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Rethinking Renaissance Loves: Introduction

How was 'love' understood in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English secular vernacular writing, and what critical approaches illuminate that? The essays and short position pieces in this volume respond to this question from vantage points that both foreground the literary lexicon of love and expand the range of precincts in which 'love' is located. In taking loves as its starting point, the collection responds to the way the discourse of love remains at the centre of critical and pedagogic thinking in the Renaissance, yet because the scholarship on the materials remains relatively discrete. Overlapping, yet substantially separate scholarship exists on politics, women's writing, sexuality, reception and textual transmission and, at the same time, literary and historical scholars have been reconsidering the practices and thinking on love in terms of law and bodies and in social worlds far beyond the court. Thus, this volume starts with the vexed topic of love and asks both how English writers in the sixteenth- and seventeenth centuries understood it, and how critics consider it now. Such an approach allows us to examine the range of material in which scholarship finds 'love' conceptually significant and how it is used as evidence for our consideration of both literary and social worlds.

As singer-songwriter Stephen Merrit tells us, conceptions of 'love' are dominated by an imagined foundation in highly codified and literary writing:

The book of love is long and boring
No one can lift the damn thing
It's full of charts and facts and figures
And instructions for dancing

But I, I love it when you read to me
And you, you can read me anything¹

Merritt expresses a central conundrum of Western ‘love’: love is always the same, yet, even as the figures of desire are tired and repetitive, each new love brings them to life. Merritt’s foundational ‘book’, or repertoire, of love, as made up of clichés which nevertheless have emotional power, can be understood as originating in the poetry of the Renaissance. That long moment in the making of literary love in the English Renaissance and later responses to it (very roughly 1520-1690) is the grounding periodicity of this volume because the texts produced allow us to track the way ‘love’ was received and then shaped in English writing, during a period in which other changes were taking place in post-Reformation society that renovated marriage, status and law. This timeframe allows the volume to investigate the relationships between literary loves and other frameworks operating in the same world - such as the law, the idea of mind and body, the family and neighbourhood. and resulting in a renewed focus on ‘the woman question’, the body, marriage and law facilitate putting literary love, usually studied in isolation, alongside these issues which also shaped reading and writing subjects – and identities. A period of study that moves us from the melancholy lover to the Restoration divorce play also allows representation of several critical perspectives and priorities in thinking about literary and other writing on love.

Literary ‘love’ as a style of feeling has a history. The arrival and adoption of the Renaissance fashion for love was actively discussed. When one of the party of the Venetian ambassador wrote notes on the nature of Henry VIII he describes English men:

although their dispositions are somewhat licentious, I have never noticed any one, either at court or among the lower orders, to be in love; whence one must necessarily conclude, either that the English are the most

discreet lovers in the world, or that they are incapable of love. I say this of the men, for I understand it is quite the contrary with the women, who are very violent in their passions. Howbeit, the English keep a very jealous guard over their wives, though any thing may be compensated in the end, by the power of money.²

In satirising English brutality this Venetian holds the English to a knowingly sophisticated and specific standard of love: they know nothing of the words and ways of lovers. However, Henry's court soon embraced the fashion and by the start of Elizabeth's reign we find the courtly lover everywhere. The rhetoric of love so missed by the Venetians rapidly develops a mutually shaping relationship with English language and culture. In starting with the court, the cultural absorption of the identity of the lover and the rhetorically-shaped experience of 'love' was inflected by status, gender, cultural capital and the complex nature of desire and situation.

Petrarch has historically been the central figure in critical discussions of the love writing of this period, and the reception of his poetry and particularly *Il Canzoniere* (or *Rime Sparse*) is understood as giving English poetry the sonnet as a dominant form; specifically, the courtly mistress as blushing and refusing, and codified poetic competition between men.³ Petrarch was indeed taken up by English writers but, importantly, for readers and writers, his work sat alongside that of other writers. To understand even courtly love poetry as solely bound to Petrarch is to leave out the importance of the Ovid of the *Amores*, *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses* and, in satire, Juvenal. Moreover, the relationship to Petrarch was distinct for each writer, and poets used his poems alongside diverse influences that are sometimes obscured by critical focus on Petrarch – not only Ovid but also Virgil, Propertius and, as Linda Grant indicates in this volume, Catullus. Grant's essay examines Renaissance 'classical' reception in a way that recognises its complex and diverse intertextuality. And, of course, a focus on Petrarch also at times eclipses writers' contemporary engagements; the courtly

and other writers of poetry were reading and responding to other contemporary poets in England, France and Italy and were in turn read in locations sometimes as far distant as Carthage.⁴ Thus, Grant shows Thomas Wyatt drawing on Catullus but also shows Catullus as important for Petrarch himself and probably for his readers. Even within the sphere of the courtly lover it would be woefully inadequate to see all subjects as relating to Petrarch, all subjects as relating to love as heterosexual, or all subjects having equal access to the languages and vernaculars of love. As both Grant and Margaret McGowan explore in this volume, courtly love was experienced as sets of practices deploying for the present the rich resources of Greek, Roman and Italian cultures, but also current cultures in ways that are far more diverse and dynamic – and shaping for the texts – than a sole concentration on Petrarch suggests.⁵

Song, voice, music and movement were crucial performative contexts of love and of the idea of the courtly lover.⁶ Mind and body's intimate connection through humoral disposition was what made one subject to lover's melancholy, and this, in turn, was connected to the very stars. McGowan shows how dance spatialises love. For McGowan, dance both realises an ideal imaginative space in patterns of separation and union taken up by literary psychoanalysis, and situates that space in the court environment. Crucially, she reminds us that the whole patterning of love through moving bodies involved unruly, hot, eroticised physical encounters as much as a harmony of the spheres.

As Steven May has noted, a brief investigation shows that those poets actually associated with the court were a minority – and this is increasingly the case as we move later in the seventeenth century.⁷ Crucially, at the start of the period, at the same time as the English poets 'responded' to Petrarch and Catullus, they drew on deep experience of existing modes of thought and poetry. However, as Grant's engagement with Leland and Skelton suggests, and as is clear from Wyatt's verse, the fashion for love brought new claims and ideas to a world where classical texts did have a different kind of life. The resulting poetry was

shaped by rich existing vernacular and alliterative poetic practices of lyric and plaint:⁸

Westron wynde when wilt thou blow
 the smalle rayne downe can Rayne
 Cryst, yf my love were in my Armys
 And I in my bed A gayne⁹

Everything about this writing is mysterious. It first appears as a tenor part in a fifteenth century book – so is it a song, a lyric, a part of a song and should we even read it as about love? As Charles Frey carefully comments on this work, noting the tendency of critics to read it through projection, it seems to be located ‘at the intersection of pain and pleasure’.¹⁰ Frey argues that the best tools for considering the text are supplied in its music, and such an analysis reminds us that, whether at court or beyond, lyric and song were intertwined. In their use of alliteration and sound as form, lyrics like ‘Westron wynde’, produced in what was becoming the three entwined but distinct kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, register the newly emerging poetry in its oral emphasis, even when written.

For a reader from late modernity and aware of the traditions of interpretation shaping the current status of Renaissance love poetry, this text offers a fresh perspective in being relatively enigmatic about gender (desire and loss are its priorities), written outwith Petrarchan influence and evoking voice and oral forms through rhyme, alliteration and form. So, for all that it is assigned to a male voice in the tenor part, readers may find that it resonates with a world after, as well as before, love’s gendered taxonomies such as that found in Maggie Nelson’s re-imagining of the desiring body as not necessarily on its way ‘anywhere’ - not gendered or destined to end in a love of binary finality.¹¹ Moreover, English Renaissance ‘love’ writing, explored here, looks considerably different, perhaps, once we read it in the light of such lyrics.

At the point of love's Renaissance, as Thomas Green has discussed, the concept of *imitatio* which can seem so arid, precipitated dynamic and integrative practices of love.¹² In the poetry of Thomas Wyatt, Isabella Whitney, William Shakespeare, Mary Sidney and John Donne, voice, song and polyphony is part of the experience of the poems. Starting with love illuminates that: just as Catullus was there, so, as importantly, was song, alliteration and a way of thinking about 'love' that was far from Petrarchan. The resources animated in the fashion for love are richer than our dominant accounts have suggested, and that is part of what the essays here seek to show.

If 'Westron wynd' reminds us to consider voice, memory, orality and polyvocal song, alongside 'Petrarchan' reception, the dominant critical narrative historicising literary love as a fashion concerns heterosexual desire; the male lover; Petrarch, and the sonnet. Literary love in the English Renaissance, and the curriculum based around it, has long been associated with heterosexual loves. That understanding was reinforced through the fashion for anthologies in the early years of the twentieth century, before and after the 1914-18 war. W.V. Burgess, for example, prefaces his collection of *One Hundred Sonnets* (1901) with an essay 'on the Sonnet's history and place in English verse'. Burgess' apparently compendious overview of the European sonnet from Petrarch onwards involves the loves of men for women expressed in poems. From Petrarch's 'unrequited passion for Laura' all examples seem to involve mistresses, addressed ably, or, when English poets Wyatt and Surrey take up the challenge, in superlative style:

The fourteen-stringed lyre vibrates to the touch of Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Walter Raleigh, both of whom sonneteered their mistresses with a charming debonair of amorous conceits¹³

For Burgess, as for many others who shaped reception, heterosexual desire was the sonnet's main subject. At the same time that his account renders all the

sonneteers not only male but noble and heterosexual in a simple way, as Will Fisher reminds us, writers such as Havelock Ellis and Walter Pater, (can we even, perhaps, consider adding Jacob Burckhardt himself to this company?) had been producing texts that used Renaissance materials in a way that shaped queer knowledges. We can note that if desire in the Renaissance sonnet was straightened in anthologies and literary criticism, the conceptual foundations of the field were not.¹⁴ However, as critics note, the occlusion of the primacy of same-sex relationships in literary criticism specifically installs the ‘modern regimes of homo/hetero’ as the centre-ground of critical assumption, when many other ‘organising terms’ might more fully address the processes of both texts and readers.¹⁵ As Harriette Andreadis has discussed, attempting to understand the loves of the past involves the ‘unnaming’ of certain kinds of desire, refocusing from the ‘demonised transgressors’ such as the tribade and sodomite, to allow attention to other, diverse, desiring, erotic, affectionate prioritisations of same-sex relationships.¹⁶ As Stephen Guy-Bray suggests in this volume, where the Petrarchan sonnet has been the locus classicus of the discussion of heterosexual love, same-sex desire has been critically marginal in the way Andreadis suggests. Guy-Bray reconsiders the literary evidence by reading sonnets habitually paired in anthology and pedagogy, to show how the love in Wyatt and Surrey’s renditions of Petrarch’s *Rime* 140 engage with desire which is sexualised and between men rather than promulgating heterosexual reproduction. As he argues, such poetry need not necessarily lead to the dominant place criticism and culture have accorded to heterosexual love.

If work on Renaissance literary love can continue to expand its thinking on desire, it can also reconsider authorship and gender. In England and Scotland women wrote poetry, prose and drama about both Christian and secular love throughout this period, and before. If same-sex relationships, from erotic love to friendship, have been edited out of understanding of the love lyric, so has women’s participation in the genres of love throughout Europe – though it has

also been repeatedly ‘rediscovered’. Women’s place in the Petrarchan sonnet has been understood as that of silent recipient, essentially excluded from writing. Nancy J. Vickers has been influential in shaping a critical understanding of the Renaissance lyric forms, particularly the blazon in its enumeration and separation of parts of the female body, as violent to women’s bodies, and consequently unappealing, even unavailable, to women. However, although the work of Vickers and others on this material supplies much textual evidence, the idea that women did not participate in these forms is contradicted by substantial amounts of extant poetry and prose in Italian, French and English.¹⁷ In England, women as well as men sang and knew Italian and, as Ann-Rosalind Jones discusses, although during the sixteenth century in France and Italy, Louise Labé and Veronica Franco were exceptional in being poets, they nevertheless wrote love poetry and used the practice for ‘social advancement’ as well as to renegotiate what Rosalind Jones calls ‘the modes of literary exchange’. They found ways to make the apparently hyper-masculinist discourse of love a sometimes shared, sometimes contested culture.¹⁸ Indeed, Veronica Franco used poetry in ways that shape form towards the experiences of women in love. One such poem opens with the familiar scene of unspoken love – ‘The feeling I kept long concealed in my heart’ (l. 1), yet the poem goes on to challenge the clichés of love at every turn. She tells only ‘now that the wound in my heart has mended’ (l. 7), and the object of her love has aged – ‘How changed from what it was before / your handsome face now seems to me’ (l. 88), and she describes how, far from pining away, she had ‘resolved to make a virtue of my need, / and to make room in myself for other concerns. / This was the true solution to my pain.’ (ll. 62-4).¹⁹ Franco describes the masculine body, a recovery from love, and proposes a new kind of love – all to a man of the church. Thus, Franco is one of many early modern women navigating the simultaneously facilitating and inhibiting tropes of love and poetic form, to use the codes of literary love to give dynamic and specific accounts of love.

Women writing in England and Scotland contributed strongly to the central genres of Renaissance love and this is increasingly recognised. At the same time, women can be seen to write on love in more diverse ways. Thus, in this volume, Rosalind Smith explores women's use of the complaint, a mode with a critical history of association with the ventriloquised female voice. Smith's contribution uses the evidence of female-authored complaint to expand our understanding of women's use of that genre alongside the hitherto much more deeply researched lyric ventriloquism of the female voice. As Smith shows, complaint allowed women not only to participate in amorous adventure but also in political despair and demand.²⁰ Smith's essay on Wroth's use of complaint focuses our attention on a mode central and pervasive in English culture although historically rendered unimportant by the dominant critical focus on the sonnet as masculine and on women's passivity. However, as Smith and also Sue Wiseman suggest in this volume, both non-elite poet Isabella Whitney and Mary Wroth in a more privileged, if compromised, position, use complaint to situate love in the world. As Smith's re-examination of Wroth's use of complaint suggests, this genre and mode is a rich resource of writing on love by men and women. In expanding the kinds of writing by women that can be understood as framed by broadly literary love, Eva Lauenstein adds Mary Sidney's richly classical drama of love which draws on classical models, and Wiseman considers non-elite writing in poetry by Isabella Whitney and the prose courtship letters of the Derbyshire woman, Elizabeth Hawley.

Writers in the provinces and writers of the middling sort and below used books as access to the ways, particularly the written ways, of love. The printed miscellany, from Tottel onwards, presented poems and writers as engaged in practices of love. As Isabella Whitney's contribution suggests, these extended the purchase of literary love well beyond the court and Hudson and Wiseman both explore love in a non-elite context. The work of the miscellany has been seen as facilitating the aping of courtly manners in courtship. However, the use

of print and manuscript miscellanies by non-elite writers, such as Isabella Whitney and, much later, the poet Leonard Wheatcroft, suggests the cultural capital of literary love (altars, angels, lyrics, Ovid, song, romance) was claimed far beyond the court.

The volume has four essays that take ‘love’ from the perspective of non-literary factors which were key in shaping social experience of love and desire – law; family, mind and body and religion. These essays explore the practices that we might see as expressing a kind of ‘love’ (or its absence) and that often mark the lyric tradition or texts using literary love in theatre, and they take us to texts situated in the wider commercial and conflicted world of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century readers. They explore love as a matter negotiated between groups with different claims and interests, and as tied to property, law and the everyday. Thus, Judith Hudson analyses love at the interface between loving and hating by examining love and the law. Through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, jurisdiction over those issues and disputes arising from affairs of the heart – marriage, divorce, adultery, illegitimacy, to name a few – existed in transition between spiritual and secular courts. This transitional status, further inflected by upheavals in state structures and religious influence across the period, contributed to a situation whereby popular understanding of the legal ramifications of such issues was complex and at times only partly related to the law. Focusing on the canvassing of bigamy in law and drama, Hudson uses examples from performed plays from the early and late seventeenth-century to suggest how various forms of marriage plot show ‘love’ worked out through social, economic and, crucially, legal contracts. Hudson uses theatre (with its potential for sustained narrative, temporal lapse and revelation) to analyse the practices of marriage and repeated marriage, as bigamy’s legal status and social meanings changed throughout the seventeenth century. As Hudson suggests, situations where information was incomplete tended to facilitate the multiplication of monogamous unions, ‘marriages’ (of

several sorts) in ways that became explosive when partners reappeared. Hudson shows how the dominance of marriage as a social structure generates its multiplication as an operational unit.

The family shows the working out of law and love in several kinds of relationship, and the issue of inheritance was as powerful a focus of debate as bigamy. It was a topic that audiences might have followed in theatre, reading or legal reports and each is a classic location of love as articulated in public opinion, comic and tragic genres and legal discourse. This aspect of the family is central to Ian Moulton's exploration of parent-child bonds of love and property in Shakespeare, examining the way conceptions of property articulate, or fail to materialise, the dynamics of love and vice versa. For Moulton, the words and forms of love express or metaphorise interest, whether good or ill.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mind and body were knit together in ways that involved very different ways of thinking from post-enlightenment mechanics and two essays explore the vocabularies and ideas generated by the entwining of mind-body in humoural theory, literary and medical thinking of aspects of love. Isabel Davis explores how we should consider conception itself as an event in and of mind and body. Using William Harvey's writing on conception as invisible but simultaneously mental and physical, Davis reconsiders primary evidence and critical reception to show that Harvey's sense of a 'conception' was multivalent. The outcome of coitus did not by any means necessarily imply actual, physical, reproduction but might be like the germ of a creative idea fueled either by windy inspiration or, potentially, bodily gestation. Davis and McGowan work through the evidence of language to show us clearly that love must be understood as something involving both body and mind.

The last two essays in the volume draw together literary love and other discourses in distinct ways. First, dealing with a fourth and very powerful factor in relation to early modern love, Eva Lauenstein explores the overlapping forces

of religious and secular desire and love in her exploration of the way in which Mary Sidney uses death to recast the problematic status of Cleopatra's love for Anthony, and, in doing so calls on the religious validation of the amity evoked in representations of Elizabethan government. Religion is a crucial discourse of love and writers found its use powerful in secular contexts. This is the terrain in which Lauenstein situates Mary Sidney's translation of Robert Garnier in her play *Antonie*. The play's use of the tomb, she argues, offers Cleopatra a Christian love beyond the grave that permits her erotic union. Like Smith, Lauenstein sees potential for political comment within erotic love. As her essay suggests, Mary Sidney's play teases out the layered aspect of love in earlier seventeenth-century culture, where it can express simultaneously or sequentially within the same text erotic, religious and political sentiments and issues. The questions of the strictures of religion in love after death and the way the diversity of Renaissance loves was circulated amongst lovers whose loves, memories, losses and desires did not fit into the legislative and social formations of the period was, Lauenstein indicates, as important in the Garnier-Sidney understanding of Cleopatra as their being swept up in the overwhelming allowance of sacred love and sacred contract. The essay discusses a Christian, married, love that extends beyond the grave and the politics of a knot tying together monarch and subjects.

Finally, love and these texts, with others, live not only in the critical tradition but in a world of objects, and Renaissance texts are contemporary objects – both of critical study and to be exchanged. Exploring connoisseurship and collecting as weaving together object and affect, Kate Lilley suggests that the transmission of texts of love authored by seventeenth-century writers can, itself, instantiate amorous counter-discourse and memorialisation. Lilley, writing about the exchange of Renaissance authors between lovers as a coded, or inflected, practice, ends the collection with a return to the early twentieth century. Violet Trefusis and Virginia Woolf were writing at exactly the moment

when literary criticism was coming to the fore, with anthology after anthology heterosexualising the role of love in the Renaissance. The recognition of the distinct potential of writers like Philips and Behn in queer connoisseurship shows the diversity of Renaissance loves that this volume hopes to recognise.

The pluralising of love's meanings can become encyclopedic. Hinting at how much more emerges once critical thinking starts with 'loves', the collection therefore ends with four short position statements on aspects of love that sit alongside, often in tension with, the more frequently considered restricted canvas of Petrarch – the moving power of song, sexual violence, legal parameters and, ultimately, other kinds of love including the question of love and the beast. Kate Lilley's closing poem returns to these questions in poetic forms that shows how powerfully some of the Renaissance modes of thought explored here – the violent pangs of mind and body or the hot water of adultery - address our own moment

The aim of the collection is to bring together 'Renaissance Loves' in ways that demonstrate the potential of one critical approach to enhance another. The fashion for love generated neither simply male writers nor registered simply heterosexual desires. As this volume goes to press, the tradition of narrowing critical interpretation is changed and challenged by several generations of scholarship; yet, perhaps, the separate states of love – loves of women, legal and illegal love, un-named desire as well as the body – can be reconsidered as loves.

¹ Stephen Merritt, 'The Book of Love' *69 Love Songs* by The Magnetic Fields (1999)

² 'A relation or rather true account of the island of England' trans and ed Charlotte Augusta Sneyd (London: Camden Society, 1847); Gordon Braden, 'Wyatt and Petrarch: Italian fashion at the Court of Henry VIII', *Annali d'Italianistica* V 22 (2004), p. 237-265.

³ From a large critical literature see e.g. Heather Dubrow, *Echoes of desire: English Petrarchism and its counterdiscourses* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1995); William J. Kennedy, *Petrarchism at work: contextual economies in the age of Shakespeare* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2016); Steven Minta, *Petrarch and Petrarchism: the English and French Traditions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980).

⁴ Richard Helgerson, *A Sonnet from Carthage* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

⁵ See Charles Martindale, *Redeeming the Text: Latin poetry and the hermeneutics of reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Charles Martindale and Richard F. Thomas eds., *Classics and the uses of reception* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006).

⁶ W.S. Merwin, 'Listening to Wyatt' *The American Poetry Review* 18 (1989), p. 51-54.

⁷ Steven May, *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets* (Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1991).

⁸ Gordon Braden, p. 263.

⁹ David Norbrook and Henry Woudhuysen eds., *The Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse* (London: Penguin, 1992), p. 181. This follows Woudhuysen's presentation in a readily available scholarly edition. See also BL MS Royal, Appendix 58, f. 58r and facsimile edited Anthony G. Petti, *English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977). No. 11.

¹⁰ Charles Frey, 'Interpreting Western Wind', *English Literary History* 43(3) 1976, pp. 259 - 278 (p. 263).

¹¹ Maggie Nelson, *The Argonauts* (London: Melville House, 2016).

¹² Thomas Greene, *The Light in Troy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982).

¹³ W.V. Burgess, *One Hundred Sonnets* (Manchester: Sherratt and Hughes, 1901), p. xvii; p. xviii.

¹⁴ See Christopher Warley, *Sonnet sequences and social distinction in Renaissance England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Will Fisher, 'A hundred years of queering the Renaissance' in Vin Nardizzi, Stephen Guy-Bray, Will Stockton eds., *Queer Renaissance Historiography* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 13-41; p. 14; pp. 37-8.

¹⁵ Jonathan Goldberg, 'Introduction', *Queering the Renaissance* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1994), p. 1-14; p. 5.S

¹⁶ Harriette Andreadis, *Sappho in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Valerie Traub, *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 1 and passim.,

¹⁷ On the exclusion of women by the sonnet form, see for example, influentially, Nancy J. Vickers 'Diana described: scattered woman and scattered rime', *Critical Inquiry* (1981) 8, pp. 265-279. Countervailingly, on the presence of women in the lyric tradition and sonnet see Smith, Lauenstein in this volume and e.g., influentially, on the Italian women's lyric, Ann Rosalind Jones and Margaret F. Rosenthal ed., *Veronica Franco: Poems and Selected Letters* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1998) and with a wide selection in prose translation, Virginia Cox, *Lyric Poetry by Women of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

¹⁸ Ann Rosalind Jones, 'City women and their audiences: Louise Labé and Veronica Franco', in *Rewriting the Renaissance* p. 299-316 (p. 301; p.316).

¹⁹ Veronica Franco, Capitolo 19, 'A poem of recollection, in which Franco recounts her early and later love for a man of the church' in Jones and Rosenthal eds., pp. 183-195.

²⁰ John Kerrigan ed., *Motives of Woe: Shakespeare and 'Female Complaint'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Rosalind Smith, *Sonnets and the English woman writer 1560-1621* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2005).