mary Wroth', pp. 73-93.

Although I knowe None, but a Sidney's Muse,
Worthy to sing a Sidney's Worthyness:
None but Your Owne AL-WORTH Sidnēides

[Anagram, La[dy]: Wroth]

In whom, her Uncle's noble Veine renews.¹³⁴

Roberts sees this anagram as significant in dating Wroth's composition of her poems and its manuscript circulation as early as 1613, prior to the publication of the printed version.¹³⁵ In 1611, George Chapman wrote a poem in a preface of his translation of Homer, defining Wroth as a 'comfort of learning, sphere of all the vertues'.¹³⁶ Even though male writers may have written these dedicatory poems to Wroth as a means of their own promotion, it is still noteworthy that they praise her authorship.

II. Representations of Educated Women in Shakespeare and

Jonson

While Wroth was highly educated as a member of the Sidney family, most of early modern women did not have opportunities to receive education enough to engage with intellectual activities. Even if they could access education, its scope was limited. In the period of the English Civil War, some women of religious radicals and political activists intervened in some public spheres by means of speaking. For instance, Elizabeth Poole

¹³⁴ Joshua Sylvester, *Lachrimae Lachrimarum* (London, 1613), H2.

¹³⁵ Roberts, 'The Life of Lady Mary Wroth', in *The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth*, p. 19.

¹³⁶ George Chapman, *The Iliads of Homer*, Gg4v, in *Early English Books Online* <<https://vpn.cis.twcu.ac.jp/proxy/157c3f08/http/eebo.chadwyck.com/home>> [accessed 4 November 2018].

(*bap.*1622?, d. in or after 1668) described her vision in front of the Army Council in 1648 and 1649, while Anna Trapnel (*fl.*1642-1660) prophesied various issues in *The Cry of a Stone* (1654), including God's punishment for Cromwell's corruption. And yet, these examples could be regarded as exceptional in terms of their accessibility to the public speech. Generally speaking, women did not take part in public speaking in early modern England. This is not only because of cultural inhibition but also because of their lack of rhetorical educations, which enabled them to speak out and take actions against cultural and social injustice which they faced.¹³⁷

With the basis of religious teachings, women's education primarily aimed for the development of feminine virtue and morality in order to follow marital duties, carry out household tasks and bring up children. In this sense, early modern education was not necessarily empowering for women. As A. J. Fletcher rightly puts it, women's education was 'a discourse of containment'.¹³⁸ This is because education ultimately aimed to confine women in the gender roles imposed by male-centred culture rather than giving them freedom and means to breach these norms. Since most of women had difficulties in acquiring rhetorical training and humanist learning, it should have been especially difficult for them to write for the purpose of self-expression.¹³⁹

Anne Finch (1661-1720), the Countess of Winchilsea, deals with the paradox of women's education in her poetry, though she was born much

¹³⁷ Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne, 'Introduction', in *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, pp. 1-24 (p. 2).

¹³⁸ Anthony J. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 375.

¹³⁹ Clarke, *The Politics of Early Modern Women's Writing*, p. 22.

later than Wroth. In a poem entitled 'The Introduction', Finch explores negative connotations of women's writing and its publication:

Did I, my lines intend for public view,
How many censures, would their faults pursue,
Some would, because such words they do affect,
Cry they're insipid, empty, and uncorrect.

[...]

True judges might condemn their want of wit,
And all might say, they're by a woman writ.
Alas! a woman that attempts the pen,
Such an intruder on the rights of men¹⁴⁰

The poem was not published in her lifetime. Finch complains about the role of 'censures' who critically evaluate her 'lines' once they are published, claiming that 'a women that attempts the pen' can be 'an intruder on the rights of men'. She also deplores that 'censures' criticise poetry composed by women as being 'insipid, empty, and uncorrect'. In the latter lines of the same poem, Finch summarises the kind of harsh comments which women writers need to receive if they hope to get involved in intellectual activities in that period: 'To write, or read, or think, or to inquire / Would cloud our beauty, and exhaust our time, / And interrupt the conquests of our prime'. Her poem conveys sorrow, frustration, and difficulties which a woman with a pen experienced in male-centred literary culture.

¹⁴⁰ Anne Finch, 'The Introduction', in *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women*, ed. by Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, 2nd edn (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985; repr. 1996), pp. 168-69.

However, female education was not a simple but a complex site of discussion. Even if they are not registered on the historical records or other forms of writing, not only aristocratic ladies but also women of moderate social rank raised voices in various ways. For instance, Isabella Whitney, who did not belong to aristocracy, wrote *The Copy of a Letter* (1566-67) and *A Sweet Nosgay* (1573), a miscellany of secular poetry. Whitney was the first Englishwoman under whose name a secular poetry was published.¹⁴¹ Emilia Lanier, a daughter of court musician, composed the first original and religious poetry by a woman to be published in the English Renaissance. Her poetry, entitled *Salve Deus rex Juæorum* (1611), was dedicated to Queen Anne and other eight aristocratic women, who were close to Wroth, such as her aunt Mary Sidney Herbert and her friend Anne Clifford, the second wife of Philip Herbert, the 4th Earl of Pembroke. Lanier used her poetic skills to seek for patronage by these women. Some critics regard Lanier as a model of the dark lady of Shakespeare's sonnets.¹⁴²

Shakespeare's plays contain many female characters who speak eloquently and act spontaneously, although on the Elizabethan and Jacobean stage the female roles were performed by boy actors, who were generally aged from 10 to 17. Among those characters are Juliet in *Romeo and Juliet* (1595), Rosalind in *As You Like It* (1599), Desdemona in *Othello* (1604), Lady Macbeth in *Macbeth* (1606), Volumnia in *Coriolanus* (1608),

¹⁴¹ Betty Travitsky, 'Isabella Whitney', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/45498>>.

¹⁴² A.L. Rowse ed., *The Poems of Shakespeare's Dark Lady: Salve Deus Rex Judæorum by Emilia Lanier* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1978).

Cleopatra in *Antony and Cleopatra* (1607), Innogen in *Cymbeline* (1609), and Hermione in *The Winter's Tale* (1612). For instance, in the scene of the royal court of *The Winter's Tale*, Hermione beautifully makes full use of her rhetoric skills in order to defend herself against a false charge of adultery by her jealous husband, Leontes, King of Sicilia.

In Shakespeare's plays, there are several female characters who are literate, such as Lavinia in *Titus Andronicus* (1594) and Maria in *Twelfth Night* (1600). Lavinia writes the name of her rapists on the sand, using a wooden stick in her mouth, while Maria imitates the hand of Olivia to cheat Malvolio. Both use their writing skills for realistic purposes. Among many female characters created by Shakespeare, there appears only one female character, who composes her own poetry. It is Marina in *Pericles* (1608), who is endowed with such a talent to show her literary creativity. In Act 4 Scene 0, Gower, the narrator of the story, describes Marina's superior feminine virtue with reference to her education:

GOWER: Now to Marina bend your mind,
Whom our fast-growing scene must find
At Tarsus, and by Cleon trained,
In music, letters; who hath gained
Of education all the grace;
Which makes her both the heart and place
Of general wonder. (4.0.5-11)

According to Gower, she is educated in music and letters. Gower tells that Marina writes 'with rich and constant pen' in order to 'Vail to her mistress Dian' (4.0.27-29). Even though Shakespeare dramatises Marina as a writing

woman, her poetry deals with Diana, who is associated with female chastity and hunting in the Roman mythology. Marina does not write amorous sonnets as Pamphilia does in *Urania*. Furthermore, Shakespeare does not present a scene in which Marina actually composes her literary work. Admittedly, Shakespeare represents these women writers — Lavinia, Maria, and Marina — from his understanding of early modern cultural contexts in which his audience lived. He needed to cater for the preference of his audiences of both genders, most of whom were probably illiterate.

Still, it is unusual for Shakespeare to focus on a heroine's education and her writing skill, because his representations of other educated women are largely confined within the scope of early modern education. For instance, while Desdemona in *Othello* proudly refers to her own education in Act 1 Scene 3, it is linked to honoring her father Brabantio: 'To you I am bound for my life and education; My life and education both do learn me / How to respect you' (1.3.182-84). Even if Marina in *Pericles* tries to use her education to make her living, she does not use it for an artistic activity as, in *Urania*, Pamphilia does. Shakespeare's Marina might be a pioneering figure as a governess, whose career flourished as one of women's professions much later in Victorian England.

Ben Jonson is another male dramatist who represents the relation between women and education in his plays. As has been stated, Jonson had a close connection with the Sidney family. He composed a country-house poem entitled 'To Penshurst' to praise Penshurst Place and the members of

the Sidney family who lived there.¹⁴³ Wroth and Jonson describe the issues of eloquence, education and gender differently. While Wroth seriously deals with female eloquence and the problems faced by educated women, Jonson satirises educated female characters, such as Lady Would-be in *Volpone* and the collegiate ladies in *Epicene*. Lady Would-be learns various sorts of subjects, such as fashion, herbal medicine, music, painting and poetry. She recommends women in general to receive education in 'all letters and arts' in order 'to discourse, to write, to paint' with special emphasis on musical skills (III.iv.70-72).

In Act III Scene iv, Lady Would-be shows off her abundant knowledge of these subjects through her unstoppable words. Jonson dramatises her as a talkative woman, from whom other characters hope to keep a distance. This is because they do not want to be bothered by her continuous talking. Although Volpone praises silence as one of the female graces in front of her, she does not care about his sarcastic remark. She keeps flaunting her knowledge of literature and reading skills:

VOLPONE:

The poet,

As old in time as Plato, and as knowing,

Says that your highest female grace is silence.

LADY WOULD-BE: Which o' your poets? Petrarch? or Tasso?

or Dante? Guerrini? Ariosto? Arentine?

Cieco di Hadria? I have read them all.

(III.iv.76-81)

¹⁴³ Emilia Lanier is the first Englishwoman to write a country-house poem, 'The Description of Cooke-ham'.

Volpone is impatient of her 'flood of words' (III.iv.64). Calling her '[t]he storm', he says that her words are made of 'the dreadful tempest of her breath' (III.iv.40-42). Jonson emphasises the misery of Volpone as a victim of her tempestuous words. Without using a metrical verse as Volpone does, she tempestuously keeps demonstrating her literary criticism.

With reference to Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, Lady
Would-be reviews the influence of Italian literature on Renaissance
English literary texts:

LADY WOULD-BE: All our English writers,
I mean such as are happy in the Italian,
Will deign to steal out of this author mainly;
Almost as much as from Montaignié;
He has so modern and facile a vein,
Fitting the time, and catching the court-ear.

(III.iv.87-92)

As Lady Would-be says, Italian tragicomedy gave a huge impact on the history of English literature. Male dramatists anglicised the genre, which flourished around the turn of the seventeenth-century. Abraham Fraunce's *The Countess of Pembroke's Ivychurch* (1591), Samuel Daniel's *Queen's Arcadia* (1606), and John Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* (1610) are examples of a series of English tragicomedies. As mentioned in Introduction of this thesis, Wroth's *Love's Victory* (c.1617-19) is in line with these works in terms of her use of the Anglicised dramatic form of tragicomedy. Lady Would-be further continues on her literary criticism with references to Michel de Montaigne, Petrarch, Dante and Aretine.

Interestingly, she clearly grasps the obsolescence of the sonnet form at the beginning of the seventeenth century: 'Your Petrarch is more passionate, yet he, / In days of sonetting, trusted 'hem with much' (III.iv.93-94).

It is innovative for Jonson to portray a female critic, whose presence is unusual in early modern literary texts. However, his characterisation of Lady Would-be is exceedingly satirical, making her even an object of mockery. None of the male characters seems to hear her lecture seriously; rather, they earnestly hope to be rescued from 'the everlasting voice' (III.v.2). As her name shows, Jonson scornfully demonstrates that her talkative nature is the cause of her failure to become a lady, though she is a Knight's wife and has abundant knowledge of various subjects. Thus, Jonson does not portray educated women positively. In *Epicene*, as Morose describes a tongue as 'a woman's chiefest pleasure' (2.5.42-43), Jonson rather regards female eloquence as equivalent to their garrulity.

III. Garrulity, Foreignness and Gender in *Urania*

Wroth's treatment of women's tempestuous words makes an interesting contrast to Jonson's characterisation of Lady Would-be in *Volpone*. Wroth does not necessarily approve of talkative women; and yet, she subtly negotiates with the use of women's voice and eloquence. For instance, Wroth compares a young lady's voice to the virginals both comically and critically. The virginals is a keyed instrument, which was popular in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It resembles a spinet but set in a box or case without legs. Since the term was etymologically associated with virginity, the reference to the instrument

often contained sexual connotations in early modern literature. At the end of *Urania* I, the Duke of Wertenberg, named Dorileus, and the Duke of Brunswick, called Cauterino, enjoy brief romantic relationships with ladies in a castle in the desert during their search of the lost Amphilanthus.

In a garden at night, with the help of the Duke of Wertenberg, the Duke of Brunswick courts a young lady by singing verses ‘in manner or imitation of Saphiks’ (1.604.3-4).¹⁴⁴ As soon as his singing finishes, having ‘hated her patience, she comes down to the garden with another lady (1.604.29-30). Falling into a ‘discourse of Musique’ with the Duke of Wertenberg, the other lady, ‘who was already stroke blind with love’ speaks to him as if ‘powder takes fire, burnt, and flash’d’ (1.605.9-10). Her words are compared to ‘the Jacks in Virginalls touched with the keyes’ (1.605.10-11). She gives ‘such sudden and ready sound [...] answering so soone, as some would have thought they had agreed before of their speech, and repeated but too hastily’ (1.605.10-13). Being placed at the end of the keys, the jacks ‘are the plectrums that pluck the strings of the virginals when activated by pressure on the keys’.¹⁴⁵ Wroth associates women’s talkativeness with the movement of the jacks in the virginals, making use of her knowledge of the musical instrument.

Early modern poets of both genders use the same metaphor of the jacks as one of poetical tropes. Margaret Cavendish uses it in *Poems and Fancies* (1653): ‘The small Virgin all jacks which skip about, / Are severall Fancies that run in, and out.’ Cavendish compares the jack’s quick

¹⁴⁴ Chapter 1 (p.42) briefly referred to this story.

¹⁴⁵ Roberts, ‘Commentary’, in *Urania* I, p. 795.

and light movements with those of fancies, which ‘run in, and out’ of the poet’s imaginative thoughts.¹⁴⁶ Shakespeare also deploys the metaphor, calling them ‘saucy jacks’ in Sonnet 128 with sexual connotations: ‘Do I envy those jacks that nimble leap, / To kiss the tender inward of thy hand, / Making dead wood more blessed than living lips’. He may have known about the virginals through his close association with Emilia Lanier, the daughter of a court musician from Venice. However, in contrast to Wroth, Shakespeare was probably not so familiar with the detailed structure of the instrument.¹⁴⁷ Katherine Duncan-Jones suggests that Shakespeare ‘erroneously applies the word to the keys’ rather than the plectrums, that is, the jacks.¹⁴⁸ Apparently, the parts which ‘kiss the tender inward’ of his mistress’s hand is not the jacks but the keys. Shakespeare confused the keys with the jacks of the virginals.

The poet is jealous of the jacks which can touch his mistress’s hand. While Shakespeare personifies ‘the keys as unworthy sexual rivals’, Wroth uses the metaphor in representing the lady’s ceaseless words.¹⁴⁹ Wroth compares the quick movement of her tongue with that of the jacks which pluck the strings of the virginals when its keys are pressed down by a player’s fingers. While both Wroth and Jonson mock women’s endless words, Wroth seems to emphasise the lady’s frivolous nature by comparing the jacks’ light and quick movement to that of her words. While Lady

¹⁴⁶ Margaret Cavendish, *Poems, and Fancies* (London, 1653), p.137.

¹⁴⁷ Roberts, ‘Commentary’, in *Urania* I, p. 795. As to Shakespeare’s possible relationship with Lanier, see Rowse ed., *The Poems of Shakespeare’s Dark Lady*.

¹⁴⁸ William Shakespeare, *Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones, (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2010 rep. 2013) p. 370.

¹⁴⁹ Duncan-Jones, Commentary on Sonnet 128 in *Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, p. 370.

Would-be's garrulity invites harsh rejection by Volpone, Wroth does not necessarily deny her frivolity exemplified in her 'words like the jacks in Virginalls'. Before the young lady experiences the sad parting with the Duke of Wertenberg, she still enjoys a brief time of pleasure with him, going into 'a faire Arbour' with him 'not unwillingly' (1.605.19).

Wroth's use of the metaphor of the virginals also reveals her own education in the musical instrument. In his letter to Wroth's father, Robert Sidney, Rowland White, a steward for the Sidney family, praises her ability to learn, write, dance and play the virginals: 'God bless her, she is very forward in her learning, writing, and other exercises she is put to, as dancing and the virginals'.¹⁵⁰ Wroth's engagement with women's eloquence and education seems to be more realistic and complex than that of Jonson, with her sympathetic warnings against women. Chapter 3 will discuss negative impacts of rhetorical education on women in *Urania*, focusing on Wroth's representations of Antissia, Princess of Romania and one of Amphilanthus's lovers.

In *Urania*, rhetoric and the language style are also related to the idea of foreignness. Wroth represents an encounter with foreign cultures through the story of two ladies of 'Brittany' and three Italian male characters, the Prince of Venice, the Duke of Savoy and the Duke of Florence. The episode appears almost at the end of the first part of *Urania*. This means that their story is a bridge, which leads up to the second part of the romance. When the Italian prince and dukes firstly appear, they are

¹⁵⁰ Quoted from Hannay, *Lady Mary, Sidney Wroth*, p. 43.

described as ‘all sad, distress’d, and beyond measure grieved’ due to the loss of Amphilanthus, who has been enchanted in the Hell of Deceit (1.626.8-9). After they are ‘carried in to the Brittain Sea’ (1.627.6-7), they arrive by chance on the shore of Brittany due to the storm. The beauty of the new country comforts their eyes: ‘they perceived for their comforts [...] the faire Rocks of Brittany, anciently called Albion’ (1.627.8-10). It seems that Wroth subtly alludes to Jacobean England in the representations of Brittany. In *Masque of Blackness* (1605), Jonson also portrays Albion which clearly echoes Jacobean England ruled by King James I: ‘His snowy cliff is Albion fair / So called Neptune’s son, who ruleth here’ (180-81). In the masque performed at Somerset House in 1605, Wroth danced in the role of Baryte, painting her body black together with Queen Anne and other aristocratic ladies. Wroth may have been inspired by Jonson’s representations of Albion in her descriptions of Brittany.

However, in *Urania*, the descriptions of the landscape and people of Brittany are not complementary as in Jonson’s masque but rather critical; it is ‘stony, wooddy, rocky’, while people are ‘rude and churlish’ (1.627.34-35). Nevertheless, the beauty of women there is praised by the narrator: ‘for Brittany had the name to have the fairest Creatures in her of all women, and that part the honor to have the fairest of Brittany’ (1.627.22-24).¹⁵¹ The three travelers firstly visit ‘a Noblemans house’, where they see the ‘antiquity’ of all things (1.627.37). Later, they also drop at ‘the Inne’ (1.627-629). In the inn, ‘Knights and Squires, but all fellowes, and

¹⁵¹ With regard to positive representations of Rodomandro, the King of Tartaria, who has black skin in *Urania*, see Kusunoki, *Mary Sidney Wroth: Shakespeare ni Idonda Josei* (Tokyo: Misuzu, 2011), especially chapter 3.

most fellow-like drunke', while 'some were singing, some dancing, some quarrelling, others fidling, some calling for more drinke' (1.629.18-21). Wroth describes the inn, bustling with noise and excitement, only once in the two parts of *Urania*. The appearance of the inn adds realistic tones to the romance whose settings are normally placed in royal courts or pastoral areas. The boundary between fiction and reality blurs due to the appearance of the inn. It seems that Wroth describes the scene in which these Italian travelers visit one of the noisy inns in Jacobean London, as if composing her travel writing from the perspective of the three foreigners.

At the nobleman's house, the Italian travelers meet 'the most ignorant proud woman' and her kinswoman, who is 'a wondrous brave Lady' (1.628.16). The Duke of Florence, who is 'haughty' and 'not knowing the nature of the Brittaines' (1.628.29-30), compliments their beauty, as if reciting Petrarchan amorous poetry with excessively ornamental rhetoric:

Wee are Travellers and strangers; yet more strangers to the sight
of such beauty [...] as I am rapt into the cloudes of pleasure, not
being able to expresse your excellencies but by my infinite
admiration; beholding you like so many Sunnes contented to
distribute your equall beames to let us be the abler to behold
you: here I see the excellentest excellency of the rarest
perfections. (1.628.33-38)

The Florentine makes full use of his rhetoric in expressing his admirations of their excellent beauty. He repeats the term 'excellent', changing its form as a noun and as superlative, intending to court the ladies. He also

compares the ladies' eyes with the beams of the Sun. This is a conventional Petrarchan trope, which was repeatedly used by male sonneteers, such as Sidney and Shakespeare. Wroth twists the use of the trope by characterising him as an object of teasing and marginalisation in terms of his very rhetoric.

As Lorna Hutson argues, early modern English literature embraces the classic tradition that strongly disapproved loquacity as effeminate.¹⁵² For instance, in Shakespeare's *Othello*, Othello confesses his lack of rhetorical skills: 'Haply for I am black, / And have not those soft parts of conversation / That chamberers have' (3.3.266-67). His language unveils his marginalised presence as a black in the service of Venice. At the same time, Othello implicitly makes 'chamberers' effeminate by characterising their conversation as 'soft'.

In *Urania*, the redundant and ornamental rhetoric of the Florentine is also not well accepted by the ladies of Brittany. Soon after his praise for the ladies, the narrator explains their satirical responses to his rhetoric:

The Ladies left him in his speech, and taking handes walked away, as who would say, by that time the Oration is done, we will come againe, smiling on themselves and their uncivilnesse. The other two Princes laugh'd at the Florentine, who was so angry and ashamed, as hee (being very black) look'd betweene fury and blushing like a Night-piece. (1.629.9-13)

The issues of rhetoric, race and gender are interwoven in complex ways

¹⁵² Lorna Hutson, 'Civility and Virility in Ben Jonson', *Representations*, 78.1 (2002), 1-27 (p. 1).

here. The ladies in Brittany humiliate the Florentine by leaving him in the middle of his oration. When the Prince of Venice and the Duke of Savoy laugh at him, he is 'so angry and ashamed'. Interestingly, like Othello, the Florentine is represented as black. His decorative rhetoric as well as his blackness is marginalised in Brittany. In order to let off his frustration, the three travelers go to the inn in the town, where they actually experience 'a second or rather a perfect Hell' (1.629.18-19). The Florentine's failure to attract the ladies in Brittany by his rhetoric foregrounds his foreignness in the country.

In the meanwhile, Wroth's representations of a lady of the Forest Champion provide a new perspective on eloquence and gender in early modern England. Reaching 'a large Commune', the Florentine finally arrives at 'the Forrest Champion', which was 'anciently called the deserts of Brittany' (1.630.10-11).¹⁵³ There, he listens to a sad story of the lady of the Forest Champion, which is spoken by a talkative knight whose talk is considered as 'a disease, or Palsie in his tongue' (1.621.2-3). In contrast to Jonson's *Volpone*, in *Urania*, men could be an object of criticism due to their garrulity. According to the knight, in the past, the lady of the Forest Champion was 'curious in her habit, danced, rid, did all things fit for a Court' (1.631.13-14). However, her misfortune in love caused the loss of her beauty. As Wroth's biographical allusions are shadowed in the portrayal of various female characters in *Urania*, her representations of the lady of the Forest Champion also seem to echo her own life, when she

¹⁵³ Wroth uses the term 'commune' much earlier than the first example of the term in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

lived in Loughton Hall situated in Epping Forest, Essex.¹⁵⁴

The lady of the Forest Champion is characterised as ‘the vertuousest and fairest Maide in this Kingdome, the unfortunateliest married, and unhappiest wife this Countrey had, the most desolate and grieved Widdow’ (1.632.1-3).¹⁵⁵ Some of Wroth’s readers may have been baffled to see such representations of the lady as ‘the vertuousest and fairest Maide in this Kingdome’, because Wroth gave birth of two illegitimate children with William Herbert. Like the lady of the Forest Champion, Wroth was actually a ‘grieved Widdow’. Wroth’s husband, Robert Wroth, died in 1614, while her son James also passed away at the age of two and five months in 1616. Wroth was left with a large amount of debts without being allowed to access Robert’s inheritance, which was transferred to her brother-in-law.

The Florentine, who ‘naturally love[s] strange things’, hopes to see the lady of the Forest Champion and ‘resolv’d to trye his fortune’ (1.634.10-12). When he firstly encounters her with the talkative knight, she is ‘sitting in a great wood reading some papers’ (1.634.26-27). What she reads is ‘Verses her love (in the time of his affection to her) had made, and given unto her’ (1.634.27-28). Reading these verses as the reminiscence of her unrequited love, she weeps and kisses them. When the Florentine exchanges words with her, he is impressed by her eloquent, but plain language:

the Florentine with delicate language spake, she with much

¹⁵⁴ See Roberts, ‘commentary’, in *Urania* I, p. 798.

¹⁵⁵ The Lady of the Forest Champion also has a similar family background as Wroth: ‘the daughter of a great Lord, and Sister to as fine a Gentleman as was in that Kingdome’ (1.630.31-32).

modesty and respective fashion entertain'd him: much he
admir'd her grave and yet courteous manner, the eloquence she
spake such, as made him thinke she was the best spoken
woman he had ever heard, and *the greatest part of her
eloquence was the plainness, but excellently well plac'd words
she deliverd*, her speech was as rare and winning, as the
Knights troublesome, and most times idle [...]

(1.635.1-7; emphasis mine)

While the talkative knight's speech is described as 'troublesome' and 'idle', the lady's language is plain, but eloquent at the same time as represented as 'rare and winning'. Evaluating her as 'the best spoken woman he had ever heard', the Florentine acknowledges that 'the greatest part of her eloquence was the plainness', which is opposite to the decorative style of his own language and the speech of the talkative knight. Considering that Wroth herself and the members of her family were poets, it is comical and ironical that Wroth describes that many of the ancestors of the talkative knight were poets.

The early modern period was the time when England faced complex and shifting responses to language styles. The Royal Society, chartered in England in 1666, demanded for a plain style which was opposite to the rhetorical extravagancy of Renaissance humanism.¹⁵⁶ The members of the Royal Society were only men, most of whom were upper-class and titled; they worked on experimental science.¹⁵⁷ As the scientific culture

¹⁵⁶ Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, *Forms of Engagement: Women, Poetry and Culture 1640-1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 74.

¹⁵⁷ Denise Tillery, 'The Plain Style in the Seventeenth Century: Gender and the

developed, there was a gradual need for the language style appropriate for writing natural philosophy. In early modern England, Francis Bacon advocated the plain style of language in science.

According to Patricia Parker, in early sixteenth-century Europe, there was already a desire for a more 'masculine' or virile style, which seems associated with the plain style; in 1527, Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) called for a 'more genuine, more concise, more forceful, less ornate and more masculine' style in his letter.¹⁵⁸ In Ben Jonson's *Timber; or Discoveries*, a virile style was often metaphorically assimilated to the male sinewy body. Jonson privileges a manly and virile style which makes a sharp contrast to effeminate Ciceronian expressions filled with words and rhetorical ornaments.¹⁵⁹ This admiration for a masculine style had a great impact on early modern Europe where the stylistic virility was praised over Ciceronian effeminate style.¹⁶⁰

The ornate rhetoric of the Florentine and the garrulity of the talkative knight embody the Ciceronianism, which show a contrast to the plain eloquence of the lady of Forest Champion. Since she delivers words which are 'excellently well plac'd', her language can be 'more concise' and 'less ornate'. In this way, there seemed a close tie between masculine and the plain style of language. Parker also argues that the plain style of

History of Scientific Discourse', *J. Technical Writing and Communication*, 35.3 (2005), 273-89 (p. 273).

¹⁵⁸ Patricia Parker, 'Virile Style', *Premodern Sexualities*, ed. by. Louise Fradenburg and Carla Freccero (Routledge: New York, 1996), p. 201; for gendering of style and the construction of the plain style as seemingly gender-neutral but masculine, see Tillery, p. 274.

¹⁵⁹ Patricia Parker, 'Virile Style', pp. 201-22.

¹⁶⁰ Parker, 'Virile Style', p.201; Jason Camlot, *Style and the Nineteenth-Century British Critic: Sincere Mannerisms* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), p. 115.

an emerging early modern science was praised as a '*masculine* birth of time'.¹⁶¹ As examined in Chapter 1, one of the characteristics of romance is its dilation. Wroth's prose also has such a form of amplification, sometimes causing the digression in its narrative.¹⁶² These features, embodied in early modern romance in general, seem to follow Ciceronian claim that 'the highest distinction of eloquence consists in amplification by means of ornament' (III.27.104).¹⁶³

However, in *The History of the Royal Society* (1667), Thomas Sprat, bishop of Rochester, pointed out that the development of the plain style was for 'scientific exposition as without digressions and amplification'.¹⁶⁴ Wroth already realised the nascent shift in the styles of language much earlier than Sprat. Attributing the plain style of rhetoric to the woman in Brittany as her positive trait, Wroth critically engages with romance which embraces the plain style of language, though it is opposed to the digressive nature of the genre. Wroth even satirically describes male characters, such as the Florentine and the talkative knight, whose decorative and thus effeminate rhetoric fail to achieve communication with other characters of both genders. In particular, Wroth represents the Duke of Florence as marginalised being a black as well as a visitor to Brittany. Wroth's focus on the cross-cultural encounter between the Florentine and the ladies of Brittany sheds a new light on the shifting cultural climate in linguistic

¹⁶¹ Parker, 'Virile Style', p. 201.

¹⁶² Parker, *Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property* (New York: Methuen, 1987), pp. 8-35; Frye, *Pens and Needles: Women's Textualities in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), pp. 191-94.

¹⁶³ Cicero, *De Oratore*, trans. by H. Rackham, M.A. (London: William Heinemann, 1942), p. 83.

¹⁶⁴ Scott-Baumann, *Forms of Engagement*, p. 74.

styles in early modern England.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the interplay of eloquence, education and gender in the works of Mary Wroth in comparison to those of her male predecessors and contemporaries. Wroth was highly educated and several poems were dedicated to her by some male authors, such as Jonson, Sylvester, and Chapman. However, early modern women's access to education was generally confined within the scope of achieving cultural goals of nurturing virtuous daughters, wives and mothers. Representations of educated women and their eloquence by male dramatists, such as Shakespeare and Jonson, are also limited. While Shakespeare creates Marina in *Pericles* as a woman educated in music and letters, she only composes poetry to worship Diana, the goddess of chastity and hunting. Jonson, on the other hand, characterises Lady Would-be in *Volpone* as an object of satire on women's education and eloquence.

Wroth's representations of educated women with rhetorical voice are also ambivalent; she is critical of female garrulity, but she is also harsh on ornamental rhetoric spoken by men and their talkativeness. However, Wroth's originality lies in her representations of the plain style of language as eloquence. She is also innovative in providing a female character, called the lady of the Forest Champion, with such an eloquent plain voice. This makes a contrast to her portrayal of a male character, the Duke of Florentine, who is marginalised in terms of his race as an Italian with black skin and his decorative rhetoric. Further discussions of women's

education, linguistic style and passions will be done in Chapter 3, focusing on Wroth's representations of Antissia, whose education is represented as less empowering.

Chapter 3. Measuring Passions: Poetic Forms, Linguistic Styles and Female Complaint¹⁶⁵

Introduction

In 2004, Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe and Mary Floyd-Wilson asked a provocative question: ‘How translatable is the language of emotion?’¹⁶⁶ It is difficult to represent passions in language at any historical periods. This is because they are something invisible, immaterial, unmeasurable and unfixed. However, early modern writers of both genders made full use of their poetic capabilities to create languages of emotions. Mary Wroth is one of these writers who engaged with experimental literary expressions for giving authorial voice to passions of both male and female characters in her works.

In *Urania* I and II, there appear more than fifteen authors and poets of both genders. They produce several forms of writing for various reasons especially at the height of their passions. For instance, Bellamira, who is a daughter of the Lord of Ragusa, describes what poetry is: ‘putting my thoughts in some kind of measure, which else were measurelesse; this was Poetry’ (1.387.1-2). It is generally believed that Bellamira is one of Wroth’s alter-egos. As Bellamira says, the significant term in the making of poetry is ‘measure’, which is often associated with the act of measuring

¹⁶⁵ The title of this chapter has been inspired by Kristiane Stapleton’s essay ‘Measuring Authorship: Framing Forms, Genres, and Authors in *Urania*’ in *Re-Reading Mary Wroth*, pp. 103-17.

¹⁶⁶ *Reading Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*, ed. by Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), p. 2.

in terms of prosody for poetic composition and that of measuring one's passions metaphorically. Therefore, 'measure' represents the act of framing both material poetic styles and immaterial passions.

Emma Mason and Isobel Armstrong point out that art 'can put the passions outside the self only by representing them through what they are not, through the substitutions of image, picture, or proxy enactment'.¹⁶⁷ In view of this idea of substitution for expressing passions, a poet's choice of poetic forms can be a topography of his or her mind. If poetry is the framing of one's measureless thoughts in a certain measured form, authorial voice must be in operation in choosing linguistic styles to make immaterial passions visible in poetic forms. As Kristiane Stapleton rightly puts it, Wroth uses the term 'measure' as 'a sign of a deliberately wrought form and skilled authorship'.¹⁶⁸

What is common between styles and passions is mobility. Wroth describes passions as having 'motion' (1.317.29). When the female protagonist, Pamphilia, walks into 'a delicate thicke wood' through a path with 'a booke' in her hand (1.317.18), she reflects on her thoughts, touching her heart 'to feel if there were but the motion left in the place of that she had so freely given' (1.317.29-31). She finds great motion there. As examined in Chapter 1, passions drive the characters to poetic composition and story-telling in *Urania*. Poetic forms and styles which they use also encapsulate the movement of their passions, while reflecting the kind of passions they are suffering. For instance, Pamphilia's usage of

¹⁶⁷ Emma Mason and Isobel Armstrong, "'Feeling: An Indefinite Dull Region of the Spirit?'"', *Textual Practice*, 22 (2008), p. 2.

¹⁶⁸ Stapleton, 'Measuring Authorship', p. 111.

corona (A Crown of Sonnets Dedicated to Love) in *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* reveals her love for Amphilanthus, the King of the Romans.¹⁶⁹ Its form symbolises an enclosed endless passion as if it is a labyrinth; the last line of a sonnet is repeated at the beginning of the next sonnet.¹⁷⁰

In *The Imprint of Gender* (1993), Wendy Wall emphasises the importance of careful analysis of ‘the forms women did choose’ in a society where women’s writing was generally exposed to social accusations of breaching the codes of feminine virtue:

The strict limitations placed on women’s social and mental activities only make their literary experiments more impressive; and the overwhelming weight of prohibitions against authorship compels us to look prudently at the forms women did choose, and images women did construct, in these difficult and transgressive forays into print.¹⁷¹

Elizabeth Scott-Baumann also articulates that ‘[w]ith an ever-increasing body of poetry by women in various forms being rediscovered, scholars are asking not whether but *how* women used them’.¹⁷² In order to seek for the expansion of these developments in women’s writing in early modern England, this chapter examines Wroth’s choice of poetic forms and

¹⁶⁹ In a Crown of Sonnets in *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, the last line of the final poem asks ‘In this strange labyrinth how shall I turn?’, which is exactly the same sentence Wroth used to open the sequence. Hence, it makes a lyric circle.

¹⁷⁰ Mary Moore, ‘The Labyrinth as Style in *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*’, *Studies in English Literature*, 38.1 (1998), 109-25.

¹⁷¹ Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 283.

¹⁷² Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, ‘Lucy Hutchinson, Gender and Poetic Form’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 30.2 (2015), 265-84 (p. 265).

linguistic styles as a means of representing passions in the contexts of early modern literary cultures in which her authorship is constructed.

Wroth's literary texts can be regarded as collaborative work, as her texts leave various traces of her allusion to and engagement with the works of her male and female predecessors and contemporary writers. Barbara K. Lewalski argues that we need to carefully consider how the members of the Sidney family played important roles as Wroth's literary models and how she diverged from them:

Wroth's romance is not simply a matter of influence and imitation. Rather [...] she uses her heritage transgressively to replace heroes with heroines at the center of the genres employed by the male Sidneys, claiming them as vehicles for exploring women's consciousness and authorship.¹⁷³

In view of Wroth's originality, Lewalski claims that it lies not in a derivative imitation of her literary models but in an inimitable divergence from their works. Danielle Clarke defines a person's rhetorical skills as 'an ideological and cultural badge of personhood' and 'indicative of social identity'.¹⁷⁴ These skills paradoxically reveal Wroth's authorship, that is, who Wroth is and how she negotiated various strictures against women writers at that time. The way Wroth used these poetic mechanics can be a

¹⁷³ Lewalski, 'Authorship and Author-Characters in Sidney and Wroth', *Re-reading Mary Wroth*, pp. 35-51 (pp. 41-42).

¹⁷⁴ Danielle Clarke, 'Speaking Women: Rhetoric and the Construction of Female Talk', in *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, pp. 70-88 (p. 72); Mary Ellen Lamb also notes that 'It is against the context of male authors that Wroth's radical interventions into romance tradition become most visible'. See Lamb, 'Out of the Archives: Mary Wroth's *Countess of Montgomery's Urania*' in *Editing Early Modern Women*, pp. 197-214 (p. 205).

sign of her Sidneian lineage as well as her divergence from it. Hence, Wroth's choice and usage of poetic forms and linguistic styles can be considered as acts of the construction of herself as an author.

I. Wroth and Her 'Literary Capital'

Sasha Roberts introduces the idea of 'literary capital', which can be regarded as 'engagement in the literary field', that is, access to 'literacy and education', 'familiarity with literary forms, tropes, genres, and histories' as well as 'writing and reading networks'.¹⁷⁵ Roberts argues that women's formal engagements were established based on their literary environments; and thus 'to ignore the formal engagements of early modern women's writing is to ignore what constitutes their literary practice and their literary capital'.¹⁷⁶ Wroth's use of rhetorical ornament and her ways of the display in a certain poetic form clearly show her prestigious and distinctive cultural and familial environment. In this sense, the inequalities in women's social standings often had more impact than gender on their access to 'literary capital'.¹⁷⁷

Surrounded by early modern male rhetoricians, Wroth had been highly educated in rhetoric from her childhood. Her uncle, Philip Sidney, wrote *An Apology for Poetry* (1595), a piece of literary criticism. On the

¹⁷⁵ Sasha Roberts, 'Women's Literary Capital in Early Modern England: Formal Composition and Rhetorical Display in Manuscript and Print', *Women's Writing*, 14.2 (2007), 246-69 (p. 247).

¹⁷⁶ Sasha Roberts, 'Feminist Criticism and the New Formalism: Early Modern Women and Literary Engagement', in *The Impact of Feminism in English Renaissance Studies*, ed. by Dymphna Callaghan (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 67-92 (p. 76).

¹⁷⁷ Roberts, 'Feminist Criticism and the New Formalism', p. 75.

other hand, her literary peer, Ben Jonson, wrote *Timber, or, Discoveries* (1641), a collection of meditations and commentaries on various issues ranging from the nature of fortune and fame to dramatic and poetic criticisms. Moreover, Samuel Daniel wrote *A Defense of Rhyme* (1603), which was dedicated to William Herbert, the 3rd Earl of Pembroke. Wroth's aunt, Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, presided over the literary salon at Wilton House flourished as a centre of early modern literary culture. The Countess supported Jonson and Daniel as well as other poets and dramatists, such as Michael Drayton and William Browne. Daniel described Wilton as his 'best Schoole' where he learned most, even the composition of poetry under the guidance of Mary Sidney Herbert.¹⁷⁸ It is no surprise that Wroth could make use of poetic skills passed down by the members of her family as well as by her peers who had close communication with the Sidneys.

As Roberts points out, it is important to consider how differences and inequalities among women in terms of their access to 'literary capital' inform Wroth's representations of women's passions and authorship; '[a]s always, the problem with invoking "women" as a category for analysis is that it can mask the deep differences and inequalities between women, not only in terms of class but also of religion, politics, region, generation, ethnicity and experience'.¹⁷⁹ 'Women' is not a single category in the study

¹⁷⁸ John Pitcher, 'Samuel Daniel', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*. <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7120>>. Daniel says in his *Defence* that rhyme is 'measures of ours' but feminine rhyme is the 'fittest for Ditties' and mixing feminine and masculine rhyme is 'deformitie' as Hugh Sanford notes. See Margaret Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 117.

¹⁷⁹ Sasha Roberts, 'Literary Capital', *Women's Writing*, p. 264.

of early modern 'women's' writing. This is why it is difficult to wholly agree with Lewalski's argument quoted above (p. 93), in which she claims that Wroth replaces heroes with heroines. Rather, this chapter argues that it is a dynamic constellation of factors, comprised of a variety of women in light of social, religious, political and racial backgrounds that illuminates Wroth's *Urania*.

II. Pamphilia's Insanity and Her Use of Poetic Forms

Wroth focuses on women's passions expressed in inset poetry and writing far more than male romance writers, such as her uncle, Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser. Scenes of writing in *Urania* demonstrate useful test cases in order to examine Wroth's authorial agency; it can be elucidated through the character's choice of materials for writing, poetic forms and styles as well as through their ways of circulation and reception. Her experiments with their poetic and stylistic forms clearly reveal that she explored women's interiority by means of writing. Various forms of writing are dispersed in the whole narrative of *Urania* I and II. Among them are included sonnets, songs, lyric verses and letters, which are sometimes recited alone or in front of other characters as well as are read silently in a chamber or solitary gardens. The first part of *Urania* includes more than 50 poems written not only by aristocratic characters but by shepherds and shepherdesses. In contrast, the second part of the romance contains only 18 poems, though there are spaces for missing poetry to be inserted later by Wroth. This never happened, because she left the manuscript incomplete. Embedded poetry, songs and letters encapsulate a

speaker's inner feelings which can be deduced by one's use of forms and styles, and choice of venues for the recitation and ways of circulation. These lyric voices presented by various poetic forms can thus be a visual imitation of one's invisible psychological picture.

In contrast to Wroth's male predecessors and peers, as being mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, Wroth puts a particular focus on the diversity of women's writings which highlights the depth of their emotional suffering caused by a variety of reasons; they are an arranged marriage, an unfaithful lover, violence, unrequited love and most interestingly, a search for one's identity and knowledge.¹⁸⁰ What is shared by female characters from their experiences of suffering is the loss of their beloveds and their subsequent grief. These events can eventually lead them to the edge of madness. While exploring women's literary styles in articulation of their emotional turmoil, this chapter firstly summarises the interplay of rhetoric and passions in early modern England. Then, by looking at the early modern interpretation of rhetoric and its gendered history, this chapter also focuses on the literary genre of female-voiced complaint. The test cases to be examined here are Pamphilia and Antissia, both of whom are victims of Amphilanthus's inconstancy, as well as Alarina, who changes her name to Silviana in order to vow her chastity to Diana, the goddess of hunting and chastity in the Roman mythology.

Some male literary critics in early modern England discuss the

¹⁸⁰ *Urania* I opens with Urania's soliloquy in search of her own identity. Although she has grown up as a shepherdess, it turns out that she is actually a princess of Albania, Amphilanthus's sister. In contrast, as many critics have noted, in Sidney's *Arcadia*, Urania simply appears as an invisible character admired by male characters.

similarity between poetry and pictures. In *An Apology for Poetry*, Philip Sidney regards 'poetry as a speaking picture' and claims with reference to Aristotle that 'painting is mute poetry':

Poesy therefore is an art of imitation, for so Aristotle termeth it in his word mimesis, that is to say, a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth — to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture — with this end, to teach and delight.¹⁸¹

Sidney adopts the concept of *ut pictura poesis* proposed by Horace, which was one of the most popular commonplaces in early modern England.¹⁸² If poetry speaks, it raises the issues of lyric voice and formal mobility. The literary expressions of passions unveil a poet's authorial voice, since the formal mobility embodies one's lyric voice. Jonson also defines a poet as 'a maker or a feigner' as one's art is 'of imitation or feigning' which expresses 'the life of man in fit measure, numbers, and harmony'.¹⁸³

Quoting Lucy Gent, Bruce Smith argues that the term 'picture', which Sidney uses as equivalent to poetry, encapsulates a broad range of meanings in relation to visual images from painting and sculpture to tapestry, embroidery, emblems and 'things made out of words'.¹⁸⁴ Jonson insists on an interplay of one's state of mind and his use of language (Jonson uses 'his' here rather than 'her' as if implying that in his mind poets are only male):

¹⁸¹ Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry (or The Defence of Poesy)*, ed. by R. W. Maslen, 3rd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 86.

¹⁸² Bruce Smith, *The Key of Green: Passion and Perception in Renaissance Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), p. 125.

¹⁸³ Jonson, *Discoveries*, in *The Oxford Authors: Ben Jonson*, p. 582.

¹⁸⁴ Smith, *The Key of Green*, p. 125.

The conceits of the mind are pictures of things, and the tongue is the interpreter of those pictures [...] Neither can his mind be thought to be in tune whose words do jar; nor his reason in frame whose sentence is preposterous; nor his elocution clear and perfect, whose utterance breaks itself into fragments and uncertainties.¹⁸⁵

The vocabularies for poetic composition are eloquently deployed to show the resonance between emotional and poetic terms; for instance, 'his mind' is not 'in tune' if his words 'do jar'; furthermore, 'his reason' is not 'in frame' if poetry is not properly framed as his language is unmeasurable. When bearing in mind this rhetorical understanding of language and emotions in early modern England, it becomes clear why Wroth emphasises the importance of aesthetic control over passions and the female lyric voice.¹⁸⁶ If women lose control over their poetic voice, it means that their mind is also not in tune. If their mind is not in tune, it shows that they have lost reason and are controlled by passions. This is disastrous for their virtue and might possibly pose a threat to the masculine control of women.

In *Urania*, Pamphilia's characterisation and her ability as a poet correspond with each other. Pamphilia's reticent nature resonates with the genre of poetry which she chooses. She is described as a brilliant poet. Meriana, Queen of Macedon and a lover of her brother Rosindy, tells her that 'I heare deare Sister, you are excellent in Poetry' (1.460.21-22). *Urania I* ends with a sonnet sequence, *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, whose

¹⁸⁵ Jonson, *Discoveries*, in *The Oxford Authors: Ben Jonson*, P. 577.

¹⁸⁶ Lewalski, 'Authorship and Author-Characters', p. 43.

author is supposed to be Pamphilia. When Pamphilia is asked to recite her verses by Meriana, she confesses her preference of sonnet to any other forms of poetry: 'I seldome make any but Sonnets, and they are not so sweet in rehearsing as others that come more roundly off' (1.460.28-29). In early modern England, the term 'roundly' meant 'plainly; bluntly; outspokenly; vehemently' with reference to speech.¹⁸⁷ It thus becomes apparent that Pamphilia tries to refuse Meriana's request, saying the form of a sonnet is not appropriate for recitation, because it is not executed plainly. Pamphilia gently warns Meriana that the sonnet is vague in its meaning so that she will not find its recitation interesting. Here, Pamphilia implicitly persuades Meriana to recognise that Pamphilia is reluctant to share her sonnet with her.

Readers of the romance immediately understand Pamphilia's reluctance to reveal her love for Amphilanthus even to her close friend. Ilona Bell calls this tactic as 'a poetics of secrecy', which Pamphilia shares with its author Wroth in the act of writing: 'both Wroth and Pamphilia deploy the ambiguities of love language to simultaneously express and conceal their deepest thoughts and feelings'.¹⁸⁸ Pamphilia's reticence in her writing and behavior sometimes puzzles critics, who undertake an analysis of the importance of female lyric voice in male-centred early modern literary culture. However, 'a poetics of secrecy' is one of Wroth's strategies to avoid accusation against 'a desiring subject'

¹⁸⁷ The *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 'roundly', *adv.* 5a.

¹⁸⁸ Ilona Bell, 'Introduction', in *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus in Manuscript and Print*, pp. 1-72 (p. 60); Margaret Hannay notes that 'inwardness, hiddenness and concealment' are Petrarchan conventions. See Wroth's biography written by Hannay, *Mary Sidney, Lady Wroth*, p. 189.

who writes amorous poetry and complains of male inconstancy.¹⁸⁹

What is particularly important is that Pamphilia's linguistic styles reflect the movement of her passions, which spans the boundary between prose and verse as if embodying the emotional swing between sanity and insanity. One of the rhetorical devices Wroth uses for showing Pamphilia's irregular and gradually unbridled passions is anadiplosis, a Greek term that means 'doubled back' in English and 'repetition that links two phrases, clauses, lines, or stanzas by repeating the word at the end of the first one at the beginning of the first'.¹⁹⁰ Since anadiplosis is a 'usual vehicle for the rhetorical strategy of climax',¹⁹¹ this rhetoric is used to display the culmination of Pamphilia's passions both visually on textual pages for readers and aurally for fictional listeners in the romance.

Wroth's uncle, Philip Sidney, also uses this rhetorical device in *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*. In Chapter 1 of the third book of *Arcadia*, two of the main characters, Pamela and Musidorus, acknowledge their mutual affection for the first time after a series of obstacles. Pamela is an Arcadian princess, who is originally cold to Musidorus, a prince of Thessalia, who is disguised as a shepherd called Dorus, 'a child of passion' (3.1.435). The narrator mentions Dorus's growing sexual desire towards Pamela as soon as he finds her love for him:

For this favour filling him with *hope*, *hope* encouraging his
desire, and *desire* considering nothing but opportunity; on time

¹⁸⁹ Kim Walker argues that '*Urania* provides a space within an apparently orthodox virtue for woman as a desiring subject', in *Women Writers of the English Renaissance* (New York: Twayne, 1996), p. 188.

¹⁹⁰ 'Anadiplosis', in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry & Poetics*, p. 48.

¹⁹¹ *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry & Poetics*, p. 48.

[...] the sudden occasion called Love, and that never stayed to ask reason's leave but made the too much loving Dorus take her [Pamela] in his arms, offering to kiss her, and, as it were, to establish a trophy of his victory. (3.1.436; emphases mine)

By using the rhetorical effect of anadiplosis (the repetition of 'hope' and 'desire'), Sidney highlights Dorus's (/ Musidorus's) growing passion; he is a male 'desiring subject'.¹⁹² Sidney's choice of these words (hope and desire) clearly exemplifies male sexual arousal in front of his beloved. Sidney gives aesthetic authenticity and a kind of integrity to male sexuality. In this way, Pamela is an object of his romantic competition to be won as a sign of his masculine prowess ('a trophy of his victory') in the field of romantic relationship.

On the other hand, in *Urania*, Wroth deploys anadiplosis to show Pamphilia's escalating passion in her complaints against Amphilanthus's disloyalty. After Pamphilia, Amphilanthus and other main characters are freed from the enchanted Theatre by Velarinda, a daughter of the King of Frigia, they return to Corinth. After Amphilanthus's departure for Germany, Pamphilia suffers from 'melancholy' (1.458.37), which her friend Urania discovers. She grieves over his unkindness to her, which is expressed as 'the only murderer of my [Pamphilia's] bliss' (1.461.36-37). She also grieves his 'especiall respect to Musalina' (1.457.37), that is, his

¹⁹² Sidney also uses anadiplosis in Sonnet 1 of *Astrophil and Stella* in order to express the poet's growing passion for his beloved: 'Loving in truth, and faine in verse my love to show, / That she (dear she) might take some *pleasure* of my pain / *Pleasure* might cause her *read*, *reading* make her *know*, / *Knowledge* might *pity* win, and *pity* grace obtain'. See *The Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse*, ed. by Henry R. Woudhuysen (London: Penguin, 1992; repr. 2005), p. 199.

change of love from Pamphilia to Musalina, one of his loves in his youth.

Here, Amphilanthus's handwriting plays an important role in making Pamphilia believe his loss of interest in her.¹⁹³ It is the change of styles in his letter to her that causes her lamentations rather than his absence itself, because it is unusually 'short and complementall' (1.462.21). Puttenham notes in 'Of Style' in *The Arte of English Poesie* that 'continuous course and manner of writing or speech showeth the matter and disposition of the writer's mind'; therefore, one's style is called 'the image of man (*mentis character*)'.¹⁹⁴ It can be said that the change of Amphilanthus's writing style signifies his internal change. Pamphilia actually realises his change through his letter and reluctantly confesses that '[t]his [...] was not wont to be his stile' (1.462.22). The writing style reveals its author's internal passions or rather the waning of his/her passions.

Pamphilia's language style is influenced not by the internal change of her mind but by her unmeasurable passions. Her use of a certain poetic form permeates her prose as she comes closer to insanity. It does not necessarily mean that the gender of an author influences its writing styles. In her chamber alone at night, she pours out the famous complaint in which she wishes 'to be a Black-moore', while reflecting on the loss of Amphilanthus's love, which she has decoded through the change of the writing style in his letter:

Why did I open my heart alone to your love [...] but I am well

¹⁹³ Wroth uses a person's handwriting as a means to cause tragic effects in terms of one's romantic relationship in *Urania*. For instance, in *Urania* I, Terichillus cunningly imitates Antonarus's hands in writing letters to deceive the couple of Sydelia and Antonarus (1.275-78).

¹⁹⁴ George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesy: A Critical Edition*, p. 233.

enough requited, since had I fortunately held these passions in me, the fiercenes of them might by this have rid me of these during torments, and have left this poore body loyall sacrifice to love, and the love of the most *ungrateful*. “*Ungrateful*, why do I cal him so? pardon me dearest, though despising deere, I wrong you more in this title, which is the worst that can be given to man, then you have injur’d me though with unmerited deceit [...] my ceaselesse complaints may some way claime reward [...] but I urge not, be your owne best selfe, and as onece you were, then will you still be free from cruelty, if not accused by Justice selfe, and then too large a punishment will second the *offence*. *Offence*, alas I cannot call it one, for I am yours [...]

(1.465.2-466.4; emphases mine)

Pamphilia regards herself as a victim of the ‘ungrateful’ Amphilanthus, who ‘injur’d’ her. The repetition of words (‘ungrateful’ and ‘offence’) are both key terms in her complaints. ‘The most ungrateful’ signifies Amphilanthus, while ‘offence’ is his act of disloyalty. By repeating these words in the complaints, she specifically blames his inconstancy. She also blames herself for not having rewarded Leandrus, who loyally loved her.

When these terms are vocalised, anadiplosis works to amplify Pamphilia’s painful sorrow aurally and visually. Fictional audience, such as Urania, listens to the escalation of Pamphilia’s emotional suffering, while readers of the romance visually acknowledge it. By embedding the poetic form in prose, Wroth gives Pamphilia a textual space for the articulation of her intensifying passions. Such rhetorical heterogeneity

which oscillates between prose and verse gives Wroth an experimental site in negotiating female voice and passions.

III. Chiasmus and Female Complaint

Before moving on to a comparison between Wroth's portrayal of Pamphilia and Philoclea in Sidney's *Arcadia*, this section briefly reviews the 'female complaint' genre which was popular among early modern male authors, such as Shakespeare, who deployed it in *Venus and Adonis*. In the Middle Ages and the English Renaissance, 'female complaint' was an extensively employed poetic form which had various strands, such as satiric complaint, didactic complaint and lover's complaint. Early modern complaints were mainly classified into three categories which were related to each other: erotic complaint, religious complaint and political complaint.¹⁹⁵ It expresses lamentation caused by personal, social, erotic, or religious losses. Critics, such as Rosalind Smith and Sarah C. E. Ross, have just begun to shed light on the genre; Smith especially focuses on Ovid's Heroidean complaint in order to explore the issue of gender, voice and authorship in the context of the poetics of desire.¹⁹⁶

Female complaint originally includes monologues 'that are frequently voiced by female speakers but have male complaints embedded

¹⁹⁵ Rosalind Smith, Michelle O'Callaghan, and Sarah C. E. Ross, 'Complaint' in *A Companion to Renaissance Poetry*, ed. by Catherine Bates (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2018), pp. 339-52 (p. 339).

¹⁹⁶ Rosalind Smith, 'A "goodly sample": exemplarity, female complaint and early modern women's poetry', *Early Modern Women and the Poem*, ed. by Susan Wiseman (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp. 181-200 (pp. 181-82).

within the “female” complaint framework’.¹⁹⁷ The literary genre is normally regarded as an example of appropriation of the feminine voice by male authors for unveiling male desire. Therefore, it contains culturally coded feminine voice, but they are ventriloquised by male authors. In contrast, a series of female complaints penned by early modern women, including Wroth, are not male-authored ventriloquised voices. Complaint is a nuanced mode of expression, which deals with ‘powerlessness’ as well as ‘protest’ in early modern England.¹⁹⁸ Women’s use of the genre embodies more urgent, genuine and powerful voices of abandoned women to negotiate ways of protest against their vulnerability and powerlessness.

In *Urania* I, Lindamira’s complaint is one of the female-authored complaints. Pamphilia’s complaint is not exactly a poem. And yet, as Rosalind Smith, Michelle O’Callaghan, and Sara C. E. Ross summarise, it is ‘an unusually permeable mode, open to generic mixing, and approaching at one extreme elegy and at the other satire’.¹⁹⁹ Considering that Pamphilia’s lamentation derives from the loss of Amphilanthus and change in tone of his letter, it is possible to read her use of poetical rhetoric embedded in prose as one of the tactics to express her complaint.

In relation to the female complaint genre, Sidney’s characterisation of Philoclea can be read as one of Pamphilia’s fictional predecessors. Philoclea is Pamela’s elder sister and the princess of Arcadia. She falls in love with Pyrocles, a prince of Macedon and Musidorus’s cousin. In her chamber alone at night, Philoclea laments and accuses Pyrocles of losing

¹⁹⁷ ‘Complaint’, in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, p. 287.

¹⁹⁸ Smith, O’Callaghan, and Ross, ‘Complaint’, p. 339.

¹⁹⁹ Smith, O’Callaghan, and Ross, ‘Complaint’, p. 339.

his love for her. Actually, the truth is that he is painfully counterfeiting the cruel shift of his love from her to her mother, Gynecia, who is deeply but often shamelessly passionate for him. In this scene, Sidney uses his skilled rhetoric to describe Philoclea's complaint, which may have reminded Wroth's readers of Pamphilia's in *Urania*:

Shall my soul still do this honour to his unmerciful tyranny, by
my lamenting his loss to show his worthiness and my
weakness? He hears thee not, simple Philoclea [...] I disdain
my fortune, and yet reverence him [Pyrocles] that disdains me.
I accuse his *ungratefulness*, and have his virtue in admiration.
O ye deaf heavens, I would either his *injury* could blot out
mine *affection*, or my *affection* could forget his *injury*.

(3.683.21-30; emphases mine)

Philoclea's use of such terms 'ungratefulness' and 'injury' echoes with Pamphilia's usage of the terms, though Philoclea does not make anadiplosis with these terms. Instead, she uses chiasmus ('injury / affection' and 'affection / injury'), which is '[t]he repetition of a pair of sounds, words, phrases, or ideas on the reverse order, producing an *abba* structure'.²⁰⁰ By using the rhetoric, Sidney represents Philoclea's wavering passions. She cannot wholly accuse Pyrocles, whose virtue she still admires, even though he has psychologically injured her. Chiasmus is also used in a sonnet, which she subsequently sings with a lute: 'Where *love* draws *hate*, and *hate* engendereth *love*'. Like Pamphilia, whose use of

²⁰⁰ 'Chiasmus', in *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poesy*, p. 225.

anadiplosis unveils her labyrinthine love for the unfaithful lover, the more Philoclea hates Pyrocles, the more her love for him increases.

However, Philoclea's use of chiasmus does not culminate in psychological fluctuation. In addition, her choice of language is more submissive than Pamphilia's, because an emphasis is placed on her feminine weakness or meekness, which can raise pity and sympathy among readers. This is a stark contrast to Pamphilia, who is discreet and reticent, but does not use those terms which embody femininity in her complaints. In this sense, Pamphilia's complaint is less gendered. This is not to say that her character is less gendered, but rather her rhetoric and choice of words are less feminised. In short, Wroth gives a sense of integrity for Pamphilia's recitation of complaints without excusing it as feminine weakness. When Pamphilia is at the edge of insanity, Urania is surprised at the lack of her control over passions and criticises her, saying 'shall your excellent vertues been drowned in the Sea of weaknesse? call your powers together, you that have been admired for a Masculine spirit, will you descend below the poorest Femenine in love?' (1.468.11-14). Nevertheless, at least rhetorically, Pamphilia still controls her choice of words and use of anadiplosis, which gives her integrity as 'a desiring subject'.

It is also noteworthy that, in contrast to Philip Sidney, Wroth rarely allows Amphilanthus to eavesdrop on Pamphilia's complaints and excuse himself for his change of mind.²⁰¹ In *Arcadia*, soon after Philoclea's

²⁰¹ There is a scene in which Amphilanthus eavesdrops on Pamphilia and Alarina in *Urania* II. However, because Pamphilia keeps her vow of silence towards Amphilanthus, he only can send a page to tell her his message and cannot exchange mutual and verbal communication with her.

complaints and recitation of a sonnet with the lute, Pyrocles, who has been eavesdropping on the pitiful and tearful accusation against him, hastens to her chamber to excuse himself. Sidney inserts a long dialogue between the two, while, in *Urania*, it is not Amphilanthus but his sister Urania that plays a role of a counsellor for the distressed Pamphilia. Amphilanthus is never overwhelmed by Pamphilia's verbal accusation as Pyrocles has been. Pamphilia's revenge against Amphilanthus is the opposite of Philoclea's, which is full of words of rage against him. Pamphilia's is her silence of words exercised only toward Amphilanthus. Breaching their *de praesenti* marriage, Amphilanthus has married the Slavonian Princess instead; then, Pamphilia decides not to speak to him. He deeply regrets for having deceived her. Chapter 4 will further examine representations of Amphilanthus's regret and tears in relation to the early modern idea of masculinity.

Pamphilia's psychological disorder causes an impact on her style. Her prose becomes much closer to verse with a sense of emotional urgency. After Pamphilia receives the letter from the late Leandrus and his ring in it as a token of his memory, she comes close to madness. She talks to Urania, weeping and wringing her hands:

[...] did not he [Amphilanthus] say, and write he loved me? did not his still winning eyes assure me, and his sweete charming speech confirme me in this beleife? I am not then *deceived*; *deceived*, O yes, but not in judgment, but by *faulshood*. O *faulshood*, what pittie is it that thou shouldest invest thy self in so sweete, and delicate attyre? (1.467.26-29; emphases mine)

Anadiplosis is again used as an emotional appeal as if it is rhyme embedded in prose. Pamphilia's use of anadiplosis in her prose could be regarded as a rhetorical exercise called metaphrasis, which was recommended by Erasmus in his *De Copia* (1514) as useful for poets and other writers: '[i]t will be of especial help to rewrite the verses of poets in prose; and on the other hand, to bind prose in meter, and put the same theme into first one and then another type of verse'.²⁰² Using the image of weaving for explaining metaphrasis, Erasmus insists on the value of reweaving 'the freer language of prose under the rules of metre'.

Wroth's narrative manner also represents dilated lamentations of Pamphilia as if they were a work of weaving with threads, making a big tapestry of the whole story filled with a series of lamentations of both genders. In *An Apology for Poetry*, Sidney recommends to turn a verse into prose to see if poetry has 'poetical sinews': 'let but most of the verses be put in prose'.²⁰³ Although he warns that 'turning bad verse into prose expose its irrationality', Wroth rather makes use of her rhetorical skills in the exercise to eloquently elucidate the emotional irregularity of Pamphilia.²⁰⁴ Wroth's carefully regulated prose with anadiplosis illuminates Pamphilia's irregular and unmeasurable passions; Wroth's technique works quite well here. Through her engagement with the rhetorical device in the female complaint used by her male predecessors,

²⁰² Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, *On Copia of Words and Ideas*, trans. by Donald B. King and H. David Rix (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1963), p. 17; R. W. Maslen refers to the rhetorical exercise called 'metaphrasis' in notes on Sidney's *An Apology for Poetry* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1965; repr. 2002), p. 231.

²⁰³ Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, p. 110.

²⁰⁴ Maslen, notes on Sidney's *An Apology for Poetry*, p. 231.

Wroth foregrounds her own originality in representing women's passions.

During the course of Pamphilia's complaint, her mental disorder reaches the highest point, when she hears the news of Leandrus's death. The narrator explains that her complaint 'could have no new beginning never having end' (1.467.20-21). In addition to her use of repetitive anadiplosis, her complaint itself seems to be the embodiment of the romance genre whose characteristics are repetition, dilation and amplification. It is all the more unfortunate because Pamphilia hopes to see an end to a series of enchantments which happen several times in the romance. When she and Urania arrive at 'a round building like a Theater' (1.372.41), Pamphilia says that 'I will see the end of it [enchantment]', while Urania responds to her, ironically saying that 'all adventures were not framed for you to finish' (1.372.37). Pamphilia sometimes even seeks for an end to her own life. Nevertheless, it is actually herself and her rhetoric that hinder her from ending the romance, while the realistic Urania admits that not all stories are expected to end.

IV. Social Standing and Poetic Forms: Failure of Measuring Passions

In contrast to Pamphilia, a skilled poet, there appear many characters who fail to measure their passions in the form of poetry in *Urania*. For example, at the end of *Urania* I, Celina, a shepherdess, who has originally scorned love, suddenly falls in love with a man who is drowned in a river. She tries to express her painful love ('these unmeasured thoughts') in a form of verse, but fails to do so: 'Some lines she put together, but so few, as could make no kind of verse, not having proportion, or number'

(1.646.31-32). As a result, she complains that ‘shee could not measure her passions’ (1.647.4-5). The rhetorical inarticulacy in expressing passions signifies her failure in courtship, too. Ironically, the story of Celina is inserted just before the discovery of Amphilanthus, entrapped in the Hell of Deceit and, his happy reunion with Pamphilia at the end of *Urania* I. By looking at representations of women’s inarticulacy at their insanity, this section discusses the ways in which social standing affects the linguistic articulation of female characters in *Urania*.

In *The World We Have Lost*, Peter Laslett defines class as ‘a number of people banded together in the exercise of collective power, political and economic’.²⁰⁵ Laslett also points out that, despite apparent gradations in status and rank, there was only one class in pre-industrial England.²⁰⁶ In a narrow sense, then, class is ‘a self-conscious group operating within a capitalistic formation’; however, Wendy Wall states that it can also encompass ‘more traditional issues of order, degree, and estate, as well as the developing protocapitalist social strata brought about by the “middling” level of society’.²⁰⁷ It seems that the emergence of the term class corresponded with the increase of ‘middling’ sorts of people in the history of England. In this chapter, the expression ‘social standing’ is to be used as substitution for the term class in order to express broader groups of people who share ‘grade or rank in society’.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost: Further Explored* (Routledge: Abingdon, 2000), p. 23.

²⁰⁶ Laslett, p. 37. According to Laslett, the term ‘class’ does not only mean ‘status’ and ‘respect’ but is historically related to ‘[t]he distribution of wealth and power’. p. 23.

²⁰⁷ Wall, *The Imprint of Gender*, p. 11.

²⁰⁸ The *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, standing, n. 9a.

In addition to Celina, another female character in *Urania*, who is unable to frame her passions in lyric verse, is Alarina, a shepherdess.²⁰⁹ Alarina is another forlorn woman who gets close to madness because of her lover's unfaithfulness, while her social standing is much lower than Pamphilia's. One beautiful evening, after Pamphilia has enjoyed hunting with her parents, the King and Queen of Morea, she is fascinated by 'a delicate sweete voice' and is drawn to 'a pleasant Grove, and then unto a swift, sweet Rivers side', hoping 'to see the owner of that musique' (1.216.24-26). The owner of the beautiful disembodied voice is Alarina, who tells Pamphilia her story of unrequited love and her decision to change her name to a chaste Silviana. Her story shadows Pamphilia's unrequited love for Amphilanthus.

Alarina's insanity is represented by her loss of control of her style of writing. This makes a contrast to insanity of Pamphilia, who controls linguistic styles with anadiplosis in her complaint even at the highest point of emotional upheaval. At the height of her grief, Alarina decides to write a letter, including a verse to her fickle lover whose name is not given. While he commends his own verses due to its 'strength' (1.222.22) as if his style of writing embodies his masculinity, he does not give any feedback upon her beautiful but lamentable sonnet except for saying that 'they were very fine ones' (1.223.1). Wroth often presents male critics who comment on and evaluate women's writing in *Urania*. Celina's beloved is one of

²⁰⁹ In Wroth's pastoral tragicomedy entitled *Love's Victory*, there is a similar character named Silvesta a shepherdess, who is determined to stay single after she recognises that her beloved loves her best friend, Musella. The difference between Alarina (/ Silviana) in *Urania* and Silvesta in *Love's Victory* is that Alarina eventually retracts her decision to live as a chaste Silviana and marries her beloved.

these examples. While most of the male critics are critical and express negative views on women's writing, Amphilanthus unusually offers a fair and positive evaluation of female poets.

In the story of Bellamira, referred to at the beginning of this chapter, she says that her unfaithful lover taught her how to versify and that 'hee was most excellent in' poetic skills (1.387.2). Amphilanthus, who plays the role of a listener but also a critic of Bellamira's story-telling, praises her eloquence and writing skills: 'You did [...] in your discourse touch upon a quality *rare in women*, and yet I have seene some excellent things of their writings' (1.390.33-35; emphasis mine). There is a gendering of eloquence as masculine (or rather less feminine) by Amphilanthus. As Mary Ellen Lamb argues, his praise of Bellamira's eloquence and poetic skills as 'rare in women' reflects the general understanding of female authors in early modern England.²¹⁰

In contrast to Amphilanthus, who at least shows a sympathetic and favourable response to Bellamira's eloquence and poetry, Alarina's beloved responds to her with cold indifference. Because of a series of her lover's heartless responses to her, she is at the 'extremitie of grieve and paine', which 'brought me [Alarina] unable to doe anything [...] some said, my prose was gone, and that I onely could expresse my selfe in verse' (1.223.9-10). What Alarina has lost as a result of her emotional turmoil is her skill of writing in prose. She can now express her woe only in verse. It may be concluded that expressing her passions in verse is a sign of

²¹⁰ Mary Ellen Lamb, *Gender and Authorship*, p. 178.

Alarina's insanity, because a shepherdess normally could not compose a verse due to the lack of their 'literary capital'; that is, the lack of rhetorical skills caused by low literacy among people of her social standing in that period. In contrast, Pamphilia's sign of madness is demonstrated by the penetration of her poetic style into prose. The boundary of Pamphilia's and Alarina's social standings become blurred in terms of their authorship. The forms of eloquence suitable and accessible to either aristocratic or lower social standing reversed. This blurred difference in representing women's madness might ultimately show the vibrant, but unmeasurable mobility of social standings; that is, the emergence of 'middling' sort, which is resonated with the shifting attention to the forms of literary expression from verse to prose in the history of English literature.

V. Insanity and Authorship: Antissia as Pamphilia's Double

In *Urania*, it is Antissia that loses both prose and verse due to her excessive grief and insanity. She is portrayed as a daughter of the King of Romania and one of Amphilanthus's lovers. As has been argued by critics, such as Lamb, among female characters who fail to frame their passions in the form of poetry, it is Antissia who is loaded with negative connotations in relation to female authorship.²¹¹ Lamb discusses how Antissia shows Wroth's 'unresolved contradictions in attitudes towards women's authorship', reading Antissia's poetry as 'a form of madness requiring

²¹¹ Lamb, *Gender and Authorship*, pp. 159-69.

cure'.²¹²

This section seeks to develop Lamb's argument that Antissia is Pamphilia's double by comparing the two female poets in *Urania* in order to explore Wroth's various responses to the issue of female authorship. This section claims that Antissia's characterisation can actually be a form of self-censorship to protect Wroth from accusation as an author of the romance. Wroth's portrayal of Antissia even reveals her implicit criticism against male-centred early modern English society where women with education and lyric voice faced a range of accusations and limitations. As Lamb points out, Antissia is 'a container' or 'a disposal site, into which rage over inconstant lovers and anxiety over authorship can be placed'.²¹³

Antissia is Pamphilia's rival in their love for Amphilanthus as well as in their poetry composition, but actually both of them share similarities. As Hannay also regards, Antissia is 'an alter ego for Pamphilia'; both of them are described fundamentally as two sides of a coin.²¹⁴ They are both born as princesses, and they write poetry, fall in love with the same man and deeply suffer from the change of his mind. They often spend time together as companions for each other. And yet, their relationship often contains uneasy tension due to Antissia's jealousy towards Pamphilia, who also has somewhat negative impression of Antissia's 'extreme whiteness' (1.61-62).

In *Urania* I and II, the important places related to authorship are the shades of trees, gardens, groves and rivers where they express their

²¹² Lamb, *Gender and Authorship*, p. 160.

²¹³ Lamb, *Gender and Authorship*, p. 168.

²¹⁴ Hannay, *Mary Sidney, Lady Wroth*, p. 83.

passions. In particular, only Pamphilia and Antissia among all the female characters in the romance pour out their passions in a sonnet form ‘under the same Ashe’ tree (1.114.10-11). They share the theme of their sonnets, that is their sorrow. The narrator illustrates a scene in which Antissia composes a sad sonnet because of her ‘losse of his [Amphilanthus’s] affection’ under the same ash tree where Pamphilia has engraved her passions. The narrator explains that Antissia ‘was invited, either by her owne passion, or the imitation of that excellent Lady, to put some of her thoughts in some kind of measure’ (1.114.12-13). Her visit to the ash tree and even her sonnet composition are the product of the imitation of Pamphilia. The couplet of Antissia’s sonnet (‘doe / *undoe*’) echoes Pamphilia’s use of prefix engraved on the same ash tree (‘blest / *unblest*’) in that both deploy negative forms of active verbs.

After Antissia realises the loss of her happiness due to Amphilanthus’s change of his mind, she visits ‘Meads’ (1.328.27) and finds a willow tree growing in the midst of the plains. Complaining of her misery, she carves her sorrow on the trunk of the tree: ‘Then carved she in the trunke of that tree, till she had imbroidered it all over with characters of her sorrow’ (1.328.34-35). In Sidney’s *Arcadia*, Pamela incorporates characters of her beloved’s name with her own for expressing the arousal of erotic desire. On the other hand, what Antissia engraves on the tree is her sorrow. Pamphilia also carves her sonnets on the ash tree (Chapter 5 will examine the scene more closely). The narrator implies that their future will be different due to the capability to create their authorship. While Pamphilia can write a well-measured sonnet on the tree, Antissia can only

recite her sonnet 'in some kind of measure' and write only 'characters of her sorrow'. This scene shows that Antissia's authorship has not yet been well established, suggesting that she will go through psychological suffering because of unrequited love later in the narrative.

Antissia's authorship is also deeply related to her experience of having been a victim of sexual violence as well as to a typical understanding of women with lyric voice and sexuality in early modern English culture. At the beginning of the romance, she is sold by the 'Rovers' and bought by a merchant (1.38.35). Her life story before she meets Amphilanthus indicates that she was a piece of merchandise of trade among men. When almost raped by two brothers, she is rescued by Allimarlus and Amphilanthus. She later falls in love with the latter.²¹⁵ This makes readers anticipate that Antissia's story is going to be something troublesome and tragic.

At the beginning of *Urania* II, Antissia, who is deserted by Amphilanthus, appears as a mad woman who has lost consciousness and reason. Rosindy, Pamphilia's brother, tells Antissia's misfortune in front of the main protagonists, including his beloved Meriana, Pamphilia, Amphilanthus, and Urania. His story-telling reveals that Antissia's madness is associated with her disordered poetry. He represents her as suffering from 'poetical furies' and describes her madness as follows:

[...] she was upon the sand, neither waulking, running, nor
standing still, yet partly exercising all. She neither sange, nor

²¹⁵ The text implies that Pamphilia has secretly loved him from her childhood before Antissia falls in love with him.

spake, nor cried, nor laughed, but a strange mixture of all thes
together, soe discomposed as if pieces of all throwne into a
hatt and shouke together to bee drawne out, like Valentines to
bee worne by several persons [...] (2.33.36-40)

Rosindy's description of Antissia's madness shows that her body and speech are both out of her control. She is now an embodiment of something out of joint, losing physical and linguistic control. Here, Wroth may have alluded to Ophelia in *Hamlet* and a jailer's daughter in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Both of them get mad due to similar reasons with Antissia, that is, their sorrows and sexual frustration. At the culmination of their passions, Ophelia and the jailer's daughter sing ballads filled with bawdy innuendos, while Antissia sings amorous ditties. Wroth may have echoed Ophelia's ballad, 'Tomorrow is Saint Valentine's Day', in her portrayal of Antissia, who is like 'Valentines to bee worne by several persones' (2.33.40-41).

Antissia's poetic style also gets 'discomposed' and what she says looks like 'pieces' without measure (2.33.39). As a result, Rosindy is unable to discern whether she speaks 'prose ore verse' (2.34.14). Rosindy still feels pity for the insane Antissia. And yet, her nephew, Antissius, is critical of her, warning against her tutor who is eager 'to make a peece of poetrie to excel Ovid' (2.40.35). Moreover, Antissius critically comments on women's education in general, because, he says, it is 'a dangerous thing att any time for a weak woeman to study higher matters then their cappasitie can reach to' (2.41.4-5). The 'weak woeman' evidently signifies Antissia, who is, according to him, 'weake in true sence' and 'colorick

ever and rash' (2.41.6). Wroth characterises Antissius as a man who looks down on women's intelligence as well as women in general, as he regards women as inferior to men both physically and emotionally.

In particular, Antissia's language in her verse is evaluated by Antissius as 'flatt madness' (2.41.11-12). They are actually fragmental and exceedingly sexual. On her way to Melissea's island with her husband Dolorindus, Antissia painfully sings amorous songs: 'Lett nott Dian rule your sprites, / Her pale face shuns all delights [...] Venus, my deere sea-borne Queene, / Gives mee pleasures still unseen [...] Solles best heat must fill our vaines; / Thes are true loves highest straines' (2.50.20-51.2). With her preference to Venus rather than to Dian, the ditty implies sexual intercourse and erotic feelings of pleasure, which seem to be still 'unseen' to her or she has not experienced with her most beloved Amphilanthus.

On arriving at the island of Delos, where the sage Melissea lives, Antissia sings again fragmental verses which lack formal control. Dolorindus, is now impatient of her mad songs and chastises her: 'Did ever a chaste lady make such a songe, ore chaste eares indure the hearing itt? Fy, fy, Antissia, if you write, write sence and modestie, nott this stuff that maides will blush to heere' (2.51.4-5). As Aurélie Griffin analyses, Dolorindus, acts here both as a critic and a censor who evaluates female lyric voice; he even advises her to engage with poetic composition which fits the feminine codes in early modern England.²¹⁶ Dolorindus's censure

²¹⁶ Aurélie Griffin, '(Self-)Censorship in Lady Mary Wroth's *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* (1621-1630)', in *Freedom and Censorship in Early Modern English Literature*, ed. by Sophie Chiari (New York: Routledge, 2019), pp. 167-90 (p. 175).

of his wife is directed on her transgression of womanhood in writing amorous songs; it is also interesting, however, that he is not criticising the act of women's writing itself). The contents of his censure strangely but interestingly resonate with Edward Denny's abusive letters sent to Wroth after the publication of *Urania* I in 1621.²¹⁷ As having been examined in Introduction of this thesis, Denny attacks Wroth for her choice of literary genre of romance which, he claims, contains 'lascivious tales and amorous toyes'.²¹⁸ Accusations of female authorship by Denny and Dorolindus are similar with each other; they criticise Wroth or Antissia for choosing to write either romance or amorous ditties.

It is tempting to read Wroth's representations of Antissia as her self-censorship to evade accusations against Pamphilia's authorship and thus female writers in general. As has been discussed in Chapter 1, Pamphilia's passion is a driving force for her to write amorous poetry and complains against injustice and injury caused by her beloved. She is thus represented as 'a desiring subject', which does not conform to the concept of early modern feminine virtue and authorship. Wroth's representations of Antissia demonstrate that Wroth is self-conscious about critical responses to women writers for their choice of poetic forms, of themes and of their intellectual ambition. Wroth portrays Antissia as a negative embodiment of female authorship, anticipating censorship for her representations of Pamphilia. Wroth's characterisation of Antissia is her conscious camouflage in writing

²¹⁷ Griffin, '(Self-)Censorship', in *Freedom and Censorship in Early Modern English Literature*, pp.175-76.

²¹⁸ Roberts, 'Appendix: The Correspondence of Lady Mary Wroth', in *The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth*, p. 239.

‘a desiring subject’ as a female protagonist of the romance. At the same time, it could be a warning against women in general, who engaged in creative writing at that time. Considering that Antissia is described as Pamphilia’s double, it can also be argued that Wroth’s representations of Antissia implicitly reflect her personal experiences. This is because it is now a critical commonplace to read Pamphilia as an alter-ego for Wroth.²¹⁹ Wroth may have included a critique aimed at Denny as well as her sorrow as a poet, whose lyric voice was always censored and judged by male critics. Griffin notes that both Wroth and Antissia are victims of the misogynistic stereotypes of early modern England.²²⁰

Wroth’s romance does not necessarily provide readers with a simple answer to various issues, including female authorship. On the one hand, it is notable that the gender-neutral narrator is sympathetic not to the desperate Antissia but rather to her husband Dorolindus. The narrator shows compassion for him, a man who is ‘tormented with a mad wife’: ‘Alas, poore Dolorindus [...] this is now a second hell to thee, bringing thee dayly and nightly, nay, perpetuall vexation’ (2.50.6-9). On the other hand, through the representations of Antissia’s madness and unconstrained language, Wroth seems to convey her own despair, frustration and even anger at accusations in society against women who desire to acquire rhetorical training. Wroth’s ambiguity in her portrayal of the mad Antissia and the narrator’s compassion to her husband may have been her tactic to soften her ambition as an author to write women as ‘desiring subjects’.

²¹⁹ Roberts, ‘Critical Introduction’ in *The First Part of The Countess of Montgomery’s Urania*, pp.iv-cxx (p. lxxi).

²²⁰ Griffin, ‘(Self-)Censorship’, p. 176

After all, like Pamphilia, Wroth herself was 'a desiring subject'. Like Antissia, at the same time, she was also an object of evaluation and criticism by male critics.

At the beginning of *Urania II*, Wroth writes about the process of Antissia's recovery from her painful madness. Although she is described as an embodiment of 'poetical furies' (2.251.18), as having been discussed, Wroth does not kill her in the romance. In this sense, Wroth's description of a madwoman is different from Shakespeare and Fletcher. Both Ophelia in *Hamlet* and the jailer's daughter in *The Two Noble Gentlemen* eventually die, not cured from their madness. After Polonius's death caused by Ophelia's lover, Hamlet, and his rejection of her, she only sings some bawdy ballads in madness. Having been unable to deal with her sexuality and the environment she is placed, she finally succumbs to a 'muddy death' (4.6.166).

In contrast, Antissia does not disappear from the story through her sudden death. Unlike Ophelia and the jailer's daughter, she reenters the narrative after she is cured by the sage Melissea. Even though she is still described as a victim of sexual violence after her recovery, it is significant that Wroth illustrates the process of her recuperation and realisation of her own madness by reflecting on her past: 'I have now sufferd for all, I hope, reasonably well, and I hope sufficiently, and the better doe I hope of my selfe, since I am soe ashamed of thos formerly committed follyes' (2.251.42-252.3). As her repetition of the term 'hope' indicates, Wroth leaves hope for Antissia's future. Wroth may have left space to represent her hope for the future of early modern Englishwomen, who faced severe

criticism because of the genre and contents they chose to write.

What is especially interesting is that Melissea's magical treatment does not fully erase Antissia's painful memories. Even after her recovery, Antissia still remembers the past when she fell into madness. She herself acknowledges that she was preoccupied with 'poeticall raptures' (2.251.18). The remains of her memories add the realistic tone to the genre of romance. Antissia's memories of her authorship may lead to a shifting climate from the romance to the realistic fiction in the culture of the English Renaissance.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the interplay of literary forms, passions and gender in the works of Mary Wroth and her male predecessors. It focused on Wroth's representations of deserted female poets, such as Pamphilia, Antissia and Alarina, and their expressions of passions in *Urania*. Wroth engaged with early modern English literary and emotional cultures by reworking poetic styles which were familiar to her through the works of male predecessors, including Philip Sidney. Wroth made use of anadiplosis and chiasmus, which Sidney also used, in order to highlight the depth of women's psychological pain. Wroth's choice of these poetic devices is, however, not for emphasising feminine weakness or male prowess as Sidney does in *Arcadia*. It is for drawing special attention to female complaints against male inconstancy.

This chapter also examined Wroth's portrayal of less skilled female poets, such as Antissia and Alarina, who fail to measure their passions in

the literary form which is suitable for their social standings. In particular, Wroth seems to create Antissia as Pamphilia's double from her anticipation of censorship from the public readers. Wroth's negative representations of Antissia's authorship enabled her to demonstrate that she was conscious of critical responses to desiring subjects in the culture of the English Renaissance. Antissia's lack of capacity to compose well-measured poetry, her choice of erotic ditties for expressing her sexual frustration, and her aspiration for acquiring rhetoric are all criticised by male critics in *Urania*; however, Wroth balances Antissia's presence with that of Pamphilia as a poet who composes amorous poetry and complains against injustice caused by the same character, Amphilanthus.

Chapter 4. Male Tears and Masculinity:

Urania, The Winter's Tale and Early Modern Romances

Introduction

In *Telling Tears in the English Renaissance* (1996), Marjory E. Lange claims that early modern women writers refrained from exploring the representations of tears:

Most of the prominent female writers, such as Queen Elizabeth I, Rachel Speght, Aemilia Lanier, and Mary Sidney Wroth, skirt the issue of weeping. Perhaps because tears were so often associated with the less admirable aspects of feminine experience, women did not exploit them, or, in fact, focus on feelings directly at all.²²¹

In fact, early modern women did write about tears of both genders and various emotions which caused them to weep. In particular, Mary Wroth even portrayed a lot of male characters who are prone to weep. In 2014, about twenty years after the publication of Lange's monograph, Bernard Capp wrote a meticulous survey on the cultural history of male tears and masculinity in early modern England, raising interesting questions: 'Did women view male tears as unmanly, or did they wish men to be emotionally demonstrative?'.²²²

Capp himself offers a short answer that 'elite, gendered values

²²¹ Marjory E. Lange, *Telling Tears in the English Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 3.

²²² Bernard Capp, "'Jesus Wept" But Did the Englishman? Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 224 (2014), 75-108 (p. 102).

influenced women' with reference to works written by a few aristocratic women like Wroth, Lucy Hutchinson, and Lady Hester Pulter, as well as women of moderate social standing, namely Aphra Behn.²²³ Capp comments that Wroth's response to male tears in her pastoral tragicomedy, *Love's Victory*, was 'far more sympathetic' than other female authors.²²⁴ However, Capp's comments are too brief to explain complex representations of male tears in Wroth's works. In addition to *Love's Victory*, it is Wroth's massive romance, *Urania* I and II that explore the interplay of male tears, passions and the idea of masculinity.

As has been explained in Introduction of this thesis, current scholarship of emotion studies has broadened its scope, which now includes studies about 'religious and philosophical belief, political performance, or rhetorical and dramaturgical style'.²²⁵ And yet, what is lacking in the past scholarship is further attention to various passions portrayed by female writers. While several critics, such as Elizabeth Hodgston and Akiko Kusunoki, already explored women writers' representations of sorrow, their focus has been placed on female characters' grief.²²⁶ Due to its scarcity of materials, it is difficult to deduce how women 'viewed' male tears and how they 'wished' to write about them.²²⁷ However, an attempt to understand what women usually

²²³ Capp, p. 224.

²²⁴ Capp, p. 103.

²²⁵ Richard Meek and Erin Sullivan, *The Renaissance of Emotion*, p. 5.

²²⁶ Akiko Kusunoki, "'Sorrow I'll Wed': Resolutions of Women's Sadness in Mary Wroth's *Urania* and Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*", *Sidney Journal*, 31.1 (2013), pp. 117-30. Elizabeth Hodgston, *Grief and Women Writers in the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

²²⁷ 'Viewed' and 'wished' are taken from Capp's questions quoted above.

wrote about male tears as a result of their sorrow will be a valuable addition to the understanding of early modern cultural history of emotions. Although Jennifer Vaught's study, *Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern English Literature* (2008) is mainly confined to analyses of male-authored texts, it provides some excellent starting points for exploring Wroth's representations of male tears and emotions.²²⁸ Vaught contends that male tears and wailing in those works constitute positive alliance with 'feminine forms of expressions'; she proposes that such alliance eventually leads to the emergence of 'the man of sentiment' in the Restoration and eighteenth-century England.²²⁹

In view of these previous scholarly works, this chapter examines the complexity and diversity of Wroth's representations of male tears and sorrow in the relationship with the works of her male predecessors. The focus will be male sorrow, which triggers tears. Early modern writers, discussed in this chapter, frequently associate male sorrows most frequently with tears. The chapter aims to destabilise a straightforward connection between tears and women, which simply reiterates conventional gender values, connecting women with tears as evidence of their physical and mental weakness and inferiority to men. Firstly, the understanding of male tears and passions will be discussed from both cultural and etymological perspectives in early modern England. Then, Wroth's *Urania* II will be compared with Shakespeare's late play, *The Winter's Tale*, in

²²⁸ Vaught briefly examines works by Elizabeth Cary and Emilia Lanier. See Jennifer C. Vaught, *Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern English Literature* (London: Routledge, 2008).

²²⁹ Vaught, p. 2, p. 209.

terms of the representations of male passions. Finally, the chapter explores *Urania* II and Elizabethan male-authored chivalric romances in relation to male passion and tears.

I. A Brief History of Male Tears and Passions

Representations of male tears and sorrow in Mary Wroth's *Urania* exemplify the paradox of self-control and possibility for self-realisation. In medical contexts, tears were often associated with women and youth. In *Treatise of Melancholie* (1586), one of the influential medical treatises of the period, Timothy Bright offers an explanation that women and children were more easily influenced by passions; this is because they possessed 'a moist, rare, and tender body, especially of brayne and heart', while men's bodies were generally drier and harder due to their heat and dryness.²³⁰ Written by men in early modern England, medical views on women's corporeal fluidity lead to the idea of their lack of capability to govern their passions.

Nevertheless, historically, tears were not necessarily associated with weakness and effeminacy; rather, its history is far more complex. For instance, medieval English culture was more tolerant with male tears than early modern society.²³¹ In Thomas Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur* published

²³⁰ Timothy Bright, *Treatise of Melancholy* (London, 1586), pp. 143-44, in *Early English Books Online* <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>> [accessed 1st February 2018]. Early modern women were not necessarily associated only with negative aspect of tears. George Puttenham recommends women to shed tears as decent acts in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589): 'But for Ladies and women to weepe and shed tears at every little greefe, it is nothing vncomely, but rather a signe of much good nature & meekness of minde, a most decent propertie for that sexe', p. 243, in *Early English Books Online* <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>> [accessed 3 February 2018].

²³¹ Capp, p. 78.

in 1485 by William Caxton, King Arthur and his knights also shed various kinds of tears from compassion to grief at the time of emotional intensity. King Arthur often cries; he sheds tears when he goes to war against his friend Sir Lancelot. Sir Gawain, Arthur's nephew and one of the Knights of the Round Table, weeps too, when he hears the death of his brothers and Arthur's announcement of his Queen Guinevere's execution due to her adultery with Lancelot. These episodes exemplify the diversity of interpretations of weeping in the history of emotional culture in England.

In the meanwhile, the Stoic understanding of passions integrated with the Augustinian/Aristotelian branches of thought in complex ways through early modern England. The Greek and Roman Stoics regarded passions as diseases of the soul and emphasised the rational self-control. On the other hand, the Augustinians and Aristotelians viewed emotions positively as forces driving people to virtuous acts.²³² At the same time, the unruly passions were condemned by the humanist code of civility.²³³ In *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), George Puttenham attests that shedding tears is not 'decent' for an elite man:

[...] generally to weep for any sorrow (as one may doe for pitie) is not so decent in a man: and therefore all high minded persons, when they cannot chuse but shed teares, wil turn away their face as countenance vndecent for a man to shew [...]²³⁴

The focus of Puttenham's argument is 'decency', that is, propriety of elite

²³² Thomas Dixon, 'Emotion: The History of a Keyword in Crisis', p. 339; Vaught, p. 13.

²³³ Capp, p. 78.

²³⁴ George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (London, 1589), p. 243, in *Early English Books Online*.

men's behaviors. In this sense, Puttenham does not necessarily oppose the act of shedding tears itself; what is significant here is the self-control in choosing a place and time for weeping.

John Donne's Sermon XIII, given at Whitehall during Lent in 1622, shows ambivalent attitudes towards tears in that period: sign of weakness and compassion. His sermon on 'Jesus Wept' is based on the Gospel of John, Chapter 11 Verse 35, in which Jesus weeps compassionately in response to the death of Lazarus, his neighbour and friend. Defining Christ's tears as a sign of his humanity, Donne summarises critical attitudes toward weeping in early modern English society: 'We call it a childish thing to weep, and a womanish; and perchance we mean worse in that than in the childish; for therein we may mean falsehood to be mingled with weakness'.²³⁵

Nevertheless, Donne also shows sympathetic views on Christ's tears:

He [Christ] loved Martha [Lazarus's sister], and her sister, and Lazarus, says the story: he would let the world see that he loved them: for so the Jews argued that they saw him weep, Behold how he loved them; without outward declarations, who can conclude an inward love? to assure that, Jesus wept. To an inordinateness of affections it never came; to a natural tenderness it did; and so far as to tears; and then who needs be ashamed of weeping?²³⁶

²³⁵ John Donne, 'Sermon Number 13. Preached at White-hall, the first Friday in Lent. [1622/3]: John 11.35. Jesus Wept', in *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. by George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, 4 vols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), pp. 324-42 (p. 331)

²³⁶ John Donne, 'Sermon Number 13', pp. 330-31.

While tears were associated with childish and womanish nature, they were also acceptable in religious contexts, since compassion was a Christian virtue and a sign of civility. Interestingly, tears are, according to Donne, 'outward declarations' of Christ's 'inward love', which facilitate his communication with others. Donne also emphasises moderateness of Christ's tears. The idea of self-control of passions seems to be incompatible with our understanding of tears in early modern England. Hence, as Capp contends, moderation of passions for elite Englishmen was more significant than its total suppression which the Stoics idealised at that time.²³⁷ While Stoicism revived in the English Renaissance owing to numerous translations of the works by Seneca, Cicero and Plutarch, Seneca himself admitted that tears were acceptable within moderation, when shed at the moment of the loss of a friend.²³⁸ Male tears were not always disapproved in the early modern code of civility. As long as they were right sorts of tears and expressed in moderation, they were generally acceptable.

Wroth wrote her romance at the same period when Donne preached on Jesus weeping. At one level, Wroth seems to be concerned with the potentially negative effects of passions, especially those of male sorrow and tears. In her literary texts, excessive emotional displays for both men and women are often regarded as womanish and dangerous. At the very beginning of *Urania* I, Urania, one of the most rigorous Stoic characters, chides a lamenting male character Perissus: 'Leave these teares, and

²³⁷ Capp, p. 224.

²³⁸ Capp, p. 81.

woman-like complaints, no way befitting the valiant Perissus' (1.15.17-18). Perissus, nephew of the King of Sicilia, tells Urania his unhappy love for Limena, daughter of the Sicilian Duke, who is seemingly killed by her jealous husband. Urania further advises him to 'revenge her death [...] like a brave Prince' (1.15.18-19). What she expects of him is to revenge rather than to weep. Her advice contains a gender-biased view on tears and complaints as symbols of effeminacy. And yet, Wroth's male characters often fail to control and moderate their sorrow and tears.

In *Urania*, one of the most emotional male characters is Amphilanthus, the male protagonist and the Holy Roman Emperor. He is described as 'being of all men most sivil, even in his melancholy' (2.196.33-34) and a man of 'magnanimous valour and courage' (1.349.21). In *Characters of Vertues and Vices* (1608), Joseph Hall (1574-1656), Bishop of Norwich, religious writer and satirist, defines 'a valiant man' as 'the master of himself, and subdues his passions to reason'.²³⁹ While Amphilanthus is characterised as a valiant soldier and conqueror, he is also subject to his passions. The paradox between his vigorous nature and susceptibility to passions is a special feature of Wroth's characterisation of Amphilanthus.

Another paradox exists between his masculine valor and civility, related to a shifting social code of manhood in the culture of the English Renaissance. Lawrence Stone argues that after the peace treaty with Spain

²³⁹ Joseph Hall, *Characters of Vertues and Vices in Two Books* (London, 1608), p. 34. Interestingly, the book was dedicated to Edward Denny, and James Hay, both of whom were satirically portrayed in *Urania I* by Wroth. Hall's text has greatly influenced the work of Thomas Overbury and John Earle.

in London in 1604, the fields of action for aristocratic men gradually shifted from the battlefield to the court and government.²⁴⁰ As a result, Stone notes, men who could not adjust themselves to these changes experienced fluctuations of their identity.²⁴¹ It seems that Wroth subtly responded to the shifting social and cultural attitudes towards the idea of manhood in her literary texts. Wroth focuses on why, how and where one fails to soften their passions and on what kind of outcome follows their failure at narrative and linguistic levels.

II. Male Credulity and Tears in *Urania II* and *The Winter's Tale*

In order to examine Wroth's originality in her representations of male tears and sorrow, Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* is useful as a means of intertextual reading. Their narrative resonances are strong enough to demand a comparative reading of each text. Both Wroth and Shakespeare share their literary source, *Arcadia* by Sir Philip Sidney. One of Shakespeare's sources for *The Winter's Tale* is Robert Greene's *Pandosto* (1588), which draws on *Arcadia* as a source.²⁴² Both works also contain similarities at linguistic and thematic levels. For example, both authors deal with the passage of time, the issues of ageing, male jealousy, and their tears, female silence and self-consciousness. Although the genre of each text is different, both texts embrace the characteristics of pastoral

²⁴⁰ Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of Aristocracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 116-31.

²⁴¹ Stone, pp. 116-31.

²⁴² John Pitcher, 'Introduction' in *The Winter's Tale*, p. 94; Nandini Das, *Renaissance Romance: The Transformation of English Prose Fiction 1570-1620* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 125.

romance. In particular, both attribute the cause of male sorrow to male credulity. Therefore, Wroth's originality in representing male tears becomes clearer through the comparison of her *Urania* with Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*.

There is a possibility that Wroth may have seen the performance of *The Winter's Tale* at Court between 16 February 1613 and 20 May 1613. It was performed as one of the wedding celebrations of Princess Elizabeth, King James I's daughter, and Frederick, Elector Palatine of Bohemia. In view of her father's important position during this royal wedding, Margaret Hannay thinks that Wroth 'almost certainly' attended the wedding celebrations for the couple with her family on Valentine's Day 1613.²⁴³ Robert Sidney, Wroth's father, served as one of the four royal commissioners of ambassadorial status in the party that attended Princess Elizabeth on her wedding journey to Heidelberg after a series of wedding celebrations. It is thus possible to say that Wroth made use of her memories of the Court performance of *The Winter's Tale* in composing her romance.

Moreover, it is now a critical commonplace that Wroth's cousin and long-standing lover, William Herbert, the 3rd Earl of Pembroke, played an important role as a nexus, giving Wroth opportunities to access Shakespeare's works. Together with his younger brother Philip Herbert, the 1st Earl of Montgomery, Pembroke was a dedicatee of Shakespeare's *First Folio* (1623). This is not necessarily to suggest that Wroth definitely used

²⁴³ Hannay, *Mary Sidney, Lady Wroth*, p. 166.

Shakespeare's play as her literary source. However, reading *Urania* alongside *The Winter's Tale* shows that her originality can be seen through an intertextual reading with the works of her contemporaries and predecessors.

First, the idea of male credulity and the relation between ageing and male tears will be discussed by examining the two tearful male characters in each work: Amphilanthus, the King of the Romans in *Urania*, and Leontes, the King of Sicilia in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*. Both of them shed tears of contrition for similar reasons, but each work ends quite differently. Wroth's originality lies at the ending. In *Urania* and *The Winter's Tale*, male 'credulity' and subsequent female silence are the causes of male tears.²⁴⁴ In *Characters of Vertues and Vices* (1608), Joseph Hall defines characteristics of '[t]he wise man' as being 'seldome overseen with credulity; for knowing the falsenesse of the world, he hath learn'd to trust himself always'.²⁴⁵ Credulous men were regarded as unwise in the culture of the English Renaissance.

Historically, such a credulous nature was often related to women from the medieval period due to its association with Eve's Original Sin; she easily trusted the serpent, subsequently fell from God's Grace in *Genesis*. In early modern England, there were a large number of

²⁴⁴ Female characters associated with credulity in *Urania* are (1) Antissia, who falls in madness due to Amphilanthus's inconstancy, (2) Alena, whose story is told from Limena to Pamphilia (1.228.19), (3) even Pamphilia, who also uses the term: 'Can he smile on these wrinckes [...] Truly I must confesse this to be as strange as his other change, which I could not but like a blinde man be led to believe [...] ere I could take off Scarfe of credulity, and unblinde my hopes' (1.568.39-569.3). Antissia's credulity brings disastrous effects on her romantic relationship with Amphilanthus.

²⁴⁵ Hall, *Characters of Vertues and Vices in Two Bookes* (London, 1608), p. 7.

misogynistic sermons, pamphlets and plays which dwell upon women's physical and psychological inferiorities to men. Joseph Swetnam's anti-women pamphlet entitled *The Araignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, Unconstant women* (1615) is one of them. The view on women as descendants of Eve, the source of the Original Sin, was one of the reasons why witchcraft and women were often connected in early modern Europe.²⁴⁶ Interestingly though, it is male characters that are credulous in Wroth's and Shakespeare's works. Amphilanthus and Leontes easily believe other's lie or their own fallacy, eventually come to lose their beloveds. Furthermore, they are more prone to weep when they get old.

The setting of *Urania II* starts after about 20 years from the end of *Urania I*. Amphilanthus's deep sorrow and tears are described as deriving from his credulity. At the beginning of *Urania II*, he deserts Pamphilia for the lascivious Queen of Candia, dallying with her at the Candian Court. During his stay, he is deceived by his former tutor, Forsandurus, and the wicked Queen of Candia; he comes to believe that Pamphilia is betrothed to the King of Tartaria, Rodomandro. The narrator explains what causes all of the tragic events for the couple:

[...] and especially his [Amphlanthus's] credulity, being the cause of all mischiefs to him and his constantly loving and afflicted Pamphilia. Hee having binn soe longe under the tutoring of his governour as taught him to beeleeve any thing hee says, though [against] his owne soule: and this, and noe

²⁴⁶ Kusunoki Akiko, *Eikoku Renaissance no Onna-tachi* (Tokyo: Misuzu, 1999), p. 134.

thing els, brought all his miseries on him, and her.

(2.173.20-25)

Based on his groundless conjecture, Amphilanthus comes to doubt about Pamphilia's constancy.²⁴⁷ Just before his departure for the Candian Court, they are married in a *de praesenti* ceremony. Even though it is not an official wedding, it means that they consented to take each other as husband and wife.

Nevertheless, Amphilanthus breaches his vow of this marriage. In the middle of his anxiety, he reluctantly marries the Slavonian Princess. Having been tired of him and hoped to harm Pamphilia, the Queen of Candia viciously arranged the marriage. Some critics interpret this story as biographical, regarding Forsandurus as an alter-ego of Pembroke's actual tutor, Hugh Sanford, and the Queen of Candia as Queen Anne.²⁴⁸ Amphilanthus himself uses the term credulity in his sorrowful complaint: 'twas I was too, too credulous of beeleeve' (2.183.10). He acknowledges that his credulity is the cause of his betrayal of faithful Pamphilia. Wroth's repeated use of the term resonates with Shakespeare's use of the same word in *The Winter's Tale*.

In Shakespeare's works, the term credulity is used only once in *The Winter's Tale* by Leontes.²⁴⁹ In Act 1 Scene 2, Leontes comes to believe

²⁴⁷ Kusunoki argues that male sense of his own deficiency creates their jealousy towards women in *Mary Sidney Wroth: A Woman Challenging Shakespeare* (Tokyo: Misuzu, 2011) and 'Wroth's *Love's Victory* as a Response to Shakespeare's Representations of Gender Distinctions: With Special Reference to *Romeo and Juliet*', in *Mary Wroth and William Shakespeare* (New York: Routledge, 2015), and *Gender and Representations of the Female Subject in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

²⁴⁸ Das, *Renaissance Romance*, p. 172; Hannay, *Mary Sidney, Lady Wroth*, p. 102.

²⁴⁹ On the other hand, 'credulous', the adjective for 'credulity' is sometimes used in Shakespeare's other plays. For instance, in *Titus Andronicus* by Tamota (Act 5

Hermione's adultery with his old friend Polixenes, the King of Bohemia. This is because his wife's fluent rhetoric—not his rhetoric—persuades Polixenes to stay longer at the Sicilian court. Having been suspicious about Hermione's disloyalty, Leontes addresses 'May't be / Affection? — Thy intention stabs the centre' (1.2.138-39). Antigonus, one of the Sicilian lords, tries to calm his fury down, asserting Hermione's innocence as well as chiding his rashness. Nevertheless, Leontes pushes forward his plan to imprison Hermione:

LEONTES: Added to their familiarity—

Which was as gross as ever touched conjecture
That lacked sight only, naught for approbation
But only seeing, all other circumstances
Make up to th' deed — doth push on this
proceeding. (2.1.174-79)

Leontes's words clearly show that he is credulous. Despite the lack of evidence, he blindly confirms Hermione's adultery with Polixenes because of 'their familiarity'. His usage of 'familiarity' corresponds with Robert Greene's use of the term.

In *Pandosto*, on which Shakespeare drew, it is the Bohemian Queen's 'honest familiarity' toward the Sicilian King that planted 'a certain melancholy passion' in 'the mind of Pandosto'.²⁵⁰ The Bohemian Queen's name is Bellaria, while the Sicilian King is named Egistus. As in *The*

Scene 2), *Othello* by Iago (Act 4 Scene 1), in *King Lear* by Edmund (Act 1 Scene 2), and in *Cymbeline* by Posthumus (Act 5 Scene 5). Interestingly, these usage are often associated with 'male' credulity and its negative implications.

²⁵⁰ Robert Greene, *Pandosto* in 'Sources', in *The Winter's Tale*, ed. by John Pitcher (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2010), pp. 405-445 (p. 408).

Winter's Tale, the familiarity between Bellaria and Egistus finally 'drove him [Pandosto] into sundry and doubtful thoughts', culminating into 'a secret mistrust which, increased by suspicion, grew at last to be a flaming jealousy'.²⁵¹ In *The Winter's Tale*, Leontes's accusation of Antigonus, who defends Hermione as innocent, paradoxically connotes that it is he himself that is ignorant and credulous: 'such as he [Antigonus] / Whose ignorant credulity will not / Come up to th' truth' (2.1.191-92). Both Leontes and Amphilanthus shed abundant tears for the loss of each beloved caused by their credulity. And yet, their tears finally bring them to different endings.

The passage of time and the ageing of characters also influence representations of male tears and its efficacy in relation to different endings in *Urania* and *The Winter's Tale*. After the passage of '[o]ver sixteen years' (4.1.6), Cleomenes, a lord of Sicilia, consoles Leontes, who has lived a mournful life: 'Sir, you have done enough, and have performed / A saint-like sorrow' (5.1.1-2). The performance of a 'saint-like sorrow' means Leontes's daily visit to the chapel and his confession of sin in prayers. When Leontes heard Hermione's death by Paulina, he vowed: 'Once a day I'll visit / The chapel where they lie, and tears shed there / Shall be my recreation' (3.3.235-27). Leontes's characterisations resonate with those in Shakespeare's sources. Pandosto also cries once a day in front of the epitaph of his dead wife in 'dolorous passions'.²⁵² What makes *Pandosto* different from *The Winter's Tale* is that the former ends with Pandosto's suicide out of excessive grief and regret for his incestuous

²⁵¹ Greene, *Pandosto*, p. 408.

²⁵² Greene, *Pandosto*, p. 420.

passions for his daughter. In Greene's work, there is no resurrection scene.

On the other hand, Leontes's tears bring him a happy reunion with Hermione. In Act 5 Scene 3, Camillo says to Leontes: 'My lord, your sorrow was too sore laid on, / Which sixteen winters cannot blow away,/ So many summer dry' (5.3.49-51). Camillo's usage of 'sorrow' is equivalent to Leontes's tears, of which traces are sorely painted on his sad face. Their dialogue indicates that Leontes has shed abundant tears which neither sixteen winters' wind nor summer's heat can dry. His tears are a visible sign of his remorse. As the term 'performance' shows, they can also be seen and interpreted by his subjects. Time for reflection on his loss and sin is essential for Leontes in order to achieve the redemptive resolution of the play.

In contrast to *The Winter's Tale*, in which over sixteen years pass in the middle of the play, *Urania II* starts about twenty years after the end of the first part.²⁵³ The passage of time is emphasised at the beginning of the second part through the repetition of the term 'old'. The old generations (Pamphilia, Amphilanthus, the King of Morea (Pamphilia's father), Urania, Steriamus and more) enjoy the reunion at Corinth after their long separation due to a series of enchantments in *Urania I*. Leaving 'that paradise of garden' where they enjoy singing competitions, they go for a walk to 'the prettiest, neglective, sweete, and pleasing, yet solitary walke

²⁵³ Roberts, 'Critical introduction' in *Urania I*, p. xxx. There is only one specific indicator of the passage of time between the two parts of *Urania*. It occurs when the narrator recalls the 'Prince of Transilvania, who longe beefore, as some twenty yeeres in the search of the emperor when first mist as you may see in the first parte of this history' (2.2.301); In the textual introduction of *Urania II*, editors, Roberts, Suzanne Gossett and Janel Mueller point out that Amphilanthus is fifteen years older than *Urania I* (p. xxxiii): 'the Amphilanthus in Part Two, fifteen years older'.

that nature could afford' (2.32.18-20). The description of this walk shows that they 'were' young and lovers in the past:

This waulk made many of that Company remember *their Olde passions*, and with all as they had binn divers, som hapy, injoying, others despairing and therefore grievous, soe were their discourses mixt with huny, with Gall, with pleasure, with torture, with injoying, with flatt laments for never obtaining.

(2.32.23-28; emphasis mine)

The diverse and ambivalent nature of love is expressed here: 'som hapy, injoying', while others are 'despairing and therefore grievous'. In the course of their walking, they encounter both their past and present. Now for many of the old generations, their ageing makes them feel that passions are the reminiscences of their past.

Interestingly though, what the narrator says is not necessarily true, because it is in the second part that Amphilanthus heavily groans and weeps, expressing his passions. He weeps more bitterly after he gets older, especially in the scene of Pamphilia's wedding to Rodomandro, the King of Tartaria. While other members of the first generation face the loss of their youthful days, only Amphilanthus still suffers from love's torture. Medical treatises in the seventeenth century connect old age with tears. In *Natural History of the Passions* (1674), Walter Charleton (1620-1707), a physician and natural philosopher, writes that 'infants and old Men are more prone to weep than those of middle age'.²⁵⁴ Hence, it is easy to understand that

²⁵⁴ Walter Charleton, *Natural History of the Passions* (London, 1674), p. 158, in *Early English Books Online* <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>> [accessed 8th February 2018].

both the aged Amphilanthus and Leontes are prone to tears. Wroth describes several aged fathers who weep for their loss of children in *Urania*, such as Pamphilia's father, the King of Morea, who sheds tears for the death of his son, Parselius.

In *Urania II*, the reasons of Amphilanthus's deep sorrow are presented as more realistic than before. His loss of Pamphilia is not caused by magical enchantments as in *Urania I*, but it is because of his own credulity and inconsistent actions.²⁵⁵ Moreover, the increase of his tears corresponds with the waning of his masculine valor accompanied by his ageing.²⁵⁶ The chivalric values notable in *Urania I* are often undermined in *Urania II*, as the heroes in the first generation get old, sick, weak, die and grow fat. *Urania II* shows, as Paul Salzman argues, 'the limitations of the chivalric stance'.²⁵⁷ The primary focus of the whole narrative also shifts from pastoral romance to European politics, covering the Middle East and Asia in *Urania II*. Wroth's representations of abundant tears of

²⁵⁵ Amelia Zurcher also attests that the plot of *Urania II* is a realistic than symbolic, demonstrating that Pamphilia also keeps suffering in *Urania II* due to Amphilanthus's betrayal 'rather than symbolic enchantment of abstract ideas.' in 'Civility and Extravagance in *Timon of Athens* and *Urania*' in *Mary Wroth and Shakespeare*, pp. 95-109 (p. 105); Helen Hackett also argues that *Urania II* illustrates generic transition from romance to realistic fiction in Wroth's representations of Pamphilia's ageing body. See Hackett, "'A Book, and Solitariness': Melancholia, Gender and Literary Subjectivity in Mary Wroth's *Urania*' in *Renaissance Configurations: Voices, Bodies, Spaces 1580-1690*, ed. by Gordon McMullan (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 44-88; Barbara Kiefer Lewalski also points out that '[t]he romance elements of Part II overlie a more realistic world than that of Part I'. See Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (London: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 285.

²⁵⁶ In 'The Nature of the Manuscript' in the textual introduction of *Urania II*, Roberts, Gossett and Mueller contrast the young Amphilanthus in *Urania I* with the old Amphilanthus in *Urania II*, attesting that he 'is a greatly diminished political and military leader' (p. xxxii-xxxiii). See also Hackett writes that *Urania II* has 'a general air of amused maturity and wry nostalgia', in 'Suffering Saints or Ladies Errant?', p. 138.

²⁵⁷ Paul Salzman, *Literary Culture in Jacobean England – Reading 1621* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 72-4.

the old Amphilanthus also add the realistic tone to the narrative.

The most important difference between *Urania* II and *The Winter's Tale* is that while Leontes's tears are absent on the stage, Amphilanthus's tears repeatedly appear on the textual pages. Shakespeare's audience did not witness Leontes's tears visually, because his 'saint-like sorrow' was performed off stage during the passage of sixteen years. The audience could witness only the residual sign of tears on his still wet face. In contrast, Wroth's readers and characters are endlessly presented with the scenes of Amphilanthus's weeping, sighing, groaning and complaining. That is, Wroth gives him a certain space for his emotional expressions, even though they were publicly accused if not moderated properly.

III. Male Tears in Early Modern Chivalric Romances

Deep sorrow felt by men and the subsequent fall of tears are also recurrent themes in male-authored chivalric romances in Elizabethan England; at least five male characters shed tears for various reasons. Among them are Redcross in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590), Amadis in Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo's *Amadis de Gaule*, Orlando in Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and Pyrocles and Musidorus in *Arcadia* by Philip Sidney.²⁵⁸ Wroth's *Urania* I and II were influenced by all these works. One of the primary causes for tears of these male characters is, apart from Redcross in *The Faerie Queene*, unrequited love.

²⁵⁸ *Amadis de Gaule* was translated in 1590 from Spanish into English by Anthony Munday, while *Orlando Furioso* was translated from Italian into English by John Harington in 1591. Fulke Greville's incomplete edition of the *New Arcadia* was published in 1590 following the publication of the edition supervised by the Countess of Pembroke in 1593.

This makes a contrast to Amphilanthus and Leontes, who weep for their mistakes in their romantic relationships.

For instance, Amadis bitterly sheds tears, thinking of the outstanding beauty of his beloved Oriana in Chapter XLIV of *Amadis de Gaule*.

Sidney's Pyrocles, Prince of Macedon, weeps because of his vehement desire to meet Philoclea, the Arcadian Princess. He falls in love soon after seeing her picture in the gallery at the house of Kalander, an Arcadian nobleman. Sidney's narrator portrays the scene in which Pyrocles cries fervently in front of his cousin, Musidorus, Prince of Thessalia:

And herewith the deep wound of his love, being rubbed afresh with this new unkindness, began, as it were, to bleed again in such sort that he was unable to bear it any longer; gushing out abundance of tears, and crossing his arms over his woeful heart, as if his tears had been out-flowing blood [...] he sunk down to the ground. (1.138.28-33)

Identifying tears with blood, the image of a wound indicates how painful Pyrocles's love is. His posture is typical for a man with melancholy caused by love-sickness. He cannot moderate his passions, though his tears are expressed as 'manlike tears' (I.139.5). As Vaught points out, Sidney's use of the adjective 'manlike' softens the public accusation of effeminacy in weeping.²⁵⁹ Otherwise, it is also possible to read representations of Pyrocles's tears as reflecting descriptions of more medieval tolerance than the view of male tears in early modern England. In addition, Pyrocles's

²⁵⁹ Vaught, pp. 129-30.

tears are not shed in a lonely/deserted place but are exposed to Musidorus. Due to their contagious nature, his tears function as a tool for rousing Musidorus's sympathy with his weeping cousin. Male tears work to cement and tighten male bonds in *Arcadia*.²⁶⁰

However, Sidney does not develop the details of male sorrow when its cause is their own mistakes. Musidorus's tears also derive from Pamela's disdain for his recklessness and erotic desire to kiss her, which is different from the causes of Amphilanthus's and Leontes's tears, that is, their own credulity and the eventual loss of their beloveds. Although Musidorus writes a long elegy 'to testify his repentance' to Pamela with a metaphor of male tears, Sidney omits writing the details of this scene. He describes only that Musidorus 'wandered half mad for sorrow in the wood' (3.2.442-43). Representations of Musidorus's excessive sorrow may raise accusations against less moderated passions. Sidney, not exploring the details of male tears, may have used a tactic in order to strike a balance between masculine valor and accusations against male tears.

In contrast to Wroth, Sidney also describes that male sorrow and tears are caused by anger against an evil act in *Arcadia*. Pyrocles's lover, Philoclea, is seemingly beheaded by the wicked Cecropia, her aunt, because she does not reward her son's proposal. Having heard of the sad news, Pyrocles's passions easily oscillate between sorrow and violent

²⁶⁰ In *Urania* II, though Amphilanthus complains in front of Leander, his master of Horse, it is not necessarily relevant to point out that his display of passions strengthen their friendship because of their differences in age and social standing. Leander is the youngest son of the Duke of Saxony. They get close after the death of Ollorandus, Amphilanthus's best friend. Leander is a substitute for his old friend.

anger; he drowns 'his [Pyrocles's] sighs in tears and drying again his tears in rage' (3.23.566). Sidney's male characters shed tears caused by passions of anger as well as those of sorrow. This makes a sharp contrast with Wroth's way of representing Amphilanthus's tears and sorrow, which does not directly lead to his anger or fury.

IV. Wroth's Engagement with the Development from Chivalric Romance to the Realistic Fiction

Rather than provoking anger, Amphilanthus's excessive lamentation consumes his physical and political capabilities. After his credulity caused the loss of Pamphilia, he ignores his duty as the Holy Roman Emperor. He is unable to pursue his adventures as a chivalric knight to 'raise his honor to the highest step of fame' (2.184.18-19). His long absence from Prague, where he sits as the 'Master of the greatest part of the Western World', exemplifies the waning of his political power in *Urania* II (1.568.18). It does not necessarily mean that Amphilanthus completely abandons his arms, as Amadis does due to his grief over Oriana's accusation against his disloyalty in *Amadis de Gaule*. And yet, Amphilanthus keeps wandering physically and psychologically alone in deep sorrow almost to the end of the romance.

Soon after Amphilanthus's unhappy marriage with the Slavonian Princess, he leaves her, because he is overwhelmed by Pamphilia's accusation against his inconstancy in his dream. Then, he sets out on a wandering journey: 'taking his horse, hee roamed up and downe, nott caring whither soe alone from all company' (2.135.42-136.1). Steve Pile

contends that the idea of mobility and one's movement raise questions about subjectivity.²⁶¹ That is, Amphilanthus's unstable physical movement resonates with his mental waywardness.²⁶² This can be Wroth's parody of chivalric romance composed by male authors, because the digressive nature of the genre was historically associated with women.²⁶³ In early modern England, as has been examined in Chapter 1, romance was a highly gendered literary genre, which was supposed to appeal to women due to an overflow of passions. Ironically, Wroth made use of the highly feminised form of literature in order to represent male waywardness.

Amphilanthus's geographical and psychological waywardness is reflected even at the linguistic level. The lack of geographical boundaries in his physical movement resonates with his poetic forms. At 'a most delightfull rivers side', Amphilanthus versifies a lamentable complaint 'with a soft, fainte, and dolorous voice' (2.136.41-42). The following is the first seven-line stanza out of five from the complaint which uses an imagery of tears:

Was I to blame to trust
Thy love-like teares when 't's most Just
To Judg of others by our owne? While mine
From heads of love and faith did flow

²⁶¹ Steve Pile, 'Where is the Subject? Geographical Imaginations and Spatializing Subjectivity', *Subjectivity*, 23, (2008), 206-11 (p. 207).

²⁶² Rahel Orgis mainly discusses the correlation between Amphilanthus's geographical displacement and his mental and emotional states in the third book of *Urania* I. See Orgis, *Narrative Structure and Reader Formation in Mary Wroth's Urania* (London: Routledge, 2018), p. 136.

²⁶³ Roberts, 'Critical Introduction', in *Urania* I, p.xviii; Frye, *Pens and Needles*, see especially Chapter 5; Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Yet fruictles ran, cowl'd I suspect that thine,
When in my hart each teare did write a line,
Should have noe spring butt outward shoue? (2.137.1-7)

This is a lover's complaint against his lady's inconstancy, which encapsulates Amphilanthus's doubt for Pamphilia. He boldly deploys enjambment, a poetic technique for showing 'the continuation of a syntactic unit from one line to the next without a major juncture of pause'.²⁶⁴ It runs each line sometimes within the couplets, highlighting his restlessly flowing complaints. The enjambment may also symbolise leakiness and fluidity of tears gushing out of a lover's eyes. His language shows his suspicion of the lady's tears, which have only 'outward shoue' like the deceptive crocodile tears. These are contrary to Christ's tears which visualise his compassion for his neighbour.

Together with a linguistic form as a site of the poet's emotional expressions, the actual place for Amphilanthus's performance of complaints is important in considering his self-consciousness and identity. Alison Findlay argues that lines 'spoken or sung, movement and dance all acquire meaning through their relationships with material venues.'²⁶⁵ In the case of Amphilanthus, he visits solitary and sometimes enclosed natural settings in order to express his sorrow. In his sad walks and 'irresolute waundring' (2.294.40), the final destinations are the sea, the riverside, 'a great Orchard' (2.133.32) and 'a most delicate garden' (2.294.29). These natural settings are often associated with exploration of passions in *Urania*

²⁶⁴ 'Enjambment', *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry & Poetics*, p. 435.

²⁶⁵ Alison Findlay, *Playing Spaces in Early Women's Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 7.

as in Sidney's pastoral romance.²⁶⁶ These places enable Amphilanthus to be away from the outside world, while making free access to his own inner feelings. Although Amphilanthus's privacy is sometimes violated by other characters' eavesdropping there, they are normally unable to access these places during his expression of passions. As a result, he gains a certain liberty in displaying his passions in this enclosed space, even if the scale of his grief is excessive. Wroth is cautious of softening social blame for effeminacy by representing his capability of selecting an appropriate place for tearful lamentations.

The boundary between his inner self and the outside natural world is blurred within this space. This happens when 'mere weariness and dullnes of his eyes with much weeping and little sleeping' bring him to 'a delicate Arbour' (2.295.2):

Ther hee satt him downe [...] leaning his back to the body of a weeping willow, which grew ther shadowing a most delicate fountaine, which represented the shape of a most delicate, sweet, butt most afflicted Lady, from whos eyes ceaselessly weeping (as curiositie made to appeere) made the streames whereby this fountaine was fedd. "O," cryde hee, "howe doth this sadd-paceing, full Moone and her watrye shaddow in thes streames resemble my sorrowes, and as sadly bids farewell in ther slowe, softly sliding, murmering, streamlike, pretty, small waters, seeming loathe to leave thes pretty pebbles, naturally

²⁶⁶ Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., 'Romance, Sleep and The Passions in Sir Philip Sidney's "The Old Arcadia"', p. 743.

hating change [...] (2.295.2-13)

Here, all the imageries of nature and fluidity of 'fountain' and 'streams' vividly express a topography of his mind. In particular, the resonances of his sorrow with 'sad-paceing', 'full Moone' and 'her watrye shadow' raise visual images of his tears in Wroth's readers' minds as externalisation of his extreme sorrow.

The place detached from the outside world allows Amphilanthus to blur the boundary between masculinity and femininity. What he identifies in himself is the fountain 'which represented the shape of a most delicate, sweet, butt most afflicted Lady' rather than a fountain of a masculine sinewy body. He also cannot identify himself with the sun, 'Apollow', a metaphor of a male lover's passions. On the contrary, his identification with the monumental figure of a weeping lady indicates that he identifies himself with a female mythical figure, such as Arethusa and Byblis. Both are transformed into a spring because of their lamentation for their forlorn love. The enclosed space surrounded by nature paradoxically enables him to reveal his emotional self, transgressing the boundary of gender.

While Physical mental waywardness should be moderated especially for aristocratic men according to early modern medical treatises, they paradoxically open up possibilities for deepening Amphilanthus's self-knowledge and for his mental growth. He gradually comes to perceive his loss, shame and guilt in a series of complaints. Jonathan Sawday demonstrates that 'selfhood' in the mid-seventeenth century was not equal with the modern idea of having or possessing self, but rather it meant 'a

voyage into the interior'.²⁶⁷ Wroth not only describes Amphilanthus's grief and subsequent fall of his tears as a sign of his weakness and effeminacy, but also shows that male passions contribute to exploring his interiority.

The contents of Amphilanthus's complaints develop from his doubt about Pamphilia's constancy quoted earlier to his recognition and confession of his own inconstancy: 'O unconstant? Villaine as I ame to say that word. Noe, she is pure [...] 'Tis I alone ame shameless, and the onely picture of foule disloyallitie' (2.182.22-183.9). He finally comes to resolve to be reborn as a constant man: 'I will bee a new man as new borne, new fram'd, and noe thing as I was beefore' (2.384.7-8). He particularly confesses his fault to Pamphilia 'with tears' at the emotional reunion with her: 'let my hart-breaking confession gaine your pardon, and I will obey any punishment you shall inflict upon mee' (2.198.19-20). It seems that he needs to dissolve himself in the labyrinth-like state of sorrow in order to discover his renewed self.

When male characters weep for their mistakes in romantic relationships in Renaissance romances, they tend to weep in order to purge their guilt of credulity by abandoning their old self. An example here is Edmund Spenser's characterisations of Redcross in *The Faerie Queene*. It is generally understood that Wroth borrowed from Spenser, especially Book III and IV of the chivalric romance.²⁶⁸ Spenser explores male agony caused by his own mistake in the story of Redcross, the Knight of

²⁶⁷ Jonathan Sawday, 'Self and Selfhood in the Seventeenth Century', in *Rewriting the Self: History from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. by Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 29-48 (p. 31).

²⁶⁸ Roberts, 'Critical Introduction', in *Urania* I, pp. xviii-xxxix.

Holiness, and his beloved Una, an allegorical figure of English Protestant Truth. In Book I Canto ii, having been entrapped by '[t]he guileful great Enchaunter' named Archimago, Redcross sees in his dream that Una embraces another man; this sight makes him doubt her fidelity (4-5). Tormented by 'bitter anguish of his guilty sight' (Book I. Canto ii. 6.2), he leaves Una alone in the woodland. Then, he dallies with evil Duessa. In Canto viii, he is finally rescued by King Arthur and Una from a dungeon owned by a monstrous giant called Orgoglio, whose name means pride in Italian. He has been imprisoned there by Duessa.

In Canto x, in order to purge Redcross's spiritual mistakes and restore his health, he needs to suffer from 'sharpe Remorse' and 'bitter Penance with an yron whip' (Book I. Canto x. 27.1). This takes place in the House of Holiness presided over by Dame Caelia. During the physical punishment, Redcross weeps: 'And sad Repentance vsed to embay, / His blamefull body in salt water sore, / The filthy blottes of sin to wash away.' (Book I. Canto x. 27.5-7). In contrast to Amphilanthus's atonement produced by psychological torment, the process of Redcross's purification is illustrated in physical terms. The term 'embay' meant 'drench' in the English Renaissance.²⁶⁹ These lines have double meanings; Redcross is literally drenched in salty water to purify his sin as a kind of Christian baptism or he sheds salty tears as a form of his repentance. According to the textual note, the term 'embay' might also refer to 'the salt tears of repentance'.²⁷⁰ These physical and psychological tortures and

²⁶⁹ The *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, embay, v.2.1.

²⁷⁰ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. by A.C. Hamilton, Hiroshi Yamashita, and Toshiyuki Suzuki (New York: Longman, 2007), p. 129.

‘Repentence’ bring Redcross to the reunion with Una (Book I, Canto x. 29).

While Wroth describes Amphilanthus’s sorrow and tears as a means of his self-realisation and mental growth, she also portrays them as incompatible with masculine valor. In both parts of *Urania*, none welcomes his excessive and tearful lamentations. In *Urania* I, Ollorandus, younger son of the King of Bohemia, is confused to witness his best friend’s unusual expressions of weakness, which he shows when Pamphilia is lost in the enchanted theatre: ‘[w]hen did I ever see you [...] in this tune? What have you done with your spirit? where drownd your judgement? and how buried yourselfe?’ (1.377.23-25). Ollorandus is not sympathetic to Amphilanthus’s sorrow caused by the loss of his beloved. Rather, there exists some tension in their male friendship due to the emotional distance between the two. This is opposite to Sidney’s descriptions of male friendship between Musidorus and Pyrocles; Musidorus is deeply influenced by his friend’s tears and thus weeps too.

In *Urania* II, Urania and Selarina, both of whom are Amphilanthus’s sisters, also criticise his escalating grief and his suicidal attempt. On their way to Asia, ‘a desperate storme took them’ as if representing his furious passions (1.171.37-38). Then, he tries to throw himself into the sea, since the sense of guilt becomes unbearable. Having witnessed their brother’s suicidal act, Urania and Selarina blame ‘his rashness’ (2.172.23). They harshly criticise him, because ‘hee could not overmaster his passions’ (2.172.24-25). They chide their brother’s loss of his sense of self despite being the ‘Emperour of the West’ (1.571.16). Thus, both male and female

characters reprove Amphilanthus's lack of emotional control, showing no compassion for him.

On one hand, Wroth's repeated descriptions of Amphilanthus being chided by his friend and sisters may also be a form of her self-censorship. By including such negative responses to his excessive passions, Wroth shows her understanding that she might receive critical responses to representations of the tearful male protagonist. On the other hand, tears and lamentation also enable Amphilanthus to realise his guilt and shame. He explores his inner self in the long process of mental and physical waywardness, making full use of the dilated characteristics of romance. This ambivalence can be seen as one of the characteristics of Wroth's writing, when compared to male-authored romances. In Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*, as has been discussed, Leontes's tears are not directly related to his effeminacy and weakness; the elements, which might potentially cause a conflict with the concept of ideal manhood, are confined within a framework of a happy ending. Wroth revises male-author's fantasy-like happy endings led by male tears of contrition to reach a far more complex ending.

Amphilanthus's final salvation cannot be achieved as a result of his series of tearful lamentations and confessions. The secret of a wicked plan arranged by his former tutor, Forsandurus, and the Queen of Candia comes to be revealed by a confession of Forsandurus's guilt to Pamphilia at the end of *Urania II*. In the early modern religious context, tears of guilt,

shame or fear were regarded as a first step towards grace and salvation.²⁷¹ Nevertheless, Amphilanthus reluctantly acknowledges the limited efficacy of his passionate sorrow, though he keeps lamenting almost to the end of the narrative: 'O deere Pamphilia, can nott, ore may nott, my true-felt passions move thee' (2.377.39-40). Here, he is suffering from Pamphilia's vow of silence. After hearing his betrayal of her for the Queen of Candia, she is resolutely determined not to talk with him: 'Give mee leave to bee silent' (2.199.15).

The romantic relationship between Amphilanthus and Pamphilia is never restored by the revelation of the truth. As Amelia Zurcher argues, their passionate relationship is transformed into a civilised and non-sexual one at the end.²⁷² This is a huge difference from the endings of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* and Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. Leontes is reconciled with Hermione, who is still his wife after sixteen-years of his 'saint-like sorrow'. Redcross is also reunited with Una because of his tears of contrition and physical torture. He also regains his masculine valor and health, succeeding in killing a dragon in front of Una in Canto xi. In contrast, Amphilanthus cannot regain Pamphilia as his beloved even after his mental growth. His long emotional sufferings over his own inconstancy only bring a sense of uneasiness for the construction of his sense of self, thereby adding ironical tones to representations of Amphilanthus as an embodiment of the ideal manhood. The lack of efficacy of his tears in his relationship with Pamphilia makes *Urania* more realistic, nullifying the

²⁷¹ Capp, p. 99.

²⁷² Zurcher, 'Civility and Extravagance in *Timon of Athens* and *Urania*', in *Mary Wroth and Shakespeare*, p. 106.

power of romance which often ends happily due to miraculous or magical events after a series of difficulties.

Nevertheless, it was Wroth's use of romance that allowed her to extend her exploration of the nature of men beyond the framework of the concept of ideal manhood. Garrett A. Sullivan Jr. says that 'romance thrives on the breakdown of rational self-regulation'.²⁷³ As has been examined in Chapter 3, in *Urania*, the forsaken lovers of both genders and various social standings sometimes lose their rational self-control, even being on the verge of insanity. Amphilanthus's repeated lamentations all through *Urania* II exemplify the form of 'dilation' (dilatation), which Parker regards as an important characteristic of romance.²⁷⁴ Frye summarises Parker's view on the dilative nature of romance in relation to women's body:

[Romance's] exegetical and rhetorical meanings derive from figurations of the ample female body, from the positive [...] to the monstrously feminine figure that threatens to disrupt the 'masculine' desire to bring about conclusions to the narrative.²⁷⁵

Amphilanthus's physical and psychological waywardness actually delays the conclusion of the romance, while the ending is abruptly brought by the discovery of Forsandurus's hidden plot. As has been discussed in Chapter 3, Pamphilia's rhetoric is also an embodiment of the concept of dilation. Wroth complicates the conventional understanding of romance as feminine,

²⁷³ Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., 'Romance, Sleep and The Passions in Sir Philip Sidney's *The Old Arcadia*', p. 746.

²⁷⁴ Parker, *Literary Fat Ladies*, pp. 8-35.

²⁷⁵ Frye, *Pens and Needles*, p. 191.

ascribing its dilated characteristic to both male and female protagonists.

Both Sidney's *Arcadia* and Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* were written still at the height of the popularity of chivalric romance. As stated in Introduction of this thesis (p. 17), by the time of 1621, when *Urania I* was published, the genre had been in decline.²⁷⁶ Salzman notes that Wroth's romance 'has both an investment in heroism and an investment in its decline'.²⁷⁷ At the same time, political romance, which was used as political critique under the guise of chivalric elements, became popular again in the 1620s.²⁷⁸ John Barclay's *Argenis*, which described political and religious turmoil at the Court of France, was published in 1621, the same year with the publication of *Urania I*. *Urania* and *The Winter's Tale* were composed in the transitional period of an attitude to the romance genre in society. The belated use of pastoral romance, which was started by her uncle in England, gave Wroth much space for reworking the literary genre. Wroth reshaped the conventional views on romance as feminine, embracing both its decline as a waning literary genre and its possibility to produce a new relationship between gender and romance.

Conclusion

This chapter examined Wroth's representations of male tears and sorrow in *Urania II*, comparing them with those works by her male predecessors, such as William Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*, Philip

²⁷⁶ Jennifer Lee Carrell, 'A Pack of Lies in a Looking Glass: Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania* and the Magic Mirror of Romance', pp. 100-101.

²⁷⁷ Salzman, *Literary Culture in Jacobean England*, p. 75.

²⁷⁸ Kusunoki, "'To Sorrow I'll Wed": Resolution of Women's Sadness in Mary Wroth's *Urania* and Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*', p. 144.

Sidney's *Arcadia* and Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. While male tears play various kinds of roles in each work, Wroth developed what male authors did not write: the long process of purging male mistakes in their romantic relationships and of their psychological development through a series of tearful complaints. Wroth's portrayals of male tears and sorrow do not necessarily bring a happy resolution, as seen in Amphilanthus's relationship with his beloved Pamphilia. What he has lost can no longer be restored by the efficacy of abundant tears. This realistic representations of male tears show a new possibility for Wroth's further engagement with exploring the interplay of gender and the genre of romance; they can eventually lead to the development of realistic fiction in the history of English literature.

This chapter also discussed that, in *Urania*, male deep sorrow and tears exemplify the paradox that they may invite the danger of social accusation, while they have a potential for producing mental growth. In early modern England, the male tears tended to be accused of emasculation, unless being moderate in space and timing. And yet, as Wroth described, they could also be a productive means for exploring male interiority. Returning to the argument laid out by Lange, who claimed that most of the prominent women writers eschewed representing tears, and Capp, who argued that Wroth's portrayal of male tears was sympathetic, Wroth certainly did engage with male tears not only sympathetically but also innovatively. She experimented with the waning literary genre of prose romance, opening up new possibilities in the relationship between gender, romance and the realistic fiction.

Chapter 5. Editing as a Form of Authorship:
Wroth's Revision of *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*

Introduction

Mary Wroth's sonnet sequence, *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, exists in two versions: her autograph manuscript, the Folger Manuscript V.a.104, and the printed edition published in 1621 as an attachment to *Urania* I. The Folger manuscript, which appears in a small quarto, includes 117 songs and sonnets with many revisions. In contrast, the printed version of 103 poems and songs appears in a folio. The printed version is rewritten, expurgated and reordered by Wroth.²⁷⁹ In the history of Wroth's scholarship, most of the studies were based on a still influential edition by Josephine A. Roberts, *The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth* (1983). Roberts's edition is a patchwork of the printed and the manuscript versions. With regard to the ordering of poetry, Roberts followed the printed edition, while primarily focusing on the holograph manuscript as a copy-text. By contrast, Gary Waller, the first editor of *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* (1977), chose the printed version as the copy-text.

With the increasing interests in the materiality of Wroth's literary texts, the studies of her poetry recently began to examine two versions of *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*. Roberts claims that Wroth's autograph manuscript is an early version of the printed sequence, while Waller regards the manuscript as a revised version of an original *Pamphilia to*

²⁷⁹ Ilona Bell, 'Introduction', in *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus in Manuscript and Print*, pp. 1-72 (p. 2).

Amphilanthus, which is now lost.²⁸⁰ Ilona Bell moved a step forward to a further understanding of the two forms of Wroth's poetry. She demonstrates that Wroth hugely reshaped the autograph manuscript in order to prepare for its publication as an attachment to *Urania* I in 1621. Bell's primary argument is that both editions are quite different from each other in that the autograph manuscript contains a much more eroticised voice of the female poet than the printed version.²⁸¹ Waller suggests that we read *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* as 'never resting in a final form, in which a variety of discoveries, demands, and changing occasions clash and contradict'.²⁸² Such less fixed state of the sonnet sequence provides scholars productive spaces for further studies on the importance of Wroth's editing in relation to the construction of her authorship.

Less critical attention has been paid to the importance of editing in the critical history of early modern women's writing. The groundbreaking collection of essays, *Editing Early Modern Women* edited by Sarah C. E. Ross and Paul Salzman, was published in 2016. Wroth's aunt, Mary Sidney's role as an editor is especially important in exploring Wroth's engagement with editing. Mary Sidney published a new edition of her brother's romance *New Arcadia* in 1593, which has been regarded as a revised version of Fulke Greville's 1590 *New Arcadia*. The Countess's

²⁸⁰ Heather Dubrow, "'And Thus Leave off': Reevaluating Mary Wroth's Folger Manuscript, V.a.104', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, 22.2 (2003), 273-91 (p. 282).

²⁸¹ Ilona Bell, 'The Autograph Manuscript of Mary Wroth's *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*', in *Re-Reading Mary Wroth*, ed. by Katherine R. Larson and Naomi J. Miller with Andrew Strycharski (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 171-81.

²⁸² Gary Waller, *The Sidney Family Romance: Mary Wroth, William Herbert, and The Early Modern Construction of Gender* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993), p. 194.

edition is an expensive folio, while Greville's is a rather modest looking quarto.²⁸³ In the preface of the 1593 *Arcadia*, probably written by Hugh Sanford, a secretary of her husband, Henry Herbert, the 2nd Earl of Pembroke, it is strongly suggested that she was the editor of the romance: 'The Countess of Pembroke's *Arcadia* [was] done, as it was, for her: as it is, by her'. When focusing on the difference in the tense of verbs ('was' and 'is'), it is clear that Hugh Sanford asserts that *Arcadia* was written for her by Philip Sidney and now it is edited by her.

In her edition of the 1593 *Arcadia*, the Countess of Pembroke added a full stop to Sir Philip's final sentence which had been left incomplete by Greville in his 1590 edition. It seems that, as Gavin Alexander notes, Mary Sidney preferred literary works to be finished by her own hands; editing her brother's romance shows this tendency.²⁸⁴ Salzman also insists that Mary Sidney worked as 'a stand-in for the author' in publishing Philip's romance.²⁸⁵ In 1598, the Countess published a third edition of *Arcadia* with Philip's *Certain Sonnets*, *The Defense of Poesy (An Apology for Poetry)*, and her authorised and complete edition of *Astrophil and Stella*.

It has been generally understood that Mary Sidney worked within the boundaries given to female writers as an editor and as a translator rather than as an author of her own works. Translation was considered derivative, secondary and feminine in that period. John Florio asserted that

²⁸³ Joel Davis, 'Multiple *Arcadias* and the Literary Quarrel between Fulke Greville and the Countess of Pembroke', *Studies in Philosophy*, 101.4 (2004), 401-30 (p. 426).

²⁸⁴ Gavin Alexander, *Writing After Sidney*, p. 88.

²⁸⁵ Paul Salzman, 'Identifying as (Women Writers)' in *The History of British Women's Writing*, pp. 33-47 (p. 35).

translations are 'defective' and 'all translations are reputed femalls'.²⁸⁶

However, critics, such as Suzanne Trill, reassessed the importance of translation not as 'feminine' and 'marginal' but as central to the Renaissance literary culture, which formed an integral part of male education.²⁸⁷ Like translation, editing can also be regarded as secondary, because it always encodes a sense of belatedness in the process of literary production.

It is thus very important to reevaluate the act of editing as integral part of authorship in early modern England. This chapter aims to argue that editing is not subsidiary but rather an innovative form of authorship. Danielle Clarke suggests a potential correlation between editing and authorship, defining 'editing as a form of authorship' as well as 'authorship as a kind of editing'.²⁸⁸ Editing is not a simple word but an umbrella term encompassing diverse stages of writing, such as revision, correction and deletion of words or lines, and reshaping of linguistic forms as well as of narrative structure. It also reflects various intentions of people who get involved in the literary production, such as authors, editors, printers, patrons and readers. Authors revise their own works, while editors and readers also edit their works. Readers even correct an author's grammatical mistakes or leave comments on the margin of the

²⁸⁶ John Florio, *The Essayes or Morall, Politike and Millitarie Discourse of Lo: Michael's Mongtaine [...] now done into English [...] by Iohn Florio* (London, 1603), sig. A2.

²⁸⁷ Suzanne Trill, 'Spectres and Sisters: Mary Sidney and the "Perennial Puzzle" of Renaissance Women's Writing', *Renaissance Configurations: Voices / Bodies / Spaces, 1580-1690*, ed. by Gordon McMullan (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 191-211 (p. 199).

²⁸⁸ Danielle Clarke, 'Producing Gender: Mary Sidney Herbert and Her Early Editors', in *Editing Early Modern Women*, pp. 40-59 (p. 42).

original texts. William Davenporte (*bap.*1584, *d.*1655), a country squire from Cheshire, wrote various kinds of annotations on Wroth's *Urania* I. Out of 321 marks in Bent Juel-Jenson's copy of *Urania* in the Bodleian library, Rahel Orgis notes that 'all except nine are in Davenporte's handwriting'.²⁸⁹

In considering the act of editing as a reworking of the original text, Jacques Derrida's idea of 'différance' is useful for a further understanding of the importance of editing as a delayed but creative form of authorship. In 'Différance' (1966), Derrida argues that language is composed of differences, meaning that everything in the world exists in relation to something different from them. He emphasises the significance of secondary and additional things which are as crucial as the original. Moreover, to differ [*différer*] shows 'the interposition of delay, the interval of a spacing and temporalizing'.²⁹⁰ His emphasis is placed on the importance of 're-', that is the act of substitution in order to achieve and find out the truth and meaning. Editing is in this sense a belated form to reshape and renegotiate the original text for the purpose of creating cultural meanings in various contexts, such as the shifting mode of literary production and circulation.

²⁸⁹ Rahel Orgis, '[A] story very well worth reading': Why Early Modern Readers Valued Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania*', *Sidney Journal*, 31.1 (2013), 81-100 (p. 90); Rahel Orgis meticulously surveyed the textual traces of Wroth's editing of *Urania* I and II as well as readers' annotations to the romance. See also Orgis, 'An Author Re-reading: Lady Mary Wroth's Corrections to the Printed *Urania* and the Manuscript Continuation', *English Literary Renaissance*, 47.3 (2017), 412-33. Less attention has been paid to the two versions of *Love's Victory* in terms of Wroth's textual editing.

²⁹⁰ Jacques Derrida, 'Différance', in *Literary Theory: An Anthology*, ed. by Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan, revised edn (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), pp. 385-407 (p. 385).

Derrida also suggests 'différance' 'is not simply active (any more than it is subjective accomplishment); it rather indicates the middle voice, it precedes and sets up the opposition between passivity and activity'.²⁹¹ While Derrida's claim can be applied to the analyses of voice between speech and silence, as examined in Chapter 1, editing can also be regarded as the liminal process of writing. This is because it is the act or rather the process of reworking the original text. Such reworking of the text happens on the temporal space between the act of writing and the circulation of those written texts either in the form of private manuscripts or of public printed versions. In this sense, editing is a form of authorship on the threshold between writing and publication.

In view of these arguments, this chapter discusses Wroth's critical engagement with editing. Firstly, an interplay of gender, the idea of delay and self-censorship will be explored, considering how these ideas are in a dialogue with early modern women's editing. Then, the scenes of editing, circulation and reception of poetry and letters in *Urania* are to be studied as well as these in other early modern literary texts to which Wroth alluded. Thus, this section aims to clarify how Wroth illustrates the act of editing differently from her male predecessors, such as Philip Sidney. Then, Wroth's own editorial traces on the manuscript of *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* are to be looked at, paying special attention to her authorial engagement with passions. In order to understand the historical contexts in which women wrote, the chapter finally examines how the shifting modes

²⁹¹ Derrida, 'Différance', in *Literary Theory*, p. 385.

of literary production from manuscript to print circulation informed Wroth's authorship in early seventeenth-century England.

I. Gender, Delay and Self-Censorship in *Urania*

The sonnet sequence flourished as a literary genre in the Elizabethan period, especially reaching its height of popularity around the 1580s to 1590s.²⁹² The members of the Sidney family and male poets who had a close tie with the family deployed the poetic form. These are such poets as Edmund Spenser, Samuel Daniel, Fulke Greville and Michael Drayton. While they are classified as Elizabethan sonneteers, it is Shakespeare that composed the sonnet sequence around the same time with Wroth. Her belated use of the poetic form might be gender-driven, since she could have access to it during or after the use by her male predecessors. As has been stated in Introduction of this thesis, Wroth started writing the sequence as early as 1613. She could spend about ten years to edit her poetry before its publication. The space of time she earned from her delayed deployment of the form enabled her to edit her poems extensively and carefully.

Some female poets in the romance demonstrate several forms of self-censorship. One of the examples is to burn a letter or manuscripts of their poetry. While Roger Chartier notes that burning books was 'the most radical modality of censorship',²⁹³ Pamphilia burns her verse in which her

²⁹² Russ McDonald, *Shakespeare's Late Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 222.

²⁹³ Roger Chartier, 'Early Modern English Censorship in European Context', in *Freedom and Censorship in Early Modern English Literature*, pp. 191-205 (p. 196).

passions are expressed: 'Then took shee the new-writ lines, and as soone almost as shee had given them life, she likewise gave them burial'

(1.62.15-16). Melasinda, the Queen of Hungary, who marries Rodolindus for the sake of her country, also burns a letter written by her secret lover, Ollorandus, the King of Bohemia. In contrast to Amphilanthus, Ollorandus is a man of constancy. Reading the letter from Ollorandus, Melansinda feels happy, because 'hee crownes himselfe with constancy' (1.272.16).

For both Pamphilia and Melasinda, this act of self-censorship connotes a metaphorical image of life and death. It is particularly interesting that Melasinda keeps the consumed ashes of her beloved's letter in a cabinet as a relic as well as sacrifice of her secret love:

[W]hen al is done the fire must consume you, that is the cabinet must hold your truth, and you most loved, must to my beloved and mee, proove a sweete sacrifice for our safeties. O jealousie that spreads it selfe so farre, as onely memory can bee safe, but no reliques save ashes remaine safe in keeping; thy ashes yet shalbe preserv'd, and as most sacred, still continued.

(1.272.23-28)

Melasinda confesses that she burns her lover's letter for their own 'safeties', because there is a danger that they may be threatened by her husband's 'jealousie'. For her, the burned letter is 'a sweete sacrifice', whose memories are kept safe only in her cabinet. The narrator illustrates that she 'gave the death' to his letter by burning, but actually it was given 'the safer life' (1.272.38-39).

The image of death and life corresponds with the efficacy of self-

censorship. It gives 'the safer life' to the original text by deleting, reordering, and changing expressions which can be inappropriate for the public circulation. By contrast, these processes might cause 'death' of the original meanings. Soon after Melasinda burns the letter, she composes a verse, comparing the act of burning with the ritual of one's funeral. It ends with an implication of the purpose of self-censorship: 'To burn, and keep from blame' (1.273.35). Once the letter is burnt, only memory and ashes can be safe in keeping her honour in society. Burning her beloved's 'dearest lines' is equal with cremation of one's body, thereby requiring an act of mourning: 'My heart more mourning doth for you expresse' (1.273.10). Wroth illustrates Melasinda's self-censorship as a sacred act for grief performed in her private chamber.

Self-censorship is important for authors of both genders, particularly for women writers in terms of their integrity. This is because poems, letters and other forms of literary expressions have social and communicative impacts when circulated. Margaret J. M. Ezell explains social and collaborative nature of manuscript circulation in early modern England: 'The nature of manuscript circulation [...] is a social one. The writer is part of a group, both in circulating her or his pieces and in receiving and transcribing the works of others'.²⁹⁴ The social nature of manuscript circulation is one of the reasons why female characters in *Urania* are careful in dealing with their poetry and letters.

There is a symbolic scene in *Urania* I, which can be a starting point

²⁹⁴ Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History*, pp. 56-57.

in exploring the interplay of authorial voice, self-censorship and gender. Pamphilia reads a love story, with which she feels displeasure, because the story seems to predict the course of her own romantic relationship with Amphilanthus. Throwing the book away, she goes for a sad walk with a deep depression caused by the absence of her beloved.²⁹⁵ The theme of the book, which resonates with her situation, is about ‘the affection of a Lady to a brave Gentleman’; although he equally loved her, ‘being a man, it was necessary for him to exceede a woman in all things, so much as inconstancie was found fit for him to excel her in, hee left her for a new’ (1.317.19-22). During her walk, she talks to the wood:

“Sweete wood”, said she, “beare record with me, never knew I but this love.” “Love,” answered the wood being graced with an Echo. “Soft,” said she, “shall I turn blabb? No Echo, excuse me, my love and choyce more precious, and more deere, then thy proud youth must not be named by any but my selfe, none being able to name him else, as none so just, nor yet hath any eare (except his owne) heard me confesse who governs me.

(1.318.2-9)

As Wroth’s use of adjectives (‘vast’ and ‘hollow’) for representing Echo demonstrates, Echo exists as a disembodied voice. In Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, Echo, a mountain nymph, loses her corporeal body due to her fruitless love for Narcissus, who loves only his own appearance reflected on the water. The sound of Echo’s voice remains after her death,

²⁹⁵ The absence of one’s beloved is a typical Petrarchan discourse.

responding to the last word of a speaker. Echo's voice is thus a belated voice which seems a mere repetition of what is already said by others. However, it actually voices the central theme of the whole narrative of *Urania*, which is love, creating further verbal communication with the heroine Pamphilia.²⁹⁶

Several critics have examined this scene in terms of female interiority, speech and subjectivity, looking at the figure of Echo in the classical Greek mythology.²⁹⁷ Yet, they have not paid much attention to the importance of Pamphilia's response to Echo, which belatedly repeats what Pamphilia said at the end of her complaint. The belatedness is one of the keys in exploring editing as an innovative form of authorship. Editing embodies the belatedness in the process of writing; however, it also provides Wroth an experimental site to engage with the creative process of writing, exploring to what extent she can reveal her own thoughts on texts without breaching overtly the concepts of early modern femininity. During the editorial process, Wroth deals with the shifting mode of literary production from manuscript circulation to print publication.

Pamphilia's use of the term 'Soft', which is quoted in page 169, shows an example of self-censorship of her voice. It is not clear to whom she says 'Soft' in the verbal communication with the deaf tree and the

²⁹⁶ Susan Wiseman, 'What Echo says: Echo in Seventeenth-Century Poetry', in *Renaissance Configurations: Voices/Bodies/Spaces 1580-1690*, ed. by Gordon McMullan (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), pp. 212-33. Wiseman argues that Echo has liminal nature which fluctuates between a role as a speaking subject and as an object of speech.

²⁹⁷ Jeff Masten, "'Shall I turn blabb?'" Circulation, Gender, and Subjectivity in Mary Wroth's Sonnets', in *Reading Mary Wroth: Representing Alternatives in Early Modern England*, ed. by Naomi Miller and Gary Waller (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), pp. 68-77; Quilligan, 'The Constant Subject', pp. 307- 35.

disembodied voice, that is, Echo. Pamphilia may say the term either to herself as a self-warning or to Echo as a request to reduce the volume of her delayed voice. In either case, she tries to refrain from revealing her love for Amphilanthus in public. Self-censorship for Wroth seems to be related to the ways of expressing her feelings and thoughts without exposing the truth for her in public. The interaction between self-censorship and the assertion of ownership of one's voice can be applied to both Wroth's authorship and its control over the process of publishing her work.

In early modern England, the 'collective and collaborative nature of manuscript culture' was in a gradual transition to the more exclusive ownership of the print market.²⁹⁸ Wroth's publication of *Urania* I shows her negotiation with such politics of print. According to Sophie Chiari, censorship in the culture of early modern England was not 'a repressive tool'; rather, she claims, it was 'an instrument of regulation', which 'suppressed neither artistic creativity nor subversive practices'.²⁹⁹ Wroth's self-censorship was also necessarily not a tool for silencing her own authorial voice. As Pamphilia's desire to control the volume of her own voice shows, it was rather conscious control of her literary expressions and representations. Wroth consciously censored her own words in order to deal with the strictures against female authorship, in particular, against the publication and exposure of women's thoughts in public. Hence, self-censorship for Wroth was conscious engagement with, or, as Aurélie

²⁹⁸ Wall, *The Imprint of Gender*, p. 342.

²⁹⁹ Sophie Chiari, "'To Be Seen and Allowed": Early Modern Regulation Practices', in *Freedom and Censorship in Early Modern Literature*, pp. 1-18 (p. 5).

Griffin says, 'a response or an anticipation to censorship'.³⁰⁰

Writing and censorship were closely related to each other in early modern England; Chiari suggests a possibility that the birth of an author was associated with 'the prevalence of censorship':

[...] writing and censorship appear as two closely related activities and, if the birth of the author was more or less brought about by the prevalence of censorship, censorship also contributed to the permanent blurring of the concept of authorship.³⁰¹

If the emergence of the author is caused by 'the prevalence of censorship', Wroth's self-censorship in the process of editing contributes to the construction of her as an author. Censorship also relied on how readers received literary works; it can be said that readers formed how they were circulated.³⁰² Wroth's self-censorship in anticipation of censorship from her readers played an important role in creating her dialogue with her readers.

II. Representations of Editing Women in *Urania* and *Arcadia*

Among early modern writers of both genders, it is unusual that Wroth represents the scenes of editing through her portrayal of a female

³⁰⁰ Aurélie Griffin, '(Self-)Censorship in Lady Mary Wroth's *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* (1621-1630?)', in *Freedom and Censorship in Early Modern English Literature*, p. 176. Here, Griffin argues that Wroth's choice of manuscript circulation of *Urania* II is 'a form of self-censorship as a response and an anticipation to censorship', which she experienced after the publication of *Urania* I.

³⁰¹ Chiari, p. 6.

³⁰² Chiari, p. 5.

protagonist. Pamphilia's editing takes place twice, both at a particular site. It is the 'fayre and straight' ash tree where she can solitarily pour out her passions by means of writing. Wroth does not clarify when Pamphilia started writing a sonnet on the ash tree. The lack of the clear indication of when Pamphilia began her poetic composition seems to resonate with the way Wroth starts *Urania* II; it starts its narrative *in medias res* ('And thus they with Joyes plenty [...]'). Scenes of editing in *Urania* I show how Pamphilia engages with her ongoing authorship and passions. Wroth's originality is made clear by examining how she transforms Sidney's *Old Arcadia*; here, a female protagonist, Philoclea, also tries to edit her poem but does it in a different way.

The first scene of editing appears during Pamphilia's visit to the ash tree. She adds some lines to her original poetry, which was previously engraved on the bark at an earlier visit. Having been distressed with the book she was reading, she intends to 'make others in part taste my paine, and make them dumb partakers of my grief':

Then taking a knife, shee *finished a Sonnet*, which *at other times shee had begun to ingrave* in the barke of one of those fayre and straight Ashes, causing that sapp to accompany her teares for love, that for unkindnesse.

(1.92.31-34; emphases mine)

Pamphilia now 'finished' revising the sonnet, 'which at other times shee had begun'. This means that she revisits the place where she started writing, completing the ongoing poetic composition by adding some lines. Critics have not had much attention to the importance of the dynamic

process of Pamphilia's writing. Traces of various stages of writing poetry construct the liminal site on the textual pages; fictional characters and Wroth herself meet the literary past and present in *Urania*. Pamphilia encounters her passions which she felt in the past through the unfinished poem, while also facing the present feeling through her ongoing suffering.

Pamphilia aggressively engraves her passions on the ash tree, which is her deaf audience. The vivid analogy between 'sap' and 'her tears' makes readers share the pain of a wound left on the bark of the tree and the one in her heart. This violent act of engraving makes a contrast to her reticence praised as her virtue by the narrator. However, the violence itself is a sign of Pamphilia's vehement passions which drive her self-conscious writing and editing. In the sonnet, she asks the tree to 'Bear part with me most straight and pleasant Tree, / And imitate the Torments of my smart' (1.92.35). She hopes that the tree shares her lamentation by imitating and keeping 'this testament of me' in 'thy skin' (1.92.38). This scene exemplifies both sadistic and masochistic nature of her. Here, Pamphilia looks identified with the tree, which is passively addressed by her. As Quilligan points out, Wroth nullifies rather than constructs differences between the poet and the tree.³⁰³

Pamphilia's character is again ambivalent as her poetry embodies 'a poetics of secrecy', as has been seen in Chapter 3. While hoping to hide her passions for Amphilanthus even from her friends and beloveds, she paradoxically desires that her pain is to be publicly shown in the skin of

³⁰³ Quilligan, 'The Constant Subject', p. 316.

the tree, which others can visit freely. The oscillation between concealment and revelation represented through Pamphilia's authorship might reflect Wroth's sense of uneasiness caused by the shifting mode of literary production from the manuscript to the print circulation. While seeking for the public recognition of her inner pain by publishing her works, Wroth carefully explores to what extent she reveals her passions to the public.

The scene of Pamphilia's engraving of the tree echoes the representations of Pamela in Sidney's *Old Arcadia* and those of Orlando in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*.³⁰⁴ Carving love poetry or names of one's lover on the bark was a poetic topos in that period. In Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, Orlando engraves a verse on the tree, having been 'so love-shaked': 'Oh Rosalind! these trees shall be my books / And in their barks my thoughts I'll character' (3.2.5-6). Katherine Philips (1632-1664), a poet with royalist sympathies, also writes a poem which deals with carving on a tree entitled 'Upon the graving of her Name upon a Tree in Barnelmes Walks'. Bearing 'ungrateful injuries', she writes in the poem, 'Trees are more generous then Men'.³⁰⁵ She emphasises the difference between 'barbarous' human beings and an enduring tree, while Wroth emphasises the shared pain between the poet Pamphilia and the engraved ash tree during her editing. In *Old Arcadia*, Pamela inscribes Musidorus's name and her amorous thoughts in the form of a sonnet on the tree as Pamphilia does. Musidorus responds to Pamela's erotic feelings by carving on the trees,

³⁰⁴ Quilligan, 'The Constant Subject', pp. 307-35.

³⁰⁵ Katherine Philips, 'Upon the graving of her Name upon a Tree in Barnelmes Walks', in *The Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse 1509-1659*, ed. by H. R. Woudhuysen (London: Penguin Books, 1992; repr. 2005), p. 483.

making them as 'the badges of his passions' (3.199.2-3). In contrast, in *Urania*, Pamphilia does not explicitly exchange her poetry with Amphilanthus, who is also excellent in writing. She shares her lamentation only with the ash tree in a solitary garden.³⁰⁶

In *Urania* II, the second editing scene takes place soon after Pamphilia hears an unfortunate prophecy of her future relationship with Amphilanthus from the sage Melissea in the island of Delos. During 'her old sad walke' in the garden woods in Messenia, she complains about 'loosing fate' (1.191.26). However, she also tries to capture the present happiness with Amphilanthus, persuading herself: 'joy that at this time he esteemeth me' (1.191.24). Pamphilia reluctantly encourages herself to be satisfied with the current relationship with Amphilanthus, who seems to love her as the first cousin instead of as a lover. Then, she again visits 'the Ash, where her sad sonnet was ingraved' and 'under which she writ' these lines:

Teares some times flow from mirth, as well as sorrow,
Pardon me then, if I againe doe borrow
Of thy moist rine some smiling drops, approving
Joy for true joy, which now proceeds from loving.

(1.191.33-40)

Pamphilia requests to borrow the tree's bark and distilling sap again for expressing her passions, adding a new stanza to the poetry which she already wrote. While recycling the images of tears and sap of a tree as a

³⁰⁶ Quilligan, 'The Constant Subject', p. 316.

victim of her painful carving, she encounters her passions felt both in the past and the present.

The newly added lines illuminate the development of Pamphilia's thought and her integrity. She acknowledges that tears flow not only from 'sorrow' but also from 'mirth'. She writes 'true joy [...] proceeds from loving'. Even if she cannot gain Amphilanthus's love, she can feel true joy by loving. Pamphilia's revised lines are added some time after the temporal completion of the engraved poetry. It means her poetry is created in a longer space of time than that of Pamela's in *Arcadia*. This delayed completion of Pamphilia's poetry was achieved through her constant revisits to the place of her poetic composition. The process of editing, that is the constant revision of the original work, might resonate with Wroth's championing of the idea of constancy.

Representing Pamphilia's revisits to the ash tree, Wroth may also allude to Sidney's portrayal of Philoclea, an elder sister of Pamela. Like Pamphilia, Philoclea revisits a place where she tries to add new lines to a sonnet which she composed on 'a goodly white marble stone' (2.241.7). She wrote it before she met Zelmane, who is actually the disguised Pyrocles. However, Philoclea fails to do so. Her failure highlights the disjunction between her past and present, which was caused by her transformation from a chaste maid to 'a desiring subject' who is now aware of love. The pure whiteness of the marble stone shows her prelapsarian inner purity before she fell in love. In the poem, she champions chastity, saying 'O Chastity [...] To only thee my constant course I bear' (2.241.24-27). Yet, due to her transformation, 'her memory served as an accuser of

her change and her own handwriting was there to bear testimony against her fall' (2.241.30-32). Wroth's use of the term 'testifie' in Pamphilia's sonnet might have been evoked by Sidney's deployment of 'testimony'. Wroth uses the verb form in different contexts to prove Pamphilia's continuous suffering as a constant woman.

Philoclea's failure to pray in 'a little chapel' also ironically emphasises her change. Breaching her own words influences her actions over which she grieves:

'Alas,' said she, 'fair marble, which never received'st spot but by my writing, well do these blots become a blotted writer. But pardon her which did not dissemble then, although she have changed since. Enjoy, enjoy the glory of thy nature which can so constantly bear the marks of my inconstancy. (2.242.4-8)

Philoclea's change is revealed in the 'forworn' state of ink which is 'blotted' with 'spot'. While the words on the marble stone was the 'testimony' of her purity, they are now 'the marks of my [her] inconstancy'. Then, hiding her eyes with 'her soft hand', Philoclea hopes to adjoin a new verse next to 'the former vow', now the blotted lines on the marble stone, 'as a retractation to the former vow' (2.242.26).

Nevertheless, Philoclea fails to do so because of a practical and strange reason, that is, the lack of 'present commodity' (2.242.10). In the verse which she intended to write down, she contrasts her blotted words and the fair marble stone: 'my words defac'd, my fancies blind, / Blots to the stone, shames to myself I find' (2.242.15-16). The final couplet ends with her complaint: 'May witness bear how ill agree in one / A woman's

hand with constant marble stone' (2.242.23-24). A 'woman's hand' writes shames to herself. Philoclea's newly created verse shows her excuse for her inconstancy. Wroth never excuses women's transformation from a chaste maid to 'a desiring subject'; Pamphilia's additional verse on the ash tree demonstrates her constancy and development in thoughts. Wroth subtly modifies Sidney's representations of female poets, Pamela and Philoclea, by alluding to his works.

III. Wroth's Editing and Self-Censorship in *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*

This section examines how a study of manuscript revisions provides clues to Wroth's passions and self-censorship. In *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, in MS 48 (sonnet 48 in the printed version),³⁰⁷ Wroth revises an expression of Pamphilia's body from 'body lives deprived of hart' to 'hartles trunk of harts depart'; this revision foregrounds Pamphilia's 'grief opresd' because of the deprivation of 'bliss'. Wroth uses, according to Bell, the term 'bliss' for evoking erotic pleasure.³⁰⁸ By using a metaphor of the heartless trunk of the tree, Wroth makes the line more rhetorically ornate and familiar to her readers who were accustomed to the analogy between the poet and the tree.

In this revision, it seems that Wroth used different pen and ink.³⁰⁹ It is written with brown ink lighter than the original one above the erased

³⁰⁷ 'MS' signifies the abbreviation of 'Folger MS V.a.104'.

³⁰⁸ Ilona Bell, "A too curious secrecie": Wroth's Pastoral Song and "UIrania", *Sidney Journal*, 31.1 (2013), 23-50 (p. 26).

³⁰⁹ See Bell's commentary 258 on MS 42 in *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus in Manuscript and Print*, p. 122.

line on the manuscript. The difference in the colour of ink reveals that she edited the line at some time after its original composition. The edited line written in lighter brown ink also has a messy trace. Wroth probably rubbed the line with her hand or with another paper before the ink dried up. This textual trace reveals that Wroth hastily edited the line for some reason, perhaps at the last minute for sending the manuscript off to the printing press. These editorial traces reveal various aspects of Wroth's authorship from her scribal practices to her psychological state.

Expurgation is an example of Wroth's self-censorship in preparing the manuscript version of the sonnet sequence for publication. Wroth expurgated a song numbered MS 77, that is aubade ('The birds do sing'), in preparing for the publication of *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*. Bell points out that it shadows Wroth's own clandestine love with William Herbert.³¹⁰ In *Urania*, Pamphilia's sexual consummation with Amphilanthus is not explicit, though there are some suggestive scenes.³¹¹ Nevertheless, it is clear in the aubade that Pamphilia and Amphilanthus spent a night together. She pours out her praise for his eyes which are paralleled with Phoebus's morning lights:

Arise then now, and let those lights

³¹⁰ Bell, 'Introduction', in *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus in Manuscript and Print*, p. 4.

³¹¹ In William Herbert's elegy, there is an implication that Wroth and Herbert had marital contract in an arbor on the top of (probably) Penshurst Mount:

Dost thou remember? Let me call to accompt
thy pleasant garden and that Leavy mount,
whose topp is with an open Arbor crownd
and spanned with greenest Palizades round,
Whereon the powers of the night may oft have seene us,
and heard the contracts, that have binn betweene us.

William Herbert, 'Elegy', in *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus in Manuscript and Print*, p. 267.

take Phebus place as theyr due rights
for when they doe together shine
the greater light is still held thine.

Pamphilia's repeated use of the term 'arise' is a remark for Amphilanthus to wake up literally as well as sexually. She persuades him to show his eyes in the daylight whose 'light' is greater than that of Pheabus when they 'shine' together, even moving her 'joy'. Bell asserts that Wroth's deployment of 'move' and 'joy' suggests 'the pleasures of making love'.³¹² The couplet ('shine' / 'thine') and its rhythmical sound seem to aurally exemplify her excitement with the dawn and perhaps the sexual arousal of her beloved.

The aubade may have reminded Wroth's readers of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (1595-96). In Act 3 Scene 5, Romeo and Juliet lament the parting after spending the first and only night together. Romeo's reference to the lark ('the herald of the morn' (3.5.6)) echoes the first line of Pamphilia's poetry: 'The birds doe sing, day doth appeare'. If Wroth did not remove the poem from the printed edition, her clandestine love with Pembroke could be publicly circulated.³¹³ By removing the poem, she controlled the scope of her authorship, avoiding accusation from the public readership.

In addition to her expurgation of the aubade, it is also noteworthy to look at what Wroth added to the printed version of the sonnet sequence.

³¹² Bell, *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus in Manuscript and Print*, p. 152.

³¹³ Bell also claims that Wroth removed the aubade with other five poems to 'avoid potential disapproval and censorship', in Introduction from her edition of *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus in Manuscript and Print*, p. 4.

A sonnet numbered Print 4, 'Forbeare darke night, my joys now budd againe', appears only in the printed version, replacing MS 4, 'Venus unto the Gods a sute did move'. In Print 4, the poet, Pamphilia, grieves over her 'pleasures waine' and her 'Fortunes present ill', while missing 'former time I [she] knew'. At the final stanza, Pamphilia feels the revival of her hope with an imagery of a flower bud, waiting for its blooming, just as the snow melts: 'Late gone as wonders past, like the great Snow, / Melted and wasted, with what, change must know: / Now backe the life comes where as once it grew'. Bell considers this sonnet steers 'readers' expectations of what is to come'.³¹⁴ I would add that Wroth writes about Pamphilia's hope for the renewal and return of her 'joyes' after a chilly and cold winter of her relationship with Amphilanthus.

In *Urania*, Wroth often presents the scenes of accidental circulation of manuscripts and the unintended readership. For instance, Pamphilia's cabinet is freely accessed by her friends in *Urania* I. When she consoles Amphilanthus, who is saddened by Leandrus's marriage proposal to her, Urania, Selarinus and his sister find their conversation getting long. Then, they open Pamphilia's cabinet 'where her books and papers lay' (1.260.34-35), even reading some of her literary works there without her permission. While it seems that Pamphilia's papers are kept safe in her cabinet, they are easily read by others. Like Wroth's characterisation of Pamphilia, her cabinet is a material object which embodies the ambivalence between secrecy and openness. In considering such ambivalent nature of the

³¹⁴ Bell, 'Introduction' in *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus in Manuscript and Print*, p. 4.

cabinet, how Pamphilia exercises self-censorship is all the more important to protect her thoughts and languages. Traces of Wroth's self-censorship in her literary texts also register how she wrote on the boundary between secrecy and openness, negotiating strictures against women writers. Both Wroth and Pamphilia construct themselves as an author through these editorial processes.

Wroth describes both the danger and the potential of manuscript circulation. In *Urania* I, Dolorindus, son of the King of Negroponte and Antissia's husband, carelessly loses his verses written for his mistress, Selinea. Unfortunately, Selinea's jealous husband finds and uses them for his evil plan against Dolorindus. Moreover, at the end of *Urania* II, the wind, called 'a Jealous companion' (2.412.12), suddenly blows away a poem written by the Cyprian lady. The unfortunate story is told by her to Pamphilia and Amphilanthus, both of whom are traveling with Rodomandro on the island of Cyprus, 'the Islande dedicated to Venus' (2.407.31). Although the Cyprian lady chased the verse, it finally reaches the hand of Andromarko, whom she secretly loves. Andromarko chides the poem because it rails against Cupid's power.

The Cyprian lady has fallen in love just by looking at Andromarko's picture, just like Pyrocles, who loves Philoclea as soon as he saw her portrait at the gallery at the beginning of Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*. This episode adds a fresh touch of the revival of Arcadian romance to the very end of *Urania* II, which was composed around forty years after the publication of Sidney's romance. The lady and Andromarko, both represent the new generation, start their romantic relationship thanks to the blowing

of the tricky wind. The unintended circulation of manuscripts causes the paradoxical results: the fear of a sudden exposure of one's private thoughts and also the hope for the future romantic relationship.

IV. Manuscript or Print: Forms of Circulation for Women Writers

In the printed edition of *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, Wroth moved a sonnet numbered Print 103 to its end. In the Folger manuscript, on the other hand, it is followed by other poems. In the sonnet, Pamphilia, the poet, talks to her muse 'to rest', because her poetry made her happy: 'My muse now happy, lay thy self to rest'. The published edition ends with the sign of 'FINIS'. In the autograph manuscript, it is furnished with Pamphilia's signature in the four slashed S, so-called S fermé, which was regarded as a marker of closure.³¹⁵ Wroth's aunt, the Countess of Pembroke, also used the symbol in her letters of 1604 and 1607. Heather Dubrow suggests a possibility that Wroth substituted Print 103 for Print 55 ('How like a fire doth love increase in mee'), which is also furnished with Pamphilia's signature and the symbol of slashed 'S'.³¹⁶ While Print 103 foregrounds a sense of an ending, Print 55 shows Pamphilia's continuous suffering which is closely related to Petrarchan conventions.

In considering that Print 103 is the final sonnet of the printed version, it can be said that Wroth's potential relocation of the sonnet to the end is relevant. This is because Print 103 functions well as a bridge to the

³¹⁵ Heather Dubrow reads Wroth's usage of the symbol as both retention and revision of her Sidneian family lineage. See Dubrow, "And Thus Leave off", p. 275.

³¹⁶ Dubrow, "And Thus Leave off", p. 285.

the unpublished *Urania* II. In the first stanza, Pamphilia seems to reject the act of writing or rather shows her decision to put down her pen: 'Write you noe more, butt let thes phant'sies / Some other harts, wake nott to new unrest'. In the second stanza, she represents her authorial resolution probably for the publication of her works: 'Butt if you study, bee those thoughts adrest / To truth, which shall eternall goodness proove'. Pamphilia's use of 'study', 'thoughts' and 'adrest' culminates in 'truth', which is the 'endless gaine'. Wroth's publication of *Urania* I together with *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* is one of the ways she addressed the truth for herself as a fruit of studies of her thoughts.

In Print 103, the final poem of the printed sonnet sequence, Pamphilia leaves 'the discourse of Venus, and her sonne / To young beginners'. The line shows her gesture of transferring the main theme of the romance to the next generation. In fact, as in the last stanza of Print 103 and the story of Andromarko and the Cyprian lady, *Urania* II is filled with 'storyes of great Love' experienced by characters of the second generation. They are children of the main protagonists of *Urania* I, such as Urania, Rosindy, Parselius, Melasinda, Pamphilia and Amphilanthus. These characters of the second generation also suffer from the fire of love, thus getting 'heat to write the fortunes they have wonne'. A new focus on the second generation and their passions also give Wroth 'heat to write'; yet, she did not choose to publish the second part after the controversy, which was caused by the publication of *Urania* I and the subsequent sonnet sequence.

In early modern England, the 'Stigma of Print' was an informal

social code which made even male authors of high social rank avoid publishing their works, keeping them within the scope of private and courtly audiences. If it was violated, authors enormously suffered from social disgrace. In the context of 'the eroticization of female writing', Richard Lovelace (1617-1657), a cavalier poet and army officer, critically commented on the female poet who '[p]owders a Sonnet as she does her hair, / Then prostitutes them both to publick Aire'.³¹⁷ His phrase, '[p]owders a sonnet', associates women's cosmetics with their poetic composition as artificial and frivolous.³¹⁸ Exposing their work 'to publick Aire' is compared with the act of a 'prostitute'. Thus, to people like Lovelace, publication of women's writing contained sexual implications, being equal to showing their bodies to the public.

The significance of women's entry into the area of authorship and publication has been argued by Akiko Kusunoki in her monograph, *Gender and Representations of the Female Subject in Early Modern England* (2015). Kusunoki primarily focused on the difficulties and the importance of the publication for early modern women writers. This chapter aimed to broaden its focus in view of the recent development of the studies of early modern women's writing, exploring how the transition of 'modes of literary technology' from manuscript to print informed Wroth's

³¹⁷ Richard Lovelace, 'A Satyre', in *The Poems of Richard Lovelace*, ed. by C. H. Wilkinson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 192-201 (p. 200); Eve Rachele Sanders, *Gender and Literacy on Stage in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 172.

³¹⁸ From the mid seventeenth-century, gentlemen also began to wear wigs and powdered them. Therefore, it is interesting that Lovelace's comment does not necessarily reflect on the historical and cultural contexts.

authorship.³¹⁹ Ezell points out that manuscript circulation was not necessarily a private mode of literary production and preservation in early modern England. Circulating one's works in the form of manuscript enabled each author to receive public reputation as a poet, even if their poems were not published in print.³²⁰ Anne Bradstreet (1612-1672) and Anne Killigrew (1660-1685) earned reputation as poets by means of circulating their manuscripts.³²¹ They circulated their works within their coterie and family readership who shared immediate information about family, friends, and court. It is generally believed that Wroth also shared her manuscripts with her coterie readers. Further research on the impact of self-censorship in relation to the shifting mode of writing from manuscript to print is essential for understanding the dynamism of female authorship in early seventeenth-century England.

Conclusion

This final chapter argued that the act of editing is not a belated but innovative form of authorship, which allowed Wroth to subtly deal with her passions in the shifting mode of literary production in early seventeenth-century English culture. The chapter explored Wroth's critical engagement with the process of editing. The focus of discussion was placed on the actual traces of editing on her literary texts, representations of scenes of

³¹⁹ Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History*, pp. 54-56. Ezell also insists on the importance of including manuscript and coterie authorship and traditionally marginalised forms of writing as not being literary such as diaries and letters into the tradition of women's writing for expanding the scope of the canon of early modern women's writing.

³²⁰ Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History*, p. 54.

³²¹ Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History*, p. 54.

editing and various forms of self-censorship exercised by female characters in *Urania*. Wroth's omission of the aubade and the reordering of a sonnet Print 103 at the end of the printed version was also examined. Wroth's editing and her practice of self-censorship expose the ways through which she negotiated social disgrace imposed on female authors in publishing their works.

Contemporary scholars have a sense of urgency in creating affordable textbooks to be used at universities as well as in academic research. This momentum recently started, corresponding with the delayed arrival of scholarly attention to the textuality of early modern women's writing itself. Ross emphasises the importance of modern editorial scholarship for the historicised understanding of early modern women's authorship:

[t]extual and editorial scholarship is integral to the historicized construction of female authorship, and [...] it is not only the paucity of editions but also the politically freighted act of [our] editorial intervention that determine the modern reader's construction of the early modern woman writer.³²²

Ross looks at 'the paucity of editions' and 'the politically freighted act' of editorship contribute to determine the modern reader's understanding of early modern women writers. In order to compensate for such 'paucity of editions', scholars have published anthologies dedicated to early modern women's writings, collection of essays, modernised editions of women's

³²² Ross, 'Early Modern Women and the Apparatus of Authorship', *Parergon*, 29.2 (p. 7).

works. Bell's latest edition of Wroth's *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus in Manuscript and Print* (2017) and Lamb's abridged version of Wroth's *Urania I* (2011) represent a good example of the current tendency of scholarship. Thus, editing is one of the crucial processes of constructing authorship for both early modern women and contemporary scholars who study their literary works in the twenty-first century.

Conclusion

Early modern women's writings illuminate their diverse and complex engagements with social and cultural contexts in which they were written. In view of the latest scholarship, this thesis examined how Mary Sidney Wroth constructed herself as an author who is the 'desiring subject' by exploring the interplay of passions, authorship and gender in her works. Reading Wroth's works alongside those of her predecessors and contemporaries of both genders, the thesis pointed out that passions are represented as a significant source for Wroth and her characters for constructing their authorship. In addition, with the increasing focus on the materiality of the text among recent critics, the thesis emphasised the importance of the whole process of Wroth's literary production from her choice of poetic forms, her editing and her negotiation with the shifting ways of textual transmission from manuscript circulation to print publication.

Chapter 1 explored Wroth's representations of voice between speech and silence in *Urania*, such as sighs, breath, whispers and aposiopeses. The liminal nature of these elusive forms of voice opened up an experimental site for Wroth to destabilise the cultural dichotomy between male and female, life and death, assertiveness and bashfulness, present and future. Such nature of liminal voice enabled Wroth to deal with not only the issues of gender and personal matters, but also her political concerns as a member of the protestant Sidney family. These sub-verbal forms of voice between speech and silence provided subtle outlets for Wroth and her characters for constructing their authorship.

Chapter 2 discussed representations of eloquence and educated women in the works of Wroth and her male predecessors, such as Ben Jonson and William Shakespeare. The chapter briefly summarised that early modern women's access to education was generally limited to the scope of achieving cultural goals of nurturing virtuous daughters, wives and mothers. In view of this cultural context and Wroth's highly privileged position as a member of the Sidney family, the chapter studied that Wroth and male dramatists represented women's education and the issue of eloquence differently. While Shakespeare created Marina in *Pericles* as a woman educated in music and letters, she only composes poetry to worship Diana. Jonson portrays Lady Would-be in *Volpone* as an object of satire on women's education and garrulity. Wroth's representations of educated women with rhetorical voice are also ambivalent. While Wroth is harsh on ornamental rhetoric spoken by men and their talkativeness, she is also critical of female garrulity. Wroth's originality lies in the representations of the plain style of languages as eloquence. It is innovative that she provides a female character, the Lady of the Forest Champion, with such an eloquent plain voice.

Chapter 3 studied how Wroth used literary forms in expressing passions of female characters in *Urania*, such as Pamphilia, Antissia and Alarina. By reworking poetic forms used by Philip Sidney, such as chiasmus and anadiplosis, Wroth foregrounded the depth of women's psychological sufferings. This chapter also focused on the failure of measuring passions by less-skilled female poets, such as Antissia and Alarina, whose lack of poetic skills influenced the course of their romantic

relationships. In particular, the chapter stated that Wroth's portrayal of Antissia as Pamphilia's double derives from her self-censorship, seeking for a balance in characterising Pamphilia as 'a desiring subject' and virtuous poet.

Chapter 4 examined the interplay of male tears, passions and early modern concept of masculinity in *Urania II*, comparing those in the works of her male peers and predecessors, such as Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*, with Wroth's characterisation of the male protagonist, Amphilanthus. Wroth's representations of male tears and sorrow reveal her originality in exploring what male authors did not pursue; that is, the long process of facing and purging mistakes in their romantic relationships. And yet, Wroth's portrayal of male tears does not bring a happy ending, as described in Amphilanthus's relationship with Pamphilia. Amphilanthus cannot regain Pamphilia even after a series of tearful lamentations, while male characters, such as Leontes, Musidorus and Redcross, can restore their beloveds due to their tears. This chapter also examined that male tears and sorrow show the paradox of the danger of accusation against effeminacy and the potential for mental growth. While male tears can be accused of being emasculated, if not being moderate in space and timing, they can nevertheless be a productive means for exploring their interiority.

Chapter 5 demonstrated that the act of editing is not a belated but innovative form of authorship, which allowed Wroth to subtly deal with her passions in the shifting mode of literary production in early seventeenth-century England. This chapter explored how Wroth critically engaged with the process of editing. The focus of discussion was placed on Wroth's

representations of scenes of editing, various forms of self-censorship exercised by female characters in *Urania* and the actual traces of editing on the manuscript version of her sonnet sequence, *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*. Wroth's editing and her practice of self-censorship exposed the ways through which she negotiated her authorship without breaching the cultural norm of 'Stigma of Print' in publishing her works.

One of Wroth's achievements in the history of English literature is that she left a path to be followed by her literary descendants, such as Margaret Cavendish, Katherine Philips, Lucy Hutchinson, Hester Pulter, Aphra Behn and Mary Astell, as well as numerous women writers in the eighteenth- and nineteenth century England. Further scholarly attention should be paid in order to reveal how Wroth played an important role as a nexus in the development of women's writing in English literature. For instance, Lady Hester Pulter composed a prose romance, entitled *The Unfortunate Florinda*, which was transcribed in 1661. The second part of the romance was left incomplete like Wroth's *Urania*. In 1996, the manuscript of Pulter's poems and the prose romance were rediscovered in the Brotherton Collection at the University of Leeds. Pulter's sister Margaret Ley had a close tie with John Milton, whose sonnet ('Sonnet X: To the Lady Margaret Ley') was addressed to her. Further research on Wroth's *Urania* and Pulter's *The Unfortunate Florinda* will shed light on the role of female authors in the history of prose romance in English literature.

As mentioned in Introduction of this thesis, the scope of the study of early modern women's writings has been greatly expanded over the past

decades. Wroth's works are now regarded as canon to be taught in university classrooms alongside canonical male writers in the UK and other English-speaking countries in the world. And yet, in Japan, first of all, further scholarly recognition of early modern women's writing should be encouraged, so that the scope of literary canons for university classrooms could be expanded. The 'multiplicity' of early modern women's writing will provide us with rich cultural contexts to be considered in comparison to our own history of women's writing. Such a cross-cultural reading will contribute to a better understanding of the situations we are placed in the twenty-first century.

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