

The Heart of the Labyrinth: Mary Wroth's *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*

Robyn Bolam

I ...

*Since I exscribe your Sonnets, am become
A better lover, and much better poet.*

(Jonson, 'To the noble Lady,
the Lady Mary Wroth')

Although there are instances of sixteenth-century sonnet sequences being attributed to women writers, Lady Mary Wroth was the first Englishwoman to publish a complete sonnet sequence and a long work of fiction of undisputed female authorship. In the 1620s, she was also probably the first female to create a dramatic comedy, *Love's Victory*, though its text was not printed until 1988.¹ While women sonneteers may not have been quite as rare as previously supposed (see Smith 2000: 415; Smith 2005), Wroth's originality and range remain striking for any author, but particularly for a Renaissance woman: she is now widely recognised as one of the most exceptional and outstanding writers of her day. In 1621 her controversial 558-page prose romance, *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania*, appeared with a separately numbered, forty-eight-page sequence of sonnets and songs, entitled *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, appended to it.² Pamphilia, the fictional writer of the sonnet sequence, and Amphilanthus, her inconstant lover, are characters in *Urania*, where examples of their poetry appear. Although the appended sonnets are linked to *Urania*, they can be read successfully on their own.

Born Mary Sidney, like her greatly respected aunt and godmother Wroth had an impressive family heritage to which she drew readers' attention on the title page of *Urania*. She had a female mentor and role model in her aunt, but did not follow her 'rare and pious example'³ as a translator of religious literature, choosing instead to concentrate on traditionally male-dominated genres and original, secular texts. Her father, Sir Robert Sidney, though not as celebrated as his siblings for literary accomplishments, nevertheless left a manuscript of sixty-six poems (including an incomplete corona of sonnets; see Sidney 1984), which his daughter appears to have read

and recalled during the writing of *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*. It is also possible to see her adoption of the Elizabethan romance and sonnet sequence favoured by her uncle, Sir Philip Sidney, as an attempt to revive and continue Sidneian literary tradition at a time when these genres were no longer fashionable. While many features of her verse are conventional, she is even more experimental than he in her treatment of the Petrarchan sonnet, experimenting with sestet and octet variations and often deviating from tradition in subject and style, particularly in her use of enjambment between stanzas. Philip Sidney's *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* and *Astrophil and Stella* are echoed in her *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* and *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, but although Wroth identified her work with that of her uncle, she also demonstrated their differences. She followed and revered her aunt, yet showed that she was a new kind of Renaissance female writer. Like Urania (a lost, lamented, and significantly absent shepherdess in *Arcadia*, who is given a prominent place as Wroth's title figure in her own romance), Wroth was involved in a quest – not, as in the case of her character, for lost origins, but for a place in literary tradition which she could call her own. It is significant that, in *Urania*, Pamphilia, the character most associated with Wroth, inherits her kingdom from her uncle rather than her father, suggesting a parallel with Wroth's literary inheritance. It is also possible that Wroth's poetry was not as apolitical as critics have previously inferred. Rosalind Smith emphasises Wroth's political alignment with radical Protestant writers at court and views her as 'positioning her sequence in a wide political and religious frame, and in a Protestant literary tradition integrating both Sidneian and radical Spenserian agendas' (Smith 2000: 431). For Smith, Wroth's choice of genre – a Petrarchan sonnet sequence from an earlier period – suggests 'a pointed and public rejection of the present court in favour of that period' (Smith 2000: 416).

Mary Wroth wrote 105 sonnets in all: the published *Urania* contains nineteen; there are three in a manuscript of the second part of *Urania*, which was not completed or published; and eighty-three comprise the published *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*. It is possible that, as well as being a literary friend of Jonson, she exchanged manuscripts with Donne and others.⁴ A holograph manuscript of *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, corrected and revised in Wroth's hand, is held today in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington (Folger MS V.a.104). This contains five sonnets and a song, which were not printed elsewhere, and two sonnets and seven songs that were later incorporated into *Urania*. The fourth sonnet in the published *Pamphilia and Amphilanthus* does not appear in the manuscript. Wroth corrected her manuscript to make minor changes to language, particularly to improve grammar or metre. When the poems were published, spelling was modernised, punctuation was altered (often to avoid enjambment), the order of the poems was changed, and some were not printed. As the 1621 version (Wroth 1621) includes changes (particularly to punctuation) which are not necessarily Wroth's, and some which may be printer's errors, I have followed Josephine Roberts (Wroth 1983) in using the selection and sequence of the printed edition with the Folger manuscript's versions of the poems,

modernising spelling and punctuation as lightly as possible. As well as Wroth's separate numbering for each part of the sequence, I have cited Roberts's continuous system for clarity.⁵

Roberts suggests that the paper on which the manuscript was written can be dated as early as 1587 (Wroth 1983: 62), the probable year of Wroth's birth, but the exact time of writing is unknown, although it seems likely to have been after her husband's death in 1614. (Robert Wroth left her with large debts and a month-old son, who died two years later, taking her last claims to his father's estate with him, and perhaps prompting her to consider writing for publication.) The 1621 published version of *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* contains four numbered sequences of sonnets interspersed with songs. Between the sequences are two transitional sections of unnumbered sonnets and songs and a third of four numbered songs. The name 'Pamphilia' appears at the end of the first and last sonnet sequences, as if to authenticate her fictitious authorship.

Pamphilia to Amphilanthus: A Matter of Names

Wroth's choice of the persona, Pamphilia, suggests the double role of female writer and constant lover. The Greek-based reading of 'Pamphilia' is 'all-loving', while Amphilanthus, her unfaithful lover and cousin, has a name meaning 'lover of two'.⁶ May Nelson Paulissen suggests Latin derivations: 'one who loves everyone' or is 'beloved of all' (from Pamphilus) and 'one who scatters light all around' for Amphilanthus (a combination of *amphi*, 'all around' and *lanthus*, light or lantern). Additionally, Wroth's persona shares her name with Pamphilia, the prolific poet and prose writer, who lived during the reign of Nero, but in *Urania* Pamphilia is a queen and writes her poetry and tales privately. Roberts speculates that the name may 'be a witty conflation' of Sidney's Pamela and Philoclea, or may 'ironically recall Sidney's philandering character, Pamphilus, who abandons women' in the New Arcadia. She also notes that 'Pamphilus' is a 'common name for a male lover mistreated by women ... in sixteenth-century ballads and romances'.⁷

Despite its melancholic tone, such ironies suggest that *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* is not tragic. Pamphilia suffers trials in her love for Amphilanthus, but she survives and, in the published version, finally seems stronger, if resigned. The work charts the speaker's progress in exploring the nature of love and the virtue of constancy that Pamphilia champions. The choice of her characters' names indicates the multiplicity of approaches Wroth demonstrates throughout, which makes her a rewarding subject for feminist criticism. Jeff Masten points to 'absence as a palpable presence' (Masten 1991: 74) in these sonnets, and Naomi J. Miller focuses on the 'multiplicity of speaking positions for women' in Wroth's texts (Miller 1996: 5).

Puns on the poet's name or on the semi-disguised named of a loved one were popular in Elizabethan sonnets. In Wroth's case possible examples have been discerned which may refer to herself and her lover, William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke

(1580–1630), her cousin and a man ‘immoderately given up to women’.⁸ As a young widow, she had two children by him – William and Catherine. In Sonnet 8 (P9) of her *Crown of Sonnets* (p. 84), Wroth follows a contemporary practice of punning on her own name (Wroth/worth):

He that shuns love doth love himself the less
 And cursèd he whose spirit not admires
 The worth of love, where endless blessedness
 Reigns, and commands, maintained by heavenly fires

 Made of virtue, joined by truth, blown by desires
 Strengthened by worth ...

(Sonnet 8, 1–6)

This can be read as an assertion of the part love plays in the development of the self. To love is to be beloved, as Pamphilia's name suggests. Love brings self-esteem: constant love brings ‘endless blessedness’ and is ‘maintained by heavenly fires’, not the destructive fires of desire fanned by Cupid in the very first sonnet. ‘Virtue’, which originally appeared as ‘vertu’, like the pun on worth/Wroth and its link with the character of Pamphilia, brings the divine power of love into play with the finest aspects of art and self.

Earlier, in Sonnet 48 (P55), the final poem of the first sequence, Pamphilia/Wroth appears to be punning on the name, ‘Will’, possibly alluding to Herbert's Christian name. Again, images of fire portray the strength of her consuming passion:

How like a fire doth love increase in me,
 The longer that it lasts, the stronger still,
 The greater purer, brighter, and doth fill
 No eye with wonder more, then hopes still be

 Bred in my breast, when fires of love are free
 To use that part to their best pleasing will ...

 My breath not able is to breathe least part
 Of that increasing fuel of my smart;
 Yet love I will till I but ashes prove.

(Sonnet 48, 1–6, 12–14)

The last line implies eventual destruction, but up to that point the speaker describes a love with the fierce intensity of a heavenly phenomenon – surpassing the experience of the senses and showing no sign of abating. It is a fitting end to the first part of the sequence, creating a bridge between physical lust and the enduring nature of constant love, which transcends transitory worldly passion. There is clearly an autobiographical element to *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, but it would be unwise to think that the sequence is no more than a literary working out of Wroth's complex personal life. The references to herself and, perhaps, Pembroke, are not at the forefront. A

continuous reassessment of the nature of love is the true subject, and while this is carried out by a woman, she appears to be appealing to lovers of both sexes.

A Woman's Voice

Mary Wroth was not the first woman poet to speak through a female persona, but she was the first writer of a complete English sonnet sequence to do so (Miller 1996: 35). At times her approach is ungendered, but there are also moments when the fact that a woman is speaking helps to intensify the pathos and courage of the work; however, the subject is still as relevant to men as to women, as Jennifer Laws has shown.

If it were not for the title of the sequence, a reader would not immediately identify the speaker as female. We hear a voice conjuring up the deepest darkness of night to describe the speaker's temporary dislocation from her conscious self and the onset of a vivid dream, which takes total possession of her thoughts. In this dream 'winged Desire', rather than the traditional Ovidian doves, draws Venus' chariot, in which Cupid intensifies the heat of burning hearts, held aloft by his mother (as portrayed on the title page of *Urania*). When Venus places a heart 'flaming more than all the rest' against the speaker's breast and commands Cupid to enclose it within her body ('now shut, said she, thus must we win') he obeys, and the speaker's original heart is 'martyred'. On waking, the speaker discovers that the legacy of her dream remains; the flaming heart has consumed her own and burns on in its place, making her a lover against her will. Thinking of Cupid's arrow (which is not mentioned in the sonnet), several critics and editors substitute 'shoot' for 'shut', but the latter is in both manuscript and printed versions of the poem and expresses love's seizure of control in a more graphic image of the body's violation than can be expressed solely by a wound from an arrow-head.

Wroth begins her sequence with allusions to Petrarch's *Trionfi d'Amore*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Dante's *Vita Nuova*, and conventional Renaissance tropes, such as 'sleep (death's image)', but we are also aware, from the title, that her helpless lover is not the traditional male. Nor is the object of desire chastely unattainable, as was the usual Petrarchan beloved. Like Shakespeare's Dark Lady, he is only unattainable to the speaker because he is lavishing his favours temporarily on others. Amphilanthus is rarely addressed and is always physically absent. He is not given a voice (even Sidney's Stella and Spenser's Elizabeth speak briefly). Pamphilia does not create a blazon of his physical attributes, and when she briefly portrays his appearance it is in the conventional imagery of former sonneteers, seeing his eyes as 'Two stars of Heaven' (Sonnet 2 (P2)). Her unconventionality is in applying such Petrarchan tropes to a man.

In her sonnets Pamphilia writes almost therapeutically – to obtain 'some small ease' – but putting her grief into 'lines' only increases her pain and makes her conclude: 'grief is not cured by art' (Sonnet 8). In Sonnet 39 (P45), she portrays

herself as one long used to sorrow who is able to suffer in silence, being unable to 'enjoy / My own framed words', which are inadequate, 'For where most feeling is, words are more scant'. In this she is set apart from the ready wits, of whom she says, 'your plenty shows your want'. True feeling, then, is privately expressed to the self in 'purer thoughts' than words can express: it is not for public consumption. The reader therefore feels privileged to be party to such private explorations and the poems we are reading are experienced as if they were the speaker's most inward thoughts. By this means Wroth draws her audience into Pamphilia's mind, encloses us in her thoughts.

Images of enclosure abound. In the first poem the newly enclosed heart is associated with negative aspects of desire – destruction, pain, and danger. Later, Wroth demonstrates the positive aspects of enclosure, which allow the reader to share Pamphilia's thoughts, and Pamphilia to find comfort in the private world of her own mind. Far from being limited, this is an enclosed world that brings freedom with its endless potential for expansion of thought – both enabling Pamphilia to dwell on thoughts of Amphilanthus and allowing her to continue her analysis of love in a movement towards self-knowledge, as in Sonnet 23 (P26).

Like the personae of the male sonneteers, the speaker focuses mostly on her own state but, unlike many of them, does so mainly to concentrate on the nature of love itself. In this, Wroth seems closer to Shakespeare than to other, nearer, contemporaries. From the outset Pamphilia is shown to be singled out by love against her will. Amphilanthus is introduced in the second sonnet solely as the object of her desire in order to demonstrate the strength of the passion she now has to combat, and all responsibility for her predicament is shown to rest with love itself, rather than the beloved. Pamphilia's plea is for justice and responsibility on love's part. In Sonnet 3 (P3), addressed to love, she introduces a link with the third part of the sequence, 'A Crown of Sonnets Dedicated to Love': 'Think but on this; / Who wears love's crown, must not do so amiss, / But seek their good, who on thy force do lie.' Both lover *and* beloved are helpless victims in this view.

These first poems of Pamphilia's show her joy in the loved person alongside the pains produced by his indifference and are concerned with her fluctuating moods as she struggles with the effects of love. Pamphilia staves night off in Sonnet 4 (P4), but welcomes her in Sonnet 15 (P17); within Sonnet 16 (P18) she switches from trying to hold back sleep to abandoning herself to it, 'let me for ever sleep, / And so forever that dear image keep, / Or still wake, that my senses may be free.' In both cases the plea is for control – and it is love rather than Amphilanthus who has taken that control from her.

The secret nature of her love is also a source of pain. In Sonnet 22 (P25), which incorporates images apparently associated with Jonson's *Masque of Blackness* (in which Wroth performed), Pamphilia considers the Indians 'who ... to blackness run' as 'better' than her pale, grieving self because they have sight of the sun they worship and, as was believed, carried evidence of its power in the colour of their skin, whereas she has to carry the power of her love hidden in her heart. Jeff Masten sees Wroth as

privatising the essentially public Petrarchan genre, and suggests that she is opposed to the kind of gestures of theatrical display in her verse that her male counterparts used. Sonnet 22 suggests the opposite, with Pamphilia's regret that her sacrifices are 'hid as worthless rite'. This surfaces again in Sonnet 36 (P41), in which she addresses her 'poor heart', whose 'chief pain' is that she must hide her love 'From all save only one who should it see'. Her need to conceal enables her to produce an internal drama far more intense than any public play; nor does Pamphilia wholly escape the public gaze. Bemoaning love's blindness in Sonnet 42 (P48), she reasons:

For had he seen, he must have pity showed;
I should not have been made this stage of woe
Where sad disasters have their open show
O no, more pity he had sure bestowed.

(11–14)

It is not open display alone that is the problem, but the state of her unhappiness, which she would prefer to keep from the eyes of the world.

Through their perceived role as transmitters of light to produce sight, and as transmitters of love, eyes are powerful images throughout. Pamphilia complains of Cupid's lack of vision, but she is nevertheless able to find joy in the arms of the blind female, Fortune, who tells her to trust them both in Sonnet 31 (P36). Eyes or lack of them help to characterise all the main figures, but such bodily features are often used to imply far more than the physical. In Sonnet 6 (P6), 'the depth of my heart-held despair' recalls the first sonnet in its Sidneian compound 'heart-held' – both despair because Pamphilia's heart is held by Venus and because it is a heart full of despair. In Sonnet 13 (P15), her emotional struggles are expressed in terms of bodily survival. Here, a lover, once fed on love, is now starved of it; she is an easy victim whose blood is constantly being shed because she allows it, wishing (as she does in Sonnet 6) for death as the only hope of release. Her suffering is graphically evoked through metaphors of the physical body, which are used paradoxically to negate the physical and describe a spiritual state. In Sonnet 26 (P30) Pamphilia alludes to the Petrarchan exchange of hearts in her request to Amphilanthus to 'Send me your heart which in mine's place shall feed / On faithful love to your devotion bound.' Her own heart is now in his breast, and without his in its place she cannot survive. Importantly, she hopes that, once in her body, his heart, feeding on her 'faithful love', will realise 'the sacrifices made / Of pure and spotless love which shall not fade / While soul and body are together found.'

In Sonnet 33 (P38) Pamphilia briefly looks ahead to the Crown of Sonnets when she temporarily dismisses criticism of Cupid because humans neglect to consider their own folly. She makes the case for admiring his 'sacred power' rather than treating it as a child's mischief – for if love takes offence humans will 'be born without fire' into a passionless existence. To make the best of the human predicament Cupid needs to be praised, not mocked. The sequence is constantly turning and enclosing, looking

back and then moving forwards in a labyrinth of emotional struggles and reasoning.

The Labyrinth as Image, Metaphor, and Style

Following Petrarch, like many English sonnet writers before her, Wroth made use of the image of a labyrinth in her poetry (see Lisle 1938: 65 and n.94). Nancy Miller draws attention to the fact that in his sonnet sequence, transcribed sometime after 1596 (the date of the manuscript's watermark), Robert Sidney wrote of a 'saving thread' of the lady's faults, which allowed the lover to come to his senses and escape the 'maze' of love. She concludes that, just as, in one version of the myth, Ariadne 'provided Theseus with the thread, only to be abandoned by him ... on ... Naxos to commit suicide in despair', 'embedded' in Robert Sidney's use of these images 'is a trope of masculine abandonment of the feminine other, justified as masculine escape from female wiles, with the understated possibility that female sexuality is perceived as the monstrous power lurking at the centre of the maze of male desire' (Miller 1996: 42). Countering this, in the first published English defence of women possibly written by a woman, Jane Anger writes of a labyrinth 'At the end of men's fair promises' in *Her Protection for Women* (1589). She urges women to 'shun men's flattery, the forerunner of our undoing' as men's rule 'is to flatter: for Fidelity and they are utter enemies. Things far fetched are excellent, and that experience is best which cost most: Crowns are costly, and that which cost many crowns is well worth God thank you, or else I know who has spent his labour and cost, foolishly' (Anger 1589: C4^v).

Wroth follows neither writer directly, but is closer to Anger's line in her choice of 'A Crown of Sonnets dedicated to Love' which spring from Pamphilia's costly experience, i.e. her suffering because of Amphilanthus' inconstant behaviour and her struggle with her own emotions. Dubrow suggests that she stresses the labours of love from a female perspective, even to the point of her spelling of 'labourinth' in the Folger holograph manuscript, and Mary Villeponteaux links her own observation that 'the labyrinth is also an image used to describe a womb in some early medical texts' to this (Villeponteaux 1999: 172).

Love's complexities present Pamphilia with her biggest challenge and opportunity for heroism: 'In this labyrinth, where shall I turn?' – as well as her best consolation – that it is not a maze with dead ends, but an ongoing journey which leads to the heart of the labyrinth and constant love itself, 'the soul's content'. Madelaine Bassnett stresses the positive aspects of the labyrinth: 'The circularity of the crown gives the impression that the narrator herself is being encircled, that the labyrinth's spiralling path encloses and perhaps supports her in her searching' (Bassnett 2004: 61–2). This reinforces the positive reading of the enclosure imagery mentioned earlier. The problem for Pamphilia is not knowing how much further she needs to twist and turn in these labours before she will be delivered from her task. She must also keep hold of the thread: 'As the final line of each sonnet in the corona is repeated in the first

line of the successive sonnet, Pamphilia's voice becomes her thread of love expressed, revealing her chosen path through the labyrinthine turns of her male beloved's fluctuating behavior' (Miller 1996: 42). The repetitions demonstrate the extent of her perseverance, and either a growing weariness or a strengthened conviction, depending on her state of mind at a particular point. Mary Moore draws together many labyrinthine aspects of Wroth's style, pointing out that her crown of sonnets 'represents perplexity even as it perplexes' (Moore 1998: 109). What Moore sees as deliberately labyrinthine style, a male critic has held up as a weakness: 'Each sonnet really should be grammatically self-contained, but Wroth did not manage that. In fact, she often has difficulty with her grammar; her sentences frequently lose direction, impetus and clarity' (R. E. Pritchard, in Wroth 1996: 11). Like Moore, I prefer to give her credit for innovation.

Pamphilia's dilemma infuses style as well as content. The repeated lines at the beginning and end of each sonnet finally enclose the crown completely when the last line of the final sonnet repeats the first line of the first. This appears to be enclosure without closure, for Pamphilia leaves the reader with her unanswered question, 'In this strange labyrinth how shall I turn?' In the printed version the opening use of this phrase is punctuated with a comma, which contrasts with the emphatic question mark at the end of the final stanza. This works against the symmetrical circularity of the manuscript in Wroth's hand, which has a question mark in both places, suggesting either that the speaker is in the same state at the end of the sequence as at the beginning – and that no progress has been made – or that the way she turned initially was inwards, to an exploration of the nature of love itself and her relation to it, and that the final question mark therefore indicates an even greater awareness of the complexities of her dilemma, but still provides no answer to it.

Of course, if she cannot turn to right or left, move forward or go back, the only other way is upwards – and by the end of the sequence it could be argued that Pamphilia has turned in this direction, i.e. a spiritual one, via her inward explorations. She now looks 'To truth, which shall eternal goodness prove' to give her everlasting joy. There is resignation and maturity as well as newly found contentment in her final resolution to 'Leave the discourse of Venus and her son / To young beginners', who will use 'stories of great love', such as hers, as their muse 'and from that fire / Get heat to write the fortunes they have won'. The fire of Pamphilia's physical passion has finally become a fire of inspiration for other writers and lovers. A woman's poetic art, rather than the woman herself, is the new Muse.

NOTES

- 1 Wroth 1988, edited by Michael G. Brennan.
- 2 For modern editions, see Wroth 1977, 1983, 1996.
- 3 Sir Edward Denny to Lady Mary Wroth, 26 Feb. 1621–2, cit. Wroth 1983: 239.
- 4 From Margaret Quilligan's unpublished paper (1992 MLA convention), cit. Miller 1996: 34.
- 5 Signified by P before the number. For alternative views to Roberts's assumptions about Wroth's manuscript see Masten 1991: 68–9.

- 6 *Urania*, First Part, Book 2, p. 250 (Wroth 1621).
- 7 See Roberts's introduction to her edition of *The First Part of the Countess of Montgomery's Urania* (Wroth 1995: xxv–xxvi).
- 8 See Hyde 1988: I, 73; Wroth 1983: 43; Roberts 1982: 1 (1).

REFERENCES AND FURTHER READING

- Anger, Jane (1589). *Her Protection for Women*. London.
- Bassnett, Madelaine (2004). "Injoying of true joye the most, and best": desire and the sonnet sequences of Lady Mary Wroth and Adrienne Rich'. *English Studies in Canada*, 30, 49–66.
- Beilin, Elaine (1981). 'The onely perfect vertue: constancy in Mary Wroth's *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*'. *Spenser Studies*, 2, 229–45.
- Beilin, Elaine (1987). *Redeeming Eve: Women Writers of the English Renaissance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Dubrow, Heather (1995). *Echoes of Desire: English Petrarchism and its Counterdiscourses*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Farrell, Kirby, Elizabeth H. Hageman, and Arthur F. Kinney (eds.) (1990). *Women in the Renaissance: Selections from English Literary Renaissance*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Fienberg, Nona (2002). 'Mary Wroth's poetics of the self'. *Studies in English Literature: 1500–1900*, 42, 121–36.
- Harvey, Elizabeth D. and Katharine Eisaman Maus (eds.) (1990). *Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century English Poetry*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Haselkorn, Anne M. and Betty S. Travitsky (eds.) (1990). *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print: Counter-Balancing the Canon*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Hyde, Edward (1988). *Edward Hyde, First Earl of Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, ed. W. Dunn Macray. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, Ann Rosalind (1990). *The Currency of Eros: Women's Love Lyric in Europe, 1540–1620*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press.
- Lamb, Mary Ellen (1990). *Gender and Authorship in the Sidney Family Circle*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Laws, Jennifer (1996). 'Gender and genre in the sonnet sequences of Philip Sidney and Mary Wroth'. *Deep South*, 2, 1–7.
- Lewalski, Barbara Kiefer (1993). *Writing Women in Jacobean England*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Lisle, John C. (1938). *The Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences*. Studies in English and Comparative Literature. New York: Columbia State University Press.
- Luckyj, Christina (2001). 'The politics of genre in early women's writing: the case of Lady Mary Wroth'. *English Studies in Canada*, 27, 253–82.
- MacArthur, Janet (1989). "A Sydney, though unnamed": Lady Mary Wroth and her poetical progenitors'. *English Studies in Canada*, 15, 12–20.
- Masten, Jeff (1991). "Shall I turne blabb?": circulation, gender, and subjectivity in Mary Wroth's sonnets'. In Naomi J. Miller and Gary Waller (eds.), *Reading Mary Wroth: Representing Alternatives in Early Modern England* (pp. 67–87). Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Miller, Naomi J. (1996). *Changing the Subject: Mary Wroth and Figurations of Gender in Early Modern England*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
- Miller, Naomi J. (2007). 'Lady Mary Wroth and women's love poetry'. In Patrick Cheney, Andrew Hadfield, and Garrett A. Sullivan (eds.), *Early Modern English Poetry: A Critical Companion* (pp. 195–205). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Miller, Naomi J. and Gary Waller (eds.) (1991). *Reading Mary Wroth: Representing Alternatives in Early Modern England*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Moore, Mary (1998). 'The labyrinth as style in *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*'. *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900*, 38, 109–25.
- Moore, Mary B. (2000). *Desiring Voices: Women Sonneteers and Petrarchism*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Pacheco, Anita (ed.) (1998). *Early Women Writers 1600–1720*. London: Longman.

- Paulissen, May Nelson (1982). *The Love Sonnets of Lady Mary Wroth: A Critical Introduction*. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, University of Salzburg.
- Pritchard, R. E. (1996). 'George Herbert and Lady Mary Wroth: a root for "the flower"?' *Review of English Studies*, NS 47, 386–9.
- Quilligan, Maureen (1990). 'The constant subject: instability and female authority in Wroth's *Urania* poems'. In Elizabeth D. Harvey and Katharine Eisaman Maus (eds.), *Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century English Poetry* (pp. 307–35). Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Randall, Martin (ed.) (1997). *Women Writers in Renaissance England*. London: Longman.
- Roberts, Josephine A. (1982). 'The biographical problem of *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*'. *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, 1, 43–53.
- Roberts, Josephine A. (1996). '"Thou maist have thy Will": the sonnets of Shakespeare and his stepsisters'. *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 47/4, 407–23.
- Sidney, Robert (1984). *The Poems of Robert Sidney*, ed. P. J. Croft. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Smith, Rosalind (2000). 'Lady Mary Wroth's *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*: the politics of withdrawal'. *English Literary Renaissance*, 30, 408–31.
- Smith, Rosalind (2005). *Sonnets and the English Woman Writer, 1560–1621: The Politics of Absence*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Villeponteaux, Mary (1999). 'Poetry's birth: the maternal subtext of Mary Wroth's *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*'. In Sigrid King (ed.), *Pilgrimage for Love: Essays in Early Modern Literature in Honor of Josephine A. Roberts* (pp. 163–75). Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.
- Walker, Kim (1996). *Women Writers of the English Renaissance*. New York: Twayne; Prentice Hall International.
- Wilcox, Helen (ed.) (1996). *Women and Literature in Britain 1500–1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wroth, Mary (1621). *Urania*. London.
- Wroth, Mary (1977). *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, ed. G. F. Waller. Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, University of Salzburg.
- Wroth, Mary (1983). *The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth*, ed. Josephine A. Roberts. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Wroth, Mary (1988) *Lady Mary Wroth's Love's Victory*, ed. Michael G. Brennan. London: Roxburghe Club.
- Wroth, Mary (1995) *The First Part of the Countess of Montgomery's Urania*, ed. Josephine A. Roberts. Renaissance English Text Society 7th series, 17. Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies.
- Wroth, Mary (1996). *Lady Mary Wroth Poems: A Modernized Edition*, ed. R. E. Pritchard. Keele: Keele University Press.

A NEW COMPANION TO
ENGLISH
RENAISSANCE
LITERATURE AND
CULTURE

Volume Two

EDITED BY
MICHAEL HATTAWAY



WILEY-BLACKWELL

A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Publication

This edition first published 2010

© 2010 Blackwell Publishing Ltd except for editorial material and organization © 2010 Michael Hattaway

Edition history: Blackwell Publishers Ltd (1e, 2000)

Blackwell Publishing was acquired by John Wiley & Sons in February 2007. Blackwell's publishing program has been merged with Wiley's global Scientific, Technical, and Medical business to form Wiley-Blackwell.

Registered Office

John Wiley & Sons Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, United Kingdom

Editorial Offices

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA

9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

For details of our global editorial offices, for customer services, and for information about how to apply for permission to reuse the copyright material in this book please see our website at www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell.

The right of Michael Hattaway to be identified as the author of the editorial material in this work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats. Some content that appears in print may not be available in electronic books.

Designations used by companies to distinguish their products are often claimed as trademarks. All brand names and product names used in this book are trade names, service marks, trademarks or registered trademarks of their respective owners. The publisher is not associated with any product or vendor mentioned in this book. This publication is designed to provide accurate and authoritative information in regard to the subject matter covered. It is sold on the understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering professional services. If professional advice or other expert assistance is required, the services of a competent professional should be sought.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A new companion to English Renaissance literature and culture / edited by Michael Hattaway.

p. cm. – (Blackwell companions to literature and culture)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4051-8762-6 (alk. paper)

1. English literature—Early modern, 1500-1700—History and criticism—Handbooks, manuals, etc. 2. England—Civilization—16th century—Handbooks, manuals, etc. 3. England—Civilization—17th century—Handbooks, manuals, etc. 4. Renaissance—England—Handbooks, manuals, etc. I. Hattaway, Michael.

PR411.C663 2010

820.9'003—dc22

2009033117

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Set in 11 on 13 pt Garamond by Toppan Best-set Premedia Limited

Printed in Singapore