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Sidney Wroth's Urania and Jacobean religio-political controversy**

Jennifer Wallace Hall

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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Jennifer Wallace Hall entitled "--"something more exactly related than a fiction" : Lady Mary Sidney Wroth's Urania and Jacobean religio-political controversy." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in English.

Robert E. Stillman, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

D. Allen Carroll, Joseph Black, Karen Levy

Accepted for the Council:

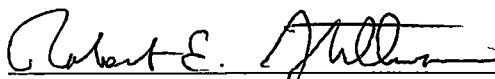
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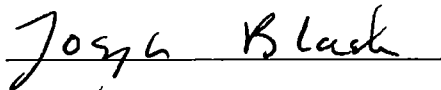
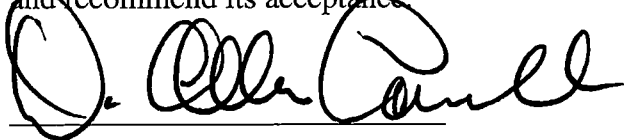
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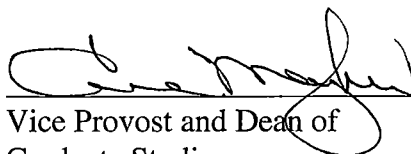


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Vice Provost and Dean of
Graduate Studies

“something more exactly related then a fixion”:
Lady Mary Sidney Wroth’s *Urania* and Jacobean Religio-political Controversy

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Jennifer Wallace Hall
December 2001

With Gratitude to

Greg
&
Mom and Dad
&
Eric and Tina

“But the greatest of these is Love.”

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my dissertation director, Dr. Robert Stillman, for directing this project through to its completion. He has been an encouraging mentor and has helped me to grow both professionally and personally. I also wish to thank the other members of my committee, Dr. D. Allen Carroll, Dr. Joseph Black, and Dr. Karen Levy, all of whom offered me inestimable assistance and advice. I am honored to have worked with each of you.

I would also like to acknowledge the emotional support I received from the VRG (Victorian Reading Group). I am truly indebted to each member for helping me maintain a modicum of balance and sanity during this process. "We are all in the gutter, but some of us are looking at the stars."

I am especially appreciative of my parents, Richard and Patsy Wallace, whose abiding love and unfailing belief in my abilities are constant comforts in all my pursuits. Thank you for nurturing a little girl's curiosity and a woman's love of learning. Also, to Eric and Tina, I owe you both an immeasurable debt of gratitude for countless campfire (and fireside) conversations and for the wisdom that such moments bring.

And finally, to Greg, thank you for being a constant source of joy and laughter—and of much needed, late-night coffees. You have kept me focused on what matters in life. You do make "one little room an everywhere." I love you.

Abstract

The Sidney family has long been recognized for its literary endeavors and for its involvement in the religio-political debates of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Studies of Mary Sidney Wroth, however, have cast only sidelong glances at the religio-political level of Wroth's *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* (1621). This dissertation examines how Wroth, within the boundaries of *Urania*, investigates her own questions and convictions regarding the religio-political debates of Jacobean England. Wroth witnessed King James's attempts to promote the unification of Christian Europe through pacific negotiation and strategic marriage alliances. Ultimately, the goal of a unified Christian Europe was one shared by Wroth and King James; however, the two did not agree on the best means of achieving such union. Thus I suggest that Wroth constructed *Urania* as the narrative site in which to engage imaginatively and freely with her own religio-political opinions. In this study, Wroth's *Urania* is reevaluated as the Sidney family challenge to James's failed attempts to unify Christian Europe.

The dissertation suggests that, in order to issue this challenge, Wroth focuses the heart of *Urania* on the mythic goal of a restored Holy Roman Empire. Looking back to the irenic court of Emperor Maximilian II (ruled 1564-1576), Wroth explores the emperor's attempts to create a unified empire and tests his policies and those of James through her own fictional emperor, Amphilanthus. Simultaneously, Wroth tests the religio-political ideals she viewed as potential alternatives to the previously failed policies of both Maximilian and James. Specifically, this study evaluates the tenets of Protestant resistance theory and monarchomachist intervention that *Urania* appears to privilege.

Further, it examines the neostoicism of Justus Lipsius and how its advocacy of Constancy and world citizenship also figure into Wroth's formula for a successfully united Christian Europe.

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Introduction

Mary Wroth, the Sidney Heritage, and the Jacobean Religio-political Landscape

Poised atop the title page to *The Countesse of Mountgomerie's Urania* (1621), a cartouche distinguishes the romance as being "Written by the right honorable the Lady Mary Wroath. Daughter to the right Noble Robert Earle of Leicester. And Neece to the ever famous, and renowned Sir Phillips Sidney knight. And to the most excelent Lady Mary Countesse of Pembroke late deceased." Quite noticeably and immediately, Lady Mary Sidney Wroth proudly identifies herself as a Sidney and appears to offer *Urania* as yet another contribution to the family's literary heritage. Paradoxically, however, after this confident paean to family name, the *Urania* itself opens with the image of a woman, the "fair Shepherdess Urania," bemoaning the fact that her true lineage and identity are unknown.¹ Wandering the hillsides of Pantaleria, the island she has always called home, Urania reflects upon the discovery that her beloved shepherd father is not her legitimate parent; in fact, her identity is a dark mystery and is thus the cause of great grief, for, she asks, "Can there be any neare the unhappinesse of being ignorant, and that in the highest kind, not being certaine of mine owne estate or birth?" (*Urania* 1).

¹Wroth's choice of the name Urania is by no means accidental. Neoplatonists would identify Urania as one of the two types of love that Plato explores in *Symposium*. Aphrodite Urania is "pure celestial beauty," while Aphrodite Pandemos is "earthly beauty, beauty clothed by nature" (Parry 53). Urania was also held to be the "Muse of Astronomy" and the daughter to the god of the heavens, Uranus (53). Still yet, as Barbara Lewalski has shown, Urania was adopted by the poet Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas as the muse of Christian poetry. Du Bartas's poem, in which Urania encourages the poet to "reclaim for God the noble gift of poetry which had originated in the Bible," was translated into English by King James in 1585 (Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics* 9). Most importantly, Urania is the elusive and inspirational beauty in Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* for whom the shepherds Strephon and Klaius lament and with whom they seek to be reunited. Urania never actually appears in Sidney's text; interestingly, it is she whom we first meet in Wroth's own romance and who will have a central role as the work develops.

“In this passion,” Urania continues to roam the countryside until she comes to the “foote of a great rocke, [and] she thinking of nothing lesse then ease, sought how she might ascend it” (2). Though the “way [is] hard,” Urania scales the precipice only to discover a dark cave into which she bravely enters, for she “fear[s] nothing but the continuance of her ignorance” (2). Curiosity mounting, Urania soon perceives a “Light, and such a one, as a chinke doth oft discover to our sights” (2); next, “discerning a little doore,” Urania enters the hidden hermitage of the distraught lover Perissus, who although initially hopeful that the intruder will offer him aid, soon glibly declares that Urania’s gender limits her ability to offer solace or aide:

But now I see you are a woman; and therefore not much to be marked,
and lesse resisted: but if you know charitie, I pray now practice it, and
leave me who am afflicted sufficiently without your companie; or if you
will stay, discourse not with me. (4)

The contrast between the confident title page cartouche and the romance’s first scene of an orphaned and rejected Urania offers a perspective into the mind of Mary Sidney Wroth, one that reveals the conflict she faced as a woman writing in the early seventeenth century. On the one hand, she is a member of a family with well-established literary, social, and political powers; on the other, she is a woman who, like Urania, must discover her own identity in the precarious world where women are “not much to be marked.” Like Urania also, Wroth seeks a light, a “chinke” that will open the door to a place in which her own voice, as a Sidney and as a woman, will be both heard and “marked.” Epic romance is the door that Wroth enters; fiction is the light with which she illuminates

her mind, her religio-political concerns, and her place within the Sidney literary and political heritage.

Modern critics have noted the use of epic-romance to test insight and to advocate change in the world outside fictional boundaries. In *Unfolded Tales: Essays on Renaissance Romance*, Gordon Teskey claims that “the Renaissance epic uses romance as a source of disorder, or potential for change” (7). He continues by asserting that “sophisticated romance” creates “a staging area where new ideas can be experimented with and introduced as innovations” (7-8). One Renaissance epic that certainly illustrates this experimental “staging” is Wroth’s *Urania*. Within the boundaries of romance, Wroth appears to “stage” and to explore her own “disorder,” that is her own questions and concerns regarding the religio-political controversies she observed as a Jacobean woman and member of the Sidney family. Wroth witnessed, first hand, debates erupting during the seventeenth century’s turbulent beginning, not only debates regarding the union of England, Scotland, and Ireland under James VI and I, but also those debates over James’s desire for Christendom’s unification. Importantly, the ultimate goal of a unified Christian Europe was one shared by both the Sidneys and King James and thus offered a common ground from which Wroth could begin an exploration of the controversial religio-political interests of her famous family.

As one explores the Sidney legacy, however, it becomes apparent that while the goal of Christendom’s unification was shared by the King and by Wroth’s family, the means of achieving such a union were not. As a proud Sidney, Wroth had inherited the duty to champion Protestantly controlled politics, and she was well aware of the Sidney

conviction that a successfully unified Christian Europe might demand militant tactics. Paradoxically, the Sidneys entertained the doctrines of seemingly rival factions--militant interventionists, who believed in actively unseating tyrants from their thrones, and the irenicists, who, according to Howard Louthan, sought "a peaceful attempt to reconcile theological differences between various confessional parties" and governments (9).² As will be seen, the Sidneys were influenced by many Continental figures who were torn between their hopes for a peaceful union of Christian states and their conviction that military means must often be adopted to achieve this goal.

Although the Sidneys may have been comfortable embracing such a paradox, King James himself detested any hint of violent intervention and privileged instead the more pacific goals of international religio-political reconciliation through strategic marriage alliances and through an ecumenical council, not surprisingly a council with James at the head as self-proclaimed *Rex Pacificus* (royal peacemaker).³ Despite her awareness of and apparent interest in such conflicting perspectives, however, Mary Sidney Wroth was limited by gender in the degree to which she could offer her own

²Gary Waller asserts that the concern to reconcile the contraries of "courtly humanism and militant Protestantism . . . deeply infused the beliefs, actions, and ideological underpinnings of the whole Sidney Circle" ("Mother/Son" 408). Even on his deathbed, Philip Sidney sought insight through both Christian and pagan wisdom. Fulke Greville reveals that Sidney "entreated this choir of divine philosophers [his ministers] about him to deliver the opinion of the ancient heathen touching the immortality of the soul" in order to "parallel with it the most pregnant authorities of the Old and New Testament" (*A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney* 81-2).

³James's 1618 *Meditation upon the Lord's Prayer* clearly conveys his self-proclaimed position as *Rex Pacificus*: "I know not by what fortune, the diction of *PACIFICUS* was added to my title at my coming into England; that of the Lyon, expressing true fortitude, having beene my diction before; but I am not ashamed of this addition; for King Salomon was a figure of CHRIST in that, that he was a king of peace. The greatest gift that our Saviour gave his Apostles, immediately before his Ascension, was, that, hee left his Peace, with them" (qtd. in Patterson 340).

opinions regarding Christendom's union and theories both of military resistance, rebellion, and intervention and of irenic idealism. With this in mind, I would suggest that Wroth constructed *Urania* as a narrative site in which to engage imaginatively and freely with her own interests in such concerns. In the realm of fiction, unfettered by gender, Wroth is free to stage and probe the chaotic and often contradictory views of her world's religio-political scene without the repercussions she could expect as a woman interested in the public, political realm.

I contend that, within the boundaries of *Urania*'s fictive world, the questions Wroth explores are many: How can the Protestant interpretation of engaging with divine "Word" as a means to insight and "salvation" be used to legitimate her own use of the fictional "word" to achieve insight in the political realm? If the goal of a unified Christendom is shared, how should that goal be fulfilled? Should James's pacific policies be sustained or should citizens be encouraged to resist or rebel actively against tyrannical forms of government? Why are the neostoic ideals of Constancy and world citizenship imperative to the success of international political union and how can such neostoicism be reconciled to Protestantism? As readers begin to evaluate these questions, they should note that Wroth, in order to answer the queries, focuses the heart of *Urania* on a unified and restored Holy Roman Empire, an empire that resembles the court of Emperor Maximilian II in whose court Philip Sidney was educated by Hubert Languet from 1573 to 1575.⁴ Meticulously, she stages a successful, albeit fictional, unification of a Christian

⁴The term "Holy Roman Empire" implied more than a geographic or political entity. The Peace of Augsburg in 1555 brought a temporary cessation to war in central Europe, and the Holy Roman Empire "entered a long period of consolidation and self definition" (Parente 6).

world and subtly evaluates James's failure to do so through pacific negotiation.⁵ In fact, upon close examination Wroth's *Urania* seems to explore two clear alternatives to King James's strategies.⁶ First, in order to achieve a peaceful and irenic Christian union, England must adopt the theories of intervention and resistance championed by Wroth's family; secondly, James and his ministers must change their focus from one of British recognition and glory (that is, James's glory as *Rex Pacificus*) and embrace the ideals of Constancy and world citizenship as advocated by yet another intimate of the Sidney Circle, Flemish scholar Justus Lipsius.

The Sidney Literary Heritage

A complete understanding of Lady Mary Sidney Wroth cannot be achieved without first recognizing the dynamics of family, personal, and court life that so influenced Wroth and her literary endeavors. Such knowledge enables the modern

Adopting a humanist curriculum, the imperial lands encouraged the "rise of new, practical methods for composition of poetry, the governance of a state, and the study of natural phenomena" (6). The imperial ideal, in which both Catholic and Protestant scholars pursued learning, appealed to those who desired to establish an irenic and educated European community. See Parente, Schade, and Shoolfield 1-11.

⁵Wroth's *Urania*, unlike other romances that are often set in a distant past and within a fictional setting, is quite accurate in its geography. Josephine Roberts's scholarly edition of *Urania* contains a map from George Sandys's *A Relation of a Journey begun An: Dom: 1610* (1615) and conjectures that Wroth models her own international landscape on its data. The geopolitical map that Wroth creates includes the countries of Greece, Italy, Albania, Morea (the medieval name for the Peloponnesus), Pamphilia (now part of Turkey), Bohemia, Hungary, and England, among others. For additional comments on the "recordable geopolitical history" of *Urania*, see Carrell 96.

⁶Elaine V. Beilin has argued that if readers "step back from the hundreds of characters and the thousands of events in the *Urania*, the images of dizzying activity and the unceasing shifts in location begin to resolve into one major theme: change" ("The Only Perfect Vertue" 231). While Beilin contends that the theme of change is applied to character psychology, "change" is also Wroth's goal in exploring religio-political controversies. She desires to inspire changes in both the course of political action and in the personal motivations for such pursuits.

scholar to appreciate the reasons why Wroth was interested in the controversies of James's rule, as well as why she viewed writing fiction as an appropriate vehicle for religious and political exploration. Recently the subject of renewed scholarly attention, Lady Mary Sidney Wroth was born to Robert and Barbara Gamage Sidney on October 18, 1587, though some scholars place her birth in 1586. Indeed the earlier year is somewhat romantic, for it places Wroth's birth on the day following her uncle Philip Sidney's death on October 17. Nonetheless, as Josephine Roberts points out, the later date is most likely correct since Robert Sidney's own letter of April 20, 1597, describes Mary as "almost ten" (qtd. in *Poems* 6). Often absent from his family, Robert Sidney served as Governor of Flushing from July 1589 until the summer of 1616, a governorship which served the reigns of both Elizabeth and James. In addition to his numerous diplomatic missions on the Continent, Robert was appointed Queen Anne's Chamberlain in 1603 and was part of the royal progress for King James's daughter Elizabeth and her husband Frederick, Elector Palatine, as they assumed the throne of Bohemia in 1619. Because of her father's political involvement, Wroth spent her early years living both in the various Sidney homes (predominately Penshurt, Baynard's Castle, and Wilton) and, on occasion, in the volatile environment of Flushing.⁷ Thus from an early age, Wroth was well aware of her

⁷P. J. Croft, editor of *The Poems of Robert Sidney*, suggests that Robert's long absences from his family were difficult both for himself and for his family. It seems that Flushing's susceptibility to the plague was one of the main reasons for the prolonged separations. A letter from Robert to Burghley on October 17, 1596, addresses the issue: "[H]eer hath bene great sicknes this end of summer, both of violent Agues, and bloody Fluxes, wherof many are dead, and very many remaine still sick: and now lately the plague is come into one house." Sixteen days earlier, he had written to his concerned wife that "I would not for anything in the world, that I had brought you over with me" for "The Commissaries children and Kennels are all sick and genrally all children heerabouts" (qtd. in Croft 64).

family's political involvement and gradually became involved herself in the pageantry, glories, and politics of the court.⁸

Wroth's courtly involvement began innocently at an early age. As a young girl, she danced for Queen Elizabeth during a progress visit to Penshurst, and later, after her marriage in 1604, she danced as one of Queen Anne's favorites in *The Masque of Blackness* (1605), which was designed by Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones; she also appeared three years later in *The Masque of Beauty*. Wroth is noted by many critics, including Michael Shapiro, as being "a close friend" to Queen Anne (188). Shapiro observes that not only did Wroth perform in Anne's masques, but that she also was most likely present during the Christmas revelries of 1604-5 and 1607-8; during these times Wroth would have been able to see twenty-one and nineteen plays, respectively. Among these plays were those of the King's Men who in 1604-5 performed *Othello*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Measure for Measure*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Henry V*, *Love's Labor's Lost*, and *Everyman In His Humor* (Shapiro 188). In addition to her exposure to such dramatic performances, Wroth herself was well known by the playwrights of the court circle, and this intimacy most likely influenced her own writing endeavors, both of her romance and of her one drama, *Love's Victorie*. As evidence of Wroth's presence among the court's literary circle, it is interesting to note that Ben Jonson acknowledged gratitude to Wroth by dedicating *The Alchemist* to her in 1610. Later in Jonson's *Epigrams* (1616), two

⁸ For more detailed biographical information, see Roberts, *The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth* 3-40 and Introduction to *Urania* xviii-xcvi; Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* 243-251; and Waller, *The Sidney Family Romance*.

poems pay homage to Lady Mary. Number CIII celebrates Wroth's embodiment of the

Sidney heritage:

How well, fair crown of your fair sex, might he
 That but the twilight of your sprite did see,
 And noted for what flesh such souls were framed,
 Know you to be a Sidney, though unnamed?
 And being named, how little doth that name
 Need any Muse's praise to give it fame?
 Which is itself the impresse of the great,
 And glory of them all, but to repeat! (1-8)

Augmenting this veneration of Wroth's Sidney heritage, Jonson also suggests in Epigram
 CV that, even apart from her family name, Wroth still contains all virtues needed to
 create perfection:

Madam, had all antiquity been lost,
 All history sealed up, and fables crost,
 That we had left us, nor by time nor place,
 Least mention of a Nymph, a Muse, a Grace,
 But even their names were to be made anew,
 Who could not but create them all from you?

So are you Nature's Index, and restore,
 In yourself, all treasures lost of the age before. (1-6; 19-20)

Jonson obviously held Wroth in high esteem as a woman and as a Sidney, yet he also offers praise to Wroth as a writer or poet. In *Underwoods*, Jonson declares that “Since I exscribe your sonnets, [I] am become / A better lover and much better poet” (XLVII, 3-4).⁹ Ultimately, Mary Sidney Wroth was a woman whose literary pursuits were recognized and appreciated by many around her.¹⁰

In addition to the influence of court politics and pageantry, the legacy of her uncle Philip Sidney stimulated Wroth’s literary and political endeavors. Wroth was raised hearing the romantic depictions of Sir Philip’s sacrificial death on a foreign battlefield following years of frustrating yet committed service to a “formidable [and] emasculating queen” (McCoy x).¹¹ Despite such romantic idealism, however, Wroth also surely recognized that her uncle was much more than just another courtier and certainly more than a sacrificial lamb to the wars of the early modern period. Philip Sidney was a man deeply committed to and highly torn between two abiding passions: his devotion to the Protestant cause and his determination that poetic art could function as an additional weapon in the crusade of Protestant politics. Though aware of those who held the arts

⁹The nineteenth-century critic Frederick J. Fleay suggested that Mary Wroth was actually the Celia of Jonson’s poems and thus his interest in Wroth was of a more intimate nature (327-28). It seems more likely that Jonson desired to enhance his connections with the Sidney-Herbert family and with William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke.

¹⁰For an account of tributes to Wroth, see Roberts, *Poems* 16-22. Also of interest is Joshua Sylvester’s elegy for William Sidney, Wroth’s brother who died in 1612. Addressing Wroth’s parents, Sylvester admits that his attempts at poetic consolation will not match those of which their daughter is capable: “Although I know None, but a Sidney’s Muse, / Worthy to sing a Sidney’s Worthyness: / None but Your Owne, AL-WORTH, Sidneides, / In whom, Her Uncle’s noble Veine renews” (qtd. in Croft, *The Poems of Robert Sidney* 2).

¹¹Robert Sidney was knighted after the battle on October 7, 1586, and was with his brother at Arnheim during his fatal illness from gangrene. Philip Sidney died October 17, 1586, leaving his Robert as head of the Sidney family. See Croft 42-48.

with suspicion and apprehension, Sidney still desired to demonstrate that art, especially poetry, could serve his religious and political causes. In fact, he was confident that poetry could actually accomplish what polemic could not--offer criticism of political objectives and incite men to virtuous action. It is this legacy, which embraces the efficacy of art to address religio-political controversy, that Wroth inherited by reading her uncle's writings--especially the *Defense of Poesy* and the romance *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*. Family letters substantiate that Lady Mary was often with her aunt, Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, as she supervised the publication of Sidney's works, including *The New Arcadia* (Hannay, "Your vertuous" 23).

It may appear incongruous that a man so dedicated to political theories of an active and utilitarian nature would pursue literary endeavors, and admittedly, Sidney states in his prefatory letter to the Countess of Pembroke that *Arcadia* is not meant "for severer eyes . . . being but a trifle, and that triflingly handled" (57). Such disregard, however, should not be taken at face value, for as Edwin A. Greenlaw insisted many years ago, "[It] was a point of honor among gentlemen writers in that age to affect contempt for their literary works" (329). Moreover, the discovery of an earlier manuscript (*The Old Arcadia*) in 1907 reveals that Sidney was conducting a "thorough and radical revision," proof, it would seem, that he did indeed take his fiction seriously (Greenlaw 330).¹² Ultimately, in his fiction, Sidney aestheticizes politics in hopes that his writing will not merely encourage the contemplation of political issues but will actively

¹²For the relationship between the two *Arcadias* and discussion of what Sidney attempts in the revision, see Skretkovicz, Introduction to *The New Arcadia* liii-lxxxii; Hamilton 123-174; Roberts, *Architectonic Knowledge in the New Arcadia*; Lawry 154-289; Levine; and Lindheim.

recruit, mold, and inspire the Protestant leaders needed to establish both a unified Christian church and a unified European political landscape. Assuredly he could have written yet another polemic regarding Protestant politics, but quite simply, and quite purposefully, he did not. Why? Perhaps Sidney too often witnessed the swift punishment of those who delivered staunch political criticism through published polemic--men such as John Stubb (unfortunately a prophetic name) whose 1579 tract, *The Discoverie of a gaping gulf whereinto England is like to be swallowed by another French mariage, if the Lord forbid not the banes by letting her majestie see the sin and punishment thereof*, so offended Elizabeth that he was sentenced to have his right hand chopped off. Elizabeth declared that Stubb's "lewd, seditious book" had been "rashly compiled and secretly printed and afterwards seditiously dispersed" (Stubb 148).¹³ Sidney did not desire similar condemnation or punishment, and though he wrote a letter to Elizabeth persuading her against the marriage, he did not publish a public invective against his queen. Instead, Sidney believed that art and poetry could serve as legitimate and powerful agents for Protestant political statement and action.¹⁴

Though Mary Sidney Wroth embraced her uncle's literary convictions, she was most intimately influenced by her aunt and godmother, Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, who became a revered patron of Protestant poets at her home, Wilton,

¹³For a discussion of the public nature of Stubb's *A Gaping Gulf* and contemporary comments on its seditious nature, see Lloyd E. Berry, Introduction to *John Stubb's Gaping Gulf* ix-lxi.

¹⁴For critical studies that explore the political nature of Sidney's writing, see Edward Berry 305-320; Briggs 137-61; Herman 61-121; McCoy; Norbrook 91-108; Raitiere; Sinfield 259-77; Weiner; Stillman 795-814; and Worden.

following her beloved brother's death. Having received what Margaret P. Hannay deems an "outstanding education," Mary Sidney Herbert not only served as patron to Protestant poets but also became a respected translator and poet herself (*The Collected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert* 3). Mary Herbert and her Wilton estate were celebrated by writers such as Nicholas Breton who compared her to the "Duchess of Urbina," the esteemed patroness in Castiglione's *The Courtier* (Hannay, *CWMSH* 13). John Aubrey declared that the Countess and Wilton resembled an academy: "In her time Wilton House was like a College, there were so many learned and ingeniose persons. She was the greatest patronesse of witt and learning of any lady in her time" (I. 311). In addition to her status as writer and patron, Mary Herbert is considered by many to be the inspirational mentor to her "beloved niece" and god-daughter (Hannay, *CWMSH* 3; "Your vertuous" 16). Family records reveal that, during Wroth's formative years while her father served on the Continent, Lady Mary was often with her aunt at the various Sidney and Pembroke estates where she could observe the political and religious discussions of her aunt's "court" or "college," discussions often inspired by the letters Robert sent his sister regarding the state of Continental affairs (Hannay, "Your vertuous" 23).¹⁵

¹⁵An insight by Croft sheds additional light on why Mary Wroth's education was entrusted to her aunt. Croft's studies suggest that Barbara Gamage Sidney "never achieved fluency with the pen" and that her illiteracy led to Robert's "anxiety lest his growing family should suffer as a result of their beloved mother's lack of education" (77). Several of Robert's letters to and from Rowland Whyte reveal Robert's desire that his children be well-educated. Whyte's letter of February 9, 1599/1600 assures Robert that his children "are kept at ther bookes, they dance, they sing, they play on the lute, and are carefully kept unto it" (qtd. in Croft 52). Earlier, in 1595, Whyte had praised Mary's progress: "God bless her, she is very forward in her learning, writing, and other exercises she is put to, as dawncing and the virginalls" (52). Certainly, having a sister as educated as Mary Sidney Herbert was a comfort to Robert who desired that his children be educated in the Sidney custom.

During these visits, Wroth had the opportunity to study her aunt's own literary accomplishments, including the translations of key Protestant texts such as Philippe de Mornay's *A Discourse of Life and Death*, her paraphrase of the *Psalmes*, and her translation of Robert Garnier's *Antonius*, which influenced the English revival of Senecan neostoicism and political drama. Taking fierce pride in her position as a Sidney and as a patron of Protestant literati, Mary Herbert indeed "contributed to the flowering of English verse her brother had longed to see" and transplanted Continental genres "to support the Protestant cause" (Hannay, *CWMSH* 21, 24). Ultimately, engaging with the works of her uncle and of her aunt led Mary Wroth to embrace the family's conviction that literary force could further one's religio-political goals in England and abroad. Mirroring the pursuits of her family, Wroth's own literary endeavors were neither slight nor inconsequential. She composed the first sonnet sequence in English by a woman, *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* (1621); wrote one of the first plays by a woman, *Love's Victorie* (first published 1988); and published the first work of fiction by an Englishwoman, *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* (1621; first modern edition 1995). Additionally, when her *Urania* was removed from circulation after only six months, Wroth went on to write the *Second Part of Urania* which has recently been published for the first time (1999).

The Sidney Circle: Religio-political Convictions and Controversies

Raised to embrace her Sidneian literary heritage, Wroth, from an early age, also fostered interests in the political convictions served by her Protestant family. Her uncle had been a preeminent and fervent figure for the Protestant cause in Europe, although his

career has been deemed by some scholars, such as Richard McCoy, as one of “noble failure” (9). It is true that Philip Sidney was consistently frustrated by Queen Elizabeth’s refusal to support a Protestant League and war on the Continent.¹⁶ However, despite the later years of frustration, Sidney’s youth was one of political promise. On May 25, 1572, Queen Elizabeth granted a license to “her trusty and well-beloved Philip Sidney Esq. to go out of England into parts beyond the sea” (qtd. in Osborn 27). During this continental sojourn, Sir Philip visited and studied in Paris, Vienna, Venice, Padua, the Rhineland, and the Netherlands, meeting along the way the most influential leaders and scholars of his time. Also during these travels, Sidney began to embrace the convictions that would shape his religio-political aspirations and those that continued to inspire the Sidneys after his death. In fact, one can distinguish three factors that had perhaps the most profound effect on Sidney’s developing religio-political views during his travels: the Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre of 1572, the Viennese court of Maximilian II, and the teachings of Philip Melanchthon and his disciple Hubert Languet. All three helped to establish Sidney’s desire for a unified Christian Europe and his willingness to use force to achieve this goal. Importantly, as we shall examine in the following chapters, these convictions also inspired the religio-political explorations of Lady Mary Sidney Wroth.

¹⁶A letter written on March 24, 1586 to his father-in-law, Sir Francis Walsingham, reveals Sidney’s frustration with Elizabeth and with her religio-political policies abroad: “If her Majesty wear the fowntain I woold fear considring what I daily fynd that we shold wax dry, but she is but a means whom God useth and I know not whether I am deceaved but I am faithfully persuaded that if she shold withdraw her self other springes woold ryse to help this action. For me thinks I see the great work indeed in hand, against the abusers of the world [Catholic extremists]” (Sidney, *Prose Works* 166-7).

What did Philip Sidney observe during his European travels that eventually influenced his niece's romance a generation later? Philip Sidney had been in Europe only a few months when he witnessed the horror of Paris's Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572. Appalled by the violence they believed had been perpetuated by Tridentine Catholic extremists (the de Medicis), a group of Protestant intellectuals began to revivify theories of active resistance advocated earlier in the 1530's by the Lutheran Schmalkaldic League. This early Protestant league had been formed to combat imperial attempts to suppress forcibly the Lutheran church, but while its members were committed to defending their faith, they wanted to avoid general revolt of the populace; therefore, the Schmalkaldic League limited the right of revolt to "inferior magistrates"--noble representatives of the people (Kingdon 202). After Martin Luther's death and after a series of battles, the imperial government abandoned its attempts to suppress Lutheranism in 1555, and the resulting Peace of Augsburg ended attempts of forced religious unity in the Empire (202). The peace ensured that both Catholic and Lutheran principalities, led by their inferior magistrates, could choose their desired form of worship.

With this example of successful resistance in mind, the men who observed the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre purposefully merged such religious with political resistance to combat the growing threat of Tridentine Catholicism against Europe's governments. The men, dubbed "monarchomachs," thus advocated resistance and intervention for religio-political purposes and added an international dimension by suggesting that neighboring princes (magistrates) could lawfully rescue persons subjected to a tyrant (Kingdon 213). Like those of the Schmalkaldic League, the early tenets of

Protestant monarchomachist theory insisted that individuals have the right to ban together under a leader, a subaltern magistrate, to overthrow tyrannical rulers. Still, the early monarchomachs, men such as Francois Hotman, Theodore Beza, Philippe de Mornay, Philip Melanchthon, and Hubert Languet, were not, as their name suggests, “king-fighters.” The group did not seek to abolish kingship. Instead, this group opposed only kingship that degenerates into tyrannical absolutism. It insisted the law to be a supreme contract between the ruler and his subjects; authority to be derived from a sovereign community; and resistance, carefully led by another prince or magistrate, to be necessary if a ruler oppresses his people or breaks the law (Raitier 56). An oppressed people should be led by this other prince or nobleman, the subaltern magistrate, who must willingly and selflessly fight for the people’s interest. This subaltern magistrate must assist and lead the resistance “without any selfish desire of annexing territory” or any ambition of gaining personal position (Briggs 143). In other words, the subaltern magistrate must be willing to take on the responsibility of usurpation humbly and cede control to the proper ruler once order is established.

As he continued his travels on the continent, Philip Sidney became increasingly aware of these evolving theories of resistance and intervention. Ironically, he encountered the growing belief that such militancy might have to precede peaceful, unified rule in the irenic court of Maximilian II in Vienna (ruled 1564-1576). As Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian was attempting to unite the lands under his control by adamantly working for peace among the warring religio-political factions of his court. In his fine study *The Quest for Compromise: Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna*,

Howard Louthan points out that when asked to declare allegiance either to the Catholic or Lutheran faith, "Maximilian responded that he considered himself neither a Protestant nor a Catholic but a Christian" (87).¹⁷ Maximilian's court does indeed appear to be one that attempted to establish a unity amongst Catholics and Protestants. Still, as James M. Osborn suggests, "in the perspective of history Maximilian was born too early to realize his ideals" (98). The Emperor wished to fulfill his dictum *Da Pacem patriae* (give the country peace) but was hindered because he attempted to do so in a world of both Catholic and Protestant extremists (98).

Philip Sidney observed Maximilian's attempts at confessional unity and tolerance as the Emperor surrounded himself with intellectuals from both confessional parties. With the help of his trusted (and Catholic) advisor Caspar von Nidbruck, Maximilian welcomed many Protestants to his court, including the physician Johannes Crato von Crafftheim, botanist Charles de l'Ecluse, and Dutch humanist and imperial librarian Hugo Blotius (Osborn 99). It was also in Maximilian's Viennese court that Sidney fostered the most intimate and influential relationship forged during his Continental travels--that with the Burgundian humanist Hubert Languet. Languet (1518-81) was affiliated with sixteenth-century theories of rebellion and resistance and spent much of his political career as a roaming diplomat for the Protestant cause throughout Europe. He has often been deemed as the writer of the monarchomachist tract *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*, and

¹⁷Maximilian was criticized for his pursuits into irenicism. Critics of the irenicists insisted that they were "half Lutheran, half Catholic crossbreeds" and "religious weathercocks who turned freely in the fickle wind of confessional change" (Louthan 128). Howard Louthan powerfully suggests that with Maximilian's funeral service, one can view the precise moment when irenicism was squelched by Tridentine Catholicism. See Louthan 133.

though his recent biographer, Beatrice Nicollier-De Weck, contends that he did not write the *Vindiciae*,¹⁸ Languet unarguably explored and was linked to the resistance theories that so influenced young Sidney.¹⁹ Languet perhaps first became acquainted with Sidney through Sidney's father-in-law, Sir Francis Walsingham, whom he met when both were ambassadors in Paris in 1571-72 (Worden 51). Languet was serving the Lutheran Prince Augustus of Saxony, while Walsingham served Elizabeth, and Blair Worden suggests that Walsingham may have arranged for Sidney to be tutored by Languet. In any event, Sidney and Languet developed a deep respect for each other and shared a common belief that international Protestantism was in danger to both Catholic and Protestant extremists. Both men were torn because they desired Christian unity but were also willing to advocate force when necessary to achieve it.

In the end, Maximilian's irenic ideals (like those of James and the Sidneys) could not defeat the natures of Catholic and Protestant extremists, and eventually military resistance became a recognized necessity for any permanent reconciliation between the various confessions. Still, despite its failed attempts at unity, Maximilian's court did figure a powerful image of the hope and potential for a unified Christian Europe, and,

¹⁸Most critics believe that *Vindiciae* is in some form a collaboration between Languet and Philippe Duplessis-Mornay. For discussions on the authorship of *Vindiciae*, see Nicollier-de Weck 465-87; Worden 53-55; and Franklin 39-46.

¹⁹Perhaps one of the most interesting references to Languet's association with theories of resistance and rebellion is found in Sidney's *Arcadia*. The shepherd Philisides (Philip Sidney) sings a song "old Languet had me taught" (429, line 1). Reminiscing on his days as a shepherd on Ister bank (the Danube in Vienna, site of Maximilian's court), Philisides explores Languet's teachings regarding the potential tyranny of kingship. The beast fable warns that tyrannical kings "will think all things made them to please" (480, line 15). In the end, the ruled must "Deem it no glorie to swell in tyranny" and instead must "in patience bide your hell, / Or know your strengths, and then you shall do well" (482, line 13, 17-18).

thanks in part to the court, Sir Philip Sidney became a symbol of the subaltern magistrate who could help to achieve this goal. As Edward Berry reveals, Languet openly regarded Sidney as the potential future leader of a unified, European Protestantism (307). In Languet's mind, Sidney's vocation was political, for Sidney's character and "virtue may prove the salvation of [him] and [his] country" (3/5/1574).²⁰ Thus he insisted that Sidney concentrate on an education that would prepare him for his divinely sanctioned role as a leader of the international Protestant movement. In a letter of 1574, Languet admonishes that

God has bestowed mental powers on you which I do not believe have fallen to anyone else I know, and he has done so not for you to abuse them in exploring vanities at a great risk, but for you to put them in the service of your country, and of all good men. (6/11/1574)

Languet was not alone in viewing the young Englishman as the hope for future religious and political stability. The "gifted conciliator" and Protestant military leader William of Orange was so impressed by the young man that he suggested a marriage alliance between Sidney and his daughter (Osborn 491). Though the marriage alliance fell through, perhaps due to Elizabeth's fear that "her young diplomat intended to commit

²⁰I will henceforward identify the letters by date and quote from Charles S. Levy's translation in *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet, 1573-1576*. Readers without access to this dissertation can find many letters in the collections of Steuart A. Pears and James M. Osborn.

England to a policy she and Burghley could not approve of" (Howell 40), the offer does reveal the high opinion held of Sidney by many of Europe's Protestant elite.²¹

Returning to England, then, in 1575, Sidney figured a powerful, if not dangerous image. On the one hand, he had been intimately involved in a court that openly invited cross-confessional study. Rumors that Sidney had befriended Catholics of the court had, as Osborn points out, "caused Walsingham to write to Languet for reassurance" (294). Languet informed Sidney "that your countrymen have begun to have some suspicions about your piety because you lived in Venice too intimately with those who profess a faith hostile to yours" (3/10/1575). Indeed, though a staunch advocate for the religious freedoms afforded by Protestantism, Sidney was not, as James Osborn notes, a "rabid antipapist" (507).²² It was the destructive potential of extreme, Tridentine Catholicism, which Sidney believed denied men an active and autonomous communion with God, that Sidney abhorred, not the individual confessors whom he viewed as being suppressed and victimized by the Papacy and by papal-controlled tyrants like the de Medicis. The simple truth is that for the remainder of his life, Sidney would maintain contact with Catholic

²¹A marriage to Orange's daughter would have conferred on Sidney the aristocratic status necessary for him to act as a subaltern magistrate, even as an independent prince for the Protestant cause.

²²Osborn comments on the misapprehension that Sidney hated all Catholics: "Lest this give the impression that Sidney was a rabid antipapist, it should be noted that although Sidney was dedicated to defeating the designs of the Holy League, he had many friends who were practising Catholics, men he had known in Venice and Vienna. . . . Indeed, during his Italian sojourn Walsingham had heard rumors that Sidney had become 'soft on Catholicism' and in 1577 Campion had hoped for his conversion. . . . [Sidney even] acted as intermediary in the purchase of three million acres in America from Sir Humphrey Gilbert's 'Commonwealth,' land he then sold to Sir George Peckham, a prominent Catholic. This transaction . . . was to enable Peckham, Sir Thomas Gerrard and others to establish a colony in America where members of their faith could find refuge and freedom to practise their religion" (507).

scholars such as Justus Lipsius whose advocacy of neostoic Constancy and world citizenship so influenced him and his niece a generation later.²³

Still, Sidney was a staunch advocate for a Protestant League against the Tridentine forces on the continent. Elizabeth herself recognized both his position and his reputation on the continent, and it is no small matter that Elizabeth sent Philip to the Imperial court to represent England upon Maximilian II's death in 1576. Though Elizabeth's instructions to Philip contend that his purpose is to

lett [the courts] understand how much we lament the death of their late father a prince as well affected to the Cause of Religion, so careful for the conservacon of the libertie of the Empire and so good & faithfull a friende towards us[,]²⁴

the objective of his mission was really to "explore the possibilities of forming a Protestant League to oppose future aggression by the Pope and the Kings of Spain and France" (Osborn 450). Sidney's mission was deemed a success and shortly after his return to England a document was created that proposed a Protestant League--a league that never came to fruition and a league for whose ideal Philip Sidney died years later on a foreign battlefield in Zutphen. Thus, this "paragon of Protestant chivalry" (Osborn 516)

²³It is interesting that Justus Lipsius was not only intimate with the Sidney Circle but with the court of Maximilian II as well. Lipsius dedicated his edition of Tacitus's *Opera Omnia* to the Emperor: "In this work let each reader consider prince's courts, the inner life of the princes, their policies, commands and deeds, and let him anticipate (since the likeness to our times is obvious) the same result from the causes" (qtd. in Louthan 64). Lipsius's neostoic ideals were easily married to Maximilian's court, for as Gerhard Oestreich has claimed, neostoicism was "an international spiritual and intellectual movement which was able to cross the boundaries of the conflicting confessions and so create a neutral base" (8).

²⁴Cited in Osborn 525.

bequeathed to his family a complicated, often misunderstood, and always paradoxical set of convictions that celebrate the spiritual freedoms of Protestantism, foster the desire for an ideal, irenic peace, and yet unapologetically advocate a willingness to wage war to achieve such peace.

After Philip's death, Wroth's father, Robert, picked up the mantle of political activism and was appointed governor of Flushing in July 1589. Perhaps more careful in his diplomacy than his zealous brother, Robert served both Elizabeth and James on numerous missions: to the court of Henri IV in France (1594), in Flushing throughout the 1590s, and to Bohemia with James's daughter Elizabeth and her husband Frederick as they assumed the throne (1618).²⁵ Such activity interested the growing Mary Wroth, and, in her youth, she traveled to Flushing to visit her father and to observe the affairs in which he was involved; an early indication of her interest, she even went so far as to suggest which soldiers she observed deserved promotion (Hannay, "Your vertuous" 25). Further, as *Urania's* editor, Josephine Roberts, notes, Wroth corresponded with Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador to The Hague, about political events and then shared her knowledge with others such as Lady Anne Clifford who declared in her diary of 1619 that Wroth "told me a great deal of news from beyond the sea" (76-77). Wroth was, as Margaret Hannay concludes, "witty, articulate, cognizant of Continental literature, active in politics, and proud of [her] Sidney heritage" ("Your vertuous" 18)--including the religio-political heritage established by her uncle, aunt, and father.

²⁵See Croft ix-xi.

Wroth's political interests also appear to have been stimulated by an intimate relationship with her first cousin William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke. In 1604, Mary Sidney Wroth had married Robert Wroth, one of King James's hunting partners, and as her husband's relationship with James developed, Mary Wroth eventually became, as mentioned, one of Queen Anne's favorites.²⁶ The marriage, however, was not noted as a necessarily happy one. In fact, shortly after the marriage Robert Sidney wrote to his wife of a meeting with Robert Wroth:

Heer I found my son [in law] Wroth, come up as hee tells me to despatch some business, and wil be againe at Penshurst on Fryday. I finde by him that there was some what that doth discontent him: but the particulars I could not get out of him, onely that hee protests that hee cannot take any exceptions to his wife, nor her carriage to him.

(qtd. in Roberts, *Poems* 12)

It may be that Lady Mary missed the court and its literary circles; her husband, after all, appears to have had little interest in literary pursuits. Perhaps, also, the strains associated with hosting James's hunting excursions caused tensions in the marriage. On the other hand, Lady Mary appears to have made the best of this fact. Knowing that Loughton would pass to her should Robert die, Wroth wisely provided for its renovation by writing

²⁶Robert Wroth's relationship with King James as hunting partner adds to the public legends that claim that James's hunting jeopardized his reign. Derek Hirst points out that "James's hunting could disrupt business. His anxiety to be free of politics for the chase bred weak royal control over the administration and a dangerous treachery--which brought disaster at the end of 1621 parliament--for the king to be fifty miles of bad roads away from events" (97). Such political inconstancy no doubt influenced Mary Wroth's interest in Lipsian ideals regarding the necessity of both personal and political constancy in achieving success.

to Queen Anne and declaring that Loughton Hall was “soe olde, and in decaye as itt’s likely every day to fall doune” (qtd. in Roberts, *Poems* 14). As Josephine Roberts reveals, because Wroth tapped into the Queen’s concern for her husband’s safety, “By June 30, 1612, the manor house was, according to an official description, ‘new built’” (14). Others also seem to have recognized the tenuous nature of her marriage, for even Ben Jonson declared to William Drummond that “my Lady wroth is unworthily married on a Jealous husband” (*Conversations with Drummond* I. 143) Still, despite the marriage’s less than ideal state, Wroth’s relationship with the court continued.

However, after her husband’s death in 1614, Wroth’s ties with the court were broken, most likely because of her unsanctioned relationship with Pembroke, to whom Wroth is believed to have borne two children, Catherine and William.²⁷ The relationship is one that continued for several years to varying degrees of intensity. Although Pembroke married in 1604, he was associated with several female courtiers, including his first cousin, Lady Mary. Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon, later asserted that Pembroke was highly attracted to Wroth’s “advantages of the mind, as manifested extraordinary wit, and spirit, and knowledge, and administered great pleasure in the conversations” (73). The son of Wroth’s beloved aunt, Pembroke was also the leader of a Protestant, staunchly anti-Catholic contingent of courtiers, a contingent that believed it

²⁷Wroth’s situation after her husband’s death was quite precarious, for when her infant son died only two years after his father, Wroth was left without means of claiming her husband’s inheritance that then fell into the hands of Robert’s uncle, John Wroth. Records indicate that from 1623 onward, Wroth was forced to obtain a yearly royal order of protection against her creditors, and that, despite family offers of assistance, Lady Mary insisted on handling the matter herself. See Swift, “Feminine Identity in Lady Mary Wroth’s Romance *Urania*” 340-342.

was continuing Philip Sidney's earlier call for English support of militant Continental Protestantism.²⁸ Historian Derek Hirst suggests that Pembroke was the "greatest patron of the 1620's" and a crucial force in the foreign policy debates of the time, often supporting policies, such as the restoration of Elizabeth's union with the Dutch against Spain, that conspicuously conflicted with King James's own pacific desires for reconciliation among the powers of Europe (38). It is not far-fetched to contend that one of the many topics of "great pleasure [in Pembroke and Wroth's] conversation" was that of the Protestant cause in Europe and Pembroke's frustration with his king's pacificism--especially since Pembroke was aware that Lady Mary had been educated in such matters by his own mother.

The pride and loyalty Wroth harbored for her family (including her lover, Pembroke) and for its willingness to advocate force in achieving Christendom's unification inevitably intersected and challenged James's goal of unification through compromise and his unwillingness to engage in military rebellion or resistance. As tensions on the continent escalated, Wroth looked back into recent history, both that of Europe and of her family, and recognized that James's attempts at peace reflected the spirit of compromise that was the hallmark of Emperor Maximilian II whose court had so

²⁸Though Philip Sidney staunchly advocated the formation of a Protestant League and Church both in England and abroad, he harbored no blind hatred for Catholics and, in fact, corresponded intimately with Catholic scholars throughout his life. He did, however, hold deep enmity for Tridentine or extreme Catholicism such as that he had witnessed during the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. This differentiation will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two that explores the Sidney concept of a unified Christian Europe and Church, but for the moment one must recognize that Sidney's differentiation between Catholic confessors was not one always shared by more immoderate Protestants such as Pembroke.

influenced her famous uncle. Thus, as she began to write *Urania* on the eve of the Thirty Years War, Wroth creates her own image of a unified Holy Roman Empire in order to evaluate both James's and Maximilian's failed attempts at such peaceful union. She, too, contends that extremists in both confessional camps are preventing a genuine state of cooperative peace, and interestingly, just as Maximilian avoided confessional labels by declaring himself a "Christian," Wroth's *Urania* identifies neither Catholics nor Protestants, only Christians and pagans.²⁹ Still, what is most compelling about Wroth is that she does not limit her exploration to the ideal of irenicism or Christendom's unification but instead attempts to analyze, through fiction, why attempts toward such a union have failed and what alternative policies might have prevented failure. Later chapters, therefore, will evaluate how Wroth not only reflects upon Maximilian's earlier attempts at Christian union and irenic compromise as they parallel those of James, but moreover how she explores the possible reasons such attempts have failed. Ultimately, *Urania* can be advanced as the Sidney family challenge to the failed religio-political policies of the early seventeenth century.

The Publication and Reception of Urania

It is inside this Jacobean world of religio-political controversies that *Urania* was born and still needs to be interpreted; it is in this fictive Uranian world that Wroth embraces her Sidney voice and explores the theories that her family saw as means to achieving a unified Christian Europe. In previous studies, the text has been explored

²⁹When Amphilanthus is crowned Holy Roman Emperor in *Urania*, it is not only the nobility and commons who celebrate his ascension but the Church and Pope, who "with great pompe and joy conducted him to the chiefe Church to give thanks" (*Urania* 463).

insightfully on many levels. Entered into the Stationers' Register on July 13, 1621, *Urania* almost immediately inspired questions from its audience regarding Wroth's purpose for writing the romance. For example, from its earliest reception, the romance was viewed as *roman a clef*; almost immediately *Urania* was subjected to public outcry by the nobles who felt Wroth was ridiculing aspects of their lives and conduct.

Convinced that Wroth was offering a vindictive *roman a clef*, John Chamberlain insisted that Wroth "takes great libertie or rather license to traduce whom she please, and thincks she daunces in a net" (Roberts, "An Unpublished" 532). Even more critical if not livid was Edward Denny, Earl of Norwich's accusation that, in the Uranian story of Seralius, Wroth was disrespectfully criticizing the treatment of his daughter Honora after her alleged adultery against Lord James Hay; supposedly Denny had threatened to end his daughter's life (533). Denny sent Wroth a bitter, poetic invective entitled "To Pamphilia from the father-in-law of Seralius":

Hermophradite in show, in deed a monster

As by thy words and works all men may conster

Thy wrathful spite conceived an Idell book

Brought forth a foole which like the damme doth look

Wherein thou strikes at some mans noble blood.

.....

Thus has thou made thy self a lying wonder

Fooles and their Bables seldome part asunder

Work o th' Workes leave idle bookes alone

For wise and worthy women have written none. (1-5; 23-26)³⁰

In a later letter dated February 26, 1622, Denny insists that “all the world condemns” her “vain” book and admonishes Wroth to repent by following her aunt’s example: “[You] may redeeme the tym with writing as large a volume of heavenly layes and holy love as you have so lascivious tales and amorous toyes that at the last you may followe the rare, and pious example of your vertuous and learned Aunt [The Countess of Pembroke]” (qtd. in Roberts, *Poems* 238-39). Denny apparently failed to recognize that even her “vertuous and learned Aunt” had created literature and supported that of others which she believed would bolster the Protestant cause both in England and on the Continent.³¹

Faced with such seething objections, Wroth adamantly denied that her romance mirrored either Lord Denny or his son-in-law in a clever poetic retort, an inversion of Denny’s own poem:

Hirmophradite in sense in Art a monster
 As by your railing rimes the world may conster
 Your spiteful words against a harmless booke
 Shows that an ass much like the sire doth looke

³⁰Elizabeth Hanson notes in “Boredom and Whoredom: Reading Renaissance Women’s Sonnet Sequences” that behind Denny’s use of the term “hermaphrodite” is the “ideologeme of chastity, silence and obedience which . . . made every female act of writing potentially transgressive sexual display” (179). Wroth’s very act of writing is by implication unfeminine and potentially dangerous both to herself and to her readers.

³¹Another compelling aspect of this feud between Denny and Wroth, pointed out by Josephine Roberts, is that the Sidney family papers contain an account of a brutal quarrel between Lord Hay and Wroth’s youngest brother, Robert Sidney. Robert claimed he did not know the cause of the quarrel, and thus “Perhaps the final episode in 1621 had some influence on Mary Wroth’s decision to expose the volatile nature of Hay and his father-in-law” (“An Unpublished Literary Quarrel” 533).

Men truly noble fear not touch of blood

.....

Thus you have made your self a lying wonder

Fooles and their pastimes should not part asunder

Take this then now lett railing rimes alone

For wise and worthie men have written none. (1-6; 23-26)

Still, despite her insistence that she was not guilty of “offence,” Wroth did “[cause] the sale of [the books] to bee forbidden, and the books left to bee shut up,” as revealed in her letter to the Duke of Buckingham dated December 15, 1621 (qtd. in Roberts, *Poems* 236).³² Throughout her life, Wroth continued to insist that her text was never meant to function as *roman a clef*; in fact, twenty years after the publication when asked for a “key” to her fiction by George Manners, Wroth adamantly asserted that no such key could or ever did exist (Carrell 87).³³

³²The long held view that Wroth withdrew her text from sale and circulation has recently been challenged by Rosalind Smith. She claims that “no evidence exists to suggest that . . . [Wroth’s letter seeking] the text’s withdrawal from sale resulted in the text’s suppression” (Smith 411). To claim that Wroth’s voice was suppressed is therefore erroneous, for “no record [exists] of James I’s issue of a warrant to that effect” (411). Ultimately, Wroth’s retort to Denny can be reevaluated as “only a skirmish” to which Wroth offered a response (413). Her response did not suppress her voice or manuscript but instead moved her defense “from the level of private correspondence to wider circles of manuscript circulation” (413).

³³Manners’s letter of May 31, 1640 does not identify Lady Mary Wroth by name but does mention “your Urania”: “Noble Cosin, Calling to remembrance the favor you once did me in the sight of a Manuscrip you shewed me in your study att Banerds Castell And heere meetinge with your Urania I make bold to send this enclosed and begg a favor from you that I may read with more delight. If you please to interprete unto me the names as heere I have begunn them, wherein you shall much oblige me” (qtd. in Roberts, *Poems* 244-5). Despite the continual desire to view the manuscript as *roman a clef*, however, no one has discovered an “authorial key” that clearly identifies references to actual persons (Roberts, *Poems* 29).

Contemporary critics have continued to explore *Urania* has a *roman a clef* in which Wroth attempts to justify her life and her life choices, as well as to comment on Jacobean court intrigue. For instance, Gary Waller approaches the text by analyzing it as a Freudian “family romance” and by investigating how, through fiction, Wroth explores first the dynamics of her familial and love relationships and then “assert[s] herself against the dominant forces of her culture”--both the court and the Sidney patriarchy (*The Sidney Family Romance* 20). Jennifer Lee Carrell also embraces the *roman a clef* classification by suggesting that *Urania* can be viewed as a “fantasia of endless variations upon her basic *factual* story; weaving fact and fantasy into an inseparable web, she uses the *Urania* to tell and retell the story of her love affair” with Pembroke (89). Indeed, it is quite evident that glimpses of Wroth’s biographical situation can be identified in several Uranian story lines: Limena and Perissus, Ollorandus and Melasinda, Dolorindus and Melinea, and Pamphilia and Amphilanthus. Nevertheless, active engagement with *Urania* consistently reveals that the issues explored by Wroth move well beyond the purely personal and private realms.

Still another group of critics offers thoughtful analyses of *Urania* as the tool with which Wroth rebels against patriarchal forces and searches for identity as a “woman writing.” Carolyn Ruth Swift, insisting that Wroth’s life was one of educational disappointment and frustrated opportunities, suggests that Wroth’s primary subject is “the alienation of women from men” and woman’s search for “feminine identity” (“Feminine Identity” 329). Following a similar strain, Maureen Quilligan contends that, to understand Wroth and women like her, we must first “deghettoize them, and place them

in [their] local historical context" ("Completing" 42). Once "deghettoized," Wroth can be observed along side her masculine counterparts, while the actions of Pamphilia (the heroine of *Urania*) can be viewed as feats of "willful self-definition" in a patriarchal world ("LMW: Female Authority" 273). Anne Shaver agrees with such contentions by claiming that, in the character of Pamphilia, Wroth "invents a subversive, suffering rebel," intent to voice her anger against masculine forces in her life (74). Still further, Mary Ellen Lamb in *Gender and Authorship in the Sidney Circle* sees in *Urania* an outright attempt to redefine the "discourse of gender difference" by proving false the accusation that women's speech and words are dangerously sexual and disruptive; instead she determines that Wroth's heroines are only moved to write "after long periods of loyal silence, [and] represent in angry detail the suffering caused by the irresponsible philandering of their men" (25). In the end, all such claims focus primarily upon Wroth's attempts to find an authentic voice as a woman and to combat female subjugation to masculine rules of discourse. While such claims certainly illuminate one level of *Urania*, they still do not offer insights into the religio-political motivations Wroth fosters as her "authentic voice" is being established.

Other critics concentrate on the methods by which Wroth, as Naomi Miller puts it, goes about "changing the subject"--that is, how she redefines the "figurations of gender" by which she is governed. For example, Miller explores Wroth's privileging of matriarchal ties and female friendships by illuminating the female "homosocial bonds" that emerge in the Uranian landscape and the qualities, not the proverbial dangers, of such

bonds.³⁴ Coinciding with such a “re-figuring” of gender roles are Elaine B. Beilin’s contentions in *Redeeming Eve* that Renaissance women, like Wroth, attempt to revalue the traditional spiritual and moral roles held by women; Wroth’s *Urania* revolves around the theme of constancy, which is, as the text reveals, “the onely perfect vertue” and which is most exemplified in the female. Once again, such investigations are compelling, for they reveal that Wroth, on one level, certainly endeavors to redefine and to revalue the female and feminine qualities; still, the role of such qualities in the religio-political realm of Protestantism, that crucial Sidney cause, remains an appropriate yet unexplored extension of such influential critical studies.

Ultimately, all such explorations are valuable in determining the complex and varied purposes for which Wroth may have created her *Urania*. Undoubtedly, she was a woman seeking a voice within the court circle and resolution to her affair with Pembroke. She does appear to value the power of homosocial, female relationships and the moral strength women were thought to embody. However, now that such issues have been explored so efficiently, other questions must still be addressed, for, if critics limit their study of Wroth to either autobiographical or gender theories, they simply imitate the restrictions against which Wroth fought. Admittedly, the religio-political issues surrounding Wroth were and are complex and difficult, but to ignore her obvious interest replicates, even if unintentionally, the prejudice of the past--that a woman could not understand or add to this public realm. As Sheila Cavanagh has recently confirmed, “the

³⁴See Naomi Miller’s *Changing the Subject: Mary Wroth and Figurations of Gender in Early Modern England* and “‘Not much to be marked’: Narrative of the Woman’s Part in Lady Mary Wroth’s *Urania*” 121-137.

romance rewards its readers with a richly textured narrative that artfully engages with numerous aesthetic, literary, scientific, and philosophical concerns” (*Cherished Torment* 2). Cavanagh is quite right when she claims that *Urania* is filled with “great learning” (2). Ultimately, in its exploration of intellectual questions, the *Urania* supersedes gender; in fact, I would suggest that her gender mattered little to Wroth except in how it limited her ability to voice opinion. Some modern critics have recognized this fact with disappointment and have had to concede that Wroth’s ultimate views of women and men reveal “that as an author and as woman, Wroth herself still esteemed the conventions that she presents as exploitive” (Swift, “Feminine Identity” 346). Thus, married to these investigations of gender politics should be an understanding of the broader political or religious motivations with which Wroth may have been concerned.

My hope, then, is to add to the conversation regarding Lady Mary Sidney Wroth by exploring this religio-political level of *Urania* and by demonstrating how Wroth investigates and experiments openly with English and continental religio-political concerns--investigations she could not explore unguardedly in her world of reality. Now I will turn to an exploration of the precise, Uranian geopolitical landscape on which Wroth studies current and central issues of Jacobean Protestantism, irenicism, resistance and intervention, and the desire for Lipsian Constancy and world citizenship. In the following chapters, we will discover how Mary Sidney Wroth successfully uses fiction to stage, explore, and deliver political criticism, as well as to illuminate the personal and political actions she believes can bring the peace and union that have so eluded her country and king.

Specifically, Chapter One explores how Wroth justifies her act of writing a fiction by embracing the Protestant interpretation of writing and reading as instruments in one's salvation experience. The chapter reveals how Wroth, through the figure of Pamphilia, demonstrates the ability of writing and storytelling to educate, to generate understanding, and to inspire a proper course of virtuous actions, and in doing so, how Wroth subtly justifies her own act of writing a fiction.

Continuing on the premise that Wroth's own act of writing is a means toward understanding, Chapter Two investigates how Wroth's *Urania* examines the religio-political goal shared by the Sidneys and King James: the Unification of Christendom. After first discussing the history of Emperor Maximilian II's irenic ideals, the chapter examines how Wroth not only reflects early irenicism but, further, how she tests its policies through her fictional Holy Roman Emperor, Amphilanthus, in hopes of shedding light on James's attempts at such a union.

Finally, Chapters Three and Four study the religio-political ideals that Wroth stages as important additions to the goal of Christendom's unification and as potential alternatives to previously failed policies. Chapter Three evaluates the tenets of Protestant resistance theory and monarchomachist intervention that *Urania* appears to privilege. The chapter also investigates how the role of subaltern magistrate is viewed by Wroth not only as an appropriate means of resolving political tensions but of justifying female involvement in the public realm. Further, Chapter Four examines the neostoicism of Flemish scholar Justus Lipsius and how its advocacy of personal and political

Constancy and its privileging of world rather than national citizenship also figures into Wroth's formula for a successfully united Christian Europe.

Chapter 1.

“Tell me some such fiction. . . shew me examples ”:
The Protestant “Word” and Saving Fictions

Although Mary Sidney Wroth was proud to be a member of the Sidney family, she was nonetheless well aware of the controversies she might face as a woman writing, especially as a woman writing fiction. Wroth was familiar with men such as Juan Luis Vives who warned that “a woman should avoid these books [fictions and romances] as she would a viper or a scorpion” (78). In *The Education of a Christian Woman*, Vives even insisted that a woman’s mind is “unsettled, roving without direction, and I know not where her instability will lead her” (59).¹ According to Vives, reading romance leads unstable woman astray from the path of virtue, for romance’s “venomous allurements and enticements little by little” cause her to lose all “mental equilibrium” and become “attracted by indecency” (74-5). To combat such suspicions and to justify her act of writing a romance, Wroth models *Urania*’s narratives on the foremost power afforded individuals in the Protestant tradition--active engagement with the written and spoken “Word.” Both in her own act of writing and in the text itself, Wroth emulates Protestant

¹ *The Education of a Christian Woman* was an acclaimed courtesy book that was commissioned by Catherine of Aragon in 1529 and that was issued in “at least thirty-six English and Continental editions and in six modern languages by the end of the sixteenth century” (Wayne 15). In it, Vives admits that women should be educated but with the sole goal of strengthening their virtues. They should not be taught to engage in written or spoken argument; instead, as Vives instructs, “In company, it is befitting that she be retiring and silent, with her eyes cast down so that some perhaps may see her, but none will hear her” (Vives 72). Women should read only those works that will inspire virtuous living, such as the Gospels, the Acts and Epistles, the Old Testament, Augustine, Plato, Cicero, and Seneca. A woman should not read Ovid or the romances of Spain, France, Italy, or England. Still further, when learning to write, a woman should only copy the words of other virtuous writers, not attempt to compose her own: “[When] she learns to write, do not have her imitate idle verses or vain and frivolous ditties, but rather some grave saying or a wise and holy sentiment from the holy Scriptures or the writings of philosophers, which should be copied out many times so that they will remain firmly fixed in the memory” (Vives 71). Quite clearly, the concept of a woman writing original work, especially a romance, would have appalled Vives.

salvation stories in which engaging with divine Word and contemplating that Word lead one to insight, to knowledge, and, finally, to salvation.² Seeking salvation from vice or indecision, Wroth's characters are educated and empowered as they write and share their words with others. Simultaneously, through her own act of writing, Wroth educates herself about larger issues, including the religio-political controversies of the Jacobean court.³ Ultimately, Wroth insinuates, careful and contemplative readers can also choose to learn from *Urania*, for it is "something more exactly related then a fiction" (*Urania* 505). The text is not merely a romance of erotic passion or escape but a book "hung" from "a Pillar of Gold" (*Urania* 455)--an enlightening fiction in which a thoughtful, active reader can discover truths about herself and the religio-political culture in which she lives.⁴

² Salvation stories, often based in fiction rather than historical or scriptural fact, reveal an interesting facet in what J. Paul Hunter deems the Protestant "anxiety about fiction." According to Hunter, Protestants were forced to examine the boundary between that fiction deemed dangerous and that reflecting divine truths because "Given the presumed power of the word and the exaltation of the written text, the alteration in both textual vehicle and the responsibility of the receptor meant that the fabled power of the individual to read and interpret by his own lights was called radically into doubt" (308). To maintain beliefs in an individual's ability to read and interpret texts, Protestants were forced to admit that careful readers can differentiate between fiction that presents truths and that which is "infected with lies or injections of the human imagination" (308). Therefore, salvation stories, because they present the power of God to reform individuals, are an acceptable means toward learning divine truths. See Hunter 298-317.

³ In positioning herself amongst a community of Christian believers--the priesthood of believers--Wroth reflects a strategy of many other Protestant writers. Patrick Collinson points out that Protestant authors often purposely address "imagined communities"; the members of such communities are "readers who imagine themselves in invisible fellowship with thousands of other readers and, one may add, with generations of Christians no longer living" (Collinson 64-5).

⁴ By creatively using fiction as a means for political exploration, Wroth hopes to avoid what Betty Travitsky deems "the negative attitude taken by the male arbiters of the time regarding works by women on subjects outside the spheres of religion and domesticity, which were considered the province of women" (*The Paradise of Women* 114). Elaine V. Beilin contends, in *Redeeming Eve*, that Wroth chose to write a romance because the form "freed her from the woman writer's biggest limitation, the adherence to a feminine decorum that demanded

The instructive and saving nature of *Urania's* "kind" and "loving discourse" (*Urania* 147) is exemplified in the logocentric education of Pamphilia, who is princess of Morea and eventually sovereign ruler of her own country.⁵ In the character of Pamphilia, Wroth represents her own use of words to question and to test personal, religious, and political choice.⁶ For example, throughout the romance Wroth's heroine faces an obstacle in her personal and her political life--her unacknowledged and unrequited love for Amphilanthus, Prince of Naples, King of the Romans, and future Holy Roman Emperor.⁷ As a noble princess and queen, Pamphilia cannot afford to reveal an unhealthy passion to her people. Indeed, the Uranian narrator reveals that only alone can Pamphilia "breath out her passions, which to none shee would discover, resolving rather so to perish, then that any third should know shee could be subject to affection" (62). Yet Pamphilia does

pious forms to express pious subject matter" (212).

⁵ This chapter will focus on Pamphilia's logocentric education rather than attempt to analyze every character who is educated by engaging with words, for as Charlotte Kohler has conjectured, "the firmest mind could not keep disentangled all [*Urania's*] countless manicoloured threads of the innumerable plots, which spread out, one from another, fanwise, and enmesh all in their tangles" (209).

⁶ Wroth's work does reflect the tradition of emblematic literature in which a picture and motto are used to teach a moral lesson. However, while Wroth's work is at times emblematic, her focus goes beyond creating a visual image and delivering a moral message. Instead, she explores the process of how words educate, reveal choices, combat despair, and bring insight. As her characters write and share stories with others or as they write privately to explore confusion, Wroth studies the efficacious and causative nature of words. Pamphilia is not offered as an emblematic representation of virtue. Instead, Pamphilia's words become a vehicle through which readers learn to appreciate the power of language, discourse, writing, and reading to educate themselves and to work through conflict. For discussions on emblematic literature, see Tung 245-47, Manning 247-48, Clements, and Daly.

⁷ Many critics contend that the relationship between Pamphilia and Amphilanthus is based on Mary Wroth's love for her cousin William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke. Gary Waller believes the romance's couple is part of an "enacted daydream in which [Wroth] imagines, using the residual masculinist terms of chivalric romance, what her life as her cousin's 'truest wife' might 'really' be like" ("Mother/Son" 411). For additional discussion of the Wroth-Herbert affair and its influence on *Urania*, see Carrell 79-107.

embrace a “third” in which she confides and explores her passion in order to determine whether it is of noble or excessive character; she embraces the only means available for contemplating and analyzing her love for Amphilanthus--writing poetry and participating in storytelling. By engaging with such words, a mirroring of Protestant engagement with the scriptural “Word,” Pamphilia educates herself as to the nature of true, noble, and constant love as well as the qualities demanded of a successful ruler.⁸ In effect, she undertakes a sacred contemplation of her own conscience and of her political duties through the words she creates and encounters in the romance. In a similar way, as we will see in later chapters, Wroth uses her own words to contemplate and to explore the religio-political issues so cherished by her family.

When we first meet Pamphilia we are informed that she is a “ceaseless mourning soule,” for the man she loves, Amphilanthus, loves another (*Urania* 62). Succumbing to passion, Pamphilia yearns to share her feelings with Amphilanthus but instead privately retires into her bed, “taking a little Cabinet with her, wherein she had many papers” (62). In this cabinet--a locked, secretive mirror of Pamphilia’s own enclosed mind--she enshrines her verses that have been written during attempts to seek understanding and resolution to her confusion. Pamphilia, “being excellent in writing,” confesses that her words, “Heart drops distilling like a new cut-vine[,] / Weep for the paines that doe my soule oppresse” (62-3, lines 1-2). Reading and writing verse, she admits that her “Silly woes” (5) are “in such excesse” (6) that she has “failld” to “avoid offense” and has given

⁸ Anne Shaver agrees that Pamphilia’s “writing is a major part of her sense of who she is, both because she takes a craftswoman’s pride in it and because its subject is herself and a subjective exploration of the way love makes her feel” (66).

into passion. In weakness, her heart “pity doth implore” (18). Safe in the realm of words, Pamphilia freely records her distress. Rereading her verse, however, Pamphilia recognizes that such passion is indeed foolish and threatens to enslave her, and she subsequently spurns the emotion:

Fie passion . . . how foolish canst thou make us? And when with much pain
and businesse thou hast gain’ed us, now dost thou then dispose us into
folly, making our choicest wits testimonies to our faces of our
weaknesses, and . . . bring my owne hands to witness against me,
unblushingly showing my idlenesses to mee. (63)

Thus “tooke she the new-writ lines, and as soone almost as shee had given them life, shee likewise gave them buriall” (63). Pamphilia clearly recognizes the efficacious nature of words, of her words, and in this forthright act of confessional writing, contemplation, and self-editing, she vividly illustrates the power Wroth believes writing possesses.

Pamphilia can avoid an irrevocable, self-destructive outburst of emotion by first allowing herself to experience that emotion through her words and actively deeming it undesirable and destructive.

Such self-exploration and censorship continue, for Pamphilia recognizes that, despite her best efforts, love “dost master [her]” (63). As the romance progresses, she continues to educate herself through her writing on how to balance a desire for love with her duty as queen. Thus as we observe Pamphilia succumbing again and again to despair, we gradually discern that true learning is indeed a painful and arduous process--one that can take, quite literally, a lifetime. As we persist through the massive romance, we very

often witness Pamphilia recording her moments of confusion on paper in her secret cabinet or into the bark of ash trees in her private garden in order to remind herself of former resolve and to work through present uncertainties. In fact, the topography of her garden, in which she often writes, vividly reflects Pamphilia's uncertainties about love, for like love, the garden is "delicately contriv'd into strange, and delightfull walkes" (90). With words, Pamphilia attempts to create a controlled path through her emotions of love just as the gardener contrives walks through the natural environs of her garden. As a gardener learns to control nature comprised of "Plaine," "Wood," "fine hills" and "delicate Valleyes" (90), Pamphilia, too, seeks to tame her passion for Amphilanthus through the tool of the written word.

In her garden, Pamphilia finds yet another place of private introspection in which she can explore her emotions in writing--not this time her bedroom cabinet but a thick enclosure of trees whose tops are "joyning so close" that "Phoebus durst not there shew his face" (91). In this bower, hidden by trees and supported by a "greene Velvet Carpet" of grass, Pamphilia suffers the pangs of love and thus "complaining, fearing, and loving, [she is] the most distressed, secret, and constant Lover that ever Venus, or her blind Sonne bestowed a wound or dart upon" (92). Inconsolable, Pamphilia once again turns to the written word to explore her pain. This time, instead of paper and pen, the heroine takes a knife and begins "to ingrave [a sonnet] in the barke of one of those fayre and straight Ashes." The poetically carved tree "accompan[ies] her teares" with sap and thus offers her the "third party" she so desperately seeks--the party that will "part taste my paine" (92). Pamphilia declares in her sonnet that the carved tree will "out-live me, and

testifie my woes” that must for now be kept private (92, line 14). A poem added later to the ash tree insists that the love recorded there will continue to be as “A Diamond pure and hard, an unshak’t tree” (146, line 33). Each sonnet, each engagement with her own thoughts through the written word aids Pamphilia in combating what she gradually deems to be “disorderly passions” (92). Meditating upon her own words, she promises herself that she will strive to “keepe still [my] soule from thought of change,” to remain constant to her growing knowledge of noble and liberating love, and to spurn love that imprisons and debilitates (92). Determined to hide her passion from others, Pamphilia glories in the freedom poetry affords her, for she knows that, even if her verses are discovered, she can avoid the charges of over-indulgence or passionate excess. After all, as she proclaims, “many Poets write aswell by imitation, as by sence of passion; therefore this is no prooffe against me” (94).⁹

To appreciate fully Pamphilia’s writing as the means of gaining insight and of motivating proper behavior, one must recognize the logocentric nature of Mary Wroth’s Protestantism. In his important study, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker*, Peter Lake lucidly points out that emergent Protestantism embraced a “word centered piety” rather than one centered on or dependent to the traditional sacraments privileged by the Catholic church. Indeed, the Protestant church under James enthusiastically embraced Article Six of the *Articles of Faith* that insists on the primacy of scripture to teach and to reveal divine truth. This

⁹ Interestingly, Pamphilia’s statement echoes those of Wroth during her literary feud with Lord Denny.

privileging of the Word, declares literary historian Daniel Doerksen, was the unifying factor of the church under James, for despite other confessional disputes, all Protestants shared the belief that scripture is *the* means of affirming and testing one's faith (15).¹⁰ Maurice Lee agrees that James's ecclesiastical policies regarding the primacy of scripture created a "broad consensus" and a "willingness to patronize and promote men of differing opinion, provided they eschewed public dispute on theological issues" (188-89). This belief in the power and primacy of the Word is indeed both a theological and epistemological common ground for the Sidneys, Mary Wroth, and King James.

Still, neither the Sidneys nor James was responsible for the genesis of such a conviction. From its very inception, the Protestant Reformation viewed scripture as not merely a repository of doctrine but as an actual living, evolving, and efficacious power. Leaders of the movement adamantly insisted that scripture itself celebrates the causative potential of words to inspire lives of active virtue. Leaders could point out that John the Apostle had proclaimed scripture's creative and illuminating force:

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made. In him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not. (John 1:1-5)

¹⁰ Daniel Doerksen reminds us in *Conforming to the Word: Herbert, Donne, and the English Church before Laud* that during the Reformation the term "protest" signified "to affirm" long before it meant "to register dissent" (15).

To John and to Protestant confessors who read his works, the Word is not merely a recording of God; it is God himself, a physical manifestation of God's divine being through which the reader experiences and learns divine truths. Each individual who carefully and responsibly reads scripture will be shown the path of virtue that leads to salvation. Additionally, through the Word, each Christian is given a weapon with which to fight and ultimately destroy evil. Scripture is the "sword of the Spirit" (Ephesians 6:17) that is not static or dead but "quick, and powerful, and sharper than any twoedged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart" (Hebrews 4:12). With this "sword" of scripture, Christians, according to Reform Protestants, are given both a vehicle through which God and His truths are revealed and a means of combating evil.

To Protestant minds, then, actively reading the Word of God became the ultimate sacramental experience, an experience available to each person who carefully and prayerfully reads scripture. In *From Shadow to Compromise: Old Testament Interpretation from Augustine to the Young Luther*, James Preus reveals that many Reformation Protestants believed scripture, unlike ceremonial sacrament, actually places the reader *coram deo*, that is face-to-face with or in the heart of God (190). Preus explains that Martin Luther believed that the Word of God *is* the "sacrament" (241); it is the "efficacious" and "causative" means of knowing God (208, 239), for it propels the reader into a direct encounter with divinity and divine truth. In the Protestant understanding, words are vehicles for spiritual action, education, and self-evaluation. Accordingly, reading the Word becomes imperative for spiritual growth. Still yet, Luther

also contends that proper meditation on scriptural word must be a lifelong process through which believers “strive eternally to understand and to do” the will of God (Preus 222). As a believer reads scripture, she is inspired to evaluate her own spiritual state and allows that state to be transformed by the truths revealed to her.¹¹

Gradually, such Word-centered theology was emulated by those Protestants writing fiction, poetry, and drama who desired to mirror the metamorphic and sacramental power of effectively written words.¹² Barbara Lewalski has shown that Protestant writers hoped to advance personal examination through their words. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, religious lyrics became a mode of self-discovery, a “private mode” of writing that strove to “discover and express the various and vacillating spiritual conditions and emotions the soul experiences in meditation, prayer, and praise” (Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics* 4). Just as reading scripture is educative and experiential, so too is writing or reading poetry because it allows individuals to undergo an “analysis of spiritual states” (5). According to Lewalski, Protestant writers and poets

¹¹ This Protestant tendency toward self-examination and self-evolution eventually became a dictum of sermons and other writings. For example, John Donne admonished his congregation to “Descend thou into thy selfe . . . and admit thine own expostulations. . . . Let thine own conscience tell thee not onely thy open and evident rebellions against God, but even the immoralities, and incivilities that thou dost towards men. . . . And the absurdities that thou committest against thy selfe, in sinning against thine owne reason” (*Sermons* 3. 154).

¹² Many Protestant leaders viewed literary art with the same suspicions to which the visual arts were subjected. Linda Gregerson points out that “the verbal image was often thought to be as dangerous in its potential as the visual” (3). However, as John N. King suggests, this iconoclasm was “*constructive as well as destructive*” (7). Iconoclasts inspired Protestant writers to reform the use of language and to create arts that could be viewed as acceptable, even desirable. Gregerson gives the example of Spenser and Milton’s reform of the epic: “They combat the idolatrous potential of words not by seeking to divest themselves of figurative resources but by constructing a dialectical function for their readership. . . .” (5). See Gregerson 1-8; John N. King 3-13; Norbrook, chapters 3-5; and Mallette 1-16.

purposely imitated scriptural stories of salvation and regeneration in hopes of allowing readers to experience and to affirm both events repetitively through their writings (18). Still yet, mirroring the concept of scripture as a sword with which to wage war against vice, Protestant writers aspired to enable individuals to “picture spiritual conflicts,” evaluate those conflicts, and avoid replicating such battles in reality (Doerksen 122). With each new encounter with the written word, the poet or reader experiences (again and again and again) a specific spiritual moment of rebirth or victory over evil. The words become a sacramental experience always available for the active poet and reader.¹³

The Sidneys were no doubt familiar with such convictions regarding the power of scriptural and literary words, and the foundation of their beliefs may be found in the work of Philip Melanchthon who viewed all literature as potentially efficacious, truth-containing, and educative. Though best known as the father of the modern German educational system and as Martin Luther’s “co-laborer” and scribe (La Fontaine 28), Melanchthon (1497-1560) was also the mentor of Hubert Languet, mentor of Philip and Robert Sidney. A true humanist, Melanchthon insisted that the discipline that most empowers individuals to learn truth is rhetoric. Without the study of rhetoric, one is unable to discuss divine truth, for as Melanchthon lucidly asks in his *Elementorum Rhetorices Libri Duo*,

¹³ Christopher Hodgkins recognizes this use of sacramental symbol in the poetry of George Herbert, for in his emblems, Herbert is able to verbally construct “an immediate spiritual experience that fulfills the grand imperative of Christ as understood by the Reformation: ‘ye must be born again’” (2).

How can anyone speak about religion, or the nature of things, or the law, in fact about any aspect of life, unless he has been instructed in the particular subject matter with which these things are conceived? (79)¹⁴

As professor at Wittenberg, Melanchthon insisted that students study the power invested in words and how words can be structured either to reveal or subvert truth. All words are, according to Melanchthon, a “power” and “force” that can make God “immediately present to the reader” (Schneider 102, 34). Scripture itself is not mere doctrine but a “grand elocutionary event between God and honest people. It is *sacra oratio*, not a theologian’s lexicon or dictionary” (237). Through careful study of this sacred rhetoric, one enters into a conversation with God, a conversation that gives meaning, insight, and direction. Further, a dedicated scholar can learn to emulate scripture’s rhetoric in his own writing, thus achieving new insights and knowledge. True to his humanism, Melanchthon also contended that one can learn sacred rhetoric from the classics. For instance, in his preface to his 1516 edition of Terence’s comedies, Melanchthon praises the qualities of classical drama, for it gives the reader a “model of living [*vivendi formam*]” (qtd. in Schneider 37). Reading such models, one is “allured” towards virtue and experiences the true purpose of literature—to “use it as a looking glass for directing life [*ceu regundae vitae speculo utamur*]” (37). Thus the goal of carefully constructed

¹⁴ Melanchthon early in his career openly refuted Pico della Mirandola by claiming rhetoric to be superior to philosophy, for “wisdom must be transmitted, not just contemplated” (La Fontaine 1). Ironically, as Sister Mary Joan La Fontaine elucidates, this man, who was eventually considered the “public statesman of Protestantism” (Schneider 108), actually “subordinated philosophy and theology to rhetoric because he believed wisdom is useless unless it can be declared and explained to ordinary people in clear and intelligible terms” (La Fontaine 3).

rhetoric, be it dramatic, poetic, or scriptural, is to teach and inspire virtuous action, a goal that is clearly echoed by Philip Sidney in his *Defense of Poesy*. Both Melanchthon and Sidney believed that literature not only demonstrates what men ought to do but can arouse them to do it. Poetry can teach virtue, while an “invented subject”--like fiction--can “unleash a power of [its] own” and transform lives (Schneider 76). Words written in such a tradition, as Deborah Shuger observes, function “more [as] a gerund than a noun, more a thinking than a thought,” for such texts are never static (16). They are acutely *doing* something--exploring meaning--not stating an indisputable fact. Ultimately, they challenge the careful reader of scripture, poetry, drama, and even of romance to participate in a divine conversation with godly truths, with God himself.

Under the direction of Hubert Languet, Melanchthon’s disciple, both Philip and Robert Sidney learned the powerful use of *sacra oratio* to further the Protestant cause. Philip Sidney clearly viewed fiction as a means of dynamically compelling a reader’s will toward purposeful action, and it was he who initiated the literary pursuits that became the hallmark of the Sidney family. Echoing the teachings of Melanchthon, Sidney insisted that poetry has little to do with meaningless ornament and rhyme. Instead poetry is that writing, be it rhymed or in prose, that can “[illuminate] and [figure] forth” images of “all virtues, vices, and passions” that “lie dark before the imaginative and judging pow’r” of poetry creates a “speaking picture” (107). By creating such vivid, “speaking” pictures, the poet is able to “make” a world not as it is or has been but “what may be and should

be" (102); he challenges the reader to participate in "the exercises of the mind" that lead to true knowledge and convicted action (98).¹⁵

In his quest to "teach and delight," the poet, according to Sidney, accomplishes what historians, philosophers, and polemicists cannot. He incites men to virtuous action. First, he inspires "knowledge of a man's self, in the ethic and politic consideration" (104). Second, he fashions images of the world that humans are capable of creating, a world better even than that of Nature, for "Her world is brazen, [while] the poets only deliver a golden" (100). Finally, just as scripture sustains one in spiritual battle, the poet's work offers a weapon with which individuals can win the postlapsarian battle fought between "our erected wit [that] maketh us know what perfection is" and "our infected will [that] keepeth us from reaching unto it" (101). The end of poetry is to reform the individual by "purifying [his or her] wit":

This purifying of wit, this enriching of memory, enabling of judgment, and enlarging of conceit, which commonly we call learning, under what name soever it come forth, or to what immediate end soever it be directed, the

¹⁵ Perhaps the most distinct, Arcadian example of art as an incentive to action is illustrated in Sidney's depiction of the education of the princes, Pyrocles and Musidorus. We are told that rather than a traditional study of philosophy, military tactics, and political theory, King Euarchus promotes the princes' training by surrounding them with images of proper princely conduct that the princes gradually learn to emulate and incorporate into their own natures: "[For] almost before they could perfectly speak they began to receive conceits not unworthy of the best speakers; excellent devices being used to make even their sports profitable, images of battle and fortifications being then delivered to their memory, which, after, their stronger judgements might dispense; the delight of tales being converted to the knowledge of all the stories of worthy princes, both to move them to do nobly, and teach them how to do nobly" (163). Surrounded by the figures of such conceits, devices, images, tales, and stories, the princes learn to envision, to respect, and ultimately to embody such qualities as strength, courage, nobility, judgment and virtue. Sidney clearly reveals how verbal art, with "far more diligent care than grammatical rules," can create "princely minds" (163-4).

final end is to lead and draw us to as high a perfection as our degenerate souls, made worse by their clayey lodgings, can be capable of. . . . to know, and by knowledge to lift up the mind from the dungeon of the body to the enjoying his own divine essence. (104)

Ultimately, however, the individual must freely choose to engage with the poet's words, to contemplate their meaning, and to motivate himself to undertake virtuous action. True to the active nature of the Protestant ideal, an individual cannot be forced to choose the path of virtue. True, "the ending end of all earthly learning [should be] virtuous action" (104), but unlike polemic, history, or theology, poetry does not didactically present one, uncontested course of proper action: "But the poet . . . never affirmeth. The poet never maketh any circle about your imagination to conjure you to believe for true what he writes" (124). The reader is left to examine autonomously the images and choices presented and then to follow the action his conscience leads him to undertake. Sidney's friend and biographer, Fulke Greville, clearly recognized Sidney's attempt to educate and inspire such active individuals in *Arcadia*:

in all these creatures of his making his intent and scope was to turn the barren philosophy precepts into pregnant images of life. . . . In which traverses I know his purpose was to limn out such exact pictures of every posture in the mind that any man, being forced in the strains of this life to pass through any straits or latitudes of good or ill fortune, might (as in a glass) see how to set a good countenance upon all the discountenances of adversity, and a stay upon the exorbitant smilings of chance. (Greville 10)

Always aware of those iconoclasts who held all arts suspect, Sidney also clearly recognized the dangers of poets and poetry. Poets can abuse their power. Words can be used for deceit, evil, or vice. However, unlike those who blame the product, Sidney insists that it is not “Poetry [that] abuseth man’s wit, but . . . man’s wit [that] abuseth Poetry” (125). Sidney lucidly presents this eternal paradox:

But what, shall the abuse of a thing make the right use odious? Nay truly, though I yield that Poesy may not only be abused, but that being abused, by the reason of his sweet charming force, it can do more hurt then any other army of words, yet shall it be so far from concluding that the abuse should give reproach to the abused, that contrariwise it is a good reason that, whatsoever, being abused, doth most harm, being rightly used (and upon the right use each thing receives his title), doth most good. (125-6)

It is the “force” and “power” of this “right” use of poetry that Sidney contends can serve as a powerful weapon in the Protestant cause. Simultaneously, it is the “hurt” and “abuse” of poetic art manipulated by ignoble hands that Sidney also empowers his readers to recognize in the examples of destructive art figured in the *Arcadia*.¹⁶ Thus, poetry and fiction are, to Sidney and to the Sidneys who continued his legacy, powerful tools for

¹⁶ Sidney’s most vivid, if not grotesque, representative of art’s destructive ability is Cecropia who uses deceptive art and language to fashion despair, destroy beneficent rule, and establish sinister political absolutism in *Arcadia*. For example, in order to fulfill her plan to supplant Basilius, the true ruler of *Arcadia*, Cecropia creates the tragic, “blood” play to end all such plays. Through artful verbal and visual manipulation, Cecropia stages the beheading of the romance’s heroine, Pamela, upon the castle wall in hopes that those who witness the scene will succumb to despair. Consistently, Cecropia exhibits the ability of an adept rhetorician who chooses to distort truth through her manipulation of both verbal and visual art—an that which Sidney freely admits any human may choose to cultivate. See *The New Arcadia* 418-433.

exploring personal choice and for understanding and furthering the religio-political causes so close to their hearts.

With such a heritage in mind, one can regard *Urania* as Wroth's own exploration of fiction's force and power, for *Urania* clearly reveals how the written or spoken word can promote personal understanding as well as inspire individual, committed action. As Uranian characters tell, retell, and contemplate--or as they write, rewrite, and share their own stories--they are able to observe and to test their many available options before choosing any irrevocable recourse into action. As Wroth explores the power of words in the romance itself, she is also subtly justifying her own act of writing *Urania*, her unfeminine act of creating a fiction, as a means of exploring the religio-political options available to the Jacobean court. The *Urania*, then, is by implication yet another model of Protestant engagement with words in order to seek insight, test choice, experience truth, and champion virtuous action.

As we have seen, Pamphilia employs writing to explore privately her own passions. However, through her words and those of others, she also evaluates her position and political duties as princess of Morea and eventually as queen of Pamphilia. In the midst of exploring love, Pamphilia learns that she is to be crowned queen of her own country.¹⁷ As she prepares for her journey and for her new position as ruler, Pamphilia still struggles with her unresolved passion for the absent Amphilanthus and

¹⁷ The land of Pamphilia (part of modern day Turkey) was ruled by her uncle who, as a young man, "being brave and valiant," freed the land "from the subjection of Tyrants" (*Urania* 145). In return, the Pamphilians chose him to be their king and gave him leave to choose his successor, "which by reason he never married. . . . He long since chose me [Pamphilia]. . ." (145).

worries about its effect on her ability to rule well. Surprisingly, she finds comfort in a most unexpected source--the words of Antissia, her rival for Amphilanthus's love and herself the princess of Romania. Coming upon Antissia in the "Garden Woods," Pamphilia overhears her rival's song of despair:

Stay mine eye, these floods of teares
 Seeme but follies weakely growing,
 Babes at nurse such wayling beares,
 Frowardnesse such drops bestowing. . . . (147, lines 1-4)

Comparing herself to Niobe, Antissia predicts that she too will be "made a rock" from which "heavn drops downe teares" (11). Antissia is incapacitated by a passion that threatens to immobilize her literally and figuratively, thus leading her to abandon her duties to her people. Hearing Antissia's words, Pamphilia straightaway recognizes her own condition and gains insight once again into the nature of excessive love; she does not desire to figure forth the image, as does Antissia, of a debilitated, love-sick ruler. Thus revealed is yet another level of the power of words (in this case the words of another) to educate and to lead one to knowledge and resolution. Recognizing the similarity in her and Antissia's states of despair, Pamphilia is able to offer the advice needed to achieve a healthy love and balance in life:

Sweete Antissia, leave these dolorous complaints. . . . melancholy, the
 nurse of such passions being glad, when her authoritie is esteemed, and
 yeelded to: and so much hath it wrought in me, as I have many houres sate
 looking on the fire, in it making as many sad bodies, as children do

varietie of faces, being pleased, or displeas'd, or as mine owne fancies
 have felt paines, and all this was but melancholy, and truely that is enough
 to spoile any, so strangely it growes upon one, and so pleasing is the snare,
 as till it hath ruind one, no fault is found with it, but like death, embraced
 by the ancient brave men, like honour and delight. This I have found and
 smarted with it; leave it then, and nip it in the bud, lest it blow to
 overthrow your life and happinesse. . . . (147)

In such “kind” and “loving discourse,” the two women pass the night, and both women manage to progress one step forward in their educations about love, constancy, and the responsibilities implicit in a royal life. Once again, the power of words to save from despair and to engender conviction is vividly demonstrated.

Part of a complex network of distinct voices, Pamphilia is not only a poet and participant in “loving discourse.” She is also both teller of and audience to the stories of countless characters in her continuous journey towards insight and resolved action. In the intersection and interaction of the stories, choices emerge and true resolution becomes possible. For example, Pamphilia gradually learns the importance of self-mastery and autonomy, not only through poems and “shared discourse,” but through the storytelling of Alarina and Limena. Visiting the Metelin court of her brother and sister-in-law, Philarchos and Orilena, Pamphilia once again falls into despondency over her hidden love for Amphilanthus. In an effort to comfort herself, she “did write, and then went shee to bed, and tooke a Candle, and so read awhile; but all these were but as lime-twiggs, to hold fast her thoughts to love” (216). At this point in Pamphilia’s education, the power

of the written word fails to comfort her. Once again, however, the efficacy of the word, this time in the form of storytelling, is proven, for the next day during a hunt, Pamphilia comes upon a nymph “of all perfections that wer chast” (216). Enraptured by the nymph’s countenance, Pamphilia entreats her “to tell me all your story” (217).

The nymph reveals that she was once the content shepherdess Alarina who fell in love at the “young, and ignorant” age of fourteen. She confesses that, privately and unbeknownst to the man, she became “his slave, and such a slave . . . [that] my health alterd” (218). Secretly, she continued to love him for five years, during which time he married another. As fate would have it, Alarina’s love was eventually revealed, and for two years thereafter “delightfull games he did invent” that allowed them to explore their love (219). An inconstant man, however, her lover eventually became enraptured with a beautiful servant during a pastoral festival for May Day, and “This woman yet allur’d my love to change, and what was worse, to scorn me” (220). Alarina admits to Pamphilia that this rejection led her to declare herself “worthlesse for outward parts to be looked on” (220). Falsely believing that beauty and the acceptance of a lover are the gauges of her worth as a woman, Alarina reveals that she carefully wrote a letter--one that she tells her audience, “I read, I corrected, and often staid with blots”--and insisted that her lover honor her. The nymph explains to Pamphilia that “I could not silent be, nor yet could speake” (222), and thus writing, by insinuation, is once again proclaimed to be an appropriate means of seeking resolution to volatile situations. Still, despite the eloquence of her letter, her lover was “displeased” and “continued in his peremptory course of hating me” (221, 223).

Though difficult, it is in this time of despair and contemplation that Alarina discovers her true worth. Further yet, it is in Alarina's story of self-discovery that Pamphilia herself encounters the questions that she too must answer about her love, about her own self-worth, and about her fear of autonomy. Alarina describes a symbolic moment in which she ascends a hill overlooking a pastoral valley; she then "sat downe in a stone of mighty height, which like a chaire in just proportion, did give mee roome and ease" (223). The seat is, however, precarious, "for the height was great" and one could "see the bottome [of the valley] directly under" (223). Positioned midway between heaven and earth, Alarina at this moment figures a powerful image--one of a woman with an active choice to be made between a life of despondency or death and one of fulfillment and peace, a situation to which Pamphilia, in her private despair, easily relates. Alarina's words effectively lead Pamphilia (and readers of the romance) on her own spiritual ascent, and they position Pamphilia to evaluate her own despair.

As Alarina's story continues, its words allow Pamphilia to experience a sacramental moment of cleansing that achieves the goal of many Protestant writers--to create experiential moments of rebirth in their texts. Looking into the valley, Alarina witnesses "some folkes" who are drinking from a spring. After asking if the spring "were medicinable," Alarina is informed that it is actually a "divine and sacred water, which did cure all harmes" (223). If she drinks from the spring "Seven times . . . and thrice seven dayes," she will procure "Quiet of spirit, comfort in this life" (223). As Alarina undertakes this purgative ceremony, one that allows Pamphilia and the reader to also

experience baptism and death-to-self, she is gradually awakened to a new life.¹⁸ This life is one in which she feels her “whole condition altered, [for she] grew free, and free from love, to which [she] was late a slave” (224). Alarina in a moment of epiphanic clarity recognizes the most important lesson of her life: “I love my selfe, my selfe now loveth me” (224). Gone are the days in which she measured her self-worth by the love of another; gone are the days in which her identity is dependent on another. Instead, Alarina, self-confident and autonomous, becomes a nymph of Diana and adopts a new name, Silviana.

Alarina’s words have effectively allowed Pamphilia to examine the purgative and edifying nature of baptism, and Pamphilia praises the happiness the nymph has achieved through the ceremony that engenders her ability “to master your self” (224). Still, the “excellent Queene” wonders if the nymph has seen her lover since her rebirth. Again reflecting the autonomy she so cherishes, Silviana admits that, while she has seen her love, her “heart [is] so free from love” that it does not pain to see him. The nymph celebrates her new life:

now am I free my selfe, void of those troubles, love provoked in me; I can
with quietnes heare all his acts, see him this day intolerably fond of one I
hated, then change to a new; all that mooves not me, save only that I out of
pity, pity their ill haps. (224)

¹⁸ This ritualistic baptism is a compelling echo of Lutheran and Philippist thought concerning the sacramental nature of words. In this scene, the sacrament of baptism is made perpetually efficacious through the medium of words. Readers can experience with Alarina again (again and again) the glories and regeneration associated with baptism.

Pamphilia is humbled and amazed by the nymph's happiness and confidence. In fact, she declares, "I cannot yet believe . . . but you love him still, for all this liberall and excellent discourse" (224). Faced with Pamphilia's assertion, Silviana does not deny that her love for the man might still exist, but she does declare that "I never will live houre . . . to hate him" (225). With this statement, Silviana asserts that giving in to hate will only denigrate her self-worth and virtue, thus making her equal to or even worse than the man who has rejected her.

Such is a lesson Pamphilia must learn as well, for she is only beginning to understand that one's own actions and *reactions* to adversity determine her worth, not those actions of a lover who might give or withhold true and constant love. In her private retreat, Pamphilia chastises herself and admits that she must cherish Alarina/Silviana's words and view the woman as a model to emulate, a woman of worth:

"Pamphilia," said she, "can thy great spirit permit thee to bee bound, when such as Alarina can have strength to master, and command even love it selfe? Scorne such servilitie, where subjects soveraignize; never let so meane a thing ore-rule thy greatest power; either command like thy self, or fall downe, vassal in despaire. Why should fond love insult, or venture in thy sight? let his babish tricks be priz'd by creatures under thee, but disdain thou such a government. Shall blindnes master thee, and guide thee? looke then sure to fall. Shall wayward folly rule thee? looke to be despis'd. Shall foolish wantonnes intice thee? hate such vice. Shall

children make thee follow their vaine tricks? scorne then thy selfe, and all such vanities.” (225)

With such admonition in mind, Pamphilia continues to fashion the resolve and confidence she needs to be a virtuous and noble woman and queen. Inspired by the story of another, Pamphilia has been compelled to re-evaluate her own passion for Amphilanthus, her self-worth, and her obligations to her people.

Another example that demonstrates the educative power of storytelling is the fiction rendered by “sweet Limena,” wife of Perissus.¹⁹ Knowing that Limena has encountered and overcome her own difficulties in love, Pamphilia asks her to “tell me some such fiction. . . . shew me examples” from which she can continue to learn how to determine self-worth and to face rejection (225). The distraught queen believes that Limena can help her “understand the choice varieties of Love, [as well as] the mistakings, the changes, the crosses” (225). Prudently evading any hint that the story might actually be Pamphilia’s, Limena insists that she “take not this tale for truth” (226). However, she also contends that the fiction will allow Pamphilia to study objectively her own situation,

¹⁹ Limena was rescued by Perissus from her abusive marriage to Philargus, a rich and jealous man. Earlier, Philargus had deceived Perissus into believing that he had executed his wife, and thus we first meet Perissus when Urania discovers him, alone and distraught in a dark cave, bemoaning Limena’s death (*Urania* 4). Eventually, however, Perissus learns that Limena is alive and living a life of torment with Philargus. In fact, when Perissus and Parselius come upon Limena, she is tied “by the haire, which was of great length, and Sun-like brightnesse. [Philargus has] pulled . . . off a mantle which she wore, leaving her from the girdle upward al naked, her soft, daintie white hands hee fasten[s] behind her, with a cord about both wrists, in manner of a crosse, as testimony of her cruellest Martyrdome” (84). Philargus proceeds to beat her with a whip. Perissus kills Philargus, who, dying, begs forgiveness and asks Perissus to marry Limena (85-6). The couple now rules Sicily.

for she "shall see your selfe truly free from such distresse, as in a perfect glasse, none of your true perfections can be hidden" (226).

Pamphilia then hears with empathy the tale of Alena who fervently loves Lincus, but who after years of affection is "deceiv'd, and most miserably undone, he falling in love with one so inferior to her in respect to her qualities" (226). Ashamed of allowing herself to succumb to a false and carnal love, Alena declares herself to be "a staine to my sex" and "no more worthy to live" and soon begins a downward spiral towards death (227). "Neere her end" and "neere death for him," Alena is visited by Lincus who feigns that he loves her again and engenders false hope in order to avoid blame for her demise (227). Once Alena is well, however, Lincus yet again abandons her, proof, as Limena pronounces, that "mens words are onely breath, their oathes winde, and vowes water" (228). Pamphilia certainly is being challenged to contemplate the nature of her own lover, Amphilanthus, and the truth of his vows.

Alena now recognizes that she has a choice--to succumb once more to despair or to find the strength to allow rejection to ennoble her. After meeting by chance yet another of Lincus's rejected lovers, Alena discerns that it is Lincus, not herself, who is pitiful, shameful, and unworthy. Still, though many try to persuade Alena that she should hate the man, she refuses to allow his sin to embitter or destroy her:

No . . . [,] his fault shal never make me il, nor wil I chang though he so
fickle bee, yet bee assured I love him not, nor can bee more deceived by
him, or any other, onely thus far the remnant of my love extends, that I

would take any course, though painfull, dangerous, and hazard my life, to keepe him from least harme. (229)

The story of this “loiall lover” is offered to Pamphilia, says Limena, as a “short example of true love,” for Alena learns to love and respect herself by choosing to learn from a lover lost rather than surrender to a life of hate and regret. Though Limena again insists “faigned the story to be,” she is convinced that through the fiction Pamphilia can learn “lovers Fates” and find comfort and inspiration for her own pain. And indeed Pamphilia, who the narrator tells us “gave great attention” to the story, is “so inwardly afflicted” by it that she vows to avoid the “utter ruine and distresee” that are the rewards of unreciprocated love (229). As Limena comforts the weeping Pamphilia, she knows that Pamphilia’s heart feels “the torment . . . like players of an others part” but hopes that, as Pamphilia grieves vicariously through the fictional Alena, she will be inspired to avoid or overcome similar situations in her own love for Amphilanthus (229). Fiction once again proves to be a powerful means of educating and inspiring its audience; in this case fiction offers Pamphilia the means of experiencing pain and determining how one should react to such suffering before facing such adversity in reality.

Thus, as we observe Pamphilia writing poetry, discoursing with Uranian characters, and contemplating the stories of others, we soon realize that she is gradually learning the qualities of both healthy and unhealthy love and building the conviction one must possess to remain an effective leader despite personal pain. Interestingly, as Pamphilia learns such lessons, the readers, too, are being educated through the fiction generated by Mary Sidney Wroth. We too learn that, though in love, a person must

continue to fulfill duty and responsibility, for even in passionate despair, Pamphilia knows she must never abandon her obligations as Morean princess and Pamphilian queen. As Pamphilia's logocentric education continues and as her ability to counsel others based on her insights develops, the fact that she is learning the necessary balance between love and duty becomes more and more apparent, even if at times she does lapse back into moments of despair. We as readers find ourselves analyzing (again and again and again) Pamphilia's actions and reactions, thus participating in the "exercises of the mind" that Philip Sidney advocates and emulating the power of repetition familiar to Protestant poetics.

Once queen of her own realm, Pamphilia also repeatedly contemplates the stories she has been told and the passions discovered in her own writing, and these words continuously inspire her to model the strength needed to be a respected ruler. The stories of others become a weapon with which she fights despair and strives to make active choices that will fortify her personal and political life. For example, before empowered by the stories of Alarina and Limena, Pamphilia can only half-heartedly tell Leandrus, the prince of Achaya,²⁰ that she cannot choose a husband or love without the blessing of her people:

[My marriage] must be my fathers liking, with the consent of my nearest
and dearest friends that can set any other Crowne on my head, then that

²⁰ Leandrus is, ironically, betrothed to Antissia, who loves Amphilanthus. Leandrus never surrenders his love for Pamphilia and, in fact, "striving to excell all in shew of love, fell sicke of Plurisie . . . [and] died" (*Urania* 463-4). His final act before death is to write a letter to Pamphilia beseeching her "to keep in memory of him, who most affectionately and loyally loved her" (464).

which my people have already settled there; and the consent of so great a people, and so loving to me, must not be neglected. (214)

On the surface, Pamphilia recognizes that her “obedience,” indeed her “dutie,” is to her people not to her own desires. However, careful readers appreciate that, though Pamphilia’s words sound noble at this point, her actions are far less committed. The fact is that she is only attempting to dissuade Leandrus’s love for her and is committed not to her people but to her hidden love for Amphilanthus.

Nonetheless, as the romance continues and as Pamphilia views the mirror-images of herself and of her situation in the stories of others, her empty words evolve into a deep conviction that queenly duty must supersede passion. After truly contemplating the stories, Pamphilia boldly refuses her father’s suggestion that she marry Leandrus by insisting that “his Majestie had once married her before, which was to the Kingdome of Pamphilia, from which Husband shee could not bee divorced, nor ever would have other” (262). Pamphilia has witnessed, in fiction, how love can debilitate and consume a woman, and thus, as queen, she contends that “my people looke for me, and I must needs be with them” (262). She has, in effect, “married her selfe to them,” and there is, therefore, no place in her life for the complications of a husband--unless, of course, it is a husband whom her people desire to help lead them (264). She believes or hopes this husband will be Amphilanthus whose political reputation is without question.²¹

²¹ Roberts points out that Pamphilia’s speech echoes that of Queen Elizabeth I in 1559: “Yea, to satisfy you, I have already joyned my self in Marriage to an Husband, namely the Kingdom of England. And behold (said she, which I marvell ye have forgotten,) the Pledge of this my Wedlock and Marriage with my Kingdom” (see *Urania* 747, commentary 262.31-33). Despite the similarities with Elizabeth, however, Anne Shaver contends that “Queen Pamphilia--

Ultimately, Pamphilia's continuous quest to comprehend love, marriage, and queenship slowly merges into one culminating concern: Is her love for Amphilanthus one that will strengthen her country, her rule, and her virtue or is it one that will weaken her ability to serve her country well? Will Amphilanthus prove to be a lover with whom she can maintain her self and her rule, or will he prove another example of the inconstant and repressive men she has encountered in poetry, fiction, and conversation? With these questions looming, Pamphilia turns back to words--fictive and poetic--for insight and salvation. As the men are fighting the Macedonian wars, *Urania's* narrator interjects that "now it is time to leave these affaires to Mars, and let his Mistris have her part awhile" (317). The scene presented is of Queen Pamphilia, once again walking in a secluded park, this time in her own realm of Pamphilia. She is carrying a book "wherein she read a while, the subject was Love, and the story she then was reading, the affection of a Lady to a brave Gentleman" (317). Pamphilia soon concludes that the gentleman found in the fiction equally loves the woman, "but 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 excell her in, he left her for a new" (317).

Suddenly, during this engagement with fiction, Pamphilia turns her focus from the now familiar theme of rejection to a shrewd observation that writers of fiction often choose to manipulate love and obscure its positive potentials. The queen realizes that she

and her creator Mary Wroth--is apparently more interested in love than politics. . . . she wants [Amphilanthus] to acknowledge that she herself is matchless and to love her for her excellence, just as she does him" (65). Still, *Urania's* political landscape and its echoes of Elizabeth I clearly suggest that Wroth also invests great interest in the political realm.

too has been a manipulator of love, for she has attempted to mold love to fit her desires by suppressing the fact that, in reality, Amphilanthus may not be a noble lover. The queen berates writers of fictions who choose to restrict and distort love, and, by implication, she berates herself: "How doth all storyes, and every writer use [love] at their pleasure, apparrelling thee according to their various fancies? canst thou suffer thy self to be thus put in cloathes, nay raggs instead of vertuous habits? punish such Traytors, and cherrish mee thy loyall subject who will not so much as keep thy injuries neere me?" (317). Like many writers, Pamphilia realizes that she has often dressed love in "raggs" by keeping it locked in her "fancies." The love she believes she has for Amphilanthus is not based in reality, for she has never allowed that love to be tested or even known by her supposed beloved. In frustration, Pamphilia "threw . . . away the booke" and vows that, unlike the writer of the discarded romance, she will now be love's loyal subject; she will not "turne blabb," that is she will not continue to manipulate words in an attempt to cultivate a love that may actually be pure delusion (317-8).²² If she is to be loyal to love, she must determine if her love for Amphilanthus is one of nobility and honor or one that mirrors the countless deceptive loves she has encountered in fictions read and heard. She must cease to hide her love in the safe realm of fancy and allow it to reveal its true nature, regardless of the outcome.

²² The *OED* offers the following definitions of "blabb": "1. An open-mouthed person, one who has not sufficient control over his tongue; a revealer of secrets or of what ought to be kept private; a babbler, tattler, or tell-tale 2. Loose talk or chatter; babbling; divulging of secrets."

With such an oath in mind, then, Pamphilia is determined to be honest and open with the man for whom she has harbored such emotions when she encounters Amphilanthus shortly thereafter. As he is preparing to return to war, Amphilanthus requests to see “some Verses of [Pamphilia’s], which he had heard of” (320). Immediately, the queen goes to her private cabinet and then delivers into his hands all the verses “shee had saved from the fire” (320). As Amphilanthus reads her words, now joining us as audience to her thoughts, he is moved by “their excellencies,” yet he “must find fault . . . that [she] counterfeit loving so well, as if [she] were a lover” (320). He does not realize that the words recorded reveal Pamphilia’s love for him. “[P]itie it is,” he tells Pamphilia, “you suffer not [in love], that can faigne so well” (320). Bolstered by her conviction to be honest, Pamphilia quietly responds, “Alas my Lord, you are deceived in this for I doe love” (320). With these words, Pamphilia’s struggle to hide her love ends, and her desire to analyze fully its nature reaches a new level. Now that her beloved knows of her affections and now that she is “caught . . . in his armes,” Pamphilia can determine whether Amphilanthus will prove to be a lover unlike those of the fiction she has discarded. Will she achieve a love of mutuality and respect? Will she be able to balance love with her duty as queen? Will her people accept her choice should she choose to love publicly?

Consistent with the romance’s logocentric nature, Pamphilia can continue her exploration of these questions regarding love and leadership only through the power of words and stories, for Amphilanthus must leave to engage in battles throughout Europe. Distraught by long absence and plagued with rumors of Amphilanthus’s infidelity,

Pamphilia often allows herself to fall into the despair that she has vowed to avoid, for unfortunately, Pamphilia does not always remember the “lessons learned” from the fictions with which she has engaged. Still, however, we also see her attempting to re-educate, to regenerate herself once again, through the word. Wroth’s romance makes it clear that learning is a continual process and that complete resolution to life’s questions may never be possible. One may feel she knows the whole story but must, in fact, be willing to continue to explore, to learn, and to act upon truths as they develop and reveal themselves more fully. As Luther had insisted of scriptural study, engaging with the “word” consistently and repetitively leads to new insights, and those who desire to be truly educated must be willing to learn new lessons as they are added to knowledge already gained.

For example, as her narrative continues, Wroth assures us that Alarina/Silviana’s story is one that Pamphilia holds in her mind’s collection of educative stories. On a return visit to Arcadia where she first met Alarina/Silviana, Pamphilia discovers “inscriptions in the barke” of the forest trees and bushes that are the “letters intertwined of Alarina, and her love” (482). Feeling a communal sympathy with the nymph whose story so inspired her, Pamphilia “set hers, and her deere love” under those of the nymph (482). The image of Pamphilia’s name intertwined with that of Silviana is a vivid picture of the intimate connection that Pamphilia feels for her fellow storyteller and lover. At that moment, Pamphilia truly believes that she has conclusively learned the lesson of Silviana’s story and that both women should remain stubbornly virtuous and proud of their chastity and autonomy. Suddenly, however, Pamphilia is shocked to see Alarina

approaching the grove, dressed in the attire of a bride, “crowned with Roses” (482).

Shocked, isolated and rejected, Pamphilia retires into her chamber and wonders why “alone” she must “suffer glory in such martyrdom”(482)--dishonorably, Pamphilia is taking pride in and embracing her position as victim of love rather than exploring how her feelings of love, reciprocated or not, can ennoble her.²³ Still, knowing that she should not form her final judgment of Alarina before speaking with her, Pamphilia invites the former nymph to meet her in the garden walks to discuss her change of appearance and, presumably, of heart.

Although Pamphilia begins their meeting by “taxing” Alarina “for her lightnesse in change,” she soon is forced to reconsider the lessons learned from her previous encounter with the nymph (482). Once again words are shown to be alive, regenerative, and capable of revealing new perspectives. The fact is that Pamphilia has not learned fully the lesson found in Alarina’s story, for Alarina’s final insights--the final chapter of *her* romance--are not that one must always be autonomous but that one must be *able* to live autonomously and that one can accept and respect love that is freely given. True, Alarina has accepted the return of her lover, but she insists that she has not changed; she is still “free” but now also fortunate because “I have my love tyed by his owne, and marriage vowes” (483). Her “Returning love” brings her pure happiness because now the nature of her love is not one of need and desperation but of mutuality and respect. Her

²³ Gary Waller contends that Pamphilia never emerges from her position as “predominantly a victim, unhappy, unrewarded, ‘molested’” (“Mother/Son” 413). Conversely, Naomi Miller believes that, through Pamphilia, Wroth “affirms the resilience rather than the victimization of the female character” (“Not much to be marked” 123).

lover now loves of his own volition, not of force, and recognizes Alarina's merits as an individual. In fine, Alarina contends that while she once believed she was completely fulfilled during her autonomy, she now recognizes that it was actually the necessary step towards a greater goal--a mutual and completing love. Like it or not, according to Alarina, we all may be "fine creatures alone in our imaginations; but otherwise poore miserable captives to love" (483). We are made to love and to seek a partner in life; in fact, the belief that one does not need love is vain and foolish, and Alarina suggests that Pamphilia must reject the pride she takes in her solitude. She must realize that love can actually strengthen her virtue and position as woman and queen.²⁴ If she is to live up to her noble nature, Pamphilia must cease in denying her feelings for Amphilanthus and be willing to accept the possibility that he is not the lover who will complement and fulfill her purpose as woman and queen:

Flatter not your selfe deere Princesse, for believe it, the greater your minde is, and the braver your spirit, the more, and stronger are your passions, the violence of which though diversly cast, and determined, will turne still to the government of love; and the truer your subjects are to you, the firmer will be your loyalty to him. (483)

Alarina's story had earlier taught Pamphilia that she must not fear autonomy, and now the storyteller also reveals that one should not be ashamed to love, if that love is

²⁴ Alarina's belief that love should be mutual and complementary and that Pamphilia's position as both woman and queen will be strengthened by such love reflect Spenserian ideals. For discussions on Spenser as an advocate of mutuality and the completing nature of love, see Broaddus 13-19, 137; Mallette 113-42; and Rose 77-140.

mutual and edifying and if it complements one's qualities rather than destroys them. Yes, a woman must be confident in her ability to live alone, but once this goal is accomplished she can and should join herself to a partner in love, if that love is true. With this new revelation to ponder, the women turn "to discourse of Poetry" as Alarina recites "merry songs" and Pamphilia "straines . . . of lamentation" (484). Once again Pamphilia is inspired to analyze and to emulate the truths she has encountered in the story of another. She returns to Pamphilia and vows not to let love incapacitate her and her duty as queen. The Uranian narrator assures us that "she lost not her selfe; for her government continued just and brave, like that Lady she was, wherein she shewed her heart was not to be stirr'd, though her private fortunes shooke round about her" (484). Pamphilia resolves to avail herself of true love, to continue to learn of its nature, and to meet the fear she has of rejection with honest self-esteem.

With this new resolve, we see Pamphilia's willingness to share her maturing insights with others emerge. Though wary to use her own situation to educate others, she does educate her maid, Dorolina, and herself about the precarious link between love and politics through the story of Lindamira.²⁵ As Dorolina and Pamphilia walk together "discoursing of their loves and torments for it," Dorolina asks the queen to share some of her verses. Claiming she has "growne weary of rime," Pamphilia instead offers to tell a

²⁵ Lindamira's story is often noted as one of the possible autobiographical echoes in *Urania*. Lindamira (Lady Mary) is presented as the daughter of Bersindor (an anagram for Robert Sidney) and "a great Heyre in little Brittany, of rich possessions" (Barbara Gamage Sidney). The details of Lindamira's story--her love for a Lord and her rejection from Court by the Queen--reflect Mary Wroth's own affair with Pembroke and her fall from the good graces of Queen Anne. See Roberts, *Introduction to The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth* 30-31; Hannay, "Your vertuous and learned aunt" 28; and Carrell 79-107.

tale which she feigns “to be written in a French Story,” but the reader soon recognizes that the story is very much her own (499). By molding her story into a fiction, Pamphilia proves that she is able to view her love rationally and objectively, apart from the blind passion she has so often experienced. Dorolina is pleased that in some form Pamphilia will explore “her continuall passions,” for she believes that, if “not utter’d,” they will “weare her spirits and waste them, as rich imbroyderies will spoyle one another, if laid without papers betweene them, fretting each other, as her thoughts and imaginations did her rich and incomparable minde” (499).

Thus Pamphilia begins her story that looks back “many years” when France had “many Kings” and was “divided into severall Kingdoms” (499). Separated by national and linguistic barriers, the countries eventually come “happily under the rule and government of one King”—a rule that can be held in “perpetual union” by noble marriages. The union between Bersindor and his wife is such a marriage, and their union helps to aid French stability. Additional peace results in the birth of “many faire and sweet children,” including the eldest, Lindamira. As Pamphilia describes Lindamira’s service to her country of France and to her queen, we clearly realize that the fictional Lindamira (like her creator Pamphilia, like her creator Mary Wroth) cherishes loyalty to country and duty. In fact, when the queen’s favor toward the faithful Lindamira is “withdrawn as suddenly and directly, as if never had,” Lindamira does not succumb to her “inly afflicted” despair, but instead continues to serve her queen, “never failing her duty, yet desirous to know the cause of her misfortune” (500). Believing she suffers reproof because of her love for a Lord of the court, Lindamira asks him to discover her “guilt”

and whether “she might aske forgiveness, and make humble submission” (500). Ignorant that the queen herself secretly loves the Lord, Lindamira is surprised that the “Queenes answer was, that [Lindamira] should not know the cause, therefore [the queen] willed her to be satisfied with that, and with knowledge that [the queen] was, and had just cause to bee offended” (500). Again, Lindamira does not give into the despair she feels by the queen’s rejection, and Pamphilia seems to be insinuating and learning herself that, as in previous fictions, one must not base self-worth and happiness on another’s acceptance or rejection. Retiring from the court, Lindamira establishes a home and eventually takes a husband, though she still loves her Lord.

After a period of seclusion, the Lord visits Lindamira at her husband’s estate and reveals to her the cause of her exile and fall from favor. The queen, though “match’d to a King,” had also fallen for the Lord, for though beneath her in status, “in Loves Court all are fellow subjects” (500). Ironically, this revelation is deemed an honor by Lindamira: “I protest I love her displeasure, since shee hath honour’d me with this worthy opinion, rather then I lov’d her greatest grace, and more noble is my fall, then my time of favor was” (501). Lindamira is honored because the queen’s jealousy signifies that, though a subject, Lindamira is an equal in the realm of love. Her choice to deem rejection as honorable is an inspiration to both the hearer and the teller of the tale, for as Pamphilia reveals “your fortune, deare Dorolina, and mine” mirror that of Lindamira (501). They too should learn that rejection can be interpreted as ennobling and that it can strengthen one’s virtue.

As Pamphilia continues to explore Lindamira's story, she relates how Lindamira also suffers rejection from her husband and from her returned lover. She "indure[s] an unquiet life, and miserable crosses from her husband"; she has her honor "cast downe, and laid open to all mens touns and ears"; and lastly, after fourteen years of affection from the lover following his revelation, she is "cast . . . off contemptuously and scornfully" (501-2). Once again feeling intensely that Lindamira's state as a rejected lover "Is so neere agree with mine," Pamphilia passionately claims that she is preserving the tale so that "I might call ungratefulnesse in [those who reject Lindamira], and give all ill names to [them]" (502). However, as her passion abates, Pamphilia realizes that her anger against Lindamira's lover cannot persist, for Lindamira's own story and sonnets clearly reveal that she wisely chooses to be fortified, not destroyed by her trials. Thus, Pamphilia decides "with my story [to] conclude my rage against him" (502). In an explicitly cathartic way, Pamphilia purges herself, not only of her bitterness towards Lindamira's fictionalized lover, but also of that which she secretly harbors toward Amphilanthus. By telling Lindamira's story, Pamphilia comprehends that it is unproductive to rage against a love that proves to be ignoble and inconstant. She must, like Lindamira, learn to allow her "mind to reason bow" and to "see plaine wrongs, neglects, and slightings" (Sonnet 4, lines 5, 6).

Having heard Pamphilia's story and her sonnets, Dorolina indeed believes that the words are "something more exactly related then a fixion" and that somehow the true nature of Pamphilia's own romantic and political life are being mirrored in the narrative (505). Yet, insightful Dorolina knows that, if her intimacy with Pamphilia is to continue,

she must “be no Inquisitor” and must maintain the “discretion” her confidence with the queen demands (505). Still, whether the French tale is “something more . . . then a fiction,” Dorolina and Pamphilia are inspired by Lindamira’s story to model the virtues of constancy, political loyalty, and commitment despite the rejections of others.

Reasonably, Pamphilia knows that she, like Lindamira, must strive to be a person of worth regardless of the possible inconstancy or unrequited love of Amphilanthus. She cannot, if she is to be a successful queen, allow herself to be debilitated by her lover’s actions or absence. She must rule her life with reason, not obsessive passion.

As Pamphilia vows anew to explore her love with reason, a vow we must wonder if she will *this* time be able to maintain, the readers of the romance poignantly recognize what Pamphilia cannot: Amphilanthus (like Lindamira’s lover) is indeed inconstant. He takes delight in many loves, and his infidelities often lead to political instability because his followers must separate to find him during his excursions with new lovers. Still, Pamphilia grasps to the hope that Amphilanthus will fail to live up to the true meaning of his name--“the lover of two” (*Urania* 300)--and embrace her, alone. A choice must be made, and as her creator, Wroth empowers Pamphilia (the “all-loving”) to make a wise choice by exposing her to the shared discourse and stories through which Pamphilia can make an informed decision about her love. True to the Sidney conviction that individuals must make independent decisions, Pamphilia may choose to remain deluded in love. For example, at the end of Book III, we learn that Pamphilia’s country is about to be attacked by the “young and proud King of Celicia,” Asdrusius, who has been rejected by Pamphilia as a suitor (505). Unable to “endure the scorne, or goe without her,” Asdrusius

and his “invincible Army” prepare to possess Pamphilia, both queen and country.

Smartly, Pamphilia withdraws into a “Fort by the Sea-side” and sends her army, led by Melisander, to confront the foe (505).

Still, it is Amphilanthus whom she hopes will arrive to ensure her victory. In truth, Amphilanthus does arrive, and he does achieve victory over the Celicians, killing Asdrusius in hand-to-hand combat and deeming him a “deceived poore man” (567). Like Pamphilia we believe that Amphilanthus’s actions indicate his devotion to her, and as readers we revel in the charming picture figured forth after battle:

they two sate downe under a cloath of estate, love expressing itselfe,
not only lively but perfectly in their eyes; he tooke her hand, kiss’d it,
beheld her earnestly, as amorously ready to make expression of what was
expected and hoped for, she as yeelding sate ready to grant, while he still
holding her hand in his, and as passionately gazing in her affectionately
requiting eyes. . . . (568)

Despite the seemingly exemplary scene of mutual adoration, we as readers also sense the deleterious nature of much of this love. The narrative subtly reveals that Amphilanthus, “Master of the greatest part of the Western World,” loves not humbly and reasonably but desperately. He catches Pamphilia in his arms not gently but “rather passionately . . . (like a man drowning, catching at the next thing to him to save himselfe)” (568). Blinded by love, Pamphilia never questions why Amphilanthus has returned to love her. Instead, she pitifully wonders, “Is it possible that thou hast lived to see Amphilanthus kinde again? Can he smile on these wrinkles, and be loving in my decay” (568). We are struck

by the revelation that Pamphilia, now back in her lover's arms, has forgotten her vow to approach love rationally and is once again erroneously determining her worth by physical beauty and by acceptance by a lover--not by her own successful actions as queen or her virtuous qualities as a woman.

Having constructed such a scene, Wroth once again reveals the power of the word to reveal truth. This time as Pamphilia and Amphilanthus engage in a hunt, they come upon a young shepherd singing a song that declares, "[Love's] rewards are only losses" (569, line 4). The shepherd vows to now "revile" love and to stay away "From the craft which did beguile me" (15, 16). What is interesting to note, however, is not yet another example of a character bemoaning the woes of love, but the disparate responses that the song produces. Words are interpreted differently by each person who encounters them. Upon hearing the verse, Amphilanthus declares the shepherd to be the "wiser man," to which Pamphilia playfully responds, "The liker to your mind . . . if hee love varieties" (569). For a brief moment, it appears that Pamphilia indeed recognizes the true nature of her inconstant lover--a man who, we earlier hear, "glories . . . in multitudes of womens loves" (325). Yet almost immediately, we realize that Pamphilia's words, "hee love[s] varieties," are said in jest and that she is not willing to admit that she has spoken factually. Even Amphilanthus is surprised that his true nature might be known and looks at her in alarm; "but seeing shee smild, when shee spake it, hee did so likewise" (570)--and thus Pamphilia's self-determined delusion in love continues.

Having missed the opportunity to acknowledge Amphilanthus's true nature, Pamphilia is then given yet another example of the dangers of love through another's

words. She hears a poignant version of her own life as told by the Pamphilian shepherd. The shepherd, though a servant to the queen, does not recognize her, for he has only viewed her when she was wearing a celebratory mask.²⁶ Thus disguised, Pamphilia and Amphilanthus playfully interrogate the swain as to the queen's reputation. Although the shepherd at first refuses to speak for fear of retribution, he soon is convinced that he can confide in the couple, and through his words, the opinions of Pamphilia's people are honestly and candidly delivered. He relates the story of the Pamphilians' response to their queen's recent political and romantic activities. At first the queen is pleased to hear the qualities that her subjects celebrate:

[She is] a Lady loved, and well thought on by all that ever I heard speake of her, curteous, affable, no pride dwells in her, to the meanest she will speake; yet the greatest feare her, which is her judgement and goodnesse that breedes that respect to her; shee is upright and just, in her government mild, and loving to her subjects, shee loves all good exercises as well abroad, as at home; shee hath indeed they say, a brave and manlike spirit, and wonderous wise shee is. . . . (570)

Magnanimous. Beloved. Wise. Virtuous. Courageous. Indeed, Pamphilia's "story" appears to be an affirmative one.

²⁶ Political interest among common men and women has been noted as important to the culture of seventeenth-century England. David Underdown recognizes that "There is in fact plentiful evidence that in the early seventeenth century ordinary Englishmen had opinions on national issues that reflected their underlying concern for law, custom, and 'good rule'" (120).

Yet the shepherd delivers not a sugarcoated fiction, like those Pamphilia has shown she so loathes, but a true one. Thus as he continues, Pamphilia is educated on the true nature of her people's loyalty and concern. Through the shepherd's words, the queen is forced to hear and to consider the ramifications of her romantic involvement with Amphilanthus, for after singing his queen's praises, the shepherd continues: "yet for all these good parts, shee could not keepe out Cupids clawes, but was mightily in love, and is still as it is mutterd about with a gallant man . . . for whose sake shee refused all others" (571). The shepherd reveals that her people are disappointed that she had so abruptly refused the Celician king and led her country to war with a king who was willing to "have marrd all" (571). Moreover, her people do not trust her love for Amphilanthus because they have seen that "he had before forsaken her, wherupon she grew melancholly, and came seldom abroad" (571). The Pamphilian people clearly see what their queen has refused to see--that her love for Amphilanthus has in the past, and may continue in the future, endangered their well-being, safety, and stability. In fact, the wise shepherd contends that if Pamphilia were a noble leader,

shee might by that have seene how foolish a thing love was, and have left it, and looked to her own busines, but now they say, shee is lively againe, and jolly, and well shee may, for he did gallantly release her, yet hee dwells so farre off, and having as it is said, a prety humour of changing, wee doe not wish him to her, least wee should loose her. (571)

At this point, we fully expect Pamphilia to be chastened into recognizing the unstable nature of her love for Amphilanthus, if not from the shepherd's own discourse, then from

Amphilanthus's response to it. Upon hearing the shepherd's report regarding the Pamphilian view of their queen's lover, Amphilanthus does not shrink back in shame or argue against the judgment. Instead, he and the shepherd "both laugh" and both agree that "varietie [is] the sweetest pleasure under Heaven, and constancy the foolishhest unprofitable whining vertue" (571). Disturbingly, neither the narrator nor the reader sees any recognition on the part of Pamphilia that she comprehends the true import of the shepherd's and Amphilanthus's words. Ultimately, Wroth demonstrates to her readers that they, not her heroine, have developed the ability to separate virtue from vice.

And thus Pamphilia's quest for resolution continues. While as readers we witness Amphilanthus's infidelities, his inconstancy, and, admittedly, his glories, we are also made painfully aware that true knowledge, that true education, is a slow, arduous, and unpredictable process. We learn to accumulate knowledge with each and every story, word, or poem Pamphilia encounters. As active readers, we, too, are challenged to piece together the words scattered throughout *Urania* and to construct and build a full understanding of love and of its relation to duty. Like Pamphilia, we become editors of the words that we encounter, co-writers as it were, with this fictional queen who must learn through the power of language, words, and stories to separate truth from falsehood and bring resolution to uncertainty. Pamphilia's education is, in truth, never fully resolved, yet the moments of clarity she achieves are quite distinct and worthy of consideration. As we read, we realize that perhaps Mary Sidney Wroth is revealing to us the vanity of believing we can achieve static truth, that we must be willing to continue, throughout life, to explore questions of import--be they personal, political, or religious.

Like her uncle, Wroth “never affirmeth” but challenges and trusts our willingness to seek understanding and resolution.

In conclusion, perhaps one of the most prophetic and insightful moments of clarity achieved by the queen, and one which clearly proves Wroth’s contention that logocentric education is an endless process, is found near the end of the romance. Amphilanthus strangely disappears from Pamphilia’s court, and upon searching for her lost lover, the queen comes upon a blood trail which leads to

a Crowne of mighty stones, in the mid’st one greater then all the rest, and
on that the Armour of Amphilanthus, the Sheild, the Sword . . . and the
armour was hacked, and cut in many places, besides all bloody, and the
blood as fresh, as if but newly shed. . . . (581)

Nearby lies Amphilanthus’s dead horse, “an infinite and huge Boare slain,” and “a Gentleman of excellent proportion dead also” (581). Aided by Philarchos, Pamphilia searches for Amphilanthus, believing he, too, must be dead. The two collect his armor and proceed to adorn the Crowne of stone with these “rich ornaments” in order to pay homage to the fallen hero. They are unable, however, to remove Amphilanthus’s sword from a stone in which it is embedded and out of which “smoake, and fire suddenly to flie out” (583). Realizing that she is witnessing “some Inchantment,” Pamphilia ventures forward and, spying a “ring of iron,” opens the stone that reveals “a place like a Hell of flames, and fire, and as if many walking and throwing pieces of men and women up and downe the flames, partly burnt . . .” (583).

As she surveys this “hell of deceit,” Pamphilia watches as Amphilanthus’s other lovers, Musalina and Lucenia, participate in the Emperor’s fiery punishment. As Musalina sits in a “Chaire of Gold,” she takes a sword from Lucenia and proceeds toward Amphilanthus who stands before the women “with his heart ript open, and Pamphilia written in it” (583).²⁷ Musalina prepares to “[raze] that name out, and so his heart as the wound to perish” (583). Courageously, Pamphilia attempts to stop this fiery eradication of her love. Determined that neither “flames, fier, Hell itself” can “keepe her from passing through to him,” Pamphilia is dumbfounded when she is “thrown out againe in a swound, and the doore shut” upon her attempt to enter the flame (583).

When Pamphilia “[comes] to herself,” she discovers that, once again, the written word has manifested itself as a teacher and testament to truth. Written upon the stone are the following words:

Faithfull lovers keepe from hence

None but false ones here can enter:

This conclusion hath from whence

Falsehood flowes: and such may venter. (584)

The veracity of the words--that she is faithful but Amphilanthus is not--assertively registers in Pamphilia’s mind. For the first time, the queen fully “perceived what this

²⁷ This razing of Amphilanthus’s heart has interesting parallels to regenerative patterns in other Protestant works. Barbara Lewalski points out that the “bruising and preparation” of the heart is an important part of the Christian’s “process of afflicting, pricking, and purging his own heart by meditating intently upon his own sins and God’s Law” (*Protestant Poetics* 21). Scriptural echoes can also be heard: “Create in me a new heart, O God” (*Psalms* 51). The ultimate point is that it is the individual and God, not a third party, who must purge and recreate the believer’s heart.

was, and so as sadly as before resolved, shee returned to the Court, where more like a religious, then a Court life, she lived some yeares” (584).²⁸ At this moment, Pamphilia achieves the resolution she has sought. Yet, as in the past, resolution proves elusive, for at the conclusion of the romance, when a repentant Amphilanthus returns, Pamphilia “ranne unto him, forgiving, nay forgetting all injuries, [and] he seeing her threw downe his helme, with open armes received her, and with all unfained affection embraced her, and well might he joyfully do it” (660). Thus Wroth’s *Urania* ends with “all now merry, contented, nothing amisee; greife forsaken, sadnes cast off, Pamphilia is the Queene of all content; Amphilanthus joying worthily in her; And” (661). Breaking off with the seductive “And,” Wroth insinuates that Pamphilia’s education will continue; in fact, it is not until the end of the recently published Part II of *Urania* that Pamphilia fully learns that her love for Amphilanthus is not compatible with her position as Queen. Thus she marries the Tartarian king, and, as Josephine Roberts notes, eventually discovers “a revolutionary model of male-female relations” (“Lady Mary Wroth’s *Urania*: A Response to Jacobean Censorship” 128). Pamphilia and Amphilanthus realize that women and men exist as “youke fellowes, noe superior, nor commaunding power butt in love between united harts” (*Urania II* 381).

By consistently demonstrating the power of words and of storytelling to lead one toward understanding, Wroth justifies her use of this power to “stage” fictively her larger

²⁸ Maureen Quilligan points out the similarity to Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*, Book III. In the *Faerie Queen*, Britomart saves Amoret whose heart has been ripped from her chest by Busirane. In Wroth’s depiction, “the victim is male, the torturers female. Britomart is, of course, successful in her rescue; Pamphilia is not, her impotence resembling that of Scudamor who cannot pass the flames” (“Lady Mary Wroth: Female Authority and the Family Romance” 262).

questions regarding the best means of achieving a unified Christendom. Pamphilia's education as lover and queen is never fully completed; her questions are never definitively resolved. However, through words--poetry, shared discourse, storytelling-- she is able to gain growing insights into the desirable and undesirable, the beneficent and the destructive, the many faces of love and duty that a woman and queen must face. Implicitly, then, Wroth's own fictive questioning and exploration are just that--attempts toward insight and resolution. Neither Pamphilia nor Mary Wroth may ever discover the definitive answers they so fervently seek, but they are willing to undertake the quest. In the next chapter, we will explore how Wroth embraces this "quest to question" and uses it to explore the legitimacy of the goal shared by Mary Wroth, the Sidney Circle, and King James--Christendom's Unification.

Chapter 2.

“The earth’s glory . . . famous Amphilanthus. . . so contentedly and without one opposite voice chosen”:

Amphilanthus, Holy Roman Emperor, and the Unification of Christendom

Mary Wroth’s quest to explore religio-political alternatives through her fiction is staged on the ideological map of a revived, unified, and expanded Holy Roman Empire. Vast yet meticulous, her Uranian map mirrors that of the Empire as it existed under the auspices of Maximilian II, the emperor so respected by and crucial to the convictions of the Sidney family. Yet Wroth takes the goal of Christendom’s unification a step farther than even the Emperor himself by expanding the imperial boundaries to include Eastern Europe, Asia Minor, and the Ottoman Empire, notorious home of the Islamic Turks. With this expanded empire and with memories of Maximilian in mind, Wroth stages the rise to power of Amphilanthus, Prince of Naples and Pamphilia’s often inconstant lover. Despite his personal inconstancy, Amphilanthus is presented as a man whose experiences and choices mold him into a potentially successful Holy Roman Emperor. We witness his ascent from Prince of Naples to King of the Romans to Holy Roman Emperor and thus “Master of the greatest part of the Westerne World” (*Urania* 568). More importantly, we witness attempts of other noble men and women to unify the landscape of *Urania* under his leadership. As Amphilanthus unites *Urania*’s lands, he incorporates into his political body the qualities associated with cities and principalities that have famous reputations within the Protestant tradition. Ultimately, by staging her romance on such a precise and significant political map and by training an imperial candidate, Wroth effectively establishes yet another common ground with her audience, most notably King James--the common desire for a unified, international Christendom.

Engaging with the text, King James surely would have recognized hints of his own religio-political goals. Like Wroth, James, as Graham Parry explores, was fascinated with the dream of a renewed, united Empire. Employing the iconography of the Holy Roman Empire, James figured himself as an international, imperial leader. Court pageant and poetry celebrated James as the “restorer of the *imperium sine fine* that Virgil had prophesied” (Parry 17).¹ Both James and Wroth would have been familiar with the traditional belief that a renewed Empire would usher in “a time of peace” and a “new golden age,” and indeed James’s unification of Britain was seen by some as a “prelude of imperial expansion” (16). The King was well aware of those European states that embraced this dream of a unified and eternal Empire. Ultimately, it was a dream that James hoped to make reality. How, then, did the goals of a new Empire and of Christendom’s union influence the Jacobean Court and Mary Wroth? What goals did the King and Wroth’s family share and how does *Urania* explore and test these goals through the figure of Amphilanthus?

As James ascended the English throne in 1603, it became quite clear to his subjects and to leaders abroad that he greatly desired the unification of Christian Europe and of the international Christian church. Aware of this desire, Jacques-Auguste De Thou, president of the Parliament of Paris and royal librarian to the Catholic Henri IV of France, specifically asked James to champion the “concord of the Church with common consent” (qtd. in Patterson 1). Somewhat surprising is Protestant James’s response to this

¹ Dekker’s *Old Fortunatas* “integrated [James] into the established state mythology” of imperial renewal: “And then so rich an Emperre, whose fayre brest, / Contaynes foure Kingdomes by your entrance blest, / By Brute divided, but by you alone, / All are againe united and made One.” See Parry 16.

Catholic historian; he claims that he has never been “of sectarian spirit or resistant to the well-being of Christendom” and that he hopes “to achieve and manage a work so worthy and important to that good conclusion, [namely] to the solace and peace of Christendom” (qtd. in Patterson 3). Indeed, James actively promoted himself as peacemaker of Europe and encouraged reconciliation among the major Christian churches--English Protestants, Lutherans, Calvinists, Roman Catholics, and Greek Orthodox. He adopted and celebrated the motto *Beati Pacifici* (blessed are the peacemakers) and saw his function as the instrument of potential peace. Although James is often deemed by history as politically weak or inconstant, in the recent study *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, W. B. Patterson reevaluates James not as “inept, pedantic, and whimsical” but as an “astute and far-sighted statesman” who focused his attention on achieving a “peaceful and stable community of nations throughout Europe” by attempting to resolve the volatile wars in Spain, Austria, France, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands--all of which seemed ready to ignite into a continental conflict during the years preceding the Thirty Years’ War (1618-48) (Patterson iii).

Throughout his reign, James consistently called for a conciliar relationship with the international community and advocated the formation of an ecumenical council to secure a broader European peace, a council that would include Catholic confessors. Initially, James even proposed that the papacy “take the initiative of calling [such a] council” (Patterson 37). Still, proud of his self-declared status as *Rex Pacificus*, James also let it be known that he was willing and prepared to head this assembly. Lord Kinloss

of the English Privy Council shared James's plan with the Venetian secretary and intimate of Pope Clement VIII:

True it is that if the Pope wished to summon a General Council, which, according to the ancient usage, should be superior to all Churches, all doctrine, all Princes, secular and ecclesiastic, none excepted, my master . . . would be extremely willing to take the lead and to prove himself the warm supporter of so great a benefit to Christendom.

(qtd. in Patterson 37)

James certainly appears to have embraced the possibility of an ecumenical European landscape and spent a great deal of time in his first years as James I to facilitate such a goal.

Moreover, as he explored a possible European peace, King James also recognized the importance of the Church as a means of binding together any community or kingdom. Historian Derek Hirst contends that one of James's driving convictions was a belief in "the symmetry and interdependence of church and state" (61). James expended much energy during his years as King of Scotland striving to reconcile the religious and political factions of his country; therefore, he was held suspect by many for his hesitancy to engage in Catholic persecution and for his close relationship with the Catholic nobility. The simple truth appears to be that James's policies, which leaned toward reconciliation with the Catholic church, were not embraced by the extreme Protestants of his court who were slow to differentiate between Tridentine and moderate Catholicism.² In this way,

² James, like the Sidneys, did "wish from my heart" that the Church could be reconciled: "[I wish] it would please god to make me one of the members of such a generall Christian union

the King reflects the often misunderstood Sidneys who also recognized a vast difference between the Tridentine papacy and the individual Catholic confessors who might also desire a union of Christian faiths.

Unfortunately, after years of conciliatory negotiations, James's attempts at ecumenical union were broken in November 1605 when the Gunpowder Plot was revealed. The plot, which planned to blow up Parliament in an attempt to destroy the "whole persecuting elite as well as the protestant king" (Hirst 106), was blamed on Catholic extremists. To prevent the recurrence of such treason, James and his advisors instituted the Oath of Allegiance that James believed would "conciliate moderate Roman Catholics in England" (Patterson 78). The King, still refusing to give up his vision of a unified church and government, insisted that the oath would enable him to distinguish between Roman Catholics who were loyal subjects and those who were instruments of the Tridentine papacy.³ Importantly, the Oath's seven affirmations contend that the pope has no authority to depose a king and cannot "discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance

in Religion, as laying wilfulnesse aside on both hands, wee might meete in the midst, which is the Center and perfection of all things. For if [Roman Catholics] would leave, and be ashamed of such new and gross Corruptions of theirs, as themselves cannot maintained . . . I would for mine owne part be content to meete them in the mid-way, so that all novelties might be renounced on either side. For as my faith is the Trew, Ancient, Catholike and Apostolike faith, grounded upon the Scriptures and expresse word of God; so will I ever yeeld all reverence to antiquitie in the points of Ecclesiasticall pollicie; and by that meanes shall I ever with Gods grace keepe my selfe from either being an hereticke in Faith, or schismatick in matters of Pollicie" (qtd. in Patterson 36).

³ Peter Lake sees James's desire for such a union reflected in the sermons of the time. For example, Joseph Hall, court preacher and "self-proclaimed 'moderate,'" stresses in his sermons of the 1620's "the need for unity and moderation in the Church of England and in Christendom as a whole" ("The Moderate and Irenic Case for Religious War" 58). According to Lake, Hall suggested that "there was only one holy Catholic Church united around 'one lord, one faith, one baptism'" and that "the difference between 'Catholics' and 'heretics' was to be discerned by applying the tests of the Scriptures, creeds and the primitive councils" (58).

and obedience to his Majesty” (qtd. in Patterson 79). In fine, the pope was declared a temporal ruler and, while important as a minister of the Church, was declared a leader with no political authority over James’s own sovereign rule.

After 1605, having reached an impasse with the Catholic Church, James focused his appeal on the other temporal rulers of Europe and continued his “attempt to stake out a broad middle ground of faith and practice” (Patterson 95). However, the “central paradox” of James’s policies continued to be his attitude toward the papacy (in the *Premonition* he refers to the pope both as antichrist and patriarch). Nevertheless, James consistently and actively fostered unity among the Protestant churches of Europe “while awaiting a suitable opportunity for a general religious rapprochement that would include Rome” (123). Additionally, in the years preceding the outbreak of war, James surrounded himself with intellectuals, theologians, and politicians who were committed to conciliatory ideals--men such as Isaac Casaubon, a French Huguenot who had also been a student of de Thou, the irenic Roman Catholic historian of Henry IV; Hugo Grotius, the Dutch humanist who believed that the unity of the church could be built on the “basis of first principles”; and Jean Hotman, son of Francois Hotman and compiler of the *Syllabus*, a bibliography of manuscripts concerning religious concord (Patterson 127, 139-40, 147-49). Indeed, England’s *Rex Pacificus* maintained and nurtured his dream of a revived and united empire even as European hostilities escalated.

Despite his conciliatory dreams, however, James did fail to establish a peaceful, Christian union before the Thirty Years’ War erupted in 1618, and as Mary Sidney Wroth observed the outbreak of international hostilities, she must have questioned whether or

not a different course of action could have achieved that elusive goal shared by her king and her family. To explore such a question, Wroth looks back to the irenic court of Maximilian II that was so respected by Philip and Robert Sidney, by Melanchthon and Languet, and even by James himself. Maximilian's Holy Roman Empire encompassed much of central Europe and is described in the *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation* as a "federated, supranational, multiethnic state" (Hillerbrand 2. 245). Home to a variety of languages and seventy ecclesiastical territories, the Empire became even more variegated during the Reformation, especially after the 1555 Peace of Augsburg that recognized the legitimacy of both Catholic and Lutheran churches. Because of this treaty, the Electors of each imperial province were afforded the freedom to decide which form of religion would be practiced in their principality. This autonomy was made possible because, quite importantly, the Emperor's position was not one of heredity but of election. Election guaranteed that governance was not solely in the hands of the Emperor but was shared among the various imperial princes, most especially the seven Electors who voted for the Emperor in Frankfurt--the archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne, the king of Bohemia, the count Palatine of the Rhine, the duke of electoral Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg. Ultimately, an emperor's power originated in the will of his people and was maintained by his ability to keep peace amongst various confessional parties--facts that greatly influenced Wroth's depiction of Emperor Amphilanthus as we shall soon see.

To suggest that Wroth saw an admirable ideal in Maximilian's court is not implausible. As we have already seen, Wroth and her family were greatly influenced by

the heritage of the Holy Roman Empire, for it was in Emperor Maximilian's court that Philip Sidney underwent intensive training by Hubert Languet (between 1573-75). Still yet, in Maximilian's court, Sidney observed a community of Catholic and Protestant intellectuals whose hopes of establishing an inclusive, conciliar existence among the Empire's various confessions he later sought to emulate. The reputation of this court, in which her uncle established the theories that would define her family's politics, offered an appropriate backdrop for Wroth's own inquiries into the possibility of uniting the churches and governments of Christendom. Importantly, before becoming Emperor and when King of Bohemia and Hungary, Maximilian corresponded with the same Protestant leaders who influenced the Sidneys, hoping to understand the growing Reform movement. Interestingly, one of the Emperor's most influential correspondences was with Philip Melanchthon who challenged the young ruler to be "God's tool for his *universal* church" (qtd. in Louthan 103).⁴ Indeed, Maximilian claimed to consider himself "neither a Protestant nor a Catholic but a Christian" (Louthan 87). Hoping to establish an irenic, unified Empire, Maximilian was thus influenced highly by Melanchthon's Protestantism (the same Protestantism Melanchthon taught to Languet who bequeathed it to the Sidneys) which encouraged reconciliation and understanding between the various confessions. Melanchthon's desire for reconciliation has been well

⁴ Louthan reveals an interaction between the future Emperor Maximilian and Melanchthon: "To test his son's orthodoxy Emperor Ferdinand had submitted to Maximilian a list of eleven questions concerned with basic doctrinal matters separating Protestants and Catholics. Maximilian sent the questions on to Melanchthon whose reply reached the archduke in March 1555. Though decidedly Protestant in tone, Melanchthon's answers were not the words of a militant Lutheran. He spoke of his desire for Christian unity and a pure and renewed catholic church" (103).

noted. Sister Mary Joan La Fontaine characterizes Melanchthon with terms that reflect his desire for a unified, peaceful church; he was a man of “moderation, conscientiousness, and love of peace” (29). His highest goals were to be “conciliatory” and “to settle differences by compromise” (29). J. R. Schneider agrees with La Fontaine’s assessment of Melanchthon’s character and deems him to be a “conciliatory [soul]” of “moderate behavior” and “an ancestor to the irenic mind of modernity” (3).

At the same time, such moderate goals were often misunderstood as weak pacificism, and Melanchthon and the Philippists who continued his conciliatory goals were castigated by later 16th-century Lutherans as being lukewarm, inconstant Christians.⁵ However, the fact is that Melanchthon was willing to fight for his beliefs and for the peace of Europe, even though his initial response to theological debates always “[looked] for common ground and eventual consensus between convictions” (Schneider 27).⁶ As he taught and inspired Europe’s leaders, Melanchthon insisted that hostilities could be justified but must be the last resort in dealing with forces of oppression and tyranny. These convictions, which sought peace but did not dismiss war, were those that Maximilian and the Sidneys desired to put into practice. Still, the question remained: How can leaders seek a peaceful consensus and avoid an outbreak of hostilities? The

⁵ From 1575 until 1760, Melanchthon’s “books were banned in Wittenberg, his supporters were denounced and sometimes imprisoned, and in 1610 even his portrait was torn down and kicked to pieces” (Schneider 2).

⁶ As Luther D. Peterson explains in his article, “Melanchthon on Resisting the Emperor: The *Von der Notwehr Unterricht* of 1547,” “Melanchthon indeed found justifiable reasons for resistance by lower magistrates and subjects. . . . He proclaimed a right of self-defense and the duty of protection of others, which he found valid at all times. If a superior can be judged a tyrant, these grounds justify a resistance movement and an attempt at his removal” (133). Such theories of resistance will be explored fully in Chapter 3.

answer is found in the humanist curriculum Melanchthon developed for the German university system. Melanchthon firmly believed that careful study of scripture, of literature, and of rhetoric could reveal *loci communes* (foundational commonplaces or truths) on which all Christians could agree (Schneider 73). He then asserted that irenic governments like Maximilian's and a true Christian church could be built on such foundational, universal truths. Simultaneously, Melanchthon contended that a set of *adiaphora* (indifferent things) could also be identified by true, studious Christians (73). *Adiaphora* were those doctrines and beliefs not essential for salvation; their interpretations and significance were issues about which rational Christians could agree to disagree. Ultimately, Melanchthonian doctrine suggests that believers and nations should focus on the essential and fundamental doctrines shared among Christians while accepting the differences among the confessions. Melanchthon, whether idealistically or naively, believed that committed, rational study by *vires boni et literati* could establish a common ground and thus bring spiritual unity among the churches and governments (Schneider 132). Further, the liberal arts, not theology or political theory, were the means by which one could uncover the foundational truths of the Christian faith (98).⁷

Influenced by men like Melanchthon, Maximilian's court eventually became a symbol of the irenic ideal. Howard Louthan notes that the court reflected "an adiaphoristic or tolerant spirit that eschewed confessional extremes" and goes on to point

⁷ As both a Protestant Reformer and humanist educator, Melanchthon used his talents to serve as mediator between Luther and the papists. He was also instrumental in the formulation of the 1530 Augsburg Confession that brought a modicum of peace among the various, imperial confessors. Article 7 of this document "describes the church as the assembly of all believers, in which the pure gospel is preached and the sacraments are administered according to the gospel. It rejects the notion that uniformity in ceremonies is required for unity" (Hillerbrand 1. 96).

out that, because the Holy Roman Empire and Emperor Maximilian did not mandate confessional uniformity, the court was able to attract the brightest, most influential minds of Europe (3). The Court's physician was Johannes Crato, whose mentor was none other than Melanchthon himself. Hugo Blotius, a Dutch Calvinist, served as royal librarian and gradually raised up a "a select group of both Protestant and Catholic intellectuals whose religious beliefs were nondogmatic and confessional affiliation a matter of secondary importance" (Louthan 63).⁸ Blotius's library introduced its patrons to concepts of irenicism and conciliation that were the desires of such men as Blotius's friend and intimate of the court, Justus Lipsius, whose neostoic ideals will be explored later in this study and who dedicated his edition of Tacitus's *Opera Omnia* to the Emperor (Louthan 63).⁹ The library itself has been celebrated as a symbol of the cross-confessional unity Maximilian seems to have desired:

In a Europe divided by faith, law, language and government Blotius was seeking a program that could unite the continent. It was the library which best expressed his vision of a unified world. From its iconography to its

⁸ In their important study, *Literary Culture in the Holy Roman Empire, 1555-1720*, James A. Parente, Jr., Richard Schade, and George C. Shoolfield even reveal that "many of the leading Catholic and Protestant writers in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century empire sought the favor of the emperor and his Imperial ministers in order to advance both their literary and political ambitions." They contend that it is this "late sixteenth-century learned world [that] ostensibly created the intellectual stage upon which the seventeenth-century *theatrum mundi* would be played" (6-7).

⁹ Louthan points out that throughout Maximilian's reign "efforts were made to secure [Lipsius's] services in Vienna," and in fact, Lipsius did stay in the city for an extended visit in 1572 (64). Lipsius eventually became a pioneer in the "active [that is, military] side of irenicism" (66), a fact that will be crucial to our study in Chapter 4.

contents this institution offered [Maximilian's court] a view of reality consistent with its imperialist orientation and all-embracing in scope. (84)

In the shadow of this library, Melanchthon's disciple Hubert Languet continued to study and to advocate his mentor's theories while serving in Maximilian's imperial court as ambassador for the Elector Saxony and while teaching and communicating with Philip Sidney. As Wroth looked back to the Holy Roman Emperor, to his irenic idealism, and to the Melanchthonian influence present in his court, she surely was reminded that her uncle had been not only an eyewitness but also a participant in Maximilian's court. His mentor Languet, who also witnessed the Saint Bartholomew's Massacre, realized that a relationship with "the tolerant Holy Roman Emperor, should be cultivated" (Osborn 79). As an ambassador and intermediary between the rulers of the Empire and the Huguenot leaders of Saxony, Languet served in the court from 1573-77 and came to view Philip Sidney as the potential leader who could help unite the religio-political forces of Europe against both Catholic and Protestant extremists (Hillerbrand 2. 389-90). Often in Maximilian's court between 1573 and 1575, Sidney studied with Languet and also participated in court discussions with those scholars attracted to the court: Hugo Blotius,¹⁰ Johannes Crato, Charles d'Ecluse (the pioneer botanist), and Lazarus von Schwendi, commander-in-chief of Maximilian's Hungarian forces, to name a few.¹¹

¹⁰ Osborn notes, "In Blotius Sidney made a new and valued friend who is frequently mentioned in letters during the next two years. Although twenty-one years older than Sidney he was still unmarried, so he could easily join the gatherings of the Languet circle" (255).

¹¹ Schwendi's own words profess his loyalty to the irenic ideal and to the Emperor: "God loves and blesses the one who follows moderate and conciliatory policies. But he will punish the one who in his own arrogance steps out of the middle way, who conceives cruel and bloody schemes, who satisfies an overindulged appetite for vengeance, who conceives all his plans with defiance, force and speed, who cares little for the shedding of Christian blood and the creation of

Sadly, though irenic in its idealism, Maximilian's court and its humanist scholars gradually fell prey to the divisive nature of extreme confessionalism. Languet recognized the division occurring as his own employer, the Elector Augustus, ended his tolerance towards Calvinists and Philippists and insisted on staunch Lutheranism in his principality (Osborn 185). Languet realized that peacefully establishing unity among all Christian churches and governments was now impossible since even his own Protestant church could not agree on matters of doctrine. In a letter to Sidney, he laments the failure of unity and the regression back to ideologies of immoderation and divisiveness:

Furthermore, so that I may have every reason to be wretched, almost all of the men whose friendship I have cultivated during my happy life in Germany the last twenty years, and whose company in fact made me consider Germany my homeland . . . have been plunged into disasters. . . . I am afraid that, as a matter of fact, some of them believe that part of the blame for those misfortunes lies with me. . . . And yet these woes have no other source than the pride and ambition of theologians who immediately conceive an unappeasable hatred for, and plot to destroy by whatever means they can, any good man who should try *to recall them to moderation*, or should *peacefully remind* them of their office, or should not subscribe to all their decrees. (5/7/1574 [emphasis mine])

so much sorrow and misery. God will finally humble him and end his days in distress" (qtd. in Louthan 23).

Languet apparently still desired a peaceful union of Christian states, but as a later letter reveals, he fully understood the divisive danger and weakness of extremism, even

Protestant extremism:

Our party has this failing, that if an excellent man should err even in the smallest matter, they immediately class him among the wickedest of men. I am by nature and principle averse to judgements of this sort, and I know that many people criticize me for this and say that I derive it from my teacher Melanchthon. Thus far I regret neither my teacher nor my principles, and shall not be led away from either by the criticisms of those who are naturally more captious or severe than I am. (7/24/1574)

In the end, Maximilian's death in 1576 ended irenicism in Vienna, and though Sir Philip traveled as ambassador to the imperial funeral in hopes of revivifying attempts for a Protestant League, the hope of a unified Christian Europe had fallen.¹²

The hope, however, did not die. Even after Philip's death in 1586, the Sidneys refused to neglect his hope of a unified Christian Europe. Almost immediately upon his brother's death, Robert Sidney picked up the family's political mantle. Robert had

¹² Louthan contends that in Maximilian's funeral one can actually see the end of irenicism in the Empire. Maximilian's Protestant physician Johannes Crato celebrated the emperor's irenic ideal in his funeral address: "I need not add how the most holy emperor governed many years ago when he saw the whole welfare of the Christian republic threatened. He labored for the . . . sake of Christendom whose borders he would extend. He was eager by friendly agreement to unite the souls of Christians" (qtd. in Louthan 136). Conversely, the Jesuits who organized the elaborate funeral rites, as Louthan so lucidly puts it, "reclaimed in death a man whom [they] could not control in life" (137), for in the ceremonial drama ending the funeral, "As Maximilian was led heavenward by the goddess Astraea, he bestowed his imperial blessing on the Counter-Reform policies of the new emperor" (141). Tridentine Catholicism now retained control, and its policies would gradually help escalate the tensions that led to the Thirty Years' War.

accompanied Philip to the Netherlands and was with Philip when he died.

Consequentially, less than two years later, in 1588, Robert took his brother's place as governor of Flushing. Having also received training on the continent under the direction of Hubert Languet, Robert embraced the same political ideals as his brother. Serving in Flushing for a decade and later becoming Queen Anne's lord chamberlain, Robert Sidney also eventually became one of the chief supporters of James's daughter and son-in-law, Elizabeth and Frederick, as they assumed the throne of Bohemia, thus representing for a brief moment the potential of Protestant imperial rule. Wroth's lover, William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, also supported the Palatine exiles and is noted by Gary Waller as "continuing . . . many of the political ideals Philip Sidney bequeathed to the family" (86). Although an anti-Spanish Parliamentarian, Pembroke also consistently looked for "ways of reconciling king with Parliament," for his ultimate desire was to secure control of a unified Europe (Waller, *The Sidney Family Romance* 89). Surely, with Frederick and Elizabeth's overthrow and with the beginning rumbles of what would become the Thirty Years' War, Wroth's, her uncle's, her father's, and her lover's hopes of a unified Christendom seemed yet again to be dying.

Amidst the escalations on the continent and motivated by her family's increasing frustrations with James and his refusal to take action, Wroth thus identified a hope in Maximilian's distant image, his court, and his active attempts to unify Christendom. She seems to have recognized how close Maximilian came to establishing a balance between the religious and political necessities of his Empire. In her fiction, then, she emulates his aims in the rule of *Urania's* Holy Roman Emperor, Amphilanthus. As she begins to train

her ideal emperor in a world of dangerous disputes, Wroth proves that she recognizes the political dangers and personal trials an imperial hopeful might face. For example, personally, Amphilanthus is an inconstant man and one who is too often motivated by the need for individual glory or satisfaction. However, if he is to be a successful emperor, Amphilanthus must redeem himself, learn to serve humbly, and realize that no ruler governs without the sanction and involvement of others, just as no imperial ruler rules without the consent of his electors and people. From the very beginning, Wroth insinuates that no man, neither Maximilian nor James nor Amphilanthus, can lead an empire independently, and the interdependent nature of successful rule is immediately evidenced as Amphilanthus begins his royal life. We learn that a "Villaine by nature" has stolen Amphilanthus's sister Urania in an attempt to prevent the "many prophesies, and likelihoods of the greatnes, and worth of Amphilanthus" (232). Kidnaping the princess by means of his "skill in Magicke," the villain hopes to hinder Amphilanthus's rise to power (232). Amphilanthus may desire to seek out his own glory, but quite clearly, the first step toward his imperial rule is not to achieve personal recognition but to find and to reunite himself with this stolen sister. Though the prince may wish to view himself as autonomous and self-sufficient, as did James, he must first learn that a successful ruler humbly realizes the need to work with, interact with, and, at times, rely on others. Only then can Amphilanthus fulfill his destiny as ruler of the larger part of the world.

Positioning Amphilanthus as an emperor in training, Wroth opens *Urania* in a state of chaos as its people seek a leader to unite them. As we have discussed, the displaced Urania is in despair over her uncertain identity, and Amphilanthus's political

quests are stalled until they are reunited. Consequently, Urania is a symbol of the political disorder and hesitancy that characterizes the romance's beginning. An anonymous shepherdess, Urania must be found and reunited with her imperial brother and her own political duty before order can be sought and established--once again, a woman must be "marked" before larger goals can be fully addressed. Immediately, a vivid, microcosmic image of *Urania's* larger political disorder is mirrored in Urania's predicament, and as the romance continues, we soon learn of many others who are displaced from their political duties, thus preventing a stable union of imperial states. The Albanian and Macedonian thrones are in the hands of usurpers. Parselius is absent from his realm and duties in Morea because of his search to find Urania. And, as mentioned, Amphilanthus, in whom so many have placed their hopes, is unable to pursue fully his political duty until he delivers his sister to her people. Indeed, the governments and leaders of *Urania* are far from stable and secure, and this fictional chaos surely parallels the disordered European landscape that Wroth observed. Like Europe, *Urania's* lands need a leader to unite them, and the one figure whom all believe is capable of bringing order from this disorder is anxiously awaited. The disordered world awaits the leader who will unite it through his wisdom, his desire for irenic union, his willingness to use force as a last resort, and his spiritual leadership--the notable hallmarks of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian and those qualities to which King James claimed to aspire.

Into this fictional world of political upheaval, Wroth brings Amphilanthus as he journeys throughout Europe and Asia Minor on a path toward political power. In a complex network of story-within-story-within-story, Wroth traces the growth of this often

inconstant man from a position of proud knight-adventurer to the leader of a virtually unified Empire. As he is directed by his creator's pen, Amphilanthus gradually learns to embrace the multifarious roles demanded of an imperial leader like Maximilian II. If he is to be a successful emperor, Amphilanthus must seek to unify the geopolitical landscape on which he travels by facilitating order and union in the relationships among his subjects--especially those relationships that bear both romantic and political implications. As an irenic conciliator, he must serve as priest, confessor, and compassionate spiritual leader to the distraught. Finally, he must learn to make difficult decisions, especially those decisions that must be made by faith and those that must advocate violence.

Preparing the stage for Amphilanthus and his imperial training, Wroth expands the boundaries of the traditional Holy Roman Empire so that it not only extends from Central Europe to the North Seas and to the boundaries of the Venetian Republic, France, and the Ottoman Empire, but also to key cities and territories of Protestant history. Additionally, Wroth's empire unites areas not only famous to the Protestant tradition but to that of the Eastern and Catholic churches as well, thus reflecting the irenic and conciliatory goals of Maximilian and James. Wroth's empire includes Maximilian's Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia with their well-known Protestant histories. Simultaneously, the empire she forges unites the very Catholic and very Spanish territory of Naples; the Greek Pelopponesus of Morea; the Eastern European lands of Albania and Macedon; the site of the Eastern Church, Constantinople; the land of Pamphilia, home to the Ottoman Turks; and even the land of Albion--Wroth's own England. This expansive map demonstrates the grand scale of Wroth's experiment, for she seems to suggest

through this map that, if irenic unification is to occur, it should not be limited to the comfortable boundaries of the Western Church. Thus as Amphilanthus brings these famous territories under his influence, he demonstrates the potential union that can be forged between governments and churches. Still yet, he begins to incorporate in his political body the religious attributes affiliated with each area.

How then does Amphilanthus become an image of the irenic ideal of an imperial leader? How does he balance the conciliatory yet active goals of Melanchthon, Maximilian, James, and Wroth? From the beginning, Wroth strives to create an emperor who will bring irenic union among various people and confessions. For example, Amphilanthus does not fit the traditional parameters of those eligible for the throne of the historical Holy Roman Emperor, for he is not a citizen of one of the Empire's seventy ecclesiastical territories. Instead, Amphilanthus is prince of Naples, which from 1504 until 1713 was governed in the name of Catholic Spain. Because Wroth was a Sidney, her willingness to offer a Neopolitan prince, a potentially *Catholic* prince, as her romance's hero is highly significant, for she immediately positions Amphilanthus as an irenic figure who is able to rise above confessional disputes. In fact, as she trains her emperor, Wroth, like Maximilian, consistently avoids the terms Protestant and Catholic and privileges instead the irenic, inclusive label "Christian" when speaking of spiritual states or confessions. Nonetheless, though she never uses the term Catholic, Wroth's subtle inclusion of a Catholic principality into her expanded empire exemplifies her desire for a conciliatory union of Christendom's kingdoms and churches. Still yet, Amphilanthus is, early in his career, crowned King of the Romans by the Emperor for

“having protected the Empire” and is subsequently blessed by the pope (45). As confirmed Protestant, Wroth carefully presents a pope who is a servant of the church as is Amphilanthus, not one who is in a position of political power. The pope blesses Amphilanthus but by no means takes part in his election as king or later as emperor. Nevertheless, as Prince of Naples and King of the Romans, Amphilanthus embodies the reputations of both Spain and Rome, Catholic kingdom and Catholic seat, allusions surely not lost on Wroth’s astute readers. Simultaneously, however, Amphilanthus’s actions, as we shall soon see, reflect key Protestant doctrines regarding the priesthood of all believers--the belief that every individual functions as a priest both to himself and to others. This union of Protestant and Catholic ideals in Amphilanthus begins the making of an irenic, Christian emperor.

Because so much hope lays in the man who can successfully forge union, Amphilanthus’s growth as both a political and spiritual leader is tantamount to Wroth’s quest as she explores the tactics by which a unified Christendom can be achieved. Wroth wastes little time in testing her imperial candidate, and Amphilanthus moves quickly from being a young prince searching for his lost sister to being a king thrust into the midst of an international attempt to place the rightful rulers of Albania, Macedon, and Romania on their thrones. Still yet, as he journeys toward the battles that will ultimately place the rightful rulers on their thrones, Amphilanthus undertakes a series of adventures that reveal the value of an irenic and unified Christendom and the qualities demanded of the ruler of such a union. As already asserted, Amphilanthus’s quests are important geographically, for the locales through which he travels have distinct Protestant histories

that are assimilated into Amphilanthus's character. In the body of this king, therefore, we witness the empire slowly become unified under the influence of a maturing Christian ruler.

For example, one of Amphilanthus's first quests is toward Constantinople, which during Wroth's time was under the auspices of the Turkish or Ottoman Empire. Despite Constantinople's Islamic environment, the Orthodox Church maintained a presence here as it attempted to reconcile with the Roman Church, and thus one of Amphilanthus's first acts in the romance is to unite symbolically Christianity's eastern and western churches.¹³ Seated at the crossroads between Eastern Orthodoxy and Ottoman Muhammadism, Constantinople is thus another reminder that Wroth's irenic ideal includes the lands and churches beyond the boundaries of the historical Empire. And Amphilanthus is positioned as the instrument through which such a consolidation can occur. Early in Book I, Amphilanthus heads to Constantinople because an unlawful usurper of the Romanian throne has barricaded himself behind its walls; Amphilanthus is pledged to secure the throne of Romania for its rightful ruler. The events leading to the usurpation of Romania's throne are long and entangled. Initially, Amphilanthus learns that the Romanian king has suffered two afflictions: the belief that his daughter is dead and the death of his virtuous Queen. Motivated by extreme sadness, the King has taken a "young, politique and wicked" wife who has turned him against his own son and brought the kingdom to ruin (33). The page Allimarlus is thus sent by the old, disillusioned king to find Amphilanthus and to request that he find the king's lost daughter. Originally, then,

¹³ For a discussion of Wroth's attempts to unite East and West through the marriage of Pamphilia and Amphilanthus, see Cavanagh, *Cherished Torment* 19-52.

Amphilanthus's mission is to reunite those who are separated, to expose the queen who has led others to ruin, and to aid in the spiritual renewal of persons who repent their wicked ways--all qualities Wroth appears to desire in an imperial ruler.

As the story continues, however, Amphilanthus's role evolves from instrument of reunion to that of political justice. He learns from Seleucius, the King of Romania's brother, that the wicked wife has had Antissius banished, all loyal servants beheaded, and Antissius and his family confined in a castle. Eventually, he further learns that the wicked queen has concocted a conspiracy theory that has led to Antissius's death from a "blow given him by a trayterous villaine, which strake his head in two" (55). Horrified, Amphilanthus also learns that Antissius's wife has died in mourning, an apparent suicide, but has left a letter that asks Seleucius to protect her child (Antissius II), to overthrow the wicked woman, and to place the rightful ruler on the throne (57-8). The fragmented story breaks after this revelation, and when, finally, Amphilanthus hears the story's conclusion from the lips of an "honest [Romanian] Captain," he learns that the evil woman never ceased in her purusit to destroy Antissius's line (71). Taking a lover, she seduced this dupe into helping her murder the King and then placed her son, "the young unlawfull king," on the throne (72). The "chastlesse Queene" then began "heaping murders upon murders . . . [poisoning] them" who might suspect her sin (72). Providentially, however, the queen's lust proved to be her downfall, for when her lover overheard her seducing a visiting ambassador, he vengefully confessed the "wicked and abominable treasons" they committed (74):

For her sake, by her consent, knowledge, and command, I slew the King; shee having given mee her faith (which as a faith I esteemed; but alas, it was a shadow put in a false light) that shee would marry me; this added to a naturall ambition I had to greatnesse, not judicially weighing, how heavy a justice this weight of honor should bee, so divellishly sought for, or attained. (74)

For their actions, actions that are revealed not only to the queen's son but also to the ambassadors from nearby kingdoms, the two are put to death. He in "the manner of foure wild horses" and she by having "her head struck off" (74).

Despite the revelation of treason, however, some Romanians continue the spirit of rebellion and refuse to admit that their country is ruled by a man representing regicide and murder. Therefore, they have helped the unlawful king to be "shut up in the great City of Constantinople . . . vowing never to lay down armes" until his power is retained (75).

Others "cry out for Antissius, honouring the very name as a god" and plead that Amphilanthus secure his rightful throne. After his long journey to Constantinople and his careful consideration of all events, Amphilanthus is quite certain of his duty. As an imperial hopeful and as a legitimate ruler in his own right, he must ensure that the regicide is punished and that Antissius II is given his rightful opportunity to rule. In a tournament battle, Amphilanthus defeats the usurper and watches as Antissius is "received with much joy at [his] Coronation" by the Romanian people (77). Those who watch noble Amphilanthus realize that they are observing a figure who is capable of securing just rule and uniting even seemingly disparate lands, thus the citizens of both

Romania and Constantinople give him their loyalty. The union of East and West becomes part of Amphilanthus's expanding identity as an imperial leader.

Having added Constantinople and Romania to his political body, Amphilanthus soon also brings the island of Cyprus under his religio-political influence. As did Constantinople, the tiny, Mediterranean island of Cyprus had an notable religious history that would not have been lost on Wroth. Her own biblical reading would remind her that Cyprus was the island home of Barnabas, that helpmeet to the apostle Paul. In the first century of the church, Cyprus was the sight of many Jewish conversions and an island from whence many left to preach to the Greeks.¹⁴ Still yet, during Roman persecutions, Cyprus maintained its Christian identity as a type of labor prison for Christian confessors. As an island of conversion, Cyprus adds yet another compelling dimension to Amphilanthus and another bit of evidence regarding Wroth's advocacy of a unified Christian Europe. By adding Cyprus to his political body, Amphilanthus becomes the image of an irenic ruler who is committed to converting and unifying spiritually those under his influence.

The Cyprus enchantment is one to which we will return often, for, in the end, it can be seen as an inclusive paradigm of the entire policy behind *Urania*. For the moment, however, it is the geographical importance of Cyprus and its reputation as a place of conversion that are significant. As Amphilanthus is traveling across the Uranian landscape, a group of lovers becomes imprisoned in an enchantment designed by the Cyprian king who fosters great contempt for the Christian faith. After a long period of

¹⁴ Acts of the Apostles, Chapters 12 and 13.

time, Amphilanthus arrives on Cyprus to venture the enchantment and to free the couples who are entrapped. Most interesting to this discussion is that fact that his arrival also facilitates the conversion of the entire Cyprian people. As the lovers are freed, Wroth offers one of the strongest images of the role an emperor must have in striving to achieve Christendom's union. While the lovers celebrate their freedom, they are met by the King of Cyprus who had designed the enchantment out of hate for the Christian faith.

However, now the King

out of love to the Christian faith, which before he condemned, seeing such excellent, and happy Princes professors of it, desired to achieve it, which Amphilanthus infinitely rejoycing at, and all the rest, Christned him with his wife, excellently faire daughter, and Polarchos his valiant Sonne, and so became the whole Island Christians. (170)

Thus the possibility is advanced of Christendom's gradual unification by means of a king, princes, and princesses who serve as spiritual guides, models, and pastors of the faith. Additionally, we see a very Protestant concept of baptism advocated. Reflecting the Protestant belief that all are members of a priesthood of believers and that each believer can serve as priest to self and to others, Wroth allows her king, neither an ordained priest nor pope, to administer the sacrament of baptism. Added to Amphilanthus's roles as Neopolitan prince, Roman king, and unifier of the Eastern and Western churches are the roles of Christian confessor and priest--roles Wroth's Protestant faith and family would celebrate.

As the romance continues, the potential of Christendom's Unification is explored further in two countries long regarded as important to the conciliatory spirit that Wroth examines. Hungary and Bohemia are brought into union through the marriage of Ollorandus and Melasinda. Both countries have compelling associations that would have echoed in the minds of *Urania's* readers. Surely, Bohemia was ever-present in readers' minds as they contemplated the recent events that had displaced Frederick and Elizabeth from the country's throne. Additionally, Maximilian, whose reign and court is reflected in Wroth's romance, had been king of both Hungary and Bohemia before assuming his position as Holy Roman Emperor. In the early sixteenth century, Hungary had been a volatile land in search of religious toleration and became unified only through a difficult and very gradual movement inspired by the Reformation and humanist spirits. Interestingly, Hungary became a symbol of the power that education can have in facilitating conciliatory peace. During the second half of the fifteenth century, nearly one hundred students from Hungary attended the University of Vienna and twelve hundred the University at Krakow, and they brought home with them humanist ideals of spirituality (Hillerbrand 2. 272). By 1522, a Lutheran presence also existed in the mining cities of the north, and a 1526 revolt of peasants and miners who were demanding religious freedom was "blamed on the spread of Reformation ideas" by the lesser nobles and ecclesiastical hierarchy (272). By the end of the sixteenth century over 120 schools "in the spirit of Melanchthon" were teaching "evangelical piety and humanist eloquence" to a diverse student body (273). On this educational foundation, reform communities in Hungary gradually petitioned for tolerance and civic rights, and by the Diet of 1608,

reform communities were legally independent and religious toleration was enlarged.¹⁵ Hungary, then, symbolized the potential of religio-political conciliation achieved through educational reform--goals that Amphilanthus must embody if he too is to build a peaceful empire.

Like Hungary, Bohemia and its center at Prague also had a distinct history in the Reformation movement. After 1400, the majority of Bohemia's population was Czech, and Czech resentment grew in response to the perceived corruption of the Catholic church and its treatment of this population. Inspired by the martyrdom of its leader Jan Hus, this Czech population broke with Rome and placed the Bohemian church under lay control, an action historically recognized as the Hussite Movement. Although reformers like Martin Luther were initially ignorant of Hussite teachings, they eventually saw affinities with their own doctrines, and by 1564, Lutherans, Hussites, and another sect, the Bohemian Brethren,¹⁶ found themselves united under the conciliatory reign of Maximilian II. In 1575, the *Confessio Bohemica* assured Protestants free practice of their religion and was a "landmark of confessional coexistence in Reformation Europe" (Hillerbrand 1. 183). The tolerant spirit of Bohemia was strengthened further in 1609 when Emperor Rudolph granted the Letter of Majesty that was "a full charter of religious freedoms" (183). We can be assured that Wroth was well aware of the Bohemian tradition of

¹⁵ For a complete discussion of Hungary and of its volatile journey towards religious toleration, see Hillerbrand 2. 272-302.

¹⁶ The Bohemian Brethren stressed "discipline and education" and "a closely ordered communal life" and were influenced by Reformation thinkers, most especially Philip Melanchthon "who nurtured a succession of young men from the brethren as students in Wittenberg" (Hillerbrand 1. 185). The Brethren were instrumental in ecumenical movements throughout Europe and, like Melanchthon, focused a great deal of effort on developing an "enlightened school system" to further spiritual and humanist thought (186).

tolerance and of humanist learning, for the Bohemian Revolt of 1617, which many believed was waged to defend these hard-won Protestant rights, was the movement to which both her father and lover gave their support.

So how does Wroth's romance symbolically join the two countries noted for their pursuits of learning and confessional freedom, thus adding their reputations to Amphilanthus's identity as a leader? How does Amphilanthus add their reputations of educational and spiritual conciliation to his political identity? In Book I of *Urania*, Ollorandus, the Prince of Bohemia, becomes the close confidante of Amphilanthus. After helping Amphilanthus free Constantinople and place Antissius on his throne, Ollorandus informs Amphilanthus that earlier he had seen a vision of a "Creature, for shape a woman" whose very appearance "demaund[ed] obedience" (78). In a dream vision, the woman petitioned Ollorandus to come to her aid: "Arise, leave Bohemia, and rescue me from the hands of Rebels." When asked where she was imprisoned, the vision answered, "In Hungaria" (78). Ollorandus informs Amphilanthus that he then went to the Emperor who gave him "an excellent Horse, and . . . all conveniences" to rescue this woman who was the rightful Queen of Hungary but who had fallen under the control of Rhodolindus:

I mett the newes of a great rebellion made by the uncle Kings Bastard sonne, called Rhodolindus, against the Daughter and Heire of the second brother, called Melasinda, who was Crowned Queen, after the decease of her Uncle and Father. (79)

Ollorandus recounts how he traveled to Hungary with all intentions of liberating Melasinda and destroying Rhodolindus. Upon his arrival, however, Ollorandus

determined that he must unselfishly support the will of the people who “weary of war . . . [now called for] a peace, on those conditions that [Rhodolindus] should lay down all claime to the Crowne, yeelding wholly to her” and that Melasinda would take him as husband (79). Though Öllorandus and Melasinda now loved each other, they agreed to accept the conditions of peace for the good of Hungary. Without the peace, Melasinda would remain “people-lesse, and kingdom-lesse,” and Hungary would remain in turmoil (79). Still, though the union brings peace, it is clearly, in Ollorandus’s mind, not the union through which Hungary can reach its full potential. The ideal union is that between Ollorandus and Melasinda. Nevertheless, though their union is not yet accomplished, the survival of Hungary’s queen and the nation’s status as a land of education and conciliation is assured.

Amphilanthus hears his friend’s narrative with interest and stubbornly contends that the union of the lovers and thus of their countries might still be possible in the future. As a potential emperor capable of worthy insights, Amphilanthus recognizes those unions that will bring the most stability and excellence to a realm. Thus Amphilanthus takes action to ensure that Ollorandus’s own Bohemian kingdom is preserved and that the hope for a union with Hungary survives. In Book II, the “two brave Companions” are traveling toward Bohemia when they learn of its king’s death, a death that makes Ollorandus the rightful ruler (267). Unfortunately, Severus, Ollorandus’s uncle, is holding the throne in hopes that Ollorandus has not survived his continental sojourns. Upon their arrival at court, Amphilanthus and Ollorandus are met with treachery, for the “Old Duke and his sonne comming together, and encouraging their servants by promises, commanded [them]

by threatnings to kill” Ollorandus (270). Sensing this danger, Amphilanthus saves his comrade’s life and then facilitates Ollorandus’s coronation at Prague (271). The soon-to-be-imperial hand of Amphilanthus thus becomes the instrument through which Ollorandus maintains both his Bohemian kingdom and his hopes for union with Melasinda of Hungary. Amphilanthus is proving himself to be an emperor capable of forging unions of strong Christian states.

The union in which Amphilanthus has identified such hope is affirmed by divine providence. After his coronation, Ollorandus sends his messenger dwarf to Hungary with a letter of encouragement for Melasinda. Always careful to fulfill responsibility before turning her attention to personal matters, Melasinda completes the task at hand, in this case hunting, before reading his letter. Then, happily assured that her respectable love for Ollorandus will eventually be divinely sanctioned, Melasinda burns the letter to keep the love safe, saves the ashes as reminder, and sends her own letter in return--a poem that reflects upon the “pure and holy fire” that will preserve her love until “Joynd with mutuall holy band” (273). Soon, as divine providence would have it, Melasinda’s husband dies “by a bruise” received in a tournament joust with Amphilanthus, leaving Melasinda “a brave and faire Widow” (329). Still wise and respectful, Melasinda does not immediately turn to her lover Ollorandus. Instead, she mourns her husband’s death and focuses on her duty to her country’s “Counsell” (329). After long months honoring her husband’s memory, the Queen of Hungary, land of revolt and religious tolerance, is then finally united with her first love, Ollorandus, King of Bohemia, land of educational and spiritual conciliation. “After the happy delivery” from despair, a coronation is

performed that adds yet two more countries to the growing European union that is being forged by Amphilanthus's actions (329).

Rome. Naples. Cyprus. Hungary-Bohemia. Amphilanthus's national, political, and spiritual importance to the Uranian landscape is increasing with every land he encounters. During his travels in Hungary-Bohemia, Amphilanthus also adds to his political consciousness the glories of Moravia and of its own Protestant history. Historically, Moravia experienced a religious reformation of its own a century before Luther's (Hillerbrand 3. 87), and by 1527 confessors of several kinds found Moravian toleration to be attractive. Peter J. Klassen describes Moravia as follows:

Here, local lords allowed the Anabaptists to settle and establish communal farms. Agricultural products, as well as the skilled labor of craftsmen, such as masons, carpenters, tailors, coppersmiths, hatters, and others proved decisive economic factors in persuading local authorities to allow religious nonconformity. . . . prominent nobles insisted on religious toleration. . . . (in Hillerbrand 3. 88)

According to this historian's analysis, Moravia pragmatically recognized not only the spiritual benefits of religious toleration but those that were economic as well. This practical advantage of religious peace is also added to Amphilanthus's evolving identity as future emperor.

More important to this study is the fact that it is in Moravia that Amphilanthus also learns to appreciate fully the importance of forging "firme leagues" amongst countries and the potential fragility of such "oath[s] of friendship" (280-81). As

Amphilanthus and Ollorandus pass through Moravia, "they [meet] a strange encounter, and a sad spectacle"--a funeral procession in which "at the feet of the Body sate a Ladie" (274). They learn she is Sydelia of Moravia who is seeking the aid of King Amphilanthus to help her avenge the death of her husband Antonarus, Prince of Silesia. In "so long a times discourse" that the procession must stop for the narrative to be told, Sydelia relates the tale of Antonarus's and her brother Terichillus's ill-fated friendship (274). As youths, both men served in the Emperor's Court where Terichillus fell in love with an Austrian woman, who instead loved Antonarus. To save his friendship, Antonarus avoided her love, yet eventually Terichillus learned of the love and, rather than hate the lady, misdirected his hatred toward his loyal friend. Thus Antonarus left the court, returning to Silesia, and the lady grew to hate Terichillus whom she blamed for her beloved's departure. Truly a man of spite, Terichillus then sent the lady a series of counterfeit letters purported to be from Antonarus, the last of which claimed that "she must be contented to be plainly told, that he [Antonarus] despised her forwardnesse, and as much her self, his heart being set already on one, farre more deserving" (277). She should, according to the missive, marry Terichillus "who affectionatly loved her" (277). Heartbroken and despondent, the lady died.

When Antonarus, who was now married to Sydelia, heard of the lady's death, he and his brother Polisander met the deceiver in battle. However, when they "might have killed him," the men showed "mercy more then judgement" and instead established what they believed to be a "firme league" and "oath of friendship" (280-81). This peace lasted for a year, yet Terichillus's true nature was eventually revealed. Inviting Antonarus and

Sydelia to "Feasts, Tiltings, and all braverie of the Court," the "unnaturall" Terichillus placed "traytors" disguised as "Satyrs" in the brush who then murdered Antonarus in so "savage an act" that they made Sydelia watch. Returning to Silesia, Sydelia has now claimed her right to "reveng," asking Polisander to declare her young son "heire and Prince of Selesia" (282). As he hears this story of broken oaths and treason, Amphilanthus "much pittied" and "admired the Lady" and agrees to pursue Terichillus.

As a political leader, Amphilanthus knows that leagues are noble goals and that pledges made between countries must be binding and inviolate. A ruler must honor a league forged in the name of peace and must help punish those who break their pledges to it--especially those who strive to destroy leagues through violence. Finding Terichillus rejoicing in the murder of Antonarus, Amphilanthus defeats him in combat, and Terichillus "perceiving his life at an end, curstly set his sword on the ground, and brake it, desirous . . . to die unarmed, rather than disarmed by Amphilanthus" (283). Though angry, wise Amphilanthus refuses to make this man a martyr and forces him to confess his evil acts. Soon realizing the justice of Amphilanthus's actions, the wicked brother publicly admits his faults, asks pardon, and then directs that "al should obay his sister." Upon her brother's death, Sydelia is made Queen and as "straight was [she] proclaimed, [was] he soone forgot" (284). Moravia and Silesia are now added to Amphilanthus's growing union of states, and Sydelia peacefully transfers her rule to her son when he reaches the "yeares, fit for government" (288). Amphilanthus's growing commitment to oaths of friendship and to leagues among countries is affirmed.

Consistently, Amphilanthus is shown to be a leader who earns the respect, the duty, and the loyalty of his allies. Though Amphilanthus must eventually learn the importance of personal as well as political virtue, he is nonetheless a king who admirably delivers countless persons and countries from despair, thus adding them to a potential union of Christian states. We know that along with Cyprus, Hungary, Bohemia, Constantinople, Romania, Moravia, and Silesia, Amphilanthus possesses the loyalty of the land of Pamphilia, ruled by his lover, the Queen Pamphilia. Thus added to his potential empire is also the Ottoman Empire of the Turks, an important addition to Wroth's imperial dream, for the lands were believed to be pagan and barbaric by both Protestant and Catholic contingents of James's court. By contrast, rather than an uncivilized and savage land, Wroth gives us the Turkish world of Pamphilia, a land of peace and beauty ruled by her romance's heroine. Noting Pamphilia's clear position as an Eastern land, Sheila Cavanagh affirms that is through the images of Pamphilia, both queen and country, that Wroth "keeps alive the imaginative possibility of a formal union between the Christian East and West" (*Cherished Torment* 30). Once again, Wroth's dream of a unified Christendom expands well beyond the traditional western boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire, while Amphilanthus and the relationships he forges remain the hope of this vision.

However, political and military prowess is only one component of a successful imperial ruler. As we have seen, Amphilanthus must also consistently prove himself a model of spiritual virtue, and this is the goal that he too often fails to fulfill. Despite his shortcomings, however, Amphilanthus's potential as spiritual leader is explored in

several scenes in which he leads religious ceremonies, administers the sacrament of baptism, or undergoes tests of faith. Each scene vividly portrays a deeper, spiritual core to the role of Emperor that Amphilanthus must develop if he is to successfully unify his Empire. For example, an early test of Amphilanthus's faith is given by the prophetess of Delos, Melissea. Having found his long-lost sister, Amphilanthus is given a trial that echoes that of Abraham and Isaac in Hebrew tradition.¹⁷ Although Urania is dear to him, Amphilanthus is informed by Melissea that "to make [Urania] live contentedly, he, and none else must throw her from the Rocke of St. Maura into the Sea" (190). Refusing to hear Amphilanthus's questions, Melissea simply utters, "Feare not, but doe it . . . for this must make her live, and forget her unfortunate love, (which vertue that water hath)" (190). This test is, on its most basic level, a test of the spiritual faith that Amphilanthus must cultivate in order to be an effective imperial ruler. He must demonstrate an active faith for the subjects he desires to lead. Ultimately, Amphilanthus has only two choices: obey Melissea's command as part of God's providential design or refuse because the request defies earthly reason. With few qualms, Amphilanthus, like Abraham, chooses to be a man of faith. Reaching the top of St. Maura, Amphilanthus informs Urania of what he has been told to do, asking her "pardon" though "Heaven appoints it so" (230). Graciously, Urania frees him from fears: "You wrong me much to thinke that I feare death. . . . fulfill your command" (230). In a brief moment of weakness, Amphilanthus hesitates to fulfill the divine command but when strengthened by Urania's resolve,

¹⁷ See Genesis 22.

he tooke her in his armes, and gently let her slide, shewing it rather to be her slipping from him, then his letting her fall, and as shee fell, so fell his heart in woe, drowned in as deepe an Ocean of despaire; but soone was call'd to wonder, and all joy; for no sooner had she suncke into the water, but the waves did beare her up againe, to shewe the glory they had in bearing such perfections. (230)

Miraculously, Urania is lifted from the saving waters by Parselius and Steriamus, and when all are reunited they “now well understood the operation of that water” (230). In a scene that clearly echoes the regenerative powers of baptism, Wroth portrays vividly the need of even emperors to develop deep faith and trust in providential design. In the end, powerful leaders must rely on God’s hand to save a person or nation from despair or destruction.

If an emperor must possess a deep and abiding faith, he must also be willing to serve as comforter to his people during times of trouble. Again reflecting the Protestant ideal of individual priesthood, the emperor must function as a priest and spiritual leader to his people. Near the end of Book II, Amphilanthus learns that his father, the King of Naples, is gravely ill. Hastening to Naples, Amphilanthus comes to his father and serves not as comforted but as the comforter both to his father and to his people. In fact, the dying King is “so much comforted” by his son’s presence that it seems he might actually recover, but his illness is great and his death ordained (304). Upon his father’s death, Amphilanthus is left to choose the type of reaction he will have to the loss: he can fall into despair and mourning or can serve as his country’s strength and comfort.

Amphilanthus chooses the latter. Holding a "marvelous brave funerall," Amphilanthus receives the rulers and ambassadors of many nations--Morea, France, Brittany, Bohemia, Romania, and Pamphilia--noticeably a group of nations whose loyalty Amphilanthus has secured by his acts throughout the continent. A model of Christian fortitude as he buries his father, Amphilanthus affirms to his people and to the international community that he is a leader who can lead them through even the most trying of personal difficulties.

At the same time, Amphilanthus demonstrates that what is first and foremost on his mind is his country's safety and stability, not his own loss of father or gain of crown. After the funeral and after his own coronation, Amphilanthus honors his father's memory by presenting memorial gifts to those present and then takes the necessary steps to "settle all his estate in good or quiet government" (304). Knowing he must continue to secure the peace of Europe, Amphilanthus appoints his brother regent of Naples and "setled such a grave and honest Councell" that "he was secure (though absent) of his Kingdomes good" (304). Amphilanthus shows through his reaction to his father's death that he is capable of serving as his country's comforter, security, and provider--additional traits that Wroth appears to advocate for the ruler of a unified Christendom.

Perhaps the most challenging concern for an imperial, Christian ruler is the question as to when he should temper justice with mercy and forgiveness, and yet this too is a quality that Wroth stages, tests, and demands of her own candidate for the imperial crown. Amphilanthus's beneficence and magnanimity are tested through the figure of Dolorindus, disinherited son of the King of Negroponte. Blinded by love for Antissia, who seeks vengeance on Amphilanthus, Dolorindus enters into a bloody pact with this

lover: "to kill Amphilanthus, and then [Antissia] will mary mee" (357). Soon Dolorindus attempts to fulfill his promise yet is hindered by Antissius who knows of Dolorindus's promises. He too has been commissioned by Antissia to kill Amphilanthus. Antissius, however, has refused and, moreover, seeks to prevent Dolorindus from killing the king. The two begin to wage a battle but are interrupted by two knights claiming to be Ollorandus and Amphilanthus. Antissius soon is "assured by . . . voice and gesture" that the men are imposters, but Dolorindus, "so furious, as his senses had left him to ignorance of voice or knowledge," pursues the imposter Amphilanthus with "sharpe" combat (358). Dolorindus is soon defeated by the counterfeit Amphilanthus and then must watch as the Prince of Carinthia beheads the imposter, "prais[ing] Fortune, who had so cunningly . . . [punished] falsehood" (358).

As he watches this fray, Dolorindus is overcome by the recognition that he has fallen from a respected position as nobleman to that of an attempted regicide, and when next we view him, he is shamefully wandering the outskirts of Romania in "Pilgrims cloathes" (393). Having fallen from grace and having sinned against the sanctity of friendship and honor, Dolorindus now exists in a state of death-in-life. Wroth powerfully illustrates his state by placing Dolorindus in a "little Cave" far from the company of society and lying fetal position in a shallow grave; the cavity in which Dolorindus has buried himself is "so shallow in the body of it, as he might discern him to lye on his left side, his face from the light" (393). The image figured is surely one of a man dead to life, destroyed by his own vice and sin. Dolorindus's words incisively reveal his fallen and self-loathing condition:

Ungrateful wretch, monster of man-kinde, why live I still to poyson the
 sweete Aire with my vild breathing? what wickednesse is there, that I
 abound not in, and have committed? false, treacherous, and ungratefull I
 have been; dye then with shame, wrap'd round about thee: dye Dolorindus,
 and never let thy unworthy face be more beheld, nor thy false eyes behold
 the light; let darknesse, (not so blacke as thy sinne) infold thee, and be as
 thou art, a creature unfit for Heaven to looke upon. (393)

Dolorindus is now the image of a truly penitent man. When Ollorandus comes upon the fallen nobleman, Dolorindus confesses both his state as "Villiane" and the fact that he had been "brought by a woman [or the love of a woman] to be a Beast" (393). A sinner, Dolorindus feels he is beyond hope, for he pronounces, "I have offended beyond pardon, mercy must be showed if I continue, but mercy cannot I aske, so far having forgone truth, as my offence flyes higher then any hope can ascend to" (393). Clearly the questions that Wroth stages are crucial ones: Can mercy be given to such a man? Shall the wronged King Amphilanthus offer mercy to a subject so fallen from grace? Is mercy an acceptable quality in an imperial ruler?

Amphilanthus's actions answer the above queries with an emphatic "yes."

Amphilanthus becomes not only the merciful but the confessor, the priest to his fallen subject. While Ollorandus assures Dolorindus that repentance "merits pardon for the greatest ill if you truely repent, doubt not but you shall receive what you seeke" (393), Dolorindus still cannot believe that pardon is possible. As he looks upon Amphilanthus, fully recognizing his identity, he falls to the ground in a "swound." However,

Amphilanthus gently resurrects the fallen from his state of despair, embodying yet again the Protestant ideal that all believers are priests to their fellow Christians. Such a role is desirable in an imperial ruler who seeks to unify his territories. Next, taking water from a spring, Amphilanthus anoints Dolorindus's temples and "brought him to himself" (394). Beginning recovery, the attempted traitor, however, soon "die[s] again," and it is only after a third death that Dolorindus experiences a "second coming to himself" (394)--he is reborn through Amphilanthus's administration of baptism and his gift of forgiveness.

The traitorous Dolorindus is the means by which Amphilanthus's ability to forgive, to love, and to privilege the individual soul over his own physical well-being is tested. And it is a test that the future emperor indeed passes. His forgiving of Dolorindus is a magnanimous act that is fully understood and appreciated by the forgiven. Indeed, Dolorindus echoes the words of many whose "Soules that condemned are, cannot be more tortured" as he celebrates the "magnanimous and glorious spirit" of his forgiver (394-5). Declaring that Amphilanthus as confessor, as priest, as king, and as friend deserves "to bee eternized," Dolorindus commits himself to the service of the king and "to the truth and knowledge" such acts of mercy and love exhibit (395). Wroth's ideal emperor is certainly shown to be a man who earns his subjects' loyalty by exhibiting fidelity to spiritual ideals.

Ultimately, Wroth's most distinct presentation of Amphilanthus as noble and imperial leader is found in his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor in Book III. When the Emperor dies, Amphilanthus is yet again attempting to rescue others from harm. Pamphilia, Urania, and an entourage of women have been imprisoned in an enchanted

“Theater” (372). On the way to liberate them, Amphilanthus is met by an ambassador from Transylvania who hails Amphilanthus as “The earths glory, and Italys blessing” (441). The ambassador reveals that Amphilanthus has been unanimously elected Holy Roman Emperor:

famous Amphilanthus, receive these from your friends, and Allies in Germany, it hath pleased Tyme to give period to the Emperours daies, since whose decease many have made themselves competitors for the Crown, but Ollorandus your worthy friend, having the greatest stroake in the election, making all the assembly remember your right hath chosen you, and truly Sir not onely hee, but all, as soone as you were named gave an equall consent, as if borne and made of one temper to serve you, having justly chose you to it. (441)

Upon hearing this news and upon being informed that Ollorandus awaits him in Prague, Amphilanthus “with much kindnesse . . . accepted the Crowne” and “gloried in nothing more, then that he was so contentedly, and without one opposite voice chosen” (442).

True to the Empire’s political history, Wroth ensures that her own emperor, like Maximilian, is elected to his position because of his worth. His position is an earned one and not one of hereditary right.

Pleased by his unanimous election, Amphilanthus vows to reunite with Ollorandus and then to head toward Italy but, as a noble emperor, insists that he must first fulfill his crusade to rescue Urania, Pamphilia, and the other women from the Enchanted Theater. This feat is eventually accomplished, though not by Amphilanthus and not

without considerable questions arising about his personal virtue as we will later see. Nonetheless, Amphilanthus soon finds himself accompanied by “all his Kings and Princes” and heading toward Italy. Once in Rome, the new emperor is met by the pope, “the whole Clergy, and Nobility,” and “with great pompe and joy [he is conducted] to the chiefe Church to give thanks” (463). Again, Wroth, convinced Protestant, has the preeminent figure of the Catholic church, the pope, greet and bless Amphilanthus. Again, however, it is the pope’s blessing that Amphilanthus receives not his commission. Wroth’s pope is merely another spiritual figure who joins in *Urania*’s irenic vision, and Amphilanthus is ultimately supported, not controlled by this fellow priest and confessor of the Christian faith. Amphilanthus himself has already proven to function as a priest in the Protestant tradition, and thus Wroth’s inclusion of the pope in the extended coronation ceremony affirms that Amphilanthus is the man who is capable of unifying disparate faiths and believers under his crown. As Amphilanthus receives the blessing from the pope, he becomes the irenic ideal of an imperial leader--an emperor proven in battle, committed to the spiritual well-being of his people, and dedicated to his duty as a Christian ruler. While Amphilanthus’s poor credentials as a lover will soon need to be reconciled with this imperial image, for this moment Wroth is able to focus solely on the potential leader that Amphilanthus represents--a freedom that the genre of fictional romance affords her.

Following Amphilanthus’s blessing in Italy, *Urania*’s irenic spirit continues as Amphilanthus undertakes his progress toward the coronation city of Frankfurt, the city in which Holy Roman Emperors had been crowned by electors for generations. Though

only a brief textual moment, this royal progress is actually a dramatic staging of irenicism's power to unify disparate beliefs and people--the type of union advocated by figures such as Maximilian II, Melanchthon, Languet, the Sidneys, King James, and Mary Sidney Wroth. As Amphilanthus proceeds toward Frankfurt, his magnanimous spirit is said to join the hearts of Rome to that of Naples, "his owne Country and People"; he then continues to "most parts of Italy," Buda, Prague, Vienna, "all the places he saw that were of worth," and "the most part of Germany" (463). With each city and each nation, Amphilanthus grows in his stature as the leader destined to unify these lands, and thus, by the time Amphilanthus reaches the imperial capital at Frankfurt, where he is crowned, he has been deemed by all as "the most worthy, and famous that ever reign'd over them" (463). His ceremonious progress throughout Europe has literally created a union of Christian states. Now, Emperor Amphilanthus is crowned and positioned as the ruler who might actually ensure Christendom's unification. Wroth's fictional testing of Amphilanthus as man and now as emperor will continue as she turns to explore the political and personal policies Amphilanthus must develop to complete her image of an ideal emperor. Will he be able to unify Christendom completely? What tactics must he be willing to advocate as he continues to unify *Urania's* political landscape? What personal virtues must he embrace in order to secure his reign? Why must his personal life become as respected and consistent as his political one? What is the effect of his inability to do so?

We will now turn our attention to the theories of resistance and intervention that Wroth stages as necessary components to any successful and ultimately peaceful union of

states. As will be seen, it is through theories of resistance and intervention that Wroth also discovers an acceptable position for women within the Protestant political movement.

Chapter 3.

“Justice demanding their ayde, to pull down wickednesse, and againe settle worth” in the land: Uranian Tyrants and Theories of Intervention and Resistance

Mary Sidney Wroth and King James clearly shared a fascination with the ideal of a united and restored Christian empire. Nonetheless, while the ideal was shared, their convictions regarding the suitable policies for achieving such a union were not. As Wroth observed hostilities escalating on the continent and as she contemplated James's political actions, she once again looked to political theories embraced by her family that she hoped might accomplish the goal which seemed to elude her king. Into her romance, Wroth weaves the theories of intervention and resistance that so dismayed James and yet that had ironically been so important to his own education under George Buchanan. Buchanan, who “savagely educated” young James (Peck 43), contended in *The Powers of the Crown in Scotland* (*De jure regni apud Scotos*) that a “mutual compact [exists] between king and citizens”; therefore, if a king breaks his contract with his people, if he refuses to serve the people's interests, or if he places his own needs above those of his people, he can and must be removed from office (161). Buchanan insisted that such a king is a tyrant and “public enemy” and that “it is not only right for the whole people to destroy an enemy, but for the individual to do so” (161).

Such license for active resistance was abhorred by James, who took quite literally the name William Barclay assigned to Buchanan (and thus to all such theorists)--“monarchomachs” (king-killers) (Kingdon 218). Instead, the young king became enthralled by thinkers who proclaimed the power and glory of kingship, men such as H. Du Boys who declared in 1604 that “Without kings human life would be nothing but confusion and disorder” and Robert Boltonin who suggested in 1621 (the year of

Urania's publication) that to "Take sovereignty from the face of the earth . . . you turne it into a Cockpit. Men would become cut-throats and Canibals one unto another. . . . We should have a very hell upon earth, and the face of it covered with blood, as it was once with water" (qtd. in Sommerville, "Absolutism and Royalism" 350-1). Much to the dismay of many English subjects, James embraced such absolutist beliefs and concluded that a king was not subject to any temporal authority but to God alone. In *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, James declared that "Kings are called Gods by the propheticall King David, because they sit upon GOD his Throne in the earth, and have the count of their administration to give unto him" (64). A king is "above the law, as both the author and giver of strength thereto" and, contrary to Buchanan's teaching, can be removed or punished only by God who is, after all, the "sorest and sharpest schoolmaster" (83). Because kings are answerable to and representatives of God himself,

The State of MONARCHIE is the supremest thing upon earth: For Kings are not only GODS Lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon GODS thrones, but even by GOD himselfe they are called GODS.

(*A Speech to the Lords and Commons of the Parliament: March 21, 1610*)

Ultimately, according to James, kings are absolute and must never be deposed by human force. Humanity's province is not to judge a king but to trust that all kings, even those who appear tyrannical, are ordained by and under the control of God.¹

¹ For a compelling account of the evolution in James's political ideology as observed in the coins issued during his reign in Scotland, see Wormald 43-44. Wormald points out that the first coin of the king's reign declares, "*pro me si mereor in me* (for me; against me if I deserve it)"--a motto that refers to the sword embossed upon the coin (43) and suggests that the infant king will espouse theories of rebellion. However, by 1588 the coinage proclaims, "*florent*

Mary Wroth appears to have scorned such absolutism, believing it could degenerate into tyranny or allow a ruler to ignore responsibility to his subjects. Ultimately, her *Urania* can be seen as a comment on James's views of kingship and as the Sidney family challenge to James's failed policies regarding international union. Advocating theories of intervention and resistance, Wroth poses distinct alternatives for nations who find themselves serving a tyrannical or negligent king. Elaine Beilin has recently suggested that *Urania* deliberately presents common people, the third estate, as they "assess the extent of the ruler's benevolence and determine his or her fitness to rule" ("Winning" 7). According to Beilin, Wroth champions "delivering people from subjugation and [requires] their consent . . . in the establishment of stable government" (11). Beilin concludes that *Urania* thus "acknowledges the importance of the people in affairs of state" (17). However, it is important to note that Wroth is far from republican in her political views; she does *not* invest the common man or woman with political power but directs noble and royal figures to support the commoner. Thus she mirrors those continental resistance theorists who insist that a noble subaltern may intervene for the good of the oppressed and lead them in active resistance against tyranny.

To appreciate Jacobean fears regarding justified resistance and ideal kingship, one must be aware of the political challenges that Wroth observed as she wrote *Urania*. The greatest of these tensions were James's strained relationship with Parliament and his

sceptra piis regna his Iova dat numeratque (sceptres flourish with the pious; God gives them kingdoms and numbers them)" (44). Still yet, on the 1591 gold piece is inscribed the Hebrew for Jehovah and the inscription, "*te solum vereor* (Thee alone do I fear)" (44).

unsuccessful foreign diplomacy.² As English subjects observed James's deteriorating relationship with Parliament, they gradually began to fear that James would lead England to ruin. His first Parliament lasted a long and fruitless seven years (1604-10) and was marked by volatile debates regarding royal finances, prerogatives, and the union of Scotland and England. Seeing his dream of equal union die, James dissolved Parliament in 1611 and did not call another until 1614, a session which lasted only two months. Consequently, from 1614 until 1621, King James attempted to rule his countries autonomously. Ultimately, without the counsel and goodwill of Parliament, James's reign became one of escalating mistrust between the sovereign and his English subjects. Though historians like J. P. Sommerville insist that James "had no desire to rule as a despot, nor to win the detestation of his subjects," James's actions were interpreted by many as clear evidence that he was "bent on a policy . . . of absolute monarchy" ("James I" 65-6). Frances Yates even suggests that James's tendency to conduct "his foreign affairs by 'divine right' and without consulting Parliament" can be seen as the "beginning of a train of events which would eventually destroy the Stuart Monarchy" and lead to war (24). Though revisionists have challenged such views of James, contemporary records do voice these concerns that also echo in Wroth's writing.³ For example, the Venetian

² For full discussions of James's political challenges as king, see Hirst; Lee, *Government by Pen* 27-56 and 195-220; Parry 1-37; Goldberg 1-85; Lee, *James I and Henri IV*; and Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*.

³ Revisionist historians have challenged the traditional, Whiggish interpretation of James's reign and reputation. Scholars such as Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake challenge us to reconsider history not as a study of "evidence" and "straightforward description" but as a "representation constructed by the historian from his own cultural vision" (*Remapping* 3). According to revisionism, the traditional view of James as inattentive to his subjects and as an object of their scorn has less to do with James himself than with the need of seventeenth-century Whigs to justify the "violent fracture" that denied power to James II (4). Ultimately, the Whig

Ambassador offered the following observation regarding James and his relationship with his subjects in June 1607:

[James] loves quiet and repose, has no inclination for war, nay is opposed to it, a fact that little pleases many of his subjects, though it pleases them still less that he . . . will think of nothing but the chase. . . . This King manifests no taste for [his subjects or their devotion] but rather contempt and dislike. The result is he is despised and almost hated.

(qtd. in Ashton 10)

Apparently dismissing his subjects' concerns, James became convinced that those who questioned his authority were not "well-intentioned citizens" but "potential rebels and traitors" who would ultimately "assert the right to depose and kill" kings (Sommerville, "James I" 65). James certainly was haunted by echoes of Buchanan, whose works he had suppressed, and he was determined to avoid any appearance of the violence or opposition his own tutor had supported.⁴

In addition to difficulties at home, England's status among European powers declined during the interparliamentary period. As we have seen, James initially inspired hopes on the continent of a strengthened international relationship and an ecumenical

view of history has dominated American and British histories because Whigs "secured a cultural dominance" (4). In the end, the Whigs' cultural hegemony is the lens through which much of our understanding of James has been filtered and, perhaps, distorted. For discussions on revisionism, the seventeenth century, and King James, see Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England* 1-8, 172-180, 208-211 and Sharpe and Lake, *Culture and Politics* 1-20.

⁴ As soon as James came of age, he "secured a formal condemnation of [Buchanan's works] from the Scottish Parliament" (Lockyer 38). James also refuted Buchanan's theories in *Basilikon Doron*, warning Prince Henry to beware Buchanan's "infamous invectives," for the "very spirits of these archibellouses of rebellion" threaten his future rule and safety (46).

union. However, as his reign progressed and union became more and more elusive, both Europeans and English began to doubt that James could possibly bring the peaceful union he desired, for James's avoidance of all hostilities left the impression that he was a weak, indecisive, and inactive king. David Harris Willson and Stuart E. Prall lucidly comment on the validity of such impressions:

James was not merely averse to war; he regarded it with terror. He could not bear the sight of a naked sword or of men drilling for combat. The story was told that once when a soldier was about to kiss his hand, the King suddenly drew it back, saying he was afraid it would be bitten. His fear of assassination played an important part of his diplomacy. Hence he gave the impression that he wanted peace at any price and his enemies came to count on his inaction. . . . He became a defender who could defend no one, a champion who could do nothing but talk. (286)

While James's inaction may have been misunderstood by his opponents, as W. B. Patterson suggests in *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, his ego certainly kept him from the one simple act that might have retained his people's loyalty--clarifying and explaining his policy and vision. Unfortunately, "His policy . . . was a personal policy he never explained to his people" (Willson and Prall 286). Gradually, then, even though James wanted to achieve a lasting peace, his relationship with his own subjects and with the international community wavered. Continental rulers grew suspicious of James's passivity and his willingness to negotiate marriage alliances with both Catholic and Protestant states. The marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to a leading

Calvinist ruler, Frederick of the Palatinate (1613), brought James into close relationship with the Protestant Union.⁵ On the other hand, James openly negotiated for a marriage between his surviving son, Prince Charles, and the Spanish infanta, a negotiation that insulted the pride of James's subjects when Spain demanded that all anti-catholic penal laws be repealed before the marriage transpired.

Feeling that their national sovereignty was being threatened, some of James's English subjects grew indignant with a king whose desire for a peacefully unified Europe appeared instead to be a bumbling, inept policy of indecision and inconsistency. Admittedly, some commentators have reminded us that James did manage to keep peace in England during a period in which much of Europe was plunged in war. W. B. Patterson offers Bishop Williams's words as evidence of those who did appreciate the peace James fostered: "None can be honoured of all Europe but he that held the Ballance of all Europe, and, for the space of twentie yeares at the least, preserved the peace of all Europe" (qtd. in Patterson 357). Nonetheless, not all of James's subjects shared such sentiment. The disdain of many, including Wroth's lover Pembroke and father Robert Wroth, escalated in 1618 when war erupted between Protestants and Catholics in Bohemia. Bohemia rebelled against Emperor Matthias who sought to secure the throne for his cousin, the Catholic Ferdinand of Styria. The Bohemians, refusing to be ruled by this Catholic prince, seized the palace at Prague and threw the Emperor's agents from its windows. Following this notorious defenestration, the Bohemian nobles appealed to

⁵ For a description and discussion of the marriage ceremony and of the fantastic hopes that surrounded it, see Yates 1-29.

James, who once again hesitated to respond, much to the frustration of his subjects. Soon Matthias was dead, Ferdinand deposed, and James's own son-in-law elected to the Bohemian throne.

Hoping to avoid war that appeared to condone usurpation and rebellion, James reproached his son-in-law for so quickly accepting the crown. Yet James now found himself in an impossible quandary. As *rex pacificus*, he could not send aid to Frederick, thus severing all relations with Spain which supported Emperor Ferdinand. On the other hand, Frederick and Elizabeth were his children, and many of his English subjects called for their defense. Elizabeth's marriage had been greeted with "wild . . . joy" by many English who saw the union as a solid alliance between Britain and the German states (Yates 1). However, James did not view the alliance with such idealism; he saw it merely as a means "to balance" German and Spanish tensions and "to avoid war" (Yates 7). As months passed, James's subjects became intensely frustrated with the inaction that many believed had helped assure Frederick's defeat in August 1620. Because of "this great tragedy of misunderstanding" (Yates 21), Frederick and Elizabeth fled into lifelong exile, while Bohemia was left in Spanish hands and any Protestant-English interests in the Empire were permanently hindered.

A treatise written soon after these events, *Tom Tell-Troath; or a Free Discourse Touching The Manners of the Time, Directed to His Majesty*, exemplifies the frustration many felt toward their king and toward his pacific policies:

Of all the benefits that descend from heaven to earth there is none to be received with more prayse, and thankfulness, then that of peace. But a

man may have too much of his fathers blessing. And I feare we have too much cause to complaine of your Majesties unlimited peace. The excesse whereof hath long since turned vertue into vice and health into sickness [Your inaction] will rather revoke in doubt your former merit, and make us suspect that your peaceable disposition all this while hath not proceeded so much out of Christian piety and love of justice as out of meere impotency and desire of ease. (qtd. in Ashton 220-21)

Comparably, Robert Wroth, who was part of the royal progress for the couple, was distraught by the events and sent word to his family that “Heer wee have had pitiful news of the overthrow given to the King of Bohemia and the loss of the town of Prague” (qtd. in Roberts, Intro. to *Urania* xlii). Pembroke even “apologized, with shame, to Frederick’s representative about the King’s abandonment of what he considered his duty” (Yates 24).⁶ Echoing her father and her lover’s outcries, Mary Wroth wrote *Urania* with its own usurpations and depositions.⁷ In the romance, Wroth challenges James’s inaction with examples of justified resistance that are orchestrated by noble princes and that eventually bring union and peace to *Urania*’s landscape.⁸

⁶ See Yates 15-29 for further accounts of responses to this “Bohemian Tragedy.”

⁷ Rosalind Smith agrees that much importance exists in the fact that *Urania* was published during a “period of crisis in James’s reign centered on his cautious, non-interventionist policy” (420). She also contends that the most vocal group against James may have been Protestant poets who “identified themselves with a group of aristocratic Protestant patrons perceived to be independent of courtly corruption and intrigue, often identified in terms of a physical withdrawal from the court to the country” (421). Among this group of patrons were Susan Herbert, Countess of Montgomery (to whom the *Urania* is dedicated) and Mary Wroth. See Smith 420-21.

⁸ Josephine Roberts, whose fine scholarship produced critical editions of *Urania* (*Parts I and II*), contends that Wroth’s work indeed “reflects the political crisis of the early seventeenth century” (Intro., *Urania* xl). Ultimately, she suggests that Amphilanthus is actually a “flattering

To suggest that Mary Sidney Wroth attempts to justify resistance theories in her epic romance is not far-fetched. The Sidneys have long been affiliated with the sixteenth-century theories of intervention and resistance that have their genesis in the early Protestantism of Luther, Melanchthon, and Calvin. Though initially apprehensive of actively resisting tyranny, Luther declared in *A Disputation Concerning the Right to Resist the Emperor* (May 8-9, 1539) that “The princes must resist the tyrants” who seek to suppress the Protestant faith (135). Melanchthon further asserted that resisting tyranny is a Christian imperative. Luther Peterson points that, according to Melanchthon, a Christian has a “duty of protection” as a “servant of the needs of fellow humans” (Peterson 141). Anticipating opposition to views that advocated resistance, Melanchthon very carefully distinguished between justified resistance and wholesale riot. Justified resistance is motivated by the need for protection; unjustified rebellion, on the other hand, is “intended to raise oneself up” (Peterson 141). Further, any act of resistance must be carefully considered and led by a noble magistrate representing the people, not by the common citizen himself. Echoing Melanchthon’s convictions, Calvin later offered, as a classical model for such magistrates, the *ephors* who overthrew the tyrannical Spartan kings: “If there are now any [similar] magistrates of the people, appointed to restrain the willfulness of kings . . . [with] such power,” then it is their responsibility to combat “the fierce licentiousness of kings” (*Institutes* 140). From the first edition of his *Institutes* in 1536 until the last in 1559, Calvin refused to condone resistance by private individuals

tribute to Pembroke as a statesman” of James’s court (xlvii). Roberts’s early suggestions are certainly worthy of fuller exploration, which this chapter will attempt to accomplish.

but vehemently claimed that inferior magistrates (*ephors*) must defend the common citizen, for

If they wink at kings who violently fall upon and assault the lowly common folk, I declare that their dissimulation involves nefarious perfidy, because they dishonestly betray the freedom of the people, of which they know that they have been appointed protectors by God's ordinances.

(*Institutes* 140)⁹

Clearly resistance theory, supporting the overthrow of tyrannical, ungodly rulers, has its roots in the Protestant tradition cherished by the Sidneys. Just as clearly, its first continental advocates strictly maintained that private persons must not engage alone in rebellious or forcible resistance but must instead be represented and led by the noble princes or subaltern magistrates of a principality who intervenes on their behalf—a crucial point appreciated neither by James nor the Scottish and English resistance theorists.

In sharp contrast to their Continental counterparts, English advocates of resistance theories, including James's tutor, George Buchanan, did not limit acceptable resistance to that led by magistrates. The earliest and most vocal group of English resistance theorists were the Marian exiles who were forced to escape to the continent during Mary Tudor's

⁹ Pierre Viret, a close associate of Calvin, reiterates the religious nature of resistance: “[If] there comes some tyrant who instead of guarding those whom he has promised and sworn to guard and in the place of performing the duties which his office requires of him, he deliberately tyrannizes those whom he owes preservation . . . [then] if such a people have an honest means of resisting tyranny of such a tyrant by means of their legitimate magistrates and are able by this means to avoid slavery, then they ought to follow the counsel of St. Paul: ‘[If] you can gain your freedom and enjoy liberty, then avail yourself of the opportunity’ [I Corinthians 5:21]” (Kingdon 205).

assault against Protestants during her five-year reign (1553-58). John Ponet, the refugee bishop of Winchester, offered one of the most radical pronouncements, for he not only condoned popular revolt and tyrannicide but also refused to place limits on those who could lead such actions--a clear departure from continental principles. In *A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power* (1556), Ponet contends that "the lawes of many christiane regiones doo permitte, that **private men** maie kil malefactours" (146 [emphasis mine]). Another Marian exile, Christopher Goodman, agreed with such convictions, and "the unusual feature of his argument," as Robert Kingdon contends, "is its misogyny" (196). In Goodman's opinion Mary Tudor is the "Jezebel" who must be executed by the people (Goodman 150). Like Ponet's, Goodman's resistance theory is extreme, for, according to his formula, a ruler "can be executed by anyone who can manage it" (Kingdon 196).

Similar in his misogynistic tendencies, the exiled John Knox added to the development of Scottish and English resistance theories. Famous (or infamous) are Knox's tirades against the rule of women in *First Blast against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, yet equally interesting is his never completed *Second Blast* in which a solid outline of what Robert Kingdon deems "real resistance theory" is at last to be found (199). In the outline, Knox declares the right of subjects to resist and depose rulers, especially those who become "idolater[s]" (Kingdon 199). Courageously (or foolishly), Knox even vocally advocated such resistance in his famous interview with Mary Queen of Scots in 1561. In response to Queen Mary's question, "Think ye that subjects, having the power, may resist their princes?" Knox answered, "If their princes exceed their bounds, Madam, no doubt they may be resisted even by power" (Knox 156).

After decades of such continental and Scottish-English investigations, a final merging of religious and political resistance occurred in the volatile year of 1572 with the French Calvinists' responses to the St. Bartholomew's Day massacres that were witnessed by Philip Sidney.¹⁰ Ultimately, the theories of these men had direct impact on the Sidneys' political convictions. Though dubbed "monarchomachs," these continental thinkers agreed neither with their English counterparts nor with George Buchanan that the common person can lead resistance against tyranny. Instead, like Melanchthon and Calvin, they insisted that the power and responsibility of resistance lies in the hands of the subaltern magistrates elected to serve the people's interests. Also at this time, the international dimension of resistance theories was developed, for princes and magistrates were compelled to rescue persons in neighboring countries who were subjected to a tyrant (Kingdon 213). Over the next several years, resistance theory developed into a resolute

¹⁰ A wave of violence erupted in 1572 in many European cities. Most violent was the Saint Bartholomew's Massacres in which as many as 10,000 people died. James Osborn notes that, during the same week in which Philip Sidney was dubbed "Baron de Sidenay," the French nobility returned to Paris for the wedding of Marguerite de Valois to the Huguenot King of Navarre, Henry (56). The marriage was to take place on Monday, August 18, and would be the "first mixed marriage among [French] royalty" [Catholic Valois with Protestant Navarre] (56). Ironically, what the Protestants saw as "an important advance in religious toleration" soon degenerated into assassination, murder, and violence (56). Wedding guests watched a mock battle between the Amazons (Catholic nobles) and the Turks (Navarre's Huguenot friends), an "allegory [that] humiliated the bridegroom and his friends" who realized their religion was being equated with heretical paganism. Almost simultaneously, an assassin for the Catholic Guises stabbed the leader of the Protestant party, Admiral Coligny, as he prayed, throwing the body from the window (60-66). Immediately, violence erupted in Paris and in the surrounding countryside as "mobs of Catholic fanatics . . . chopped Protestants to pieces by the thousands" (Kingdon 207). The French Protestants fully believed Charles IX and the Catherine de Medici to be responsible, and those who escaped quickly abandoned hopes of peaceful toleration and began to develop resistance theories to save their religion. Importantly, Philip Sidney witnessed the massacre and fled Paris for Vienna where he formed friendships with other witnesses such as Languet and Philippe de Mornay. See McCoy 1-35 and 165-217; Duncan-Jones 44-85; Osborn 56-73; Kingdon 206-214; and Worden 48-57.

policy thanks to the influential writings of Francois Hotman, Theodore Beza, and the close-associates Phillipe Duplessis-Mornay and Hubert Languet. These resistance theories are what influence and inform the international rebellions staged in Wroth's *Urania*.

What are the basic tenets advocated by this generation of Protestant monarchomachs? First and foremost, continental monarchomachs highly respected the ideal of kingship, thus defying the implications of Barclay's label of "king-killers." They therefore took great care to contrast the true nature of kingship with the type of ruler who should be removed from power. For example, in *Francogallia*, Francois Hotman provides resistance thinkers with a new view of France's monarchical history by insisting that the country's history did not support theories of absolute or divine-right monarchy. Instead, a mixed constitution was established in which authority was shared between the king and the community to ensure that France's kings were the agents of their people. According to Hotman, the crown is therefore not a "hereditary right" (58). Kings must consistently prove they are worthy to serve their people who "can exist without a king . . . whereas a king without a people cannot even be imagined" (79). The people have the "great . . . right and power . . . not only [to create kings] but [to retain] them" (58). France or any nation should be ruled "by proven men of excellence, selected with the consent of all, who act by combined advice as if they possessed one mind composed from many" (165). If a king does not serve his people's interests and well-being, he can and should be removed from power.

Building upon Hotman's insistence that a king is his people's servant and can be removed if tyrannical, Theodore Beza develops in his *The Rights of Magistrates* (1574) a clear doctrine regarding the inferior magistrates who have the right and duty to depose tyrannical rulers. Paralleling Hotman, Beza insists that kings ("superior magistrates") are not guaranteed a divine right to rule nor are they above the law. A king is to serve the people "just as a guardian is created for the ward, not the ward for the guardian, and the shepherd for the flock, not the flock for the shepherd" (104). As "guardian" and "shepherd" of his people, a king must always be motivated by their welfare, serving the interests of his people not of himself. Such a king is owed honor, respect, and obedience not rebellion or insurrection, for as Beza clearly states, "I detest seditions and disorders of all kinds as horrible monstrosities" (105). A people must ardently avoid even the appearance of rebellion against a good and rightful king.

Nonetheless, subjects do have rights to resist those rulers who fail to fulfill their duty or who usurp power from a legitimate ruler. Carefully, Beza describes the tyrants against whom a people can resist. First, there are "those [tyrants] who usurp power against their fellow citizens contrary to established and accepted law. . . . Then there are others not content with the territory in which their land is lawful, who extend their boundaries at the expense of their neighbor's liberty" (105). Finally, there are those legitimate sovereigns who become "notorious tyrant[s]" by ignoring the well-being of their people (108). In all such instances, private citizens may "appeal to the legitimate [lesser] magistrates so that . . . the public enemy may be repulsed" (105). At all times, the private citizen should follow the directions of an inferior magistrate, not assume the right

of resistance himself, for the magistrate is “entitled” and “obliged” to lead the people and “safeguard those within [his] care” (112).

The definitive and most articulate treatise on resistance is the *Defense of Liberty against Tyrants* (*Vindiciae contra tyrannos*) that was published pseudonymously by “Stephanus Junius Brutus” in 1579. Scholars disagree on the document’s authorship, but most agree that it is in some form a collaboration between the intimate and devoted friends, Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (a Huguenot lawyer and chief advisor of Henry of Navarre) and Hubert Languet (the Burgundian disciple of Melanchthon, emissary to the Holy Roman court, and mentor to Philip and Robert Sidney).¹¹ The *Vindiciae* agrees with contentions that kings are servants of the people, that kings who do not serve their people are tyrants, and that resistance against such tyrants can be facilitated by subaltern magistrates. However, the *Vindiciae* also adds an international dimension by insisting that, if magistrates are also corrupt, private citizens “should follow the advice of Christ and go to another city” (155). As neighboring kings, princes, or magistrates witness tyrannical behavior or are informed of it by fleeing subjects, they must not “fail to defend another from attack and injury” (198). An abused people may seek the leadership of a subaltern outside their country’s boundaries, for

If one prince transgresses the boundaries of religion and justice, a neighboring prince may religiously and justly go beyond the boundaries of

¹¹ For discussions on the authorship of *Vindiciae*, see Nicollier-de Weck 465-87; Worden 53-55; and Franklin 39-46.

his territory, not to despoil the other of his lands, but to contain him to his proper duty [or to help place a proper, godly ruler in power]. (198-99)

This internationalism is highly significant to the actions found in *Urania*. In the romance, the international, subaltern figure is the most admirable of leaders, for he intervenes and leads resistance against tyranny not for his own gain but for the good of the people--even people of other nations. His ultimate goal is always to secure peace and to relinquish control back to the rightful ruler once tyranny has been defeated.¹² As we shall see, this pattern is tested consistently throughout *Urania*.

Wroth and her family were aware of these evolving theories of resistance and rebellion. While they embraced Maximilian's and James's irenic ideals, the Sidneys were also convinced that much of the international community was controlled by tyrants, and such tyrants must be overthrown by carefully chosen subaltern magistrates. Obviously, this support of resistance against tyrants clashed powerfully with James's absolutist theories and his disdain or fear of resistance. Desiring to explore the differing opinions, Wroth mirrors her uncle's use of romance as a "[vehicle] for negotiation" (Stillman 795) and stages several successful actions against tyranny to suggest that such are acceptable

¹² It is interesting to note the echoes of subaltern resistance theories in the Dutch *Declaration of Independence* of July 26, 1581, by which William of Orange was declared head of government until a new sovereign could be appointed: "A prince is constituted by God to be a ruler of a people, to defend them from oppression and violence, as the shepherd of his sheep; and whereas God did not create the people slaves to their prince, to obey his commands, whether right or wrong, but rather the prince for the sake of the subjects, to love and support them as a father for his children, or a shepherd his flock . . . and when he does not behave thus but . . . oppresses them, seeking opportunities to infringe their ancient customs, exacting from them slavish compliance, then he is no longer a prince but a tyrant, and they may not only disallow his authority, but legally proceed to the choice of another prince for their defense" (*The Estates General of the United Netherlands* 183).

tactics for establishing effective rule and for unifying Christian Europe. Thus within *Urania's* boundaries, Wroth employs continental resistance theories to identify tyrannical behavior; to demonstrate the importance of controlled monarchy; to illustrate situations in which intervention by *noble* subaltern magistrates is justified; and to reveal how international leagues of such noblemen can then support popular resistance and establish proper rule.

As she presents idealized resistance against tyrannical rulers, Wroth, like continental theorists, takes great care in creating vivid images of the types of rulers who should be removed from their thrones. Conscientiously avoiding any accusation that she supports wholesale violence, popular revolt, or mob warfare, Wroth presents rulers who are tyrannical because they have blatantly failed to fulfill their duties and to serve their people. For example, one of the most compelling images of tyranny is Nereana, princess of Stalamine, whose proud and "amorous" nature causes her to abandon her country and thus to lose her crown and the loyalty of her people (193).¹³ Nereana harbors an obsessive love for Steriamus, and the "ignorantly proud" woman thoughtlessly leaves her country to search for the object of her fixation (192). Those who come in contact with this wayward ruler condemn her abandonment of people and duty. Pamphilia herself sees Nereana's obsession as a drive that will cripple Stalamine:

¹³ Nereana is considered by Elaine Beilin to be Pamphilia's "alter ego"--a figure who teaches Pamphilia to recognize the selfish and excessive love she must avoid (*Redeeming Eve* 224). Conversely, Carolyn Ruth Swift contends that Nereana is a woman who is "mad mainly in the eyes of an unreasonable world" (345).

[In] truth I am sorry, that such a Lady should take so great and painefull
 a voyage, to so fond an end, being the first that eer I heard of, who took so
 Knight-like a search in hand; men being us'd to follow scornfull Ladies,
 but you to wander after a passionate, or disdainfull Prince, it is a great
 pitie for you [and for the Stalamine people]. (194)

Nereana clearly recognizes the truth behind Pamphilia's words. She has selfishly forsaken her people, has abdicated her responsibilities as ruler, and has become, in a sense, subject to the tyranny of desire. Nonetheless, though the words "inwardly [work] upon her pride-fild heart" and though she declares Pamphilia a woman with an "excellent mind inclosed within that excellent body" (194-5), Nereana is still consumed with desire. Her descent into tyranny continues.

Wroth's aversion to blind absolutism that can degenerate into tyranny is revealed fully as Nereana embarks on a metaphorical journey. Traveling toward Seontina, Nereana plunges alone "into the heart of the Wood" and finds herself wandering as if "in amaze" (196). Affected by the chaos surrounding her, Nereana momentarily recognizes the political chaos she has engendered in Stalamine with her rash forays for unrequited love, and she curses her "folly, for adventuring, and rashly leaving her Country" (196). Astonishingly, Nereana even reproaches her people for *not resisting* her whims and demanding proper behavior from their ruler, for she "raild at the uncareful people who permitted her to have her fond desires without *limiting her power*" (196) [emphasis mine]. As she presents Nereana's outburst, Wroth encourages the type of controlled monarchy, one answerable to its people, that is supported by the continental

monarchomachs. Clearly, Nereana has failed her people because she has not served their needs and has instead privileged her desires. She has lost the loyalty and trust of her subjects, for as Nereana is lost, “chafing, rayling, cursing, and at last crying for anger or feare,” her servants seek her only half-heartedly (196). Nereana’s leadership has not inspired the degree of loyalty effective rulers earn, and thus “none [of her servants were] fond of finding her, so proud and curst she was: but dutie told them shee must bee sought, lest shee finding her selfe neglected, might bring their greater harme” (196). Nereana is a ruler who has degenerated into a state of selfish tyranny, and thus one whose removal from the throne her subjects can desire in good conscience. Perhaps realizing that such suggestions would be met with concern, Wroth quickly checks Nereana’s moment of clarity, for as the princess continues, she concludes that she “rather would . . . be thus miserable, then not absolute” (196). Still, if this ruler is to earn her throne and recover her country, she must learn the proper humility demanded of a servant-queen.

To teach Nereana this humility, Wroth again leads her into the woods, with its topography of lush disorder, and here Nereana experiences the humiliation that will initiate her repentance and her restoration to the throne. The process begins as Nereana encounters “a madde man” in the woods, Alanius, who mistakes the queen for his beloved Liana (197). Spurned by Nereana as a “Villaine,” Alanius soon determines that Nereana must be “the Goddess of those woods, who had put on that habit to disguise herself” (197). As Alanius falls to worship the “divine Goddess,” Wroth explores with subtle humor the potential results of the absolute, blind devotion Nereana (and James!) desires from her people. After all, what ultimately becomes of rulers whose subjects

blindly turn them into gods? They become inhuman (if not ridiculous!) and therefore lose any empathetic connection to their people. Clearly, this happens to Nereana in Alanius's absurd worship of her. The lunatic, "fully perswaded shee was that Goddess," loses his patience with the object of his reverence who, obvious to him, is tragically losing her sense of divinity. To help restore her deific standing, Alanius takes it upon himself to tie "her to a tree" and properly adorn her as the goddess he knows her to be:

[He] undress'd her, pulling her haire down to the full length; cloathes he left her none, save onely one little petticoate of carnation tafatie; her greene silke stockings hee turn'd, or row'ld a little downe, making them serve for baskins; garlands hee put on her head, and armes, tucking up her smock-sleeves to the elbowes, her necke bare, and a wreath of fine flowers he hung crosse from one shoulder under the other arme, like a belt, to hang her quiver in: a white sticke which he had newly whittled, he put into her hand. . . . (197-8)

Nereana becomes what she at one time felt she desired to be: an object of complete adoration and blind-devotion, a truly absolute ruler. Overawed by this vision of silvan perfection and divine beauty, Alanius "kneeled downe, and admired her" (198). At this moment, Nereana realizes that such blind adoration is not only undesirable; it is terrifying. Fleeing from Alanius and "his sad madnesse," the once haughty ruler is humbled and begins to realize that absolute reverence should not be the goal of a leader (198). In fact, having metamorphosed into the ridiculous image of absolute power, Nereana sees that humble service is the attribute of a truly noble ruler.

Interestingly, even mad Alanius eventually recognizes Nereana's ignoble character, but only after once again insisting that she is divine and powerful. Consistently, Alanius and his mad requests render absurd the concept of rulers being absolute or divine. Nereana herself recognizes this. When Alanius declares that her "*Metamorphosis*" has rendered her into a "God-head," Nereana declares, "I am not a Nymph Arethusa, nor a Goddess, but a distressed **woman**" (200) [emphasis mine]. Declaring her humanity and denying the divine stature she once desired, Nereana thus begins the long process of recovering the right to rule her kingdom. Ignorance has been illuminated, pride broken. Only now is Nereana positioned to become an effective monarch, for she is prepared to become a ruler whose nobility is characterized by service to her people not self-indulgent excess.

True to its massive and tangled structure, *Urania* leaves Nereana to her solitude and education, and readers do not encounter her again until the final scene of Book Two when Perissus comes upon the princess still in Cicely. Nereana has "now growne as humble, as before proud, and ashamed as before scorning" (334). The humbled princess has been "living in a Cave alone" and has learned to be "contented with patience, and patiently contented" (334). Appearing to be a woman of "best governd Spirits," Nereana approaches King Perissus "with much humility" (334). Penitent Nereana admits that she is the cause of her own "mischeife," for she has been "so partial" to herself, so full of "spleene," and so "sicke with anger" that her fall was inevitable (335). However, now Nereana claims she has changed and begs for his aid:

let not my outward meanes hinder your noble mind from pittie, but rather shew it where most want claimes it. I confesse contempt is likelier to bee my reward, whose pride was such, as that punishment best fitteth me, *but I am humbled, and my former fault looks odious to me*, then thought of this fortune would have done, in my height of greatnes. (335 [emphasis mine])

With great “compassion” for Nereana’s confession, Perrisus carries her into town and “cloathed her according to her dignity” (335). Sadly, once clothed in “greatnes,” Nereana regresses back to her state of “over-running-weedy pride” (335). She once again becomes an “ambitious creature . . . rude to looke on” (335). After treating Perissus shamefully, Nereana is scornfully placed on a “Barque of purpose . . . to carry her to her own Country” (337). Furious at Perissus’s contempt, the princess comforts herself with the “resolution to exercise her just anger upon her people” (337). Will this ruler ever learn the truly admirable qualities of a leader? Will Nereana’s backsliding ever cease? As Wroth utilizes once again the tactics of repetition and regeneration familiar to Protestant poetics, will she ever manage to fashion Nereana into a committed and humble ruler?¹⁴

Yes, for once in Stalamine, Nereana’s tyrannical, ignoble behavior is finally punished in true monarchomachist fashion. Nereana is deposed and imprisoned by the subaltern magistrates of her kingdom. Expecting adulation upon her return, “contrarywise [Nereana] encounter[s] the cold face of neglect, and losse of her Country” (337). Her younger sister, “who [Nereana] had so contemned in times past” and who

¹⁴ For discussions on the use of repetition and regeneration in Protestant poetics, see Chapter 1 of this study and Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics* 3-18.

Nereana had even “inclosed in a strong Tower, many times to molest her,” has now been placed on the throne by Stalamine’s magistrates (337). This sister has “wonne the harts of the people” because “she [is] as humble, and mild, as her sister excelld in the opposite” (337). Although the people carefully question the legitimacy of replacing their ruler, in the end “all [join] together” and resolve that Nereana can no longer rule, for her pride will lead to the country’s downfall. After all, as one does not “burne all the furniture of a House, because one Roome was infected with the Plague,” one also does not destroy a country by embracing one, ineffective, and tyrannical ruler (337-8). Thus, Nereana is stripped of her throne and imprisoned in the same place in which she used to torment her sister. Thus ends *Urania*’s Book II.

Wroth does believe that rulers can turn from their tyrannical or ineffectual ways, and this hope is realized as Nereana’s story concludes. Mimicking the long period of time that passes, the text does not return to Nereana until the end of Book III. In prison, Nereana has endured the long and complete metamorphosis necessary to earn back her right to rule. After observing Nereana’s gradual change and her true penitence, a subaltern magistrate, a “great man” who is a member of the country’s “Counsel,” steps forward as a voice of the Stalamine people (496). Believing that Nereana is truly the rightful ruler and that their former actions have successfully destroyed tyranny, the magistrate and full council declare that Nereana is “now invested in . . . an habitation of gravity” and is thus “fit for the honour” of queen (496). Therefore, they “solemnly againe establish’d her” as queen in place of her sister who is now “enamourd of” a “married man” and thus happily leaves the country (496). After a long education and an

undesirable yet deserved imprisonment, Nereana is crowned by the magistrates as their rightful ruler, while the source of a sovereign's power is shown to rest in the hands of her people or their representatives. The subaltern pattern has proven successful, for tyranny has been removed and destroyed and power has been reinstated to a now proven and deserving ruler. The narrator celebrates the ability to reform even a tyrant, for "none can run so far that shall not have some time to return, nor any how much soever condemn'd but may live to be fit of commiseration, and respect" (496). The curtain closes on Nereana and a stable Stalamine that is now blessed with a ruler who proves "an excellent Governess, and brave Lady, being able to overrule her old passions, and by them to judge how to favor, licence, and curb others" (496)--truly signs of a committed, sympathetic, and service-oriented queen.

Though many such examples of tyranny are explored in *Urania*, the most powerful explorations of tyrants and resistance theories are found in the Macedonian and Albanian military campaigns so meticulously staged within the *Urania*. The romance, as we have discussed, opens in the pastoral land of Pantaleria, yet immediately we are informed that the island is not an edenic world of escape. Instead, many of its inhabitants are the "most miserable on earth," as *Urania* bemoans, because they have been displaced from their homelands by usurpers and tyrants (22). As we have seen, *Urania* is uncertain of her true identity. However, after being rescued from a she-wolf by two youths (Steriamus and Selarinus) and after meeting their aged father, *Urania* meets Parselius who reveals her true identity as the "lost Princesse" of Naples (23). Simultaneously, she becomes aware of other displaced nobles on Pantaleria, for when Steriamus and

Selarinus's aged father hears Urania's identity and that Parselius is the Prince of Morea, he rejoices. He is seeking a noble magistrate to help defeat those who have stolen his crown. With great emotion, the dying man addresses Prince Parselius:

Most mighty and worthie honourd Prince; see here before your royall presence, the unfortunate king of Albania, who in the warres betweene Achaya and Macedon, taking part with Achaya, was beaten out of my country, and forced to wander, seeking safetie far from the place, where my safety ought most to have been. (24)

As a noble prince, it is, according to the Albanian king, Parselius's duty to help restore rightful rule when another leader has been unfairly removed from his throne. He is obliged to intervene and to lead the Albanian people in resistance and to depose the usurpers who have divided the kingdom. Clearly, the usurpers fit the parameters familiar to continental resistance theories, for they have "in the meane while spoiled [the kingdom], and parted among such, as could prevaile by strength and policy to get shares" (24). The usurpers are not legitimate kings who serve the people's interests but are tyrants who rule for personal gain and a share of the land's riches.

In the midst of his despondent exile, however, the king and his now-deceased queen have had some happiness, for "it pleased God to blesse us with these two boies, and this daughter" (24). Thus, his primary distress is not for himself but for his children. Echoing resistance theorists, the king understands that the Albanian throne is not assured solely by heredity, yet he claims the "joy" of knowing that his "posterity . . . [possesses] that likelihood of vertues" that is necessary for legitimate and godly rulers (24).

Conscientiously, the king has raised his children to be not only noble rulers but also noble persons who can earn the right to rule and to rule well:

[These two young men] till now, knew no other, then that they were meane boies, I not daring to let them know their birth, lest those spirits which live in them, should have led them into some dangerous course: but still I have kept them under, making them know hardnes and misery, the better still to endure it. . . . [So if] they come to enjoy their right, they may know the better to command, having **so well learn'd to obey and serve.**

(24) [emphasis mine]

Here, Wroth alludes to the monarchomachist belief that kings are not to be served but are to serve their people. Unlike many seventeenth-century rulers, her Albanian princes have been trained to view service as an honor and hardship as a means of improving one's self, lessons that Wroth may feel her own king has not sufficiently realized.

Having once despaired, the displaced Albanian king has his "hopes . . . revived," for he believes that Parselius's "noble, and magnanimous vertues," as well as his "honor," will lead him "to assist the distressed Princes" (24). In fact, as he hears the king continue his story, Parselius realizes that he is "doubly bound" to lead a resistance because his own "faire cousin, right heire to the kingdom of Macedon," has been imprisoned in a tower "til she be of age" and can be forced to marry the illegitimate Macedonian usurper (24-5). At this moment, Wroth positions Parselius as a subaltern magistrate, a noble, neighboring prince who must secure both the Macedonian and the Albanian thrones, not for any

selfish gain but for the establishment of true and legitimate rulers. And the prince affirms his duty. In fact, he is honored by the privilege of serving such a cause:

[Is] it my good fortune most famous King of Albania . . . to have it in my power to serve so excellent a Prince? Doubt not then but I will with all faithful love and diligence . . . goe into Morea, and from thence carry such forces as shall (with my other friends I will joyne with me) restore you to your right, and pull down that Macedonian Usurper. . . . [Your] sonnes I accept to bee my companions, and as brothers to me will I be carefull of them. (25)

Ultimately, Parselius realizes that it is his duty to organize resistance against the usurpers by recruiting other “friends” to the cause, to help lead any military actions necessary, and then to cede control back to the young princes. In return, Steriamus and Selarinus are humbled by their gratitude toward the prince and vow to follow him, wearing “their savage habits, which they resolved to weare till they came where they might fit themselves with apparell, and Armes befitting their Estates: Parselius then promising to knight them” (27-8). Though now proven royal, the Albanian princes continue to emulate a proper and admirable humility, a humility appropriate for servant-kings. Thus the refugee, Albanian king can die in peace, and Parselius consecrates his vow to him, reminding the reader that God’s hands are indeed a part of legitimate political resistance. “[C]asting up his eyes to Heaven,” Parselius prays for godly guidance: “Let me, nor my attempts prosper . . . when I breake my faith and vertuous respect” (28). The beginning of

a resistance movement, one dedicated to God and to godly rule, has clearly been established.

Though the resistance has begun, careful planning is demanded of legitimate interventions. True to the tenets of continental resistance theory, the resistance must be organized by the subaltern magistrate carefully and purposefully. Thus Parselius brings the brothers to his father's Morean court to begin planning an organized, military mission. Once in Morea, the young princes are welcomed by the king and by his daughter, Pamphilia. Consistently promising "to assist [the brothers] in recovering the Kingdome lost," Parselius then leaves the brothers at his father's court, "first having receiv'd promise, and command being given for mens raying" an army to help secure the Albanian throne (67-8). To ensure success, Parselius believes he must travel to Italy to commission Amphilanthus's help but "promise[s] returne within six monthes" (68). Wisely, Parselius realizes that resistance led against a king, even an illegitimate tyrant, is a matter to be taken seriously and planned with utmost care.

During the interim, Steriamus disappears to contemplate his unrequited love for Pamphilia. Meanwhile, Selarinus remains in the Morean court where he meets the subaltern prince with whom he will fight not only to free Albania but also its neighbor, Macedon. Onto the Uranian stage arrives Rosindy, younger brother of Pamphilia and Parselius. In the relationship between Selarinus and Rosindy, Wroth studies the importance of international subaltern leagues in establishing European stability. Rosindy arrives at his father's court disguised in "black Armes, bearing no Device in his Sheild" and calling himself "the unknowne Knight" (107). Disclosing himself only to his trusted

and wise sister, Rosindy sequesters himself in Pamphilia's chamber. With great confidence in his sister's insight, Rosindy relates his story and reveals the reason for his hidden identity. We learn that after departing his father's court, Rosindy soon found himself passing "thorow [the] most part of Greece" and entering Macedon. To his dismay, he found "the King dead, and an Usurper strongly placed and settled in his roome" (108). Most disturbing, the rightful heir, Meriana, had been and remains "shut up in prison by that Traytor" whose "intent [it is] to marry her, if he can gaine her consent; if not, so to hold her inclos'd during her life" (108). Now woven together are Parselius's earlier promise to rescue the imprisoned princess and Rosindy's first-hand encounter with this very woman. The union of international subaltern magistrates needed to facilitate successful resistance is being established.

As he continues his story, Rosindy declares that he knows how "rare a creature" of "perfections" Meriana is, for immediately his heart was made "her slave" (108). Providentially, Rosindy was housed by a man who had loyally served Meriana's mother and father and who even then had "libertie to see her when hee will . . . [,] hee beeing Master of the Wardrobe" (108). This Master dressed Rosindy in the "suite of one of his servants" and sent the prince to Meriana who, believing him to be a shy servant, "tooke delight to see [Rosindy] so mov'd, imagining it had been out of bashfulness, which she made sport with" (108). For some time a friendship developed between this "servant" and princess, yet soon Meriana's questioning of the Master revealed Rosindy's true identity. Feeling betrayed, Meriana asked that the prince never more attend upon her, a sentence which Rosindy still equates with one "of death." Undaunted, however, Rosindy

declared that Meriana must reconsider her edict if she is ever to achieve her freedom, for it is for her freedom and that of her country that Rosindy was and is motivated.

Therefore, he sent the Master of the Wardrobe to ask,

How doe you thinke Madam ever to bee freed, when you use such as
would venture for your freedome with this scorne? Long enough will you
remaine here, and bee a Prisoner for any hope you can have of deliverie by
these fashions: but it may bee you affect this life, or meane to marrie [the
usurper, Clotorindus]; if so I have done amisse, for which I beseech you
pardon me, and him, with whom I will likewise leave Macedon: for what
shall I doe here, where worth is contemned and slaverie esteemed? (109)

Such queries truly reflect the prerequisites of the resistance theory being explored and advocated by Wroth. Rosindy, as noble subaltern, must be *commissioned* by the oppressed, in this case Meriana representing the people of Macedon, before assuming the right to intervene and displace the ruler in command. By asking Meriana if indeed she desires to give her rightful rule to Clotorindus through marriage, Rosindy and his representative are respecting the will of an autonomous country even if it is a decision with which they may strongly disagree--one which is declared to be a state of "slaverie" where true "worth is contemned."

Struck by the sincerity, concern, and "assurance of truth and trust" embodied in Rosindy, Meriana declared that his "love and truth [have] gained his pardon" and asked him to return to her chamber (109). Rosindy informs Pamphilia that he then went to

Meriana, wearing his own clothes and sword, and was charged with the following commission:

To assure me of your love, and you of pity, this is the course you must take; instantly leave this place, nor returne unto it, untill such time as your fame by your noble deeds may prove such, as shall make you worthy of my love; then returne, release mee with your own hands; make me perfectly know, you are Prince Rosindy, and I will give my self unto you But one thing more . . . I would have you doe; let all these deeds be done, while you still keepe your name of the Unknowne. (110)

Strikingly, Meriana's commission insinuates that noble birth does not a leader make, yet another echo of continental resistance theories. Though Rosindy does fulfill one requirement of monarchomachist theory, he is a nobleman and a political subaltern, he must also prove himself worthy of such titles before his aid is embraced. Thus, Rosindy has "past these ten monthes" proving himself an estimable, noble prince. He believes now is the time to help organize the resistance and has come to Morea to determine "what resolution was taken for the conquest of Albania" and "the reliefe of Macedon" (111). He desires to "know the certaine time of the pretended Journey for Albania" and "when they [who are] appointed to free Meriana" will begin their endeavor (107).

At this point in her romance, Wroth tests a fascinating supposition--that a woman can serve legitimately as subaltern when circumstances deem it necessary. Though defenses of Queen Elizabeth's right to wield power had been made for years, roles for women within the political realm still were of "subordinate status," as Constance Jordan

points out (249).¹⁵ Interestingly, as some critics have bemoaned, Wroth does not seem to question traditional views of women as subordinate to men, but here we see that Wroth does perceive a parallel between the duty of a subaltern, one who assumes control while needed, and the appropriate actions of noble women within a political realm and within organized Protestant resistance.¹⁶ Though eventually queen of her own land (a land that has been freed by her uncle and predecessor from a tyrant!), Pamphilia knows that, at this time, it is Rosindy's place, not hers, to serve on the war council that is planning the Albanian and Macedonian rebellions.¹⁷ However, when commissioned by Rosindy, she

¹⁵ For a discussion of the debate regarding women and politics during the Renaissance, see Constance Jordan's *Renaissance Feminism* 248-307.

¹⁶ Many critics have been disturbed by Wroth's apparent approval of traditional behavior patterns for women. Carolyn Ruth Swift admits that "Wroth herself still esteemed the conventions that [her text] presents [to our modern minds] as exploitative" (346). Still yet, while Wroth appears to desire "extend[ing the female] sphere of action," she does so, as Elaine Beilin points out, with a strong "adherence to the traditional feminine virtues" such as constancy and gentleness (*Redeeming Eve* 242). In the end, it seems to some that all *Urania's* women "remain firmly entrenched in the patriarchal fairy-tale plot which teaches that a woman's 'happily-ever-after' is the successful effort to induce the right prince to love her" (Carrell 102). Maureen Quilligan goes so far as to suggest that the "women silently suffer" and that *Urania* reflects the *Arcadia* as a "paean to the patriarchy" (267). Similarly, Anne Shaver suggests that when women in the romance demonstrate "self-confidence . . . Pamphilia is disturbed, and from the evidence of the fate of such women and from the narrator's comments on them, so is her creator" (68). Despite such recognitions, however, to suggest that Wroth merely emulates traditional, silent women who are repressed by patriarchal forces is to ignore important events in the text. As Naomi Miller has recognized, Wroth explores not merely the role of woman in relation to husbands, fathers, and lovers but "to a larger community of family and friends" and fellow citizens ("Not much to be marked" 133). While contemporary minds might gloss over the actions of women in the text as weak responses to male control, readers must realize that Wroth indeed creates new roles for women that blend with acceptable religious and social traditions. The subaltern theory is one doctrine in which Wroth finds potential for active women.

¹⁷ The importance of position in determining one's actions is critical. Once a queen, Pamphilia will be in the position to use her political voice in protecting her realm. At this point as a princess and woman, her position is very different. In fact, her actions reflect concessions made in some religio-political theories which contend that the home is also political and based on power relationships. If a woman's home is threatened, she is obligated to resist and protect it. A woman's responsibility to her household can conceivably extend into the public realm, when current realities demand her action and her voice. See Wiesner 305-23 and Hilda Smith 1-14.

willingly assumes his role as a war adviser. To all extent purposes, she becomes her brother's subaltern magistrate.¹⁸ Pamphilia is soon able to inform her brother of the council's decision:

Macedon is fittest to be first releev'd, and the rather, because it is more easie to gaine the Kingdome out of one Usurpers hand, then out of many. My Mother hath beene infinite earnest, and as earnest as if she knew your mind, her reason being, that the young Queene is her Neece . . . and Macedon once quieted, Albania will be the sooner won. (116)

As Rosindy's subaltern, Pamphilia has, in good conscience, participated in the discussion necessary to determine the league's plans. Interestingly, another woman as well, Pamphilia's royal mother, voices her opinion during this decision making phase. While battles may be the province of men, Pamphilia's actions and both her and her mother's

¹⁸ An interesting parallel is Merry Wiesner's article, "The Holy Roman Empire: Women and Politics," in which she explores women's political voices in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century empire. For example, Weisner tells of Argula von Grumbach who in 1523 wrote in open protest of the treatment of a Lutheran teacher at the University of Ingolstadt (306). Von Grumbach uses Isaiah 3:12 ("I will send you children to be your princes and women to be your rulers") to justify speaking out. Because male university leaders were neglecting their duty, she was forced to speak (307). Weisner's study offers other compelling examples of women filling political positions when their male counterparts cannot or do not. For instance, she notes that "Imperial law and tradition did not exclude women from ruling territories in their own right . . . [especially if serving] as the actual rulers during the minority of their sons" (310). A final group examined are the abbesses in imperial convents. These women "appointed secular and church officials, sent a representative to the Reichstag, heard legal cases, built and supported hospitals, orphanages, and occasionally schools" (311). Also interesting is the fact that, as the Reformation gained strength in the Holy Roman Empire, the abbesses' convents often became Protestant institutions or a combination of both religions: "Indeed, it is often difficult to tell exactly what religion a convent was at any particular point, as Catholic and Protestant women lived together and their observances and rules were a mixture of both" (312). Of course, Queen Elizabeth is a further example that challenges any suggestion that women have been historically uninvolved or silent in matters of religion and politics.

verbal involvement suggest that Wroth recognized an appropriate and essential place for women in the strategic planning stages of legitimate resistance. Pamphilia achieves what Hilda L. Smith contends to be a common desire amongst seventeenth-century women, for “they did not [often] demand their own political rights--only, at points, a *political voice*” (4 [emphasis mine]). Pamphilia certainly does achieve such a voice as she represents her brother.

Not only does Pamphilia’s political voice bring Rosindy news of the council’s decision; as subaltern for Rosindy, she also facilitates the military partnership between Rosindy and Selarinus. Selarinus has informed Pamphilia that he agrees with the plan to free Macedon first, for this will allow the time necessary to find Steriamus. Wisely, he is “not willing to bee thought hasty in winning honour, and love in his owne Countrey in the absence of his Brother” (116). Still yet, he confesses to Pamphilia that his pressing “ambition” is to “gaine the honour of [Rosindy’s] friendship, and to be [his] Companion in [his] travels” (116). Pamphilia recognizes the opportunity to advance the partnership between the men and later declares to Rosindy, “I have promis’d him to be the meanes for him [joining you]: and beleeve me brother, you will thank me for it” (116). Through Pamphilia’s aid, a brilliantly successful military partnership is assured, one which is even “commended by the King”--Rosindy will be “Generall of the Morean forces, Selarinus his Lieutenant” (123).

As the subaltern for Rosindy, as his “blessed Messenger” (116) and “counsell” (117), Pamphilia continues to relate the details of the military resistance being forged. Amazingly, Pamphilia not only knows but understands the complex organization that has

been established to achieve success. She appreciates strategic particulars such as the fact that “the number from [Morea] . . . are fifty thousand, from Achaia twenty, from Romania twenty” (117). Still yet, the princess is cognizant of the meticulous division of power that has been devised by the resistance: “the Achaians are to be demanded by Ambassadors now appointed; that Army to be lead [sic] by Leandrus, the Romanians by Lisandrinus” (117). Pamphilia proves to be an informed and wise laborer for organized resistance, for she allows her brother to maintain his vow to Meriana, informs him of the resistance’s strategies, and unites him with the second-in-command that will help facilitate his success. Wroth’s heroine is an appropriate addition to challenges against the misogynistic tirades of Goodman and Knox and to the Renaissance’s “pro-woman arguments” that have been illuminated by Constance Jordan.¹⁹ Clearly, Pamphilia’s wise and humble service in the political realm makes her neither a “Jezebel” nor a “monstrous” ruler.

As Pamphilia represents her brother, a league of subalterns continues to gather from across Europe to defeat the usurping tyrants in Macedon and Albania. Consistently, as princes and magistrates are recruited to the cause, exposed tyrants and usurpers are systematically destroyed. For example, the quick execution of a group of usurpers who pose as the rulers of Negroponte and attempt to kidnap Pamphilia is noteworthy. Confessing their deceit and their abuse of power, the men are immediately found to be “no Prince[s], but . . . usurping Lord[s] of other mens rights, and a Kings, and Princes honour, [thus] they were all condemn’d and executed according to Arcadian Law” (144).

¹⁹ See Jordan 11-64.

With such treason and tyranny destroyed, the league forges ahead, and Pamphilia prepares to extend her political involvement by claiming the throne of Pamphilia.

Another paean to monarchomachist theories, Pamphilia's coronation celebrates legitimate resistance's ability to guarantee a nation's stable rule. Pamphilia has been earlier chosen by her uncle to inherit the throne of Pamphilia upon his death. In fact, the princess is so committed to this duty that she "[bears] that name likewise given by him" to his country (100). An important element of this peaceful transfer of power is the fact that the country of Pamphilia was "wonne from the subjection of Tyrants" (145). Pamphilia's uncle, "in his youth (being as brave and valiant a man as ever breathed)," freed the Pamphilians from tyranny and abuse. In appreciation for his actions, "the people chose him their King, their love being then so great, and still continuing, as they have given him leave to choose his Successor" (145). Yet again, Wroth advances the claim that kingship is not a matter of mere heredity; instead, it is a matter of worth, an earned position given to her or him who proves worthy to serve the people as a wise and beneficent ruler. In fact, as Pamphilia prepares to travel to the land of Pamphilia, we learn that her Uncle has not yet died and that, instead, her future people are "desirous to know" her before bequeathing to her their country's sovereignty (145). Thus, Pamphilia disembarks for the new homeland, whose name she shares, accompanied by "rich Chariots, Coaches, furniture for Horses, and all other necessary things that could bee demanded for service, or state" (148). Soon arriving in Pamphilia, Pamphilia is crowned queen, and her uncle "retire[s] to a religious house, he had built to that purpose" (149). Pamphilia's citizens, assured of her goodness as a temporal ruler and bolstered by their

former king's commitment to matters spiritual, are "peaceably settled" and embrace their new and legitimate queen (149). A country, which a mere generation earlier had been subject to tyranny, now rejoices in a smooth transfer of power.

However, readers soon leave Pamphilia's presence

because the Drums beate, and Trumpets sound in Morea for the reliefe of Macedon, and the brave conquest of Rosindy . . . [other matters] must stay, while warrs, the noblest, because professed by the noblest, take a little time for them. The time come for the Armies marching, brave Rosindy tooke his journey with his most noble companions. (154)

General Rosindy and the other subalterns, "Many brave Knights and bold men," begin their campaign toward Macedon. The narrator consecrates this godly army that has adopted such a noble duty, for

who ever could imagine glorie, might heere have seene at the height of perfection: magnanimous spirits, brave and unconquered men, undaunted souldiers, riches of all gallantry in every respect, and what was most and best, all excellent souldiers; and true souldiers, the excellentest men.

(155)

These excellent men indeed prove an excellently unified subaltern army. As they near Macedon, they are met with "but poore resistance" and eventually arrive at a "great Plaine" where they see the "great Army" of the Macedonian usurper, Clotorindus (155). Settling for the night, the subaltern "Princes and Commanders" discuss their options for battle, and in keeping with their obligation to fight unified, "many opinions were given"

(155). Importantly, the princes examine prudently the course of action they will take and are thus able to reach a meaningful consensus. Genuinely reflecting the monarchomachist conviction that one must only offer aggression when met with true tyranny, the princes decide that it is wiser “to let [Clotorindus] urge us, then for us to presse him to fight” (155). The princes apparently realize that they have a greater chance of earning Macedon’s allegiance if they “patiently goe on with temper,” for “greater will bee [their] benefit” if Clotorindus’s tyranny is revealed by his own actions (155). The league does not have to wait long. Just as the counsel concludes, Clotorindus “with a defie, and challenge” insists that the army meet him in battle at “eight of the clocke” the next morning (155).

Certainly the battle that ensues is evidence of the league’s strength and unity. Still, as Wroth meticulously describes the movements of the alliance’s calvary, foot soldiers, and divisions, she never abandons an opportunity to offer a vivid image of the individual subaltern’s military prowess and noble spirit. For example, Rosindy fights “so bravely . . . as hee had made walles of dead men of his owne killing, round about him, as if they had been cast up of purpose for his safetie” (156). Yet even surrounded by such gruesome battlements, Rosindy never forgets his nobility, and thus when he finds himself defeating Phalerinus, Prince of Thessalonica, Rosindy “[takes] him in his armes, in stead of disarming him, [takes] his word, in stead of his Sword, which noble act [breeds] such love” in his opponent that “hee after proved a true and faithful subject to him” (156). Phalerinus’s willingness to support his defeater justifies the very rebellion being staged;

even a follower of the usurper is made to see that tyranny has held him prisoner.

Macedon is indeed being purged of oppression and prepared for legitimate rule.

Contrasted with such noble deeds is “the shamefull flight of Clotorindus” into the walled city of Thessalonica (156). As the alliance surrounds the city, it witnesses firsthand just how “vild and treacherous” a “Rebell and Traytor” Clotorindus is (157). Wroth carefully stages a scene that explores any doubts her audience may have regarding the justice of this Macedonian war. Is it possible that Clotorindus is not a tyrannical usurper? That, instead, he is a lawful heir to the throne? Is the war indeed a legitimate, monarchomachist uprising or an example of the kind of rash and treasonous “king-killing” that King James feared? Importantly, Wroth allows Clotorindus to speak for himself, and thus he can be judged by his own words. From the walls of Thessalonica, Clotorindus addresses the alliance and asks, “[W]hat injustice doe you goe about in seeking to deprive mee of mine owne, who never wronged you, nor would have denied to have served any of you with my owne person and meanes, if you had required it?” (157). Claiming that Macedon is “lawfully my right, both by being next heir male, and beside mine now by marriage with Meriana,” Clotorindus petitions for peace, for he claims to “desire an end of these cruell warres” (157). In fact, Clotorindus seems to desire the same type of peace that the alliance seeks: “Let me be accepted as a Cosin, and my friendship taken as proferd by a friend, rather then thus continue shedding of bloud, let the conclusion be welcome, and the trumpets and drummes turnd to Musick of joy” (157). Clearly, Clotorindus reflects the concerns of any who would claim that rebellion against a king is immoral; after all, his words contend that he is Meriana’s spouse, a member of the

royal line, and a seeker of peace and friendship. If judged by his own words, Clotorindus is *not* a legitimate target for monarchomachist rebellion. He is not a tyrant who must be deposed in order to liberate the Macedonian people. But words can be manipulated by ignoble hands. Because Rosindy earlier sought Meriana's sanction for the rebellion, he is well aware that the "rightfull Princess" has *not* consented to the "Alliance [Clotorindus] claimest" (157). Thus by "framing so false a report, and wronging (with thy filthy tongue) thy Queene, and the Queene of true vertue, and of Macedon," Clotorindus guarantees that the alliance will "fire the Towne, and breake open the gates," actively displacing him and coronating Meriana (157). However, the "Monster" usurper is not going to surrender willingly and next engages in a final act that fully reveals his true and evil nature--the artful decapitation of Meriana.

As the alliance watches, Clotorindus replaces the white flag on the city walls with "a bloody one" and the next day brings Meriana to the same spot, "dressed as to her Wedding, a Crowne on her head, and her haire all down" (158). To her captor and to Rosindy who "greedily [beholds] her beauty," Meriana speaks:

Clotorindus, thou has now (I confesse) some pittie in thee, since thou wilt free me from my miserable living, I thanke thee for it, and Rosindy I hope shall requite it, to whom I commend my best and last love; farewell brave Prince, but bee thus confident that I am just. (158)

Meriana's "last speech" is then terminated as Clotorindus's henchmen "inclosed her round in a circle" (158). In the next moment, Rosindy is brought into his "extreamst miserie," for as he searches the ramparts for a glimpse of Meriana,

only that peerelesse head was seene of him, being set upon a pillar, and that pillar being upon the top of the Pallace, the haire hanging in such a length and delicacie, as although it somewhat covered with the thicknese of it, part of the face, yet was that, too sure a knowledge to Rosindy of her losse. (158)

Such horrific blood-theater brings Rosindy and “All the Armie” to the edge of despair, and indeed it is “Long . . . before [Rosindy] spake” (158). This final proof of Clotorindus’s tyrannical nature arouses the army to “Arme and assault this wicked Towne” (158). Soon the gate is open, and “with furious rage” and “mercillesse crueltie” the town is destroyed (158).²⁰

All is not accomplished immediately, for when Rosindy ascends the ramparts to “take down the Head of his dearest love,” he finds Meriana’s head “taken away also” (158). Outraged, Rosindy finally finds Clotorindus, dagger in hand, and prepares to exterminate this tyrant who bears such a “hellish countenance” (159). Vowing that “Thy Victorie shall yet never be honoured by my death,” Clotorindus stabs himself several times and falls dead at Rosindy’s feet (159). Thus is the tyrant destroyed. Thus is the resistance proven just. Reflecting much resistance literature, Wroth suggests that true tyrants will ultimately destroy themselves when pressured by alliances, for by having Clotorindus kill himself she strategically avoids any accusation that her Uranian league is merely comprised of king-killers. Instead, her subalterns have proven to be convicted and

²⁰ Students of Sidney’s *Arcadia* will note the similarity to Cecropia who also uses a false decapitation of the heroine Philoclea in an attempt to bring the righteous Zelmane/Pyrocles to despair.

careful liberators whose very virtue and persistence lead even the most vile of tyrants to self-destruct.

Echoing the religious heritage of resistance theories, *Urania's* wars are shown to be divinely and providentially affirmed. Though successful in his goal of destroying Clotorindus, the very human Rosindy has failed to save his love and thus the rightful ruler of Macedon--or so he believes. Because his cause is just and because all now recognize the cunning deceits of Clotorindus, Rosindy is providentially rewarded when "he [hears] his Lady call for helpe" (159). Following Meriana's cries, Rosindy discovers her "wald up with misery, and [left to] famine die" (159). Taking a risk "to throwe downe the wall," Rosindy's soldiers manage to expose the tiny room in which Meriana has been sealed. As she arises from her place of death (as yet again a Uranian figure is resurrected to new life), Meriana "gives her selfe to Rosindy" before the "brave and most warlike presence" of the alliance that liberated her (160).²¹ Peace has been secured; the Macedonians have been liberated. Now all of Macedon's citizens affirm her rightful rule by "yeelding themselves as her loyall Subjects, and taking oathes to her, and Rosindy for alleageance" (160). Secure and legitimate rule is now accomplished, and the league moves on with the "hope [that it will] thrive so well in the next businesse, which now must be for [the liberation] of Albania" (160).

²¹ The counterfeit decapitation is one of Clotorindus's finest devices of deceit. A servant informs the new royal couple that Clotorindus used a pillar made by Meriana's own father, "a man excellently graced in all arts, and especially in prospectives," that appears very small but is actually "so big, as one might stand in it," thus offering the appearance of being merely a head upon a column (160). Meriana's father's merry device becomes Clotorindus's device of horror--yet another proof of the tyrant's evil.

And thrive it will. Of course, the Albanian liberation is the goal that initiates so much of *Urania's* story, and thus it is of ultimate importance to the romance's completion. As discussed earlier, Parselius has been commissioned by the dying, refugee King of Albania first to destroy the usurpers who have taken his throne and then to place the rightful rulers, Steriamus and Selarinus, on the throne. Now that Macedon has been secured, the league is ready to fulfill this early and complex promise--complex because not one but four usurpers have captured Albania and have divided it amongst themselves. Wroth must show that justified resistance led by unified subaltern magistrates can withstand such a challenge. As the subalterns gather, careful planning and strategy once again become paramount. Who will lead the forces? Which usurper must be destroyed first? Which brother will take the throne? The last of these queries is easily answered, for almost as if by providential design, the younger brother, Selarinus, is awarded the throne of Epirus that "anciently belonged to the Kings of Albania" (314). Now King of Epirus, Selarinus is ready to march with his own soldiers to Albania and secure the throne for the elder Steriamus.

As the subalterns begin their march, one is noticeably absent--Amphilanthus, who is making his way toward Albania and undertaking the various deeds that were earlier explored. Still, even without Amphilanthus, the league is an impressive one: "Parselius had the Moreans, Amphilanthus was to command his Italians [upon his arrival], . . . Rosindy the Macedonians, Leandrus the Achaians, Selarinus the Eperians, Antissius his Romanians, [and] Dolorindus [Negropont]" (315). Over all the troops, Steriamus is chosen to be general, and he knows that the Albanian rebellion depends on careful and

wise strategy. Calling “his magnanimous Council together,” Steriamus leads the league as it discusses how to fight against the first usurper, Plamergus (315). Since “all their judgments were called to councell,” the leaders easily agree to the plan and by break of day find themselves confronting the object of their endeavor. The enemy army is in fact so surprised by the size of the league that they “apprehended feare . . . as if a wife went out confident to meet her husband, to joy with him, and incounters him slaine” (316). Having once been “wedded to assurance of safety,” Plamergus’s men are now “unmarried by [the league’s] strategeme” (316). Meticulously and vigilantly, the league positions itself to fight the usurper. Then, as if to give her readers time to consider the battle just as her wise subalterns have, Wroth freezes the scene: “But now it is time to leave these affaires to Mars, and let his Mistris have her part awhile who alwayes, and at all times hath some share in businesses” (317). The text in effect emulates the qualities deemed appropriate in monarchomachist uprisings. Just as subalterns must prepare conscientiously for battle and just as they must engage in bloodshed only after judicious consideration, so too *Urania*’s plot demands such prudent deliberation. The reader is led far way from the war started in Book II and does not return to the field until Book III, this time with Amphilanthus who has been undergoing his own quests with Ollorandus.

In fact, so as not to glory in the gore of battle, Wroth brings Amphilanthus and her readers “to the skirts of Albania” *after* the campaign against Plamergus is completed (346). Relying on eyewitness accounts, Amphilanthus is informed by two Albanian knights of the league’s success and of the “last battaile which was fought against Plamergus, wherein he was slaine, and his onely sonne” (346). The knights assure

Amphilanthus that Steriamus “behaved himself so bravely, and judicially, as he [has] gotten immortall praise; the other kings and Princes deserving to be eternised for their valour and judgements” (346). Though they are Albanian rebels who “hardly escaped the fury of that day,” the knights clearly respect and admire the subalterns and their potential future king. Yet they still fear repercussions, for three usurpers remain in power. Thus, the knights declare to a curious King Amphilanthus,

[We] went away, resolved in my heart, never to draw Sword against the rightfull King. Steriamus was proclaimed King, and so by that name now is called; but though I will not fight against him, yet I will not take his part, till I see the next encounter past, which will be more terrible, by how much the army is greater, led by braver and stronger men, and the other army something lessned by the last, and many of their best men hurt.

(347)

Clearly, the conquered men desire a peaceful and legitimate ruler but feel that Steriamus has not yet fully secured his throne and therefore their loyalty. Still, the knights are willing to lead Amphilanthus to the battlefield so that he can fulfill his duty as subaltern and leader of the Italian troops.

And fulfill his duty he does. Amphilanthus arrives just as the league is preparing for its encounter with the second usurper in “middle Albania, called Polidorus” (347). Immediately, Amphilanthus reveals that he has come not to gain personal glory but “to see what service I may doe my friends if occasion serve” (347). The battle described is one that ultimately demands the unified force of the league and one that fulfills that

crucial tenet of monarchomachist theory: a subaltern fights not for his glory or gain but for the stability of the country and for the establishment of another's rightful rule. The battle is one of "such violence" that at times "the victorie had been doubtfull" (348-9). Wroth describes several moments in which the kings and subalterns individually are "unhorsed," "in some danger," and "disordered" (348). The strength of the unified league, however, brings the final victory. As individual subalterns find themselves in treacherous situations, the alliance "together charge[s] in" with such "force and cunning" that the enemy is put into "like disorder" (348-9). "[All] equally resolved to fight for victorie," the subalterns and their armies effectively join and thus "all attributed the happinesse of that dayes Victory" (349). As the armies celebrate their victory and as the Italians are "over-joyed at their Kings [Amphilanthus's] arrival," they clearly recognize that their goal is not personal recognition but to see "Steriamus againe proclaimed [rightful ruler of Albania] by the Army" and by Polidorus's defeated followers (349). Witnessing the burial of Polidorus, Steriamus's honest service, and the league's unselfish sacrifice, the two knights who earlier were wary to give loyalty to Steriamus now "[put] themselves dutifully and affectionately under [his rule], serving him with all loyalty" (349). Once again, monarchomachist resistance, because justified, unified, and sacrificial, leads to a peaceful, productive, and loyal government.²²

²² As evidence of his truly noble character, Steriamus buries Polidorus with all honor. More importantly, when Polidorus's heart-broken wife is discovered and soon dies of "excellent grieffe, and most excellent strength of passion," Steriamus ensures that the husband and wife are entombed together: "This noble act did Steriamus as the first in Albania, and the beginning of his famous life" (*Urania* 354).

Now remain only two usurpers to conquer, and as the Albanians flock to Steriamus, making the army “of the same bignesse, as when it came into Albania,” victory seems assured (355). The defeat of this third usurper, Nicholarus, is not witnessed first-hand. Instead, readers learn of the victory from none other than Pamphilia as she discusses news received from the front with the widowed Queen of Naples, Amphilanthus’s mother. Pamphilia shares “[the news of battle] unto her, but the last business seemd the strangest, and unusuallest” (366). In the past, Nicholarus has been a man of “learning, courage, . . . [and] all that could be required in a brave man,” yet he then seized control of territory and, perhaps worse in the women’s eyes, is now controlled by “a stronger enemy then his judgement could resist”—the wife of another man (366). In fact, as Pamphilia relates Nicholarus’s story, one to which she too easily relates, she reveals that his excessive love for this woman has caused him to be “mad” and to turn tyrant. In the end, Nicholarus regains “his wits [only] to see he Country lost” (370). Now the prisoner of Amphilanthus who “saved . . . him in the last Battaile,” Nicholarus is a powerful image of an effective ruler who allows passion to overrule reason. With “but one more [usurper] to be subdued,” the subaltern alliance advances toward its final victory, and its princes and kings anticipate reunions with lovers and returns to their political responsibilities.

After such a prolonged account of the war, its final victory is surprisingly swift, and commentary on its completion is slight. A well-organized and planned resistance has achieved the momentum necessary to secure victory. Succinctly, the narrator informs the audience that “at the concluding of the last battel . . . they had taken possession of the

greater townes of that Kingdome, and setled all things quiet, received the people in subjection, taken their oaths to Steriamus, [and finally] crownd him [king]" (374). Thus while the last battle is "hard" and "terrible" because it is the "last the Rebels could hope on," it is also quick and decisive, for the rebels have been weakened beyond recovery (374). A throne has been won. A king secured. A nation unified. Wroth has meticulously shown her reader and her king the potential that exists in unified, planned, and justified intervention led by subalterns. Just as *Urania's* subalterns willingly serve the needs of their people and lead their neighbors in active resistance against tyranny, James also can and should extend his involvement and service beyond England to Bohemia, the Netherlands, the Empire, France, and Spain. The Christian Union he so desires can be accomplished but not if his pacifist, inconsistent policies continue. Indeed careful and well-organized action is necessary to bring his goal to fruition.

Now, one final component is needed to stabilize completely the rule and peace of Albania and to the greater Uranian Empire. *Urania's* subaltern leaders and James are soon to learn the final lesson so crucial to understanding the religio-political message of Wroth's *Urania*: constancy to country, to self, and to one's lover is the "onely true virtue" demanded of any successful leader. Steriamus has achieved his kingdom's peace, but full and productive peace will be established only after he rejoins his partner Urania. Personal constancy is needed to ensure political constancy, as Steriamus recognizes in his question, "Have I lost the Kingdome of my hearts content [*Urania*], to gaine a poore Country of earth, and durt? have I gain'd to loose more then earth can give mee? must I bee crowned King to dye a begger?" (374). As we shall next see, a final and productive

union of personal and political resolve can be accomplished by embracing the ideal of
Constancy that is advocated by yet another intimate of the Sidneys, Justus Lipsius.

Chapter 4.

“Constancy stood holding the keyes”: *Urania* and Lipsian Neostoicism

If international union is a common goal, if subaltern magistrates and leagues are acceptable means of defeating tyranny and establishing proper rule, what is still missing? Why is Steriamus's duty to Albania incomplete? Still yet, why is Amphilanthus an itinerant emperor rather than one whose position and realm are completely secure? The missing ingredient is the “onely true virtue” (Wroth 135) deemed absolutely necessary in *Urania*: Constancy. Constancy has often been noted by critics such as Elaine Beilin as the central theme of the massive romance. Beilin contends that it is this virtue, “long associated with woman's chastity, piety, and obedience,” that evolves in *Urania* into “the heroic virtue capable of transforming a lovelorn woman [Pamphilia] into a great queen, a poet, and finally, a transcendent image of divine love” (*Redeeming Eve* 208). Such a statement is insightful, yet I would argue that Wroth is not merely reflecting a tradition that associates constancy with the female. Instead, she advocates the concept of Constancy as it is defined in the neostoicism of Flemish scholar and philologist Justus Lipsius. Lipsius's two most famous works, *De Constantia* (1589) and *Six Books of Politickes or Civil Doctrine* (*Politica*, 1589), were international best sellers that were translated into English, Dutch, French, Polish, German, Spanish, and Italian and that generated a Senecan and Tacitean revival throughout Europe and England. Gerhard Oestreich claims that the stoicism revived by Lipsius became an “international spiritual and intellectual movement which was able to cross the boundaries of the conflicting confessions and so create a neutral base” (8). Upon stoicism's “neutral base,” Lipsius established what Adriana McCrea denotes as the Lipsian paradigm, a paradigm that she

claims informs much writing in England from 1584 until 1650. According to this paradigm, the individual engages in a process first to embrace personal Constancy and then to apply this Constancy actively to the political world. Oestreich's analysis of Lipsius also alludes to such a paradigm, for he claims that *De Constantia* reveals two goals for humanity: "the renewal of self by self-liberation [from inconstancy and despair] and active participation in political society" (18).

Such a paradigm is explored by Wroth in her depiction of the personal and political quests of Pamphilia and Amphilanthus as they struggle to turn from inconstancy to Constancy. Simultaneously, through her analysis of Pamphilia and Amphilanthus, Wroth also examines contemporary views of James as inconstant in policy and as "cowardly, double-dealing, intolerant, unkingly, and inattentive to the task of governing" (Patterson 361). Though W. B. Patterson has recently reassessed James as politically astute and far-sighted, even he agrees that the events in Europe, which began in 1618 but lasted well past James's death, devastated not only the Holy Roman Empire, the Netherlands, Italy, France, and Spain, but also James's reputation among his subjects.¹ Wroth witnessed the growing concern regarding James's political policies, for after the Bohemian revolution in 1618, his son-in-law Frederick's ascension to the throne (1618), and finally Frederick's expulsion to Prague (1620), James's policies appeared to be disordered, inconsistent, and incomprehensible. As James shifted negotiations among Spain, the Netherlands, and the Empire, citizens and members of Parliament became

¹ See W. B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* 31-74, 293-338.

more and more suspicious of their king. The very simple fact seems to be that no one could quite pinpoint James's policies or allies. Derek Hirst contends that James's stratagems became so unclear that his subjects and MPs "throughout the 1620s could validly question *which war*" and which policy James supported--for both the "enemy" and policy seemed to change on daily basis (129).

During this time, James's personal life also came under fire, and his supposed obsessions with hunting, partying, and young men and with maintaining doctrines of absolutism led some to question the virtue of their king. For example, John Harington, in a letter to Mr. Secretary Barlow, remarks that "I neer did see such lack of good order, discretion, and sobriety, as I have [seen in the court]" (in Ashton 244). He goes on to suggest that it is "as if the devil was contriving every man [of the court] should blow up himself, by wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and temperance" (244).² As a court observer, Francis Osborne saw danger in the relationships between James and his favorites, claiming that James's "favourites or minions . . . like burning glasses, were daily interposed between him and the subject, multiplying the heat of oppressions in the generall opinion" (in Ashton 113-4). Furthermore, the "effeminate" of Somerset and Buckingham and James's "kissing them after so lascivious a mode in publick . . . prompted many to imagine" sexual interactions that "exceed [Osborne's] expressions . . . [and] experience" (114). Such opinions regarding James's personal and political life may

² Harington is describing the scenes he witnessed during the visit of Christian IV, King of Denmark.

well have entered Wroth's mind as she explored the inseparable relationship between personal and political Constancy in *Urania*.

Would Wroth, however, have been familiar with the neostoicism and theories of Constancy introduced by Lipsius during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? As many scholars note, Lipsius and his writings had great influence throughout Europe and England.³ For instance, McCrea identifies several notable men whose "constant minds" she claims respond directly to Lipsian thought, men such as Walter Raleigh, Francis Bacon, Fulke Greville, Ben Jonson, and Joseph Hall. Though Wroth was familiar, even intimate with some of these men, her family's direct relationship with Lipsius had the most obvious influence on her familiarity with Lipsian ideals. J. H. M. Salmon and McCrea both note the interaction between Lipsius and Philip Sidney to whom Lipsius dedicated a text on Latin pronunciation. McCrea observes that Lipsius called Sidney the "bright star of Britannia" and saw the young nobleman as the means by which continental peace might be achieved (34). In turn, Sidney greatly admired Lipsius and, only one month before his death, wrote to Lipsius, encouraging him to settle in England (Duncan-Jones 294).⁴ Even closer to Wroth's sphere of influence, Robert Wroth was a "friend and correspondent" of Lipsius and a "prominent Tacitist" who prized his volume of *De*

³ For studies that fully explore Lipsius's influence, see Morford, McCrea, Saunders, Shifflett, Oestreich, Corbett 139-152, and Salmon 169-188.

⁴ Sidney wrote to Lipsius on September 14, 1586: "The terms which I once obtained for you I shall get confirmed, so that even if I die they will not lapse. I know that you will be most welcome to our Queen and to many others . . . may the Muses themselves attend you so that you may return, and not leave us who truly love you. . . . We struggle against many difficulties. I believe it is the will of God to temper things for his people so that we have neither triumph nor disaster." See Duncan-Jones 294.

Constantia and promoted Lipsian ideals among those under his patronage, including Ben Jonson who so admired Mary Wroth (McCrea 163).⁵ Further, Sir John Stradling, who translated *De Constantia* into English, dedicated the work to his uncle to whom Barbara Gamage, Wroth's mother, was ward (Salmon 172). Still yet, Lipsius's abiding friendship with and influence on Philippe de Mornay intersects with the Sidneys as not only Philip but also Mary Herbert translated and promoted Mornay's works in England. Mary Herbert, in fact, translated many stoic works in her attempt to "transplant Continental genres into England and to support the Protestant cause on the Continent" (Hannay, *CWMSH* 24). Her translations of Robert Garnier's *Antonius* and Mornay's *A Discourse of Life and Death* both promote neostoic ideals of Constancy.⁶

What, then, is the Lipsian concept of Constancy that motivates and informs so much of Wroth's romance? Who was Justus Lipsius and what influence did he have on England and on international politics? How does the marriage of personal and political Constancy found in *Urania* challenge James and his policies? Like Wroth, Justus Lipsius lived and worked in a world threatened and often torn apart by war. Born a catholic in Overysse, Belgium, Justus Lipsius (or Joest Lips, 1547-1606) was a scholar who

⁵ For a discussion of Jonson's own adherence to Lipsian ideals, see Evans 1-44 and McCrea 138-170.

⁶ Exploring the classic story of Antony and Cleopatra, *Antonius* reveals that Antony's weakness is caused by a "tainted heart" (1. 113) that turns him from his duty to a destructive love for Cleopatra. Thus Antony is nothing more, as the Chorus declares, than a "savage Tirant" (3. 1332) who has privileged pleasure over reason. Herbert's translation of Mornay's *Discourse*, what Hannay deems a "baptized form of Stoicism" (*CWMSH* 213), also explores one's abilities to remain constant to duty in the face of adversity: "[We] find greater civill war within ourselves" that we must control (242). Ultimately, the *Discourse* declares that "Happie is he only who in minde lives contented: and he most of all unhappie, whome nothing he can have can content" (239).

believed one must be willing to cross confessional boundaries to achieve academic excellence. As Jason Saunders insists, Lipsius “remained indifferent to the various doctrines of religion, considering them all of equal value,” and was convinced that thinking persons could learn to compromise on individual doctrines in the name of peace (19).⁷ Teaching at the Lutheran University of Jena, the Calvinist University of Leiden, and the Catholic University of Leuven, Lipsius’s religious views were often a matter of criticism, for he willingly shifted religious affiliation when necessary. Such shifts earned him soubriquets such as the “chameleon” and “Lipsius Proteus”--insinuating that the Flemish philologist was as changeable as the mythological sea god from Homer’s *Odyssey* (Morford 79).⁸ Aware of such criticism, Lipsius admitted that he had little knowledge of or interest in the fine points of theology and theological debate. In a letter to Torrentius (Lieven Van der Beke, 1525-95), Bishop of Antwerp, Lipsius declared

They say that elephants love rivers but do not rashly go into the water, because they do not know how to swim. This is the case with me and Theology. I love it, I value it, and I gladly dip my mind in its health-giving waters, but I do not immerse myself. (qtd. in Morford 106)

⁷ Both McCrea and Morford suggest that Lipsius may have been a member of the Family of Love, a “free thinking sect that saw virtue as true religion” (Morford 131) and “whose irenic and spiritualist goals” attracted Lipsius (McCrea 8). Another suspected member of the Family of Love (the Familists) is Sir Philip Sidney (Srigley 102), a suspicion that offers yet another compelling link between Lipsius and Wroth’s family. For a full discussion of the Familists and the Sidneys, see Srigley 97-110.

⁸ Mark Morford notes that as late as 1987 scholars suppressed Lipsius’s accomplishments in light of his confessional flexibility. At the University of Leiden’s exhibition honoring its early history, Lipsius’s name appears “only in a list of distinguished scholars” rather than as the classical scholar who quite literally put Leiden on the map as a center of classical study (Morford 118).

In response to Lipsius's religious views and flexibility, King James himself disdained the famous scholar in *Basilikon Doron*, written to educate Prince Henry on the nature of kingship. James admonishes his son to "Keepe trew Constancie," not the type of Constancy advocated by "that Stoicke insensible stupiditie [that proud inconstant LIPSIUS perswadeth in his Constantia], wherewith many in our dayes, preasing to winne honour, in imitating that ancient sect, by their inconstant behavior in their own lives, belie their profession" (*Basilikon Doron* 48).⁹ Ironically, as hostilities in Europe ignited and as James's policies became more ambiguous to those around him, it was he who became seen as inconstant and as a man of "notorious profligacy" (Hirst 58), while Lipsius's views and texts continued to be studied throughout Europe.¹⁰

In order to understand Lipsius's religious flexibility, it is crucial to note that he composed his neostoic treatises in the midst of the Wars of Religion, just as Wroth composed her *Urania* during the Bohemian rebellion and the initial outbreaks of the

⁹ Joseph Hall "declared war on contemporary 'stoics'" and on Lipsius (McCrea 176). Hall's fictional travelogue, *Mundus Alter et Idem* (1605), depicts the narrator Mercurius sailing to the Antipodes where he visits an excavation of ancient coins. Especially noteworthy is a coin on which the likeness of a man in a toga is engraved. Mercurius describes the figure: "His right hand rested on the head of a very attractive little dog; his left hand held a half-open book. The other side displayed a chameleon in all its various colours, and above was the inscription CONST. LIP., 'Constant Lipsius'" (in McCrea 176). Hall spent much energy challenging the neostoicism of Lipsius and striving to reinterpret stoic thought, work that caused Thomas Fuller to declare him "our English Seneca" (McCrea 172). For a full discussion of Joseph Hall and his conflict with Lipsian thought, see McCrea 171-205.

¹⁰ Though flexible in his own confession, Lipsius did believe that, to secure peace, a state should worship one god and embrace one religion. However, a leader should also allow the private exercise of religion as long as it does not adversely affect the state. After all, "No Prince can rule the mindes in like sort as he may the tongs of men: God is the king of mens minds. . . . There is nothing more free than religion" (*Politica* 65). Ultimately, a king should "not command religion, because no man could be enforced to beleieve against his will. . . . faith is to be persuaded, not to be wrought by compulsion" (66).

Thirty Years War. Like Emperor Maximilian to whom he dedicated his *Annals* and his *Histories* of Tacitus, Lipsius desired an environment of “peace and stability” that was often prohibited by religious factionalism (Morford 130). In part, Lipsius’s confessional shifts were necessary in the hostile environment in which he wrote, for he aspired to create guidelines for the modern *homo politicus* to emulate regardless of confessional or national identity. As he strove to offer such universal guidelines, Lipsius avoided evaluating contemporary disturbances, adopting instead the motto *Moribus Antiquis* (for the morality of antiquity) and embracing two important concepts of stoic thought: *theatrum mundi* and *similitudo temporum* (McCrea 22-4). Simply stated, Lipsius believed that studying antiquity empowers one to look into “this huge Theater of the worlde” and thus discover “the honie of examples” that proves the similarity of all times (Lipsius, *De Constantia* 104, 181). Because “thy grand father said so, and likewise thy father” and because “thy children and childrens children wil sing the same note” (*De Constantia* 183), one can detect patterns of behavior that are timeless and effective for promoting peaceful and reasonable existence. Such a view would have appealed to Wroth whose own work looks back to earlier history in order to evaluate current affairs and who knew the dangers of commenting publicly on political policies. Even as Wroth was writing *Urania*, James issued in 1620 a “proclamation against public talk of affairs of state” (Hirst 127). Therefore, Lipsius and, I would argue, Wroth hoped to “extract lessons [from the past] for application in [their] society which was hanging together precariously as the engine of war marched roughshod over it” (McCrea xxv). Lipsius believed his suggestions could provide “comfort for individuals faced with the disruption

of their lives, loss of liberty, and death, [while] his political and military doctrines [could be] followed by leaders on both sides of the struggles” (Morford xiii). Wroth hoped to achieve the same goals.

As Lipsius developed these guidelines, he first insisted that the foundation of all political action rests on personal commitment to one’s friends or allies. The intimate nature of Lipsius’s first treatise, *De Constantia*, exemplifies his own personal commitment to his friend and mentor, Langius, as he records a fictionalized conversation between the two men.¹¹ In this interaction, Lipsius embraces the stoic concept of *contubernium*. The term originally referred to sharing a tent (*taberna*) on a military campaign but had “extended to the relationship of an inexperienced person living with and learning from an older man on campaign” (Morford 16). As a professor, Lipsius took quite seriously his role as the leader of a group of *contubernaes* (his students), and he saw the loyal friendships forged in the *contubernium* as key cornerstones to the active nature of his neostoic thought (24). Constant friendship within the *contubernium* is paramount, and Wroth mirrors this ideal as she stresses the importance of Constancy and loyalty in the relationship deemed most important in *Urania*--that between lovers. Complete trust must exist between *contubernaes* (or lovers), for the *contubernium*’s

¹¹ Langius (Charles de Langhe) was Canon of Liege cathedral and was about twenty-five years older than Lipsius. Morford mentions that Langius was “part of Lipsius’ orthodox, Catholic world, and this fact makes his portrait in *De Constantia* all the more poignant. For it was written while Lipsius was at Leiden, outwardly at least conforming to Calvinism” (64). Lipsius’s obituary for Langius is noteworthy: “Langius’ character was such that he wished to know things that no one knew he knew. And just as the Stoics with virtue, so he thought that knowledge was its own reward. But we have lost a great man, O Muses!, one greater than ordinary people knew . . . since . . . he was unequaled as a lover of flowers and gardens” (in Morford 65).

ultimate goal is to advance the wisdom gleaned together for the betterment of society (24). As Morford declares, for Lipsius the most “important element of Stoic friendship was that it extended beyond the inner circle of two or a few friends to widening circles of humanity” (25). Lipsius was quite proud that many of his student-friends entered careers of public service and thus the active life of service he recommended.¹² Ultimately, constancy to *contubernales* is the hope of improving the human condition, for as Lipsius reveals in a later treatise, *Manuductio ad Stoicam Philosophiam*,

Friendship makes us share everything . . . friends live in common. No one can live virtuously who looks out only for himself, who turns everything to his own advantage. You must live for another, if you wish to live for yourself. This sharing, diligently and virtuously observed--which joins us as human beings to humanity and judges that there is a shared law of the human race--is of the greatest help also towards achieving that inner circle of friends, for he who has much in common with mankind will have everything in common with a friend. (qtd. in Morford 25)

If one desires to influence humankind, one must first prove constant in the personal realm and worthy of the trust of one's friends or, in Wroth's text, one's lover. Thus a productive *contubernium* or union can be established only between individuals of proven

¹² Among Lipsius' *contubernales* were Philip Rubens (whose brother Peter Paul painted *The Four Philosophers* that depicts Lipsius and his star pupils) and Jan Van der Wouwer (Woverius) who had a distinguished political career in Antwerp and the Spanish Netherlands. For a discussion of Lipsius's *contubernium*, see Morford 1-51.

Constancy. In *De Constantia* and *Politica*, individuals are given specific definitions of Constancy and the ways in which one's personal and political Constancy can be proven.

First and foremost, a constant person must not be affected by despair or by any external events. *De Constantia* opens with a distraught Lipsius lamenting the "troubles of the Low-countries," "the insolencie of the governours and souldiers," and the "many yeares with the tempest of civill warres" (72). As a scholar, Lipsius claims that he loves "quietnesse and rest" but laments that such desires are always interrupted by "the Trumpet and rattling of armour" (72). Any attempt to find "solace in [his] countrey gardens and farmes" fails, for "souldiers and murtherers force mee into Towne" (72). In utter desperation, Lipsius informs Langius that he intends to flee his country:

Therefore (Langius) I am resolved, leaving this infortunate and unhappie Belgica (pardon mee my deare Countrie) to chaunge *Land for land*, and to flie into some other part of the world, *where I may neither heare of the name, nor factes* [of violence]. (72)

Immediately, Lipsius harnesses the fears, frustration, and anxieties that controlled so many Europeans of his time. The collective psyche of Europe was troubled and exasperated with the incessant fighting throughout the continent. Wars--confessional, civil, internecine, and international--plagued the nations. As Wroth observed the hostilities escalating in Bohemia, France, the Netherlands, Spain, and the Empire, she surely commiserated with concerns voiced by the Flemish scholar and seems to have viewed England as the country that might bring final resolution to such battles through the monarchomachist ideals already explored. Indeed, the doctrine of *similitudo*

temporum was proving true as Europe clearly paralleled Lipsius's own observations merely a generation earlier.

However, fear and distress in any generation are not to be tolerated. As the voice of Constancy and the instrument through which Lipsius voices his own convictions, Langius marvels at Lipsius's naivete: "O fonde youngling, what childishnesse is this? Or what mindest thou to seeke safetie by flying away? Thy country (I confesse) is tossed and turmoyled grievouslie: What part of *Europe* is at this day free?" (72). No country exists that is free from turmoil; no citizen is free from such concerns. Langius then proceeds to train his young soldier for mental battle by teaching him the necessary weapons with which to fight and defeat despair and thus to become a soldier of Constancy. Such military metaphor is one of the hallmarks of Lipsius's writing and establishes yet another interesting parallel with Wroth's own use of military images in her meticulous Uranian battles. Oestreich claims that "the famous Lipsian style, with its terse, laconic, peremptory language and its abundance of military similes and metaphors" explains why the works so "captivate[d]" the educated officers of Europe's armies (29). Drawing on this militaristic language and form, Langius insists that, in times of military or mental battle, Lipsius "must not forsake thy country, but thy affections" (*De Constantia* 72). A truly constant mind is "so confirmed and conformed, that [it] may bee at rest in troubles, and have peace even in the midst of warre" (72). Lipsius must realize, as all must, that one can "flie from troubles alwayes, but never escape them" (73-4). Should he flee from hostilities, he will "carie [his despair] with [him] into another place" (74). Since, therefore, one "carriest warre with thee," since troubles "are ever about thee yea in thee,"

what can one do to combat affections and despair? Succinctly, “the mind must be changed, not the place” through the virtue of Constancy (77).

Extending his military metaphor, Lipsius (via Langius) outlines the battle plan and the weapons one must take up in order to change a desperate mind and to embrace political action. First and foremost, he must take up Constancy which is “a right and immoveable strength of the minde, neither lifted up, nor pressed downe with externall or casuall accidentes” (79). Constancy is a strength derived from her “true mother,” Patience, which herself is “a voluntarie sufferance without grudging of all things whatsoever can happen to, or in a man” (79). Finally, the “very roote” of Constancy, and that which “regulates” Patience, is Right Reason--“a true sense and judgement of things humane and divine” (79). Up to this point, Lipsius has been guilty of privileging and being regulated by Opinion, his and that of other men, and Opinion is nothing more than a “false and frivolous conjecture” (80). Instead, he must patiently encounter turmoil, evaluate that turmoil with Right Reason, and finally pursue with Constancy the course of action deemed just. At all costs, the mind must follow Reason’s leadership, for Opinion is merely a “vaine image and shadow of reason” (83). Those who place themselves under its control will be “as an emptie ship without balasse . . . tossed and tumbled on the sea with the least blaste of wind” (83). Conversely, the mind controlled by Constancy and regulated by Right Reason is as near to God as the human mind is capable, for such a mind is “immooveable” (83). Because Constancy is affected “neither with hope, nor with feare,” a constant mind is free from the storms that outward events can raise:

So shalt thou passe thorough the confused tumultes of this world, and not be infected with any brynish saltnes of this Sea of sorrowes. Are thou like to bee cast downe? CONSTANCY wil lift thee up. Doest thou stagger in doubtfulnessse? She holdeth thee fast. Art thou in daunger of fire or water? She will comfort thee, and bring thee backe from the pits brinke: onely take unto thee a good courage, steere thy ship into this porte, where is securitie and quietnesse, a refuge and sanctuarie against all turmyles and troubles: where if thou has once mored thy ship, let thy country not onely be troubled, but even shaken at the foundation, thou shalt remaine unmooved. (84)

In order to attain such Constancy and to privilege Right Reason over Opinion and affection, the constant person must commit to careful contemplation before taking any personal or political action. The symbol of this careful contemplation is offered in Book Two of *De Constantia*: Langius's garden. In this "shadowy Achadem[ie]" (130), the mind is "lifteth up and advanceth it self more to these high cogitations" (136). A garden's "true end and use" is as an abode for "meditation, reading, writing" (136). It is a "nursery and schoole of wisdom" in which one is able "to shake off all thing in me that is humaine, and to be rapt up on high upon the fiery chariot of wisdom" (136-7). As one retreats into the garden of careful contemplation, one is freed from political pressures and opinions and is able to evaluate options and actions to be taken. Thus, as Mark Morford contends, Lipsius "claims the garden (well known as the symbol of Epicureanism) for the Stoics, a place for Stoic *negotium animi* rather than the slothful pleasures of the

Epicureans” (165). Epicureans, Lipsius accuses, “sit, walk about allies, stretch themselves like sluggards, and sleepe; So as they make [the garden] not onely a nurserie of idleness, but a verie sepulcher of their slothfulness” (*De Constantia* 134). Conversely, in his garden, Lipsius / Langius--the constant person-- is

[G]uarded and fenced against all externall things, and settled within my selfe, carelesse of all cares save one, which is, that I may bring in subjection this broken and distressed mind of mine to RIGHT REASON and GOD, and subdue all humaine and earthly things to my MIND. (137)

The garden is thus the “Temple of A GOOD MIND” (140) in which men can calmly and completely evaluate choice and proper action. After his garden retreat, the Constant man can then “bestow thy labor with al, and joyne hands with heart” (140) as he acts upon the decisions made in his garden “schoolhouse” (141). Ideally, leaving the garden retreat, the constant man in both the personal and political world becomes, as Oestreich observes, “the citizen who acts according to reason, is answerable to himself, controls his emotions, and is ready to fight” (30).¹³ Such readiness to fight, as we have seen, is sanctioned by Wroth who felt that James’s adamant dedication to pacifist policy endangered the safety and stability of both Britain and the Continent.

¹³ It is a misconception that Lipsius’s neostoicism insists that “everyone has a duty to subject himself to the existing order of things, never resisting the prevailing government but accepting and where necessary enduring it with fortitude” (Skinner 279). Instead, as Andrew Shifflett evaluates, English Neostoicism, as it developed from Lipsius, was not about “blindly accepting things as they were” but about advocating “political action . . . [and instructing] readers to consider action as seriously as they possibly can” before taking action (1).

Having established that a constant person is loyal to *contubernium*, is not victim of despair, and privileges Constancy and Right Reason over Opinion and affection, Lipsius next comments on how this proven person of personal Constancy can extend his virtue into the political realm. First, he insists that as one contemplates and evaluates actions he must never place allegiance in a single country; instead, he should become a citizen of the world. This desire is one shared with Wroth and King James. However, even though James did desire a union of Christian states, Wroth seems to feel that her king often focused on his glory as *Rex pacificus* or on Britain's glory rather than on the world citizenry such a union would serve. According to the Lipsian ideal, one should focus one's attention away from personal or national recognition. Instead, stoics and neostoics, like Lipsius and Wroth,

asked the individual to learn that it is necessary for him to live for others and that he is born for human society at large, of which he must always feel himself to be a member rather than a fragment separated off. Here in humanity and not in the state, in the moral community of man, he is truly at home. (Edelstein 79)

Embracing such cosmopolitanism, Langius chastises Lipsius and insists that allegiance to country is actually a form of selfishness and evidence of cowardice. The unsettling truth is that patriotism is merely motivated by self-preservation and self-interest, for if "warre be among Ethiopians or Indians, it moveth thee not: [for] thou art out of danger" (90). Conversely, a constant man must abandon such an egocentric outlook. Instead, he must realize that "the whole world is our countrey" and that a constant, wise man is a citizen

“of the world” (90). Once again, Lipsius must shun those beliefs based on Opinion and self-interest:

For a high and loftie mind will not suffer it selfe to be penned by
OPINION within such narrow bounds but conceiveth and knoweth the
whole worlde to bee his owne. . . . Our folly is [holding the Opinion that
we] are wedded to one corner of the world. (90)

While it is acceptable to have a moderate love for one’s homeland, one must realize that all lands are actually “Some one state, or as it were one common Ship, under the regiment of one prince, or one law”—that is God and his divine power (97).

World citizens do, however, still need model rulers to lead them and to serve as examples of virtue. Therefore, in *Politica*, Lipsius expands his ideals of Constancy and world citizenship and outlines the proper behavior of a respectable and constant ruler. McCrea contends that it is with this work that “James’ hostilities toward Lipsius emerged,” for the philologist presumed to offer instruction to his betters--the rulers of Europe (175). Addressing Europe’s “Emperor, Kings, Princes,” Lipsius insists that a ruler must not only embrace the tenets outlined earlier in *De Constantia* but must also become an example of moral fortitude to his country, for “as the mind in mans bodie, cannot either be whole, diseased, but the functions thereof in like maner, are either vigorous, or do languish: even so is the Prince, in this societie” (“The Author his Epistle,” *Politica* vi). A ruler must not focus on might but on goodness because his actions and character determine those of his subjects:

Doth he leade us the way to vertue? we followe. To vice? we encline thither. Liveth he an honest, and blessed life? we flourish. Is he unfortunate? we decline, or runne to ruine with him. . . . the greater part of good or evill in the subjects, is derived from the prince.

(“The Author his Epistle,” *Politica* vii)

As an example of virtue, a king must always place the good of his realm above his own desires, and in this he differs from a tyrant. A tyrant “regardeth only, & seeketh after his own commoditie, and a king the profit and good of his subjects, who is the right pastor of the people” (23). If a king becomes a tyrant and thus an “evill governour” (23), he will be “ruined and deprived of [his] estate, by the resistance of the people, thorow [his] owne crueltie and riotous life” (25).

Thus a ruler must serve as a symbol of virtue and must place his subjects’ needs above his own, but above all, he must be a ruler of Constancy, one who is constant in his relationships, his commitment to world stability, and his political policies:

For they are highly to be blamed, who being irresolute and uncertaine, are carried hither and thither, as the affection of others doth leade them, being sometimes of one opinion, sometimes of another. . . . [A ruler may] moderate his opinion in the rough tempest of the Common wealth. For he is truly provident and wise, that keepe not alwayes the same pase, but the same way. (47-8)

As outlined, the “way” or the ultimate goals of an effective ruler are “not subject to change” (60), for a noble government is “constant” (81). Constancy engenders

confidence and loyalty in one's allies and subjects. Nonetheless, a ruler is free to make necessary and reasonable changes in his process (his "pase") toward achieving such goals, if the changes are made "little by little" (81) for the "common profit of all" (91) and if they are needed to accomplish the government's ultimate purpose.

Ultimately, then, Lipsian Constancy offers a pattern on which one may model one's personal and political life. The Constant person is, above all, loyal to one's *contubernium*, be this a group of intimate friends, political allies, or one's dedicated lover. The Constant person is unaffected by affection or opinion and instead uses Reason to contemplate proper action. Finally, a Constant person is willing to expand personal Constancy into the political realm by serving as an example to one's subjects, considering carefully all actions that might demand military response, changing policies that prove unsuccessful, and working always toward a clear, definitive, constant purpose. Such are the lessons explored in *Urania*.

The now familiar enchantment early in *Urania* exemplifies Wroth's contention that Lipsian Constancy is indeed crucial to both personal and political action. The enchantment begins as an entourage of lovers lands on the island of Cyprus and comes upon a "rare and admirable Pallace" (47). The lovers soon discern that the palace and its three towers are dedicated to Love and to its various manifestations. Studying the palace, they soon learn that the first tower, the Tower of Cupid, is open to "those that are false," for it is a tower of mere desire and fleshly love. Second, the Tower of Venus is a tower of love beyond the mere physical, but though any lover may enter, she or he will suffer "unexpressable tortures, in several kinds . . . [such as] Jelousie, Despaire, Feare, Hope,

Longings, and such like” (48). Finally is the Tower of Constancy that can be entered by none until “the valiantest Knight, with the loyallest Lady come together, open that gate, when all these Charmes shall have conclusion” (49). Exploring the enchantment, the lovers fall captive to its power and are subsequently imprisoned by tyrant Love to await rescue.

On its most basic level, this mystical enchantment reflects many romances that fuse the real with the supernatural, yet upon closer observation the episode can be easily “read” for its deeper religio-political statement. Who or what can free these captives from tyranny, in this case the tyranny of love? What forces can be properly used to defeat powers of oppression? We have explored Wroth’s suggestion that subaltern magistrates are keys to freeing those enslaved to tyranny. Now Wroth adds to the role of subaltern the virtue of Constancy and thus envisions the supreme agent of political action-- Pamphilia, who is deemed by Beilin to be “a noble queen, a paragon of constancy, faith, and courage” (“The Onely Perfect Vertue” 230). After a period of time, Amphilanthus and Pamphilia each arrive on Cyprus to “adventure for the Throne of Love” and to free the entrapped couples (168). Amphilanthus clearly fulfills the first requirement of the prophecy, for he is, as we have seen, unarguably the “valiantest knight.” Nonetheless, valor is incomplete without the virtue of Constancy, for it is Constancy that proves a man or woman worthy of trust, respect, and both personal and political loyalty.

Thus the female figure of Pamphilia, disciple of Constancy and all too-often rejected lover of Amphilanthus, becomes the savior of the imprisoned. At this moment, Pamphilia mirrors the Lipsian paradigm, for it is her personal Constancy that facilitates

both political and religious Constancy on Cyprus. As Pamphilia and Amphilanthus pass through the first tower, the Tower of Desire, both are able to proceed with “assured confidence,” for they have experienced desire’s powerful force (169). Easily as well, they both pass through the Tower of Love, and as they proceed Amphilanthus’s “repentance was most glorious” to behold (169). For a moment, Amphilanthus, looking upon Pamphilia, realizes the importance and potential power of their relationship. Still, though momentarily penitent, Amphilanthus is not a man committed to Constancy, and thus he is unable to rescue the imprisoned on his own. In fact, because of his personal inconstancy, he is rendered powerless and incapable of even entering the final tower. Reflecting the monarchomachist patterns explored earlier, Amphilanthus must trust in and relinquish his power to a subaltern if freedom for the lovers is to be achieved. This time he must concede not to another male or military prince but to Pamphilia. Because she alone is a person of Constancy, only she is free to enter and overcome the tower’s gate, thus freeing those imprisoned. Wroth describes Pamphilia’s metamorphoses into Amphilanthus’s subaltern and into the very image of Lipsian Constancy:

[She entered the gate] where *Constancy* stood holding the keys, which Pamphilia tooke; at which instant *Constancy* vanished, as metamorphosing her self into [Pamphilia’s] breast: then did the excellent Queene deliver them to Amphilanthus, who joyfully receiving them, opened the gate.

(169)

In one mystical moment, Pamphilia embodies both qualities that Wroth advocates in her romance--the willingness to serve and support subalterns and the virtue of Constancy.

Indeed, Pamphilia is subaltern in true monarchomachist tradition, for she willingly returns control (the keys) to the rightful leader of the group, Amphilanthus, after her success.

Though gender hierarchies appear to be privileged, we nonetheless must also recognize that redemption is achieved only through Amphilanthus's willingness to cede control to another (to a female!), to learn from her experience, and to emulate her Constancy.

Clearly, Wroth expands the traditional associations of female constancy within the spiritual and sexual realms. As long noted figures of Constancy, women can also serve as examples in the political realm, teaching others the qualities demanded of successful rulers.

As Pamphilia confirms the importance of Constancy and as the enchantment is broken, *Urania* consistently celebrates Wroth's hope that Christendom's unification will be made possible through a dual commitment to monarchomachist theory and Lipsian Constancy. As Pamphilia enters her tent to celebrate with the others, she is followed by the King of Cyprus whose island sustained the enchantment. We learn that this Cyprian king

out of love to the Christian faith, which before he condemned, seeing
such excellent, and happy Princes professors of it, desired to receive it,
which Amphilanthus infinitely rejoicing at, and all the rest, Christened him
with his wife, excellently faire daughter, and Polarchos his valiant Sonne,
and so became the whole island Christians. (170)

Beilin insightfully points out that "the conversion [of] the ruler of Venus' stronghold suggests the transformation of worldly love to the love of God" ("The Onely Perfect

Vertue” 232).¹⁴ Moreover, however, a strong political element exists in this conversion experience because it is through Pamphilia’s example of Constancy and Amphilanthus’s willingness to place his trust in her as subaltern magistrate that a nation is added to the union of Christian states. The enchantment exemplifies the union of spiritual and political goals that Wroth advocates to her audience and to her king.

The marriage of personal and political Constancy is assuredly one of the key themes of *Urania*, and it is deemed, even by the often inconstant Amphilanthus, as “the onely perfect vertue” (135). Still, the Constancy explored by Wroth is never merely an homage to spiritual virtue. Instead Constancy presented in the romance emulates that process advocated by Lipsius: through careful use of Right Reason, one must develop a personal Constancy of convicted action and commitment to friends (or to lover) and must then use that personal Constancy to ensure the political stability of the world in which one is a citizen. This process can be evaluated by comparing the two main figures in the romance, Amphilanthus and Pamphilia. As rulers of separate realms, Pamphilia and Amphilanthus must become models to their people, and allusions abound throughout the text to their subjects’ and comrades’ abiding desire to find an individual of Constancy to emulate. Many Uranian figures are distressed that inconstancy and irrational change are dominant qualities in their world. Political Constancy is impossible because Constancy and commitment on the personal level, most vividly on the romantic level, are extinct. Amphilanthus exemplifies this personal inconstancy, and as he enjoys the love of many

¹⁴ For Beilin’s discussion of the spiritual and allegorical nature of the enchantment, see “The Onely Perfect Vertue” 229-45.

women, the narrator poses the poignant question: “[What] man lives, that glories not in multitudes of womens loves?” (325). Another ruler, the Prince of Iambolly, is also an image of the inconstancy that taints *Urania*’s personal and political landscape. We are informed that

[Of] any this Prince was one that least troubled himself with constancy, all women were pleasing to him, after a tall woman, a little one was most pleasing, after faire, browne, white, blacke, all came to his staidnesse welcomly, and varietie he had sufficient, for many refused not. (545)

Yet it is not men alone who are inconstant. Clarimatto, a friend of Rosindy, declares that women too have degenerated into a “fickle sex, unsteady creatures” who facilely change allegiances to lovers and thus cannot be trusted in other responsibilities (103).

Anticipating the argument that women are more constant than men, the Prince of Thiques shares stories of inconstant women and concludes “thus now if men be faulty, you see women can be so likewise” (552). Wroth consistently reiterates the opinion that the “Devill . . . the great one himselfe, Change” has a “wicked power” over all persons--male and female (531). Constancy is indeed missing in *Urania*’s world, and Pamphilia and Amphilanthus’s relationship affords the means by which to explore the necessary and inseparable relationship between personal and political Constancy.

First, Pamphilia, whose name means “all-loving,” struggles unashamedly to become a lover and ruler of Constancy. Though she often degenerates into despair, as we have seen, Pamphilia’s continual attempts to allow Reason to override affection and Opinion clearly mirror the Lipsian process outlined in *De Constantia*. The first mention

of Pamphilia in *Urania* celebrates her conscious oath to the tenets of Constancy. After a tournament, Pamphilia does not retreat with the knights and ladies for celebration but instead “[goes] alone, for she not enjoying her love, lov’d to be alone, as she was alone in perfect and unfortunate loving” (64). During this solitary retreat, Pamphilia makes the active choice to be constant to a lover who is, at this point, unaware of her affection, for what is important to Pamphilia is not so much that her love is reciprocated but that she remain constant in spite of all circumstances.

However, while Pamphilia has unabashedly “vowed that onely one should enjoy all love and faith from her,” her Constancy at this point is tainted, for it is a matter not of humble virtue but of unattractive pride (64). Maureen Quilligan argues that Pamphilia’s “constancy is an act of willful self-definition,” not necessarily one of virtue (273). Similarly, Ann Shaver even believes that Pamphilia’s obsession with Constancy, “her monomania,” and her “hypertrophy of virtue” are proud means of “annexing [Amphilanthus] and putting on his power” (72-74). Indeed, Pamphilia’s Constancy does not initially appear to those around her as a virtue to be emulated, for it “[makes] her of many to be esteemed proud” (64). However, as the romance evolves, Pamphilia does reveal a growing and genuine awareness that true power stems not from an association with her lover or with her ability to “put on” his power but from an understanding of Constancy’s true nature. If she is to be a woman of model Constancy, Pamphilia cannot be slave to a passion that is not tempered by Reason. Therefore, we consistently witness Pamphilia evaluating her choices--especially those regarding her lover--to determine if they are indeed wise and productive. Though she is not yet the perfected image of

Constancy, Pamphilia is motivated by much more than a need to combat Amphilanthus's infidelities. In this early scene, she makes the first crucial step towards becoming a constant woman, lover, and ruler by realizing her primary allegiance should be to ideal Constancy, not to her lover, and this "choice like her selfe, [is] the best" (64). Her journey towards true Constancy has begun.

As Pamphilia continues her journey towards Constancy, she mirrors Lipsius's own journey in *De Constantia*. She often finds comfort in the seclusion of her garden, as we have seen, a fact that mirrors the stoic garden of contemplation celebrated by Lipsius and Langius. Just as Lipsius contemplates events in his "shadowy Achademies" (*De Constantia* 136), Pamphilia also attempts in her gardens to develop the "best of mindes" (91), the Reason of which will enable her to become a "constant Lover" and not one who succumbs to "disorderly passions" (92). Recognizing that she is not a woman of true Constancy, for she is affected by rejection and despair, Pamphilia reminds herself to "keep still thy soule from thought of change" (92). Though she is tempted to display her woes, at one time pulling off the branches of a willow tree to crown her head, Pamphilia commits "not to carry the token of her losse openly on her browes, but rather weare them privately in her heart" (93). Ultimately, Pamphilia is coming to realize that her "owne worth . . . makes [her] thus confident" and that a Constant and committed love is one "gained by love equally bestowed, the giver, and receiver reciprocally liberall, else it is not love" (94). A worthy *contubernium* of lovers must be one where "affections meete" and which serves a higher good (94). Thus, Pamphilia must use her Reason to determine whether her love is a mutual and beneficial one; she must not allow her decisions to be

influenced by either joy or despair, for affections are, as Lipsius declares, “mystes and clouds” that prevent one from making wise choices (*De Constantia* 73).

Pamphilia also reflects Lipsius in her hesitancy to appreciate fully the pedagogical power of despair and difficulty. Pamphilia struggles to view such forces in a positive light. Hoping to discover that her love for Amphilanthus is her destiny and blindly turning her Reason from the fact that it might not be, Pamphilia seeks the advice of the sage Melissea on the island of Delos. At first, Pamphilia casually dismisses her “fate in Love” by announcing her “desire to returne againe unto her People,” which is admittedly a “just excuse” (189). However, Pamphilia is then noticeably disappointed when Melissea reveals that her love will not be immediately fulfilled and that despair and struggle are necessary components on her journey towards Constancy. The prophetess admits that the queen is the “Rarest of women for true loyalty” but insists that “I cannot be blessed with power to tell that happiness you seeke” will be fulfilled (189-90). The simple truth is that Melissea “cannot finde that [Pamphilia] shall marry” until the “many afflictions [she] must undergoe” are experienced (190). Until Pamphilia fully realizes that a Constant woman is not moved or changed by affliction, until her self-worth is determined solely by her abiding example of virtue and consistency, until she learns to rule her self and her people with or without the love of Amphilanthus, she will not achieve the status as woman and queen that she seeks. One begins to wonder along with Pamphilia if indeed virtue is its own reward. As Pamphilia later questions in her solitary garden walk, “What plague was borne with [me], or for [me], that [I] must but have a vertue, and loose all thereby?” (191). Such questioning reveals that Pamphilia is under

the same conviction that Lipsius experiences in his discussion with Langius. Like Lipsius, Pamphilia must learn that achieving Constancy is not to lose but to *gain* all thereby: to gain self-control, peace, contentment, purpose, respect, and an active and meaningful life.

Unlike Pamphilia, Amphilanthus does not initially embrace the virtue of Constancy as a necessary attribute for an honorable man and ruler. Quite the opposite, Amphilanthus, whose name means “lover of two,” often advocates inconstancy and frivolous change in the personal realm. When encouraging a rejected Steriamus to return to the Albanian rebellion, Amphilanthus nonchalantly offers the distraught lover the comfort that all lovers “may change” (70). Constant love is rare and difficult to find, so Steriamus should simply rejoice that “there are other faire Ladies, who will be liker themselves, pitifull and loving” (70). Amphilanthus advocates a similar type of change to Ollorandus who desires Melasinda’s love. Believing the love difficult to achieve and demanding of sacrifice, Amphilanthus declares “If [Ollorandus] bee wise” he will simply change lovers (80). Amphilanthus’s unwillingness to sacrifice for love or to strive for a love of constant commitment, self-sacrifice, and service plagues him throughout *Urania*. Because he fails to fulfill this first requisite in the Lipsian paradigm--that of becoming an individual of personal Constancy--Amphilanthus threatens the political stability and potential unity of his Empire, for his lords often find themselves scattered throughout Europe, looking for Amphilanthus and his latest love affair. Europe’s peace and a union of its rulers are impossible until Amphilanthus turns from his life of inconstancy and models for others the virtue of Constancy. After all, Wroth seems to ask, can one trust

the fidelity and commitment of a ruler who can not commit in the personal realm? Can a ruler of personal inconstancy ever be constant in his political life?

Admittedly, hope for Amphilanthus and for the countries in which he holds political influence does exist. At times, Amphilanthus does exhibit an awareness that Constancy, like that being cultivated by Pamphilia, is the powerful virtue needed in model men and rulers. During a solitary walk taken as the Albanian rebellion is being planned, Amphilanthus experiences an epiphany that reveals his conscious, internal struggle between Constancy and Inconstancy, Reason and Desire. Walking "along a sweet river," Amphilanthus initially appears the image of confidence and self-love, for as he proceeds forward "with his armes folded, lovingly for love, one with the other" (135), Amphilanthus becomes the likeness of stubborn autonomy. His very stature and body position reveal a man whose arms are not open to those of another and one who shuns the commitment and sacrifice true relationships demand. He is able to love himself egocentrically but unable to commit his love to another. Suddenly, he realizes that he is an "Unhappy man," and Amphilanthus is amazed and "vexed" that the "same [love trysts] that once most delighted" him are now a burden (135). After all, "who could have thought inconstancy a waight, if not to presse me on to more delight? Left I till now any wherein change brought not unspeakable happiness?" (135). Up to this point, inconstancy has been an intrigue and a freedom to this young ruler. His willingness to change lovers has brought him "unspeakable content" and "full consent of blisse" (135).

However, after traveling throughout Europe and contemplating the virtues exhibited by Pamphilia, Amphilanthus has become “perplexed,” “troubled,” and “afflicted,” for he now perceives that

Constancie I see, is the onely perfect vertue, and the contrary, the truest fault, which like sinnes, intices one still on, of purpose to leave one in the height: as the height of enjoying makes one leave the love to it. I have offended. (135)

In a genuine but all too brief moment of clarity, Amphilanthus prays for pardon and asks those who “have the rule of truth” to “governe” and “direct” him on the path of Constancy. Confessing his sins, the ruler lauds the fact that “error makes him perfect,” for it “shewes [him] the light of understanding” (135). Still, Amphilanthus is not capable of committing to Constancy on his own; instead, he calls upon Pamphilia, whom he believes loves another, to serve as his support just as she did in the Tower of Love. Amphilanthus has not realized that, in order to become the person and ruler he desires to be, his Constancy cannot depend on any outside source or person. Whether or not Pamphilia returns his committed pledge, he should be willing to model and serve Constancy. Instead, he asks Pamphilia to “Be once inconstant to save me as ’twere from death” (135). Unconcerned that, as far as he knows, Pamphilia loves another, Amphilanthus selfishly desires her to sacrifice her own virtue to redeem him. Thus, though Amphilanthus is, on the one hand, beginning to admit the necessity of Constancy, he does not appreciate that it is a virtue based on individual Reason, service, and personal choice. It is not and cannot be determined or secured by another.

As if to confirm the fact that Amphilanthus has not truly learned the nature of Constancy and its requisite personal commitment, the next moment offers an iconographic symbol of the true nature of Amphilanthus's pledge. "Casting up his eyes," Amphilanthus is drawn into a "little Arbour" in which he finds a "delicate Fountaine" (135). Sensual and inviting, the fountain is surrounded by flora to entice the senses: orange and pomegranate trees, a hedge of jasmine, roses, and woodbines. Indeed the fountain and arbor are an abode of "shew and pleasure" that in the past might have served as a hideaway for Amphilanthus's amorous adventures (136). Among the flora and amidst the fountain is a statue of a fair maiden who holds a dish with which she attempts to "lade [the fountain] drie" (136). Despite this effort to control the water, it still pours quickly and incessantly over her dish. Amphilanthus realizes, "And just thus . . . are my labours fruitlesse" (136). To what labors does Amphilanthus refer? His labors to commit independently to Constancy. Just as the statue desires to capture the flowing waters, Amphilanthus claims he desires to capture and maintain virtue. Yet his weakness and inconstancy prevent him from securing the quality he seeks. Like the water, Constancy escapes past him. Distraught Amphilanthus sits looking at the fountain and begins to write poetry, concluding that "only [Pamphilia], and she alone, can save or ruine me" (136). Again, Amphilanthus has not learned that true virtue must come from the self, and therefore, while "for a little while he continued thus," he soon leaves the fountain and "went strait on," apparently repressing and avoiding the convictions he has just moments before experienced (136).

Amphilanthus's need to acquire his Constancy through that of another is of course most vividly evidenced in the Tower of Love Enchantment previously discussed. Unlike Pamphilia, who continues her struggle to be constant after parting from her love, Amphilanthus is completely unwilling to attempt the struggle alone. Thus when he is gone from Pamphilia's company after they free the captives and after baptizing the Cyprian people, Amphilanthus consistently reverts back to a life of dangerous inconstancy. Still, the narrator reveals that Amphilanthus never fully escapes the truth he has experienced. Soon, through yet another Uranian woman, Amphilanthus is again educated as to the nature of true Constancy and the importance of personal commitment to love. Yet again, Wroth uses repetition, often affiliated with Protestant poetics as we have seen, to emulate the nature and life-long process of spiritual learning. This time the lessons are presented to the king through the story of his own "counterfeit," a man who has taken Amphilanthus's name and who has deceived many women including the Princess of Stiria, Emilina. Through the story of his counterfeit's deceit, Amphilanthus is forced to see an image of his own actions. Entering the borders of Stiria, he comes upon another fountain, this one surrounded by many beautiful ladies who serve Princess Emilina. One of the ladies begins to tell Amphilanthus about the "false" and "unconstant creature" who has "flatter'd" Emilina, taken from her "what he desir'd," and then cruelly abandoned her (297). The lady further reveals that "Amphilanthus" has not only abandoned Emilina and their supposed marriage plans but has further "slighted her" by declaring her old, ugly, and thus undesirable (298). This "Forgettful man[']s" actions are a great abuse and undeserved by a woman who merely "wrong'd her selfe alone in

trusting him" (298). Moreover, Amphilanthus has "wrongd himselfe in such a base unworthy change"; the prince is indeed the "falsest, ficklest, waveringst, and unworthiest man [who] doth live" (298). How can such a man be a trustworthy ruler?

Though the actions under scrutiny have been committed by a counterfeit Amphilanthus, Amphilanthus is clearly convicted by what he hears. After all, he too has been a man of inconstancy; he too has changed lovers for light reasons and has refused to commit to a life of Constancy. Apparently, Amphilanthus has never heard his former lovers' complaints against him or fully appreciated the effects his inconstancy has on them. Now he is not only forced to consider such realities but also to defend his honor and prove himself a man worthy of esteem. Vehemently, Amphilanthus declares that the prince has been wrongly accused and asks to meet Emilina. Overwhelmed by a poem's revelation of Emilina's true, "constant," and loving character, Amphilanthus declares that "Amphilanthus could never be false to such a creature" (300). Yet the ironic truth is revealed: "He was, and is [false] . . . and truly doth hee make good his name, that signifieth the lover of two" (300). No truer statement can be made regarding either the counterfeit or actual Amphilanthus. In rising desperation to defend anonymously his honor, Amphilanthus insists that the name was given "ere he knew what love was, or himselfe" (300). Again, truth confronts Amphilanthus in the lady's response to such a defense: "The latter sure he knowes not yet." Indeed, Amphilanthus does *not* know himself; he lacks the true conviction, Constancy, and commitment that herald an admirable and confident man or ruler.

As Amphilanthus fathoms how deeply his own inconstancy has affected his reputation and his people's trust, the lady reveals her final condemnation of not only Amphilanthus but of all his companions--after all, as Lipsius insists, the king's actions determine those of his subjects. She declares that one can only respect Amphilanthus's men if she is "a lover of variety," "changing men," or "Camelions" (300). In response to this revelation of his own character through the mirror of his counterfeit, Amphilanthus once again vows to become a man of Constancy. This time he will actively pursue this counterfeit "suborner" and "traitorous man" in order to redeem his name. Through this process, Amphilanthus may overcome not only "that one so base and so perfidious [that] hath taken his name" but also his own former inconstancy and failure to exemplify the virtuous life (301).¹⁵

Before he can pursue his imposter, however, Amphilanthus must attend to his father who soon dies in Naples, leaving Amphilanthus chosen "with one consent" to be the new king (304). Clearly his new position demands an even higher fidelity to the virtuous image a successful leader must have. Realizing this fact and constant in his commitment to the Albanian cause, Amphilanthus leaves Naples in the stable hands of his brother and proceeds to battle, stopping along the way to visit Pamphilia. Apparently, the king is now ready to marry personal and political Constancy, and indeed at this time he admits his love for Pamphilia. Amphilanthus embraces this relationship by insisting

¹⁵ Eventually, the Prince of Carinthia kills the false Amphilanthus who has been challenged by a traitorous Dolorindus (*Urania* 358-9; 394-6). As explored in Chapter 2, Dolorindus later confesses his treason to Amphilanthus and informs him of the counterfeit's death.

that he must “carry with him to the field” Pamphilia’s miniature (321). A constant relationship and a fulfilling marriage seem to be underway. Amphilanthus’s potential as a man whose personal Constancy will bolster his political stability and earn him the respect of the world in which he is both citizen and ruler begins. Or does it? Disturbingly, as Amphilanthus is sent to battle by Pamphilia and by Antissia, the narrator reveals that Amphilanthus is “glad to see [Antissia] love’d him still” (325). After all, “what man” (or king?) “lives, that glories not in multitudes of womens loves?” (325). Though his pledge is now officially made to Pamphilia, Amphilanthus’s own metamorphosis into a person of Constancy, like that he has witnessed in Pamphilia, is incomplete and irresolute.

Thus on the eve of the Albanian war, Amphilanthus and Pamphilia have reached a crossroads in their relationship. During the preparation for the war, the two have had opportunities to contemplate the nature of their love. Is it a love of Reason that will lead to a romantic and political union capable of serving the greater good of their realms? Or is it a love of pure affection and opinion that will simply engender more disorder into both their personal and political lives? Apparently, Amphilanthus’s love is still based on affection, for he does not take the time necessary to contemplate reasonably his abiding intrigue for other women, like Antissia. The narrator at one point even interrupts the story to comment upon the king’s weakness and the danger it invites:

Amphilanthus I pittie thee, who for all noble parts oughtest to be admired,
and art reverenced of all, being matchlesse in all vertues, except thy love;
for inconstancy, was, and is the onely touch thou hast, yet can I not say,

but thou art constant to love; for never art thou out of love, but variety is thy staine, yet least is that blame of any, were not perill to ensue, plots laid to destroy thee, yet wilt thou passe them all, and be thy selfe; Women are ominous to thee, shunne them, and love her firmly who onely loveth thee.

(362)

On the other hand, Pamphilia continues to exhibit a commitment to Lipsian retreat and reasonable evaluation. As soon as Amphilanthus leaves for war, Pamphilia invests time in this process. "To avoyd idlenesse," the queen calls for her hounds and goes on a hunt for a stag, who comes "forth with as much scorne, and contempt in his face, and fashion as a Prince, who should rather be attended then pursued" (325). Initially, the stag mirrors the type of pursuit that Pamphilia, in moments of romantic desperation, has been tempted to undertake. Like Amphilanthus, the stag would rather be "attended then pursued," for to be the hunted places one in position of possible capture and subservience. Quickly, however, the stag is "made to acknowledge that he [is] Pamphilia's subject" and that he has a "dutie" to succumb to her strength in order to prove his "honor" (325). But does Pamphilia want a love that relies on pursuit or subservience? Should not the commitment to one's *contubernium* or lover be based on mutuality and loyalty? Evidently, the hunt for the stag, who so reminds Pamphilia of her prince, raises this question, for just as the stag becomes "happy with [her] pursuing him," Pamphilia stops her chase and retreats into a grove, yet another stoic garden of contemplation (325).

In solitude, the queen calls "her thoughts into strict examination" in order to evaluate the latest circumstances in her love. Yet again, Pamphilia determines that her

commitment is “so true, as she could see none to accuse the least of them,” and she leaves a reminder of her dedication to a constant relationship in the “Deere companions in my solitarynes” that surround her: the strong and sturdy oak trees (325). Seeing in the oak a strength to be admired, Pamphilia asks the trees to “furnish me with your excellence in constancy” and proceeds to “insculped a sypher” into the tree, an anagram of Amphilanthus’s name (325). Her Constancy affirmed, Pamphilia looks up to see the stag “grieved at her unkindnesse, that she would not honor his death with her presence” (325-6). Respecting the stag, Pamphilia does “[come] into his death” yet not with the delight she has formerly taken in such pursuits. Pamphilia has reached another crucial point in her ascent towards perfect Constancy. From this point forward, Pamphilia will not heedlessly or irrationally pursue her lover, as she once desired to do; she will not play the huntress and seek to tame Amphilanthus or to slay his vices. Instead, she will view her love and all events surrounding it as part of her virtuous education and as part of the necessary trial that Melissea has prophesied. If Amphilanthus is to be part of her personal and political life, her Reason will facilitate this choice, not her affections. Thus as the war progresses, Pamphilia “flourishe[s]” in her “vertuous love,” serves her country well, and leaves her subjects to a “good Councell” only to heed her father’s desire “to see all his children together” before his death (363).

As the war rages on, both Amphilanthus and Pamphilia participate in facilitating the rebellion’s success. As we have seen, however, complete stability is not achieved at the war’s conclusion, for the subaltern leaders are not united with the women with whom they can serve as models of personal and political Constancy. Amphilanthus is without

Pamphilia. Steriamus is without Urania. Productive personal unions must be achieved before political stability is complete. Therefore, the subalterns divide and begin to “undergoe a more dangerous busines” of rejoining their partners so that each united couple can return to its realm and serve its people (374). The quest will be dangerous, for the women have been imprisoned in yet another enchantment that will test each couple’s true and constant love. Just as the war is ending, Urania, Philistella, and Selarina talk Pamphilia into taking a sailing trip (371). Though Pamphilia knows that she has more grave matters to attend and that sailing is a “slight . . . action,” she is soon persuaded to sail several leagues from shore. Believing their excursion to be a simple pleasure, the women “deceive themselves,” for they run “from safety to apparent danger” (371). As she recounts events, the narrator asks the telling question, “Why should Pamphilia, (unlesse on necessity) venture her constant selfe in such a hazard, as if to tempt her enemy?” (371). The key to the query is the word “necessity,” for it is necessary that Pamphilia and the other women finally encounter their destinies and affirm their Constancy. As the ship and its inhabitants are “tossed as pleased Destiney,” they are challenged to prove their Constancy, their commitment to reasonable love, their willingness to learn from both the challenges and joys of life, and their devotion to rule by virtuous example.

Initially, these challenges appear to be ones the women will fail. For instance, a Constant person is one who, as we know, is unaffected by forces surrounding her and who is able to maintain an internal peace despite turmoil. Their trust in such ideals shaken, the princesses are cast upon a shore and are simultaneously “cast into the depth of

Dispaire” (372). By contrast, Pamphilia embraces what Lipsius deems the “true mother” of Constancy–Patience (*De Constantia* 79). As she observes her surroundings, “Pamphilia most patiently [takes] it” and soon discovers a marble building that is similar to the Tower of Love from which she had earlier freed the lovers (372). Echoing the earlier enchantment in which Pamphilia is literally given the keys to the tower by Constancy, this enchantment also finds Pamphilia discovering the key and managing to open a locked pillar. In fact, the pillar appears to open “it selfe willingly to her power, or renting it selfe asunder, to let her goe into it” (373). Pamphilia’s past experience coupled with this present situation boosts her confidence and blinds her to the dangers that such enchantments can contain. She does not use her Reason to make choices but instead walks immediately into the “magnificent” theater that appears.

In the theater is a “Throne which nine steps ascended unto, on the top [of which] were fowre rich chayres of Marble” (373). “Inticed to vanity” and confirming the idea that women “must see novelties,” Pamphilia and the others climb the stairs to admire “sumptuous imbroider’d cushion” and “rich embroidery” carpet (373). As they ascend, “sweetest musicke, and the most inchanting harmony of voyces, so [overrule] their senses” that the women think of nothing else but sitting in the chairs, at which point “the gate was instantly lock’d again” (373). Their choices to ignore Reason and pursue vanity and luxury have imprisoned them. Nonetheless, as the women sit in the thrones and see before them images of “their loves smiling, and joying in them,” the reader begins to realize that a providential plan is about to be facilitated. The enchantment is the

necessary device to determine the true qualities of each couple, and it will be broken only when

[The] man most loving, and most beloved, [uses] his force, who should release them, but himselfe be inclosed till by the freeing of the sweetest and loveliest creature, that poore habits had disguised greatnesse in, he should be redeem'd, and *then should all be finished*.

(373 [emphasis mine])

Though temporary imprisonment will be necessary, the romantic and political disorders that have plagued *Urania* will soon be brought to order; the enchantment will bring resolution both to the wars that have ravished the landscape and to the emotional turmoils experienced by the lovers. Those couples who are truly constant and reasonable and thus capable of ruling their subjects well will be confirmed. The inconstant will be made known.

Who will be the couples who fulfill the Lipsian paradigm? Who will actually embody the pattern modeled in the Tower of Love enchantment? Who will allow Constancy to lead them to freedom and toward political duty? To answer these final queries, Wroth meticulously traces the journeys of the princes and other lovers who have not been entrapped as they slowly make their way to the Marble Theater enchantment. As the Uranian lovers make their ways to the theater, Amphilanthus is the only one who brings with him an unusual, if not indicative companion: his former lover Musalina and her husband, the Duke of Tenedos. Traveling toward Neapolis, Amphilanthus and Ollorandus meet up with Musalina, “one of [Amphilanthus’s] first Loves in his youthful

travailes" (397). To be fair, Musalina is, as even Pamphilia has confessed in the past, an excellent lady of "spirit, wit, rare discourse, and the most unusuall vertues for women" (397). In fact, Pamphilia has not only admitted that Musalina is "fit to be beloved" but also blames "Amphilanthus for leaving her." Still, the reunion is less than purely innocent, for Amphilanthus, his inconstancy resurfacing, is so delighted in her company that "the search [for Pamphilia and the other lovers is] quite forgot" (397). After a time of adventure in which Amphilanthus and Ollorandus regain "some of their old passions," Amphilanthus does recommit to freeing Pamphilia though he is still accompanied by Musalina and yet another former lover, Lucenia (422).

Just as Amphilanthus's inconstancy is resurfacing, the other lovers' Constancy is being strengthened. Gathering in Corinth, a reunion of sorts occurs as all princes of the league meet to venture the throne of love. Those whose lovers are enchanted are determined to free the imprisoned though the temptation to fall into despair often presents itself. For example, Selarinus confides to Rosindy that he damns the "wicked vanity that inticed them [including his lover Philistella] to such harme" and fears that the enchantment will "never, never" be broken (411). Rosindy, whose own love Meriana remains free, praises Selarinus's "constant affection" but reminds him to be "temperate in [his] sufferings" lest he prove not to be a model of true Constancy. Chastened, the two begin their journey to the enchantment, along with Meriana, and Selarinus is soon reunited with Philistella. Both couples are then enclosed--"happy" and "content"--within the throne room to await liberation (412). Shortly, the enchantment holds most of the lovers, including Steriamus and Urania, whose relationship has been challenged by

personal and political events and whose ability to lead their subjects relies on an understanding that Constancy must rule their personal and political union. All these lovers are ready to establish their constant marriages and to accept their commissions as rulers.

A powerful scene is frozen at this point in the text, for Pamphilia still “sits leaning her cheek on her hand, her eyes lifted upwards as asking helpe” (421). Pamphilia, who has sworn allegiance to Constancy, remains alone on the throne, looking to heaven for divine fortitude and patience to accept her destiny. On the steps surrounding her sit the other lover-rulers who, though in “various habits,” all exist for “one purpose, imitating the world, which for all the changes and varieties she hath, must have but one conclusion, and one end” (421)--that end is a life committed to personal and political Constancy. Though Pamphilia desires to join the others and to enjoy her love for Amphilanthus, she still refuses to realize fully that her divine destiny is to remain constant regardless of whether or not her love is reciprocated. Pamphilia cannot admit that, while her personal Constancy must not change, the lover to whom it is directed must change if he yet again proves unworthy.

Amphilanthus will soon undergo the final tests that will determine whether or not he is worthy of Pamphilia’s constant love. As he proceeds to the enchantment, Amphilanthus’s commitment to political duty is again affirmed, for on the journey he is informed of his election as emperor. In his response to the news, we are given a telling revelation of Amphilanthus’s misguided view of even political Constancy. On the one hand, he admirably informs the messenger that he will journey to Germany only after he

first completes his vow to free the enchanted. However, Amphilanthus is not motivated by selfless love for Pamphilia or concern for the imprisoned, royal couples. Neither is he motivated by a desire to serve his people humbly. Instead, “what love was it” that motivates the emperor (442)? Amphilanthus’s true love is his “desire” to be “constant . . . in holding vows, and besides, to have those famous Princes his friends, and Allies that were there inclosed, to accompany him on his journey, **for his greater honour**, and the glorie to the Empire” (442 [emphasis mine]). Only vows that garner him personal praise and that display his military prowess or physical strength are loved by Amphilanthus. He is unable to see that the less glorious vow made to one person, one’s lover, is a monumental and all encompassing one and one he has utterly failed to fulfill.

Thus, when he arrives at the enchantment, Amphilanthus still blindly and proudly see himself as the champion and liberator of the imprisoned. Indeed, the theater does open to him since “he [is] the man most loving, and best beloved” (442). But he is the most loving in quantity, not quality; he has literally loved the most women--and therefore only “part of the Charme” is ended as Amphilanthus is shamefully imprisoned along with the others. Though initially welcomed with joy, Amphilanthus is now recognized by the other lovers as a man of inconstancy. As the lovers look at their once-champion, they are “brought into a worse Charme,” for “now they perfectly [see and know]” that Amphilanthus is not a man of Constancy and therefore is undeserving of complete loyalty or trust. In “misery,” the lovers also see what Pamphilia feels and watch sadly as she returns to her seat not only “alone, but viewed by all to be so” (442). Thus, even though the lovers are no longer enchanted and have come to “their best senses,” they are still

imprisoned with their inconstant, imperial leader and must be so until virtue, in the form of the “sweetest and loveliest creature, that poor habits had disguised greatness in,” arrives to free them (373). This model of virtue--the virtue that Amphilanthus apparently lacks--is the final key with which to unlock the spell. Now even Amphilanthus’s fellow leaders realize that political power and strength are meaningless if held by an inconstant man who does not serve as a model of virtue. As Lipsius warns, “Doth [a ruler] leade us the way to vertue? we followe. To vice? we encline thither” (“The Author his Epistle,” *Politica* vii). Amphilanthus’s vice is the ultimate reason the lovers are imprisoned and so remain.

Despite the emperor’s vice, a leader of virtue soon arrives to free the enchanted, and her arrival is facilitated by none other than Amphilanthus and Urania’s young brother, Leonius. The fair Veralinda is a poor shepherdess who has become a “shining Starre” to Leonius’s love (423). Though seemingly the daughter of a lowly shepherd, Veralinda embodies the virtuous qualities a political ruler must possess, as the grove in which she often rests testifies. As she enters the grove, Veralinda is surrounded by “exquisite Musique” that celebrates her virtue. A “second . . . musicke” pays her homage in the form of water coming from a fountain (424). Foreshadowing the revelation of her true identity, the fountain pours forth from a sculpture in the “fashion of an Emperiall Crowne with a Globe on the toppe” (424). The iconography suggests that Veralinda holds the keys to the imperial throne with which Amphilanthus hopes to unite the world. Indeed, Veralinda is the savior needed to free the lovers so they can venture forth and fulfill their duties as leaders and citizens of a united Uranian world.

Importantly, before traveling to the Marble Enchantment, Leonius and Veralinda develop a reasonable love free of excessive passion. After saving Veralinda from a “fierce Beare” (426), Leonius disguises himself as Leonia and, in this disguise, establishes a genuine friendship of respect. Just as this reasonable love is developing, Veralinda learns that her destiny is not to stay in Arcadia when one day her aged father informs her that she must leave to seek her true identity. Giving Veralinda a cabinet, which she may not open until “the adventure you shall see be ended,” her father sends her and Leonia on a journey that takes them straight to Corinth and then to the Marble Enchantment (454). As Veralinda reads the enchantment’s inscription, its gates open, and music celebrates the fact that she who is able to free the entrapped has arrived. Accompanied by Leonia, Veralinda is then instructed by an image of Apollo (god of sunlight, prophecy, poetry, and music) to take a rod and touch each couple, thus awakening them. Each lover awakens holding the hand of the one to whom his or her Constancy is committed. Now, the lovers have been proven and divinely sanctioned, save Amphilanthus who heedlessly takes Musalina’s hand and then just as “quickly let it goe againe” (455).

Finally, the time has come to send individuals of Constancy forward in proper unions to extend their exemplary Constancy into the political realm. All couples, save Amphilanthus and Pamphilia, are prepared to serve their people well. Now, one final, divine revelation confirms the unions that have been forged. As Veralinda’s rod unites each couple, the chairs disappear, and a pillar of gold stands in their place. From this golden pillar hangs a book that only Urania is able to remove from its position. As the

book is taken down--a book that mirrors the divine scripture and Word so crucial to Wroth's views of truth--the music and charms end completely. Aided by Veralinda, Urania opens the book and reads the full account of her kidnaping. Her identity divinely confirmed, Urania is now at complete liberty to marry Steriamus and reign with him over Albania. The next story recorded also brings union and commissions a ruling couple, for it is the story of Veralinda. The lovers learn that she is actually the daughter of the King of Frigia whose jealous brothers had "brib'd a servant of theirs to kil the Infant" (456). Just as Urania was saved by Providence, Veralinda was also "prevented [from being killed] by the same divine power Urania was protected by" (456). To those assembled, "divine providence [has clearly] ordained" both women's survival and brought them to this juncture so that they can lead the others out of enchantment toward duty. Rejoicing, Leonius reveals his identity "with a pretty blush," and the happy couple is celebrated by all, including Amphilanthus who sees the union as appointed by Destiny (456). Thus all the lovers return to Corinth and are greeted in triumph. Marriage plans are made, and the ceremonies are scheduled to take place upon the princes' return from Amphilanthus's coronation. Thanks to a necessary time of testing and despair, Constancy will now spread by example into the countries of the growing Empire. Sadly, however, the prospect of a virtuous world of Constancy is incomplete, for the final union between the new emperor and Pamphilia remains uncertain. Of all *Urania's* lovers, "onely Pamphilia [remains] unpromised" (457).

Having witnessed true images of constant love, Pamphilia is now positioned to learn the final lesson that has already been well-learned by Urania: change is justified if

it keeps one on the path towards perfected Constancy. As noted earlier, Lipsius suggests that a good ruler remains on one constant course and embraces one consistent policy; however, he also admits that a ruler may make reasonable changes in the process of achieving his goals if the changes are necessary in accomplishing the ultimate purpose. Comparably, as she comes to Pamphilia to “advise” and counsel, Urania also admits that trivial “Change . . . deserves no honor; but discretion may make you discern when you should be constant, and when discrete, and thus you do not change but continue, judicially, as always you have been” (459). If careful discretion reveals that the object of one’s Constancy is not honorable, change is critical and obligatory. As Pamphilia’s advisor, Urania offers her personal life as an example of necessary change. Looking back to earlier events of the romance, Urania and Parselius initially believe that they are united by true and constant love; however, their love is eventually proven to be one of mere affection and opinion rather than one of reason and divine sanction. Thus, their changes to new lovers are not only acceptable but also necessary.

Contrary to Pamphilia’s opinion, Urania’s and Parselius’s changes in love are even divinely ordained and sanctioned. While still in love with Parselius and before learning that he has married the love that “Vertue . . . made for [him]” (127), Urania accompanies Pamphilia to Delos to question her romantic fate. From the sage, Urania learns that her passion for Parselius is not her true and destined love and that a “just change” must occur in order to secure the constant love with whom she is ordained to rule. Melissea reveals,

Now for your love, alas that I must say, what Destinie foretels, you shall be happy, and enjoy, but first, death in appearance must possesse your dainty bodie, when you shall revive with him you now love, to another love, and yet as good, and great as hee. Bee not offended for this your fate, nor bee displeas'd, since though that must change, **it is but just change.** (190 [emphasis mine])

Once Urania's identity is known and she can appreciate her royal duty, she is able to make a mature and informed choice in love--one that will fulfill her destiny as an individual, wife, and leader of Constancy. To accomplish this, Urania suffers the "death in appearance" that Amphilanthus facilitates. Melissea informs Amphilanthus that, "to make [his sister] contentedly live," he must "throw her from the Rocke of St. Maura into the Sea" (190). This ritual will "make her live, and forget her unfortunate love, (which vertue that water hath)" (190).

Urania's purgation by the waters of St. Maura affirms that "Heaven appoints" change when it will fulfill a higher purpose (230). As Amphilanthus "let her slide" from the precipice and into the sea, his heart and the passion-driven heart of Urania are "drownd in as deepe an Ocean of despair" (230). As the baptismal waters surround and cleanse Urania, a great "wonder" and "joy" occurs: "for no sooner had she suncke into the water, but the waves did beare her up againe, to shew the glory they had in bearing such perfections" (230). Though the "Deepes, ambitious of such a prize, seek to obtain her," Urania is delivered from the water by both divine and human intervention. First, Parselius, who has left Dalinea out of guilt to find Urania, leaps from the shore where he

has a been lying in a “craggy part of the Rocke” (230). Her first love is unable to help her, for immediately he sinks with her, thus also undergoing a purgation of his former self and love. Instead, Steriamus and Dolorindus save the former lovers, and as all stand on shore, they are amazed because they “now well understood the operation of that water” (230). Parselius now knows “nothing of his former love” while Urania wishes him to return to Dalinea “without jealousie, or anger” (231). Urania’s heart is thus purged and ready for the love that will lead her to her full potential, and “Thus happily were all delivered of the most burdenous tormenting affliction that soules can know, Love” (231)-that is love of pure affection, passion, and desire. Quilligan interprets this episode in a much more sinister light, claiming that Urania’s “exchange” supports the fact that “Women are the bonds between men, the cultural glue, as it were, that holds society together as they are exchanged between groups of men; here Urania moves (if as yet imperceptibly) from Parselius to Steriamus” (269).¹⁶ However, the fact remains that Wroth insists that “all” are changed by this sacramental experience and are delivered from situations that will not fulfill their destinies. Not only Urania but also Parselius and Steriamus exchange one lover for another, and the exchanges are ones that neither the women nor the men take lightly. As the romance proceeds, each character carefully evaluates why the changes are necessary and just.

Providentially changed yet still on a path towards Constancy, Urania is now prepared to meet her destined lover and co-ruler. Ironically, this person is someone with whom she already has a relationship, for she helped facilitate his escape from Pantaleria--

¹⁶ See Quilligan 267-71.

the exiled Steriamus. As another instrument of divine providence, Steriamus has rescued Urania from St. Maura and thus participated in her baptism to new life. Steriamus is the man through whom Urania turns from a love of passion to one of Reason. As a tournament is given in Urania's honor, the Prince of Piemont, a man "proud and insolent" and "pufft up with ambition," aspires to possess her (234). After being refused, the prince boldly "snatched a glove from her," and Steriamus vows to protect her honor. Urania is honored that Steriamus, "who [she] had ever loved . . . from his youth" and who deserves honor for "adventuring to save her in the sea," is willing to defend and serve her, and she suddenly realizes it is with him she is to share her personal and political life (235). Once Steriamus obtains her glove, Urania ceremonially gives him her scarf, which she ties about his arms, and then proceeds to burn the glove and thus the last image of her former life of passion and immature affection. Steriamus also is humbled in the experience, and wearing a plain armor of russet (for "his riches [consist] in his worth"), the young prince soon defeats his opponent (236). To seal her new covenant with Steriamus, Urania serves as the minister who revives Steriamus to his new life. Seeing him in a "swound," Urania runs to Steriamus, wipes his face, and rubs his temples until "life againe possest him," for "how could it be otherwise, being in her armes, where life of love did dwell?" (236). A healthy, constant love of mutual respect and service is established. Thus is "just change" defined for *Urania's* reader and for the distraught Pamphilia.

As Urania stands before her as an example of justified change, Pamphilia still questions such changes in love, for according to her formula, any deviation is a sign of

inconstancy and vice. Since these earlier events occurred, Pamphilia has often asked herself, “[What] strange varieties are here?” (244), and she cannot comprehend that change might actually secure, not threaten her Constancy. In fact, she insists that a change on her part will deem her selfish and self-seeking:

To leave him for being false, would shew my love was not for his sake, but mine owne, that because he loved me, I therefore loved him, but when hee leaves I can doe so to. O no deere Cousen I loved him for himselfe, and would have loved him had hee not loved mee, and will love though he dispise me. (470)

Yet such is not the quality of a love built on Constancy and reciprocal loyalty. This is the very truth that Urania consistently affirms throughout the romance. Although it “grieves” both Urania and Steriamus “that [they] cannot then present [each other] with [their] first affection,” they now rejoice that their “new created” love is a love of unhealthy Reason and Constancy. Urania even claims that their love will be stronger because she actually “liked” Steriamus before she “loved the other” (265). Now as reasonable lovers, Urania and Steriamus are free to “Cast away then all former faults, and burie them in the Deepes, where those loves were cursed, and take a perfect one, new borne unto you, and with you” (265). Urania later declares that the change that wrought this “perfect” love was “by force of heavenly providence” (332). She fully believes that “from death in shew [both she and Steriamus] rose unto a new love” that is characterized by purity and “greater judgement” than any earlier affections (333). This second love is the partnership of Constancy that will help them rule Albania well.

Thus, as a wise counselor, lover, and ruler who recognizes the true relationship between Constancy and change, Urania admonishes Pamphilia to admit that being a slave to love and affection will destroy her and her testimony to her people:

Stoppe these teares which else will find no stay but in your end, give not occasion for love to see so much his victory, and to tryumph over your brave and matchlesse spirit, or for Man to glory, that our weakness meeting their faulshood can submit so low as to their tyranny. (468)

Pamphilia must stop privileging excess and passion over genuine, respectful love. Indeed, she must change the character of her personal life. Urania declares the qualities that Pamphilia must now apply beyond her respected political life to her personal life:

Where is that judgment, and discreet govern'd spirit, for which this and all other places that have beene happy with the knowledge of your name, hath made you famous? will you now fall under the low groanes of the meanest esteemed passion? Where is that resolution, which full of brave knowledge, despised the greatest Princes when they wore loves livery; must this sinke, while his tossing follies swimme? shall your excellent vertues be 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? (468)

As a model ruler, Pamphilia must not prove true the traditional view of women as weak and tractable in matters of love. Instead, she must prove that the same judgment, reason, resolution, and bravery she has exhibited as a political leader rule her private life as well,

thus making her a leader worthy of emulation. Again, as Lipsius insists, a good ruler must be a model not only of political strength but of personal virtue.

Ultimately, if Pamphilia continues on the path she travels and if she refuses to admit that she has misdefined Constancy, she will lose the respect of her people and the hopes of ruling her land effectively. Subjects cannot fully trust and give loyalty to a leader whose own life appears disordered and uncontrolled:

[If] your people knew [of your despair], how can they hope of your government, that can no better governe one poore passion? **how can you command others, that cannot master your selfe; or make laws, that cannot counsel,** or soveraignise over a poore thought?

(468 [emphasis mine])

Carolyn Ruth Swift echoes Urania in her questioning: "We must wonder with Wroth why Pamphilia, a powerful queen, willingly remains painfully obsessed with the romantic possibility of marriage to Amphilanthus" (342).¹⁷ Swift believes the answers to Pamphilia's obsession is society's insistence that "marriage is [Pamphilia's] only validation" (343). The text, however, reveals that Pamphilia is validated by her position not as wife but as ruler. Thus the answers to Urania's and Swift's queries are found not in an analysis of societal views of marriage but in the Lipsian paradigm that both Wroth and Urania extend to Pamphilia. To secure the stability of her country and her own being,

¹⁷ Swift believes that Wroth presents "a society that tends to destroy women" and that "Wroth communicates an appalling awareness that women are worthy (that is, marriageable) only when they participate in a system that may victimize them" (342-43). See Swift 342-46. We must note, however, that Pamphilia is willing to remain unmarried and therefore refuses to participate in such victimization.

Pamphilia must gain mastery over despair, not a husband. As an autonomous woman and ruler, she must demonstrate to her people the self-control, autonomy, wisdom, and command that Constancy demands. On the other hand, if Pamphilia insists on embracing a misdefined and deceptive constancy, Urania announces it will be a “pittie”

that ever that fruitlesse thing Constancy was taught you as a vertue, since for vertues sake you will love it, as having true possession of your soule, but understand, this vertue hath limits to hold it in, being vertue, but thus that it is a vice in them that breake it, but those with whom it is broken, are by the breach free to leave or choose againe where more staidnes may be found; besides tis a dangerous thing to hold that opinion, which in time will prove flat heresie. (470)

Pamphilia is not required to maintain vows to a person who breaches a contract or who proves lacking in virtue. Further, it is not only “flat heresie” but also unwise and destructive to sully the name of Constancy by using it as an excuse to remain attached to a person of vice. Respecting Pamphilia’s freedom to make a poor choice, however, Urania stops her lecture and simply admonishes her “deere Cousin” to at least comfort her parents, the court, and her people by suspending her external shows of grief. Willingly, Pamphilia agrees to “never trouble any eares but those of mine owne soule with my sorrowes” and returns to the court that is “happy with seeing her” and to whom she is “a joy to all harts” (471). Thus when she returns to Pamphilia, the queen upholds her duty as example to her people, for “she lost not her selfe” (484). Once again committed to stoic Constancy, Pamphilia’s “government continued just and brave, like that Lady she

was, wherein she shewed her heart was not to be stirr'd, though her private fortunes shooke round about her" (484).

In contrast, Amphilanthus, the "lover of two" (or many!), continues to misdefine and spurn Constancy altogether. After his coronation as emperor, Amphilanthus returns to the Morean court in Corinth to attend Veralinda and Leonius's wedding and finds the court similar to his own "Empire of Germany, [for] such a Court he found, and so brave company, as nothing was missing that might yeeld, or nurse content"--nothing that is except Pamphilia who remains in her own country, fulfilling her queenly duties (488). Apparently realizing Amphilanthus's inconstancy, few of the ladies will speak with him during the festivities, but "all of them, speake often of Pamphilia, most wishing her there" (488). The constant couples at the wedding provide a contrast for Amphilanthus and Pamphilia, for these wedding guests have achieved the personal and political stability that the Lipsian paradigm seeks to ensure. After the ceremony, each couple returns to its country, and, though Morea is left "bare like a roome after a great feast, the guests being gone, looking unfurnished, the brave rich furniture gone out of it," the greater world is blessed because such constant pairs will lead their realms with a political Constancy engendered by personal virtue (489). Steriamus and Urania will be constant rulers to Albania; Selarinus and Philistella to Epirus; Antissius and Selarina to Constantinople; Rosindy and Meriana to Macedon; Parselius and Dalinea to Achaia; Leonius and Veralinda to Frigia; and Philarchos and Orilena to Mytelin. Each personal union inspires a reign of respect and Constancy that is praised by its subjects. What is said of Rosindy and Meriana echoes the praises issued for the other couples and their rules: "[They] rul'd

both with power and love, loved with feare, because they fear'd they could not love [each other or their country] enough" (534). Constant and committed love results in peaceful and constant rule.

But will such Constancy and peace ever be achieved in the greater Empire under Amphilanthus's auspices? As the other rulers return to serve their countries, Amphilanthus continues his continental travels and soon arrives in Negropont to visit Dolorindus and Antissia. Now in a committed and constant marriage, the husband and wife reproach Amphilanthus for "leaving Pamphilia for Musalina" who still travels with him (496). Convicted by such criticism, Amphilanthus wanders through the nearby countryside and finds himself alone on top of a hill surrounded on both sides with wheat. The wheat is ready for harvest, and Amphilanthus beholds "the even and perfect growing of them," marveling at the constant uniformity of the field:

Can we . . . possibly be as even in our owne brests to truth as these things which are sowed, or set by our hands? No, and for our shame our own works, must wittnesse against us; for, I confesse, I have done amisse, and against her, deserved best of me for love, and constancy, and yet none have I payed with so much neglect, I am faulty, but I will mend, and she I hope wil pardon. Sweet Corne . . . when the wind stirrs, how doe your heads bend humbly that way you are blowne? how evenly, equally, and patiently hath she borne my neglects? (497)

Constancy is a quality observable even in nature. Constancy in the face of adversity, in the face of the harsh "winds" of life, is able to bend rather than break. Even nature

attempts to emulate the virtue that Amphilanthus has failed to embrace independently. Now, yet again inspired to embrace personal Constancy, Amphilanthus soon heads toward Pamphilia to “give satisfaction” and to requite the woman who has been a constant example to him up to this point (497).

Still, Amphilanthus is not strong enough to model Constancy without others inspiring him, be they people or wheat fields. Even as he is reunited with Pamphilia and assumes the challenge of freeing her land from Asdrusius, a maddened suitor, Amphilanthus must rely on Pamphilia, not himself, as a source of motivation. The narrator informs us that “The Emperour marking [Pamphilia], had inwardly new power and might given him by her constancy, and strong affection” and thus is able to defeat Asdrusius in hand-to-hand combat (566-7). Though on one level a sign of his commitment to duty, Amphilanthus’s victory is incomplete, for he remains a knight of borrowed virtue. He is constant as long as he is in the presence of Pamphilia; he is constant as long as he gains praise for feats of valor. This “Master of the greatest part of the Westerne World” is actually only “*like* a confident man, and commanding lover” (568 [emphasis mine]). Constancy is an ideal that his reason tells him is admirable and necessary, yet Amphilanthus remains subject to his desires and affections. Additionally, he cares too much for Opinion. As we have consistently seen, it takes only a comment from another person prone to inconstancy to deter Amphilanthus from virtue’s path. For example, at this point in the romance, Amphilanthus deems “an honest fellow” a shepherd who declares, “I thinke varietie the sweetest pleasure under Heaven, and constancy the foolishhest unprofitable whining vertue” (571). Nonetheless, to others

observing his defeat of Asdrusius, Amphilanthus appears to have made a genuine commitment to Constancy and to Pamphilia. Thus it takes all by surprise when the “Emperor [is] miss’d” after a day of hunting. Has Amphilanthus abandoned Constancy yet again? Has he returned to another former lover? Is he in danger?

Always hopeful in her love, Pamphilia is inspired by a dream of Amphilanthus and Lucenia to undertake a search into the woods surrounding her palace. Here, she discovers the hacked and bloodied armor of Amphilanthus and, with the help of Polarchos, the “hell of deceit” (660). This vision of Amphilanthus having “His heart ript open, and Pamphilia written in it” and of Musalina “razing that name out” with a sword reiterates the questions that have plagued both Pamphilia and the reader from the beginning. Will this love *ever* be constant? Are Pamphilia and Amphilanthus’s kingdoms doomed because their rulers refuse either to embrace Constancy fully or to make just changes and turn from their mutual yet often unreasonable passion? As Pamphilia is “throwne out” of the place of flames (for “None but false ones here can enter”), she is resolved to return to her realm where she lives a “religious, [rather] then a Court life” for years--committed to and serving her people (584).

Thus the ultimate stability, peace, and union of the empire is stalled, for Amphilanthus remains absent and his example less than admirable. Similarly, in 1620, stability in Wroth’s own world was stalled, for James still refused to clarify his political policies to concerned subjects. In the fictional and real worlds, constant political policy cannot be achieved without the presence of a personally constant ruler. Amphilanthus’s personal inconstancy, which has led to his inexplicable absence, clearly jeopardizes his

trust and his ability as emperor and as a citizen of the world. If he cannot be constant to his lover, how can he be constant to an empire? According to *Urania*, he cannot, and in fact, his personal inconstancy breeds international disorder as Amphilanthus's fellow princes become hopelessly scattered throughout Europe and Asia searching for him and presumably for his latest paramour. For the remainder of the massive romance (whose very nature becomes almost as disordered as the dispersed princes and James's own court!), these eleven princes search to the far corners of the realm--even as far west as Albion (England)--to find their leader, thus by implication abandoning their own duties and realms. In this final quest, Wroth momentarily focuses her criticism on England, for in Albion, the princes of Venice, Florence, and Savoy meet not only "the fairest Creatures" (627) of women but also, in an inn, "Knights and Squires, [and] all fellowes . . . [who are] most fellow-like drunke" (629). James's England, like Amphilanthus's Empire, is a land in stupor and in need of a clear directive to raise itself to action. Still Wroth does love her homeland as the Duke of Florence's words indicate. Meeting another nobleman in London, the Duke declares that England "hath beene counted the most pleasant, delightfull, and happiest Countrey in the world, being for all bounty of contents a world it selfe, nothing missing or wanting to the full plenty of happinesse" (653). Wroth's hope for England's renewal and for James's turn to Constancy is very much alive.

Finally, Amphilanthus is found by the Duke of Burgundy "after some time, and much travell" (637-8). Amphilanthus has been enchanted by Musalina and Lucenia whose "divellish witchcrafts" and "Arts" have held him an enchanted prisoner,

punishment for his rejection of their love (656). Even though Amphilanthus now claims, "I am disenchanted" and proceeds to reunite himself with Pamphilia, the question exists, was the emperor enchanted against his will or did his inconstancy and desire facilitate the imprisonment? Amphilanthus is not yet the example of pure Constancy and strength that either Lipsius or Wroth would advocate. His inconstant actions are even quietly relished and dismissed by his subjects, for rather than being given a difficult example to model, they are given an imperial excuse for their own succumbings to passion. The Duke of Florence even seems relieved that his own emperor has fallen prey to vice, for this justifies his own inconstancies. After all, as he relishes, "Since the earths glory, and such a Ruler as Amphilanthus can be charmed," why should he be blamed for his actions (657)?

Nonetheless, hope remains that Amphilanthus is a changed man. As the romance nears its end, Amphilanthus travels toward Pamphilia and hears of her private grief and of the "hell of deceit" around which she had found his armor. Amphilanthus informs his attendants that he will go to Pamphilia and then return to Germany to fulfill his duties as emperor. The hope of Amphilanthus's return as emperor and possibly as constant husband is cause of great rejoicing in Germany: "Bonfires and all expression of joy [are] made, in testimony to this happy tidings, and all the Princes sent unto, to come and assemble themselves against his return" (659). The empire awaits the fulfillment of the Lipsian paradigm, and as Amphilanthus comes upon Pamphilia weeping in her garden, the suggestion is made that Amphilanthus has finally embraced the personal Constancy needed to bolster his political virtue. After a joyful reunion, Amphilanthus leads her from

the garden and claims the “water he dranke [from the stream] being mixed with her teares, had so infused constancy and perfect truth of love in it, as in him it had wrought the like effect” (660). The emperor announces, “I hope” never to part again from Pamphilia, and to secure this hope, he returns to the hell of deceit, recovers his sword and armor, “resolving nothing should remaine as witnesses of his former ficklenes, or the property of that place, destroying the monument, the Charmes having conclusion with his recovering” (661). As Amphilanthus ceremoniously destroys all external signs of his inconstancy, the narrator declares, “[Now] all is finished” (661). A Constant man stands beside a Constant woman, and this couple prepares to journey first to Italy to see the Queen of Naples and then to Germany to fulfill their imperial duties.¹⁸ As *Urania* concludes, “Pamphilia is the Queene of all content; Amphilanthus joying worthily in her, And” (661). Thus the romance ends.

And what? Perhaps the text lacks complete conclusion because of the very exploratory and political nature of Wroth’s fiction. While she hopes Amphilanthus will prove constant, Wroth is unsure that the emperor will be able to live up to the demands of such virtue. While she hopes that Pamphilia will remain committed to Constancy and be prepared should change be necessary, Wroth is uncertain that a woman of such abiding passion can separate herself from the man whom she so deeply loves. Still yet in 1621,

¹⁸ The Queen of Naples probably pays homage to Mary Sidney Herbert, Wroth’s beloved aunt and mother to William Herbert. Like Mary Herbert, the Queen of Naples is “the rare Lady . . . who was perfect in Poetry, and all other Princely vertues as any woman that ever liv’d, to be esteemed excellent in any one, shee was stor’d with all, and so the more admirable” (*Urania* 371). See Hannay, “Your vertuous Aunt” 25-30 and Roberts, Introduction to *Urania* lxxxiv-lxxv.

the year of the romance's publication, Wroth was uncertain but surely grasped the hope that events could be changed, that James's personal and political actions (like those of Amphilanthus) could be transformed and be modeled on Constancy, that a consistent policy for Christian unification could be established, and that the military commitment required to fulfill this goal could be achieved. Thus, "And" may be the most hopeful word contained in the romance, for as long as the text remains open, hope for James's transformation and for the Reunification of Christendom by means of monarchomachist and Lipsian theories remains alive.¹⁹

¹⁹ Gavin Alexander and others suggest that the romance's ending is also an homage to Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590) which also ends mid-sentence. This contention may be true, but Alexander also agrees that, while the romance "is finished," readers also "sense that Wroth is trying too hard to say how good things are, and this insincerity warns us that conclusion is impossible" (21). Ultimately, according to Alexander, "Wroth's text wants to end but cannot" (22). Thus, complete closure to the romance and to Pamphilia and Amphilanthus's relationship is indeed impossible, for, as Barbara Lewalski notes, a "sentimental 'happily ever after' romance ending" seems wholly unwarranted by the characters' previous actions (*Writing Women* 274).

Chapter 5.

“Now all is finished. . . . And”: Progress Towards Conclusion

Although Mary Sidney Wroth’s *Urania* has been viewed as chaotic, as a storehouse of “innumerable interconnected stories” (Cavanagh, *Cherished Torment* 1), as a tangle of “countless manicoloured threads” (Kohler 209), as a story that “twists endlessly” (Parry 55), and as a text of “dizzying activity” (Beilin, ““The Onely Perfect Vertue”” 231), the romance also makes notable and surprisingly ordered explorations of the religio-political issues that defined the early seventeenth century. As we have seen, from the complex landscape of *Urania*, order does emerge as Mary Wroth examines the theories that she hoped would advance the Sidney family’s and James’s goal of Christendom’s unification. Moreover, within the fictional world of *Urania*, Wroth offers the pronouncement that any political, religious, or personal action divorced from either a willingness to harness military force or a commitment to neostoic Constancy will fail. Admittedly, *Urania* ends in a state of only potential peace, and the possibility of regression back to disorder remains very much alive. The simple truth is that, to the frustration of some readers but true to the active nature of the Sidney literary heritage, *Urania* offers no final or definitive solution to the religio-political debates of Jacobean England. Nonetheless, it does explore, with constancy, the policies and actions that Wroth may have desired to see James embrace. Ultimately, *Urania* ends with the word “And,” suggesting that it is the reader who must continue to test and to explore the religio-political controversies of the time—now in the world outside of fiction’s boundaries.

Important to a final appreciation of *Urania*’s purpose is the fact that the romance reflects a very specific moment in time, for it is poised in the liminal space between

Jacobean pacificism and international war. In the end, *Urania* is best appreciated as a beacon with which Wroth hoped to illuminate the policies of James's court in the years preceding The Thirty Years' War. But what of Wroth after the publication of her work? Did the hopes of *Urania* continue to motivate this intelligent and politically convicted member of the Sidney family? After *Urania*'s publication in 1621, the religious and political chaos to which I believe Wroth responds remained very much alive in the world. Surely Wroth's view of the world must have continued to evolve. Apparently, it did. The most powerful evidence as to how Wroth and her world view changed can now be found in the unpublished manuscript continuation of *Urania I*, recently released for publication for the first time. *The Second Part of the Countess of Montgomery's Urania (Urania II)* confirms that the published romance (*Urania I*) was created in a distinct historical moment, a moment significantly different from that in which Wroth privately wrote *Urania II*. The period in which *Urania I* was written and published heralds a time when Wroth still fostered hopes for the resolution of volatile issues in England and on the continent. She still hoped that James would turn from his pacificism and realize that militant intervention is often the necessary first step toward a lasting peace. She still hoped that her family's desire for a union of Christian states might be accomplished. She still hoped that Lipsian ideals of world citizenship and Constancy would inspire Europe's leaders. She still hoped that the beginning rumbles of what would become The Thirty Years' War could be silenced. Sadly, as evidenced in the manuscript continuation, which Wroth apparently never sought to publish or to circulate, Wroth's hopes ultimately underwent a gradual and disheartening death.

In the years that followed the publication and release of her romance, Wroth observed her world become more fully entangled in religio-political tensions that seemed impossible to resolve. The war on the continent escalated. The Holy Roman Empire became immersed in the interconfessional feuds between its Catholic and Protestant citizens. Upon James's death in March 1625, events became even more complicated, for Charles inherited a kingdom that was discontented, a kingdom with little financial stability and immersed in a war with Spain. Still yet, Wroth's personal life became even more difficult as the young widow struggled for financial survival, a struggle made more trying by her apparent fall from the good graces of the court. The fine scholarship of Josephine Roberts and of her academic successors Suzanne Gossett and Janel Mueller reveals that Wroth most likely wrote *Urania II* in seclusion between late 1621 and 1630. Part of this seclusion was no doubt the result of the birth in 1623 of Wroth's twins, the children of her lover Herbert. Gossett and Mueller believe that the precarious state of her children, William and Katherine, caused Wroth's near obsession with illegitimate children in the manuscript continuation (Intro. to *Urania II* xxi). In *Urania II*, several illegitimate children (including Andromarko, son of Polarchos, and the Faire Design, presumed son of Amphilanthus) seek position in the world and are often seen as the hope of the future. Outside her fiction, however, Wroth's "hopes [for her children's future] were dashed in 1626" when William Herbert bestowed his estates to a nephew (xxii). In the years that followed, Wroth suffered other disappointments and sadnesses, such as the death of Susan Herbert in 1629 and the death of William Herbert himself in 1630. As Gossett and Mueller conclude, these losses "easily explain Lady Mary's loss of interest in

completing the story” and thus why the manuscript continuation lacks the energy that the published *Urania* possesses (xxiii).

Other evidence that also suggests that *Urania I* represents a unique period in Wroth’s religio-political life is the rather hopeless tone of *Urania II*. The optimistic environment of *Urania I* is dimmed, and the actions and characters found in the manuscript continuation are restrained by what its editors have deemed a “pervasive atmosphere of diminished expectations” (Gossett and Mueller, Intro. to *Urania II* xxxiii-xxxiv). While Wroth still toys with the ideal of a union of the East (Pamphilia) and the West (Amphilanthus), it is as if she has sadly admitted that “such a union [is now] unimaginable and hence unrepresentable” (xxxii). Yet, despite, its more dismal outlook, Wroth’s *Urania II* does, initially, appear to continue the hopes of *Part I*. As the continuation begins, the “And” of the previous romance is continued: “And thus they with Joyes plenty, like the richest harvest after a long time of dearthe, having gained her consent . . . they sett forwards toward Italie” (1). We fully expect a glorious marriage between Amphilanthus and Pamphilia and thus resolution to the problems that plagued the earlier romance. We fully expect a final and complete union of Christendom forged by the league of subaltern princes who so boldly fought in *Part I*.

However, turmoil and hopeless expectations soon pervade the text, thus affirming the argument that the published *Urania* indeed stands alone in its purpose and function. Though Pamphilia and Amphilanthus are soon married, the union is not an “absolute marriage . . . beeing onely an outward serimony of the church” (*Urania II* 45). This *de praesenti* ceremony is neither inviolate nor permanent, and before long the reader is

immersed in a web of jealousy and misunderstanding that leads to Amphilanthus's marriage to the Princess of Slavonia and Pamphilia's marriage to the King of Tartaria, Rodomandro. Clearly, the ideals of international union, political constancy, and personal commitment that were sought in *Urania I* have failed to solidify. Amphilanthus is still an emperor plagued with personal vice. He is still a man who has allowed "change (O for ever-hated change) and inconstancie" to ruin him (*Urania II* 193). While Amphilanthus does castigate himself by asking, "What is my Empire? What is all? Since Pamphilia, O dearest Pamphilia, is lost, lost to mee" (193), he remains an emperor incapable of ridding himself completely of the pride and jealousy by which he lives his life.

And again personal inconstancy and turmoil affect the political landscape. Gone are the meticulous and organized attempts to unify the Christian world. Instead, *Urania II* is plagued with insurrections and wars. For example, the Bohemians, once loyal to King Ollorandus and Queen Melasinda, become a "most turbulent, heriticall, and tumultuous people," surely an allusion to those Bohemians who failed to support Frederick as he sought to gain the throne (*Urania II* 181). Though the Bohemians eventually "came in of them selves" and recommit themselves to Ollorandus and Melasinda, the security of the union that was forged in the more optimistic *Urania I* is now fragile (181). As the manuscript continues, the characters seem to degenerate and lose much of their earlier glory and their commitment to a unified landscape.

Nonetheless, despite the continuation's pervasive air of frustrated hopes, echoes of Wroth's desire for a union of Christendom do reverberate in her exploration of the marriage of Pamphilia and Rodomandro. However, the meticulous campaigns she staged

in *Urania I* and her active exploration of alternative political policies are absent. Instead, as Sheila Cavanagh explores, Wroth lapses to a traditional and predictable means of forging peace--strategic marriage alliances. Potential marriage alliances, especially those revolved around Pamphilia, are what “[keep] alive the imaginative possibility of a formal union between Christian East and West” (*Cherished Torment* 30). Granted these marriage alliances are designed to strengthen the potential Christian union forged in *Part I*, but Wroth’s active voice as a political theorist, as an advocate of monarchomachist and Lipsian thought, is missing from the manuscript continuation. Instead, replacing her explorations of alternative policies is a decidedly “virulent strain of revulsion towards Islam” (Gossett and Mueller, Intro. to *Urania II* xxxiii). Clearly, Christianity is promoted throughout the romance continuation. The characters are admonished to treat “Christian ships with kindnes and Christian Knights and Princes with respect” (57). Christian pilgrims must be allowed always to “[keep] their Vowes” while “all priveledg [should be] allowed them in their pillgrimages” (345). Even Christians who have fallen from virtue must be celebrated if they desire to recommit themselves to the faith. Such a man is the Lidian leader who “desired to bee Christened (hee cowld nott bee, having binn a Christian before),” but who nonetheless so “ernestly . . . beesought to bee reconsiled to the Christian Church” that his hope is granted (362). Still, while Christianity is advanced in the manuscript continuation, the testing of religio-political actions that might facilitate a unified, peaceful Christian world is missing. Ultimately, *Urania II* seems to function more as fervent propaganda than as a purposeful study of religio-political theory.

As stated, rather than explore such theories, Wroth explores marriage alliances, damns Islam, and celebrates Christianity in the compelling but predictable marriage between Pamphilia and Rodomandro, the Tartarian King. Although the text informs us that the Tartarians have often been the enemies of Morea, Rodomandro defies all traditional views of the Tartars as barbaric pagans. Instead, he is a “brave stranger” (42), a leader of “majestick manner” (115), a suitor of “perpetual” humility, and a man “rich in truthe and loyaltie” (271). Above all, though a leader of Tartaria, a historically Moslem land, Rodomandro is undoubtedly declared a true “Christian” (46). Thus the marriage that occurs between Rodomandro and Pamphilia is an interesting union of the East, for in their union, two Christian leaders unite and Christianize two eastern lands, Pamphilia and Tartaria (that is, the lands of Asia Minor). Asia, declares Pamphilia at one point, “is my husbands country and mine” (378). The union clearly challenges seventeenth-century views of the east and of its inhabitants as the description of Rodomandro demonstrates:

[He is] A brave and Comly Gentleman, shaped of body soe curiously as
noe art cowlde counterfett soe rare a proportion, of an excellent stature
neither to high nor of the meanest stature. . . . [And] though black, yet hee
had the true perfection of lovelines, and in lovelines the purest beauty.

(42)

Wroth’s willingness to marry her heroine to a black Tartarian is one of the last echoes of her hopes of uniting the churches and governments of Europe and the East. Yet again, however, the manuscript continuation lacks the energy and optimism of the published *Urania*, for though Pamphilia marries Rodomandro, the marriage is “against her own

mind" (274-5). Freely entering into the marriage, Pamphilia still senses that this is not the marriage that could have brought the ultimate union of the Uranian world. That marriage would have been between Pamphilia the "eastern star" (132) and Amphilanthus the Emperor of the West, not between Pamphilia and Rodomandro the "Great Cham" (325).

Indeed, the dream of a secure world and Wroth's attempts to create this world in her fiction slowly and painfully collapses. Though Wroth offers images of Pamphilia, Rodomandro, and Amphilanthus actually working together to stabilize *Urania's* lands, her hopes of complete union of Christendom now seem an impossibility. Wroth's own frustration and disillusionment, the result of years observing the events in England and the continent, are poignantly evidenced as the manuscript ends. Wroth carelessly relates the death of Rodomandro, notes Pamphilia's sadness, and yet the next moment portrays Pamphilia, Amphilanthus, *and* a very much alive Rodomandro sailing to Cyprus to help free others from yet another enchantment. Once again, we witness a manuscript that breaks in mid-sentence, this time not with the hopeful conjunction "And" but with the incomplete phrase "Amphilanthus wa[s] extreamly" (418).

Extremely what? Extremely terrified by this inexplicable resurrection of Pamphilia's dead husband? Perhaps extremely tired--as was his creator. In the end, Wroth was unable to resolve her own questions regarding the appropriate means of uniting Christendom. Perhaps as her pen steered her lovers back to Cyprus, she was unable to imagine again the hopes sparked earlier in her first fictional encounter with that island. Ultimately, Cyprus and the Cyprian enchantment of the published *Urania*

represent all the hopes that Wroth placed in her family's religio-political ideals. We have studied the enchantment often, but now we can see this Uranian moment as *the* paradigm, *the* complete pattern that Wroth dreamed of witnessing in the real world.

Just as her lovers are trapped in an enchanted palace on Cyprus, Wroth viewed her fellow citizens as trapped in world of complacency, a world that had failed to use Reason to direct its religious and political existence. Just as her lovers are liberated in true monarchomachist fashion by Pamphilia who serves as Amphilanthus's subaltern, Wroth, too, had hoped to find leaders of Constancy and virtue, like Pamphilia, who would willingly serve as subalterns for the cause of Christian union. Just as Pamphilia is metamorphosed into Constancy, frees the imprisoned, and then relinquishes control back to Amphilanthus, Wroth had offered her manuscript as a stage on which James and others could witness subalterns who model the personal and political qualities necessary for success. Unfortunately, the key she offered to her king and to her fellow English, unlike that key which Pamphilia gives to a grateful Amphilanthus, was not accepted, and her ideal never came to fruition. Wroth never heard the words of affirmation granted Pamphilia as she helps free and educate the Uranian lovers: "thus is *Love* by [your] love and worth released" (*Urania I* 170). Wroth's worth as a political voice may not have been appreciated or recognized in her own time. Nevertheless, her religio-political voice and the amazing energy with which it is delivered in the published *Urania* stand as true testaments to Lady Mary Sidney Wroth and to her commitment to and love of her Sidney heritage. As the frontispiece of *Urania* predicted, Wroth certainly proved herself to be a "right honorable" lady of letters.

Though future research will illuminate Wroth's manuscript continuation further, the brightest light still shines in her earlier text, for it is this text that captures the hopeful exuberance of a politically astute woman and this text that she chose to share with others. The published *Urania* is the "[golden] Booke" (*Urania I* 455) that proves to be indeed "some thing more exactly related then a fiction" (505). It is, like Pamphilia's cabinet, the place in which Wroth establishes herself as a woman "much to be mark'd" (4), a woman worthy of the titles "author," "poet," and religio-political theorist.

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