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**Renovating romance: experimentation in English  
narrative fiction, 1645-1665**

**Catrin Mererid Griffiths**

**PhD Thesis**

**Birkbeck, University of London**

**English and Humanities**

**2018**

**Declaration:**

I, Catrin Griffiths, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

## Abstract

This thesis investigates the significance of literary experimentation in the years 1645-1665, a period of profound social and political change and of prolific romance production. It studies twelve English romances written in the long interregnum between 1645 and 1665, from William Sales's *Theophania* (c.1645) to John Crowne's *Pandion and Amphigenia* (1665). The texts discussed include heroic romances, parodies, political romans à clef and Christian fiction, in prose and verse. The thesis argues that English romances embarked on a conscious programme of generic renewal that responds to social and political upheaval.

The thesis marries close textual analysis of romance with a reading of how generic transformation articulates social and political change. Each of the chapters centres on a transhistorical feature of romance: the representation of combat, the monarch, gender disguise ending in marriage, the hero's body and the triumph of virtue. Taken together, each of these topics underpins forms of social authority: aristocratic honour and a warrior caste, the power of Elizabethan and Stuart monarchy, the social regulation of desire, the cultural primacy of masculinity, and a Christian articulation of moral duty and sacrifice.

The chapters examine the transformation of each feature with reference to a variety of contemporary texts, such as news books, political tracts, medical theories, contemporary French literature, parody and religious writing as well as earlier fiction. In doing so, the thesis engages with wider studies of mid-century textual culture and suggests that in absorbing these discourses, romance registers a myriad of social and political transformations.

The thesis responds to a number of constructions of romance production in this period. In following the contours of the romance publishing market of the long interregnum it adopts a longer periodisation than the formal duration of the republic 1649-1660, and in doing so opens up the texts as responsive to multiple discourses of power.

By reading long-interregnum narratives in tandem with a broad range of texts from different genres, the thesis emphasises the hybrid and absorptive nature of romance in this period. The study unearths connections between the texts that have not hitherto been registered within a critical taxonomy that bifurcates interregnum fiction as heroic romance and roman à clef.

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## Acknowledgements

My deepest thanks go to my supervisor Susan Wiseman, whose guidance and advice have been invaluable. I have hugely benefited from the intellectual challenge and range of our discussions.

Birkbeck is a richly collaborative community. I have enjoyed participating in many discussions of early modern texts with other postgraduates, and in particular my doctoral comrades Becky Tomlin, Beatrice Bazell and Sue Jones, who have been unfailingly supportive. I am also grateful for the assistance of staff at Senate House Library.

Studying for a PhD while working full-time has not always been easy. I have been lucky to have a flexible employer in Centaur Media and was particularly fortunate to have an understanding boss in Libby Child, who supported me in my notion that I could do postgraduate study outside of my day job as editor of *The Lawyer*.

The study of voluminous seventeenth-century romances is, alas, a minority interest, but I have learned from a number of scholars whose work has intersected with mine. I am particularly grateful to Katherine Ibbett, who patiently withstood my fragmentary thoughts on early modern French literature, and for Andy Kesson's encouragement early on in my research.

Given my work commitments and regrettable journalistic addiction to Twitter in the era of Brexit and Trump, distractions were manifold. However, I was sustained by my family: Angharad paid me the compliment of reading some of my drafts, Bethan was never less than enthusiastic about the project, and Caz listened to my various theories with exactly the right touch of astringency.

This thesis is dedicated to three other people in my family: my parents and late grandmother. As teachers, for whom education was a joy and an end in itself, Glyn and Margaret Griffiths inculcated in me and my brother Aled a love of reading, languages and debate. I am profoundly grateful to them for their support and love.

The third person to whom this thesis is dedicated is my beloved Mamgu, who despite her intellectual gifts was forced to leave her west Wales school at the age of twelve, even though her teacher begged her father that she be allowed to stay on. Her life has ensured I never take the privilege of continued education for granted. Er cof annwyl am Jane Rowlands Davies.

## Notes on the text

For reasons of brevity, when discussing the literary period 1645-1665, the thesis will refer to long-interregnum romances as interregnum texts; the formal period of the republic 1649-1660 will be differentiated as the Interregnum. The sequential military conflicts of 1642-1646 and 1648-9 are referred to as the Civil War.

Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, became the Earl of Orrery in 1660, but is referred to as Broghill throughout, partly because his contemporaries refer to him in that style and partly to distinguish him from his brother Robert Boyle.

All quotations, including names, retain the original spelling, punctuation and diacritics, except when modern editions are used. Italics are omitted.

References to primary texts in English give author, translator, year of publication and bibliographic number, either STC or Wing.

The place of publication of primary texts is London unless otherwise indicated.

Where possible, contemporary translations of non-English language texts are used; the few exceptions are noted.

## Abbreviations

The following abbreviations of sources and academic journals are used throughout, in place of full bibliographic citation:

HLQ: *Huntington Library Quarterly*

P&P: *Past & Present*

ODNB: *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <[www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com)>

RES: *The Review of English Studies*

STC: *Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640*, ed. by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, ed. by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and K. F. Pantzer.

Wing: *Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English books printed in other countries, 1641-1700*, ed. by Donald Goddard Wing.

## Introduction

This thesis investigates romances written in English during the long interregnum, from 1645 to 1665, a period of profound social, political and generic transformation. It examines heroic romances, parodies, political romances à clef and Christian fiction, all of which are working within the same narrative tradition but that are rarely examined as a corpus of material during this period. The primary aim of this thesis is to investigate the significance of literary experimentation in romance in the mid-seventeenth century. It asks what generic changes in romance tell us about the way that it articulates social and political transformations, and what a study of those changes tells us about conceptions of romance during this period.

The method the thesis follows is to examine motifs common across romances in this period. Each feature of romance that is identified - combat, kingship, gender disguise, the hero's body and the articulation of virtue - creates the basis for a chapter that considers how the motif is reshaped by a variety of texts from history, natural science, news book, Christian writing and theatre and how it responds to political and social change.

This introduction first discusses the texts selected within the context of romance production in the mid-seventeenth century. It then explores generic transformations in the context of critical work on mid-seventeenth century romance and sets out the scholarly framework on which this thesis builds,

notably romance's relationship with the political and the plausible. The latter part of the introduction considers two contemporary contexts that inform the study; first, romance as a vehicle of pleasure, and second, English romance's relationship with the commercially dominant translations of contemporary French fiction.

### **Texts**

In its selection of primary texts, the study examines English romances over two decades, beginning with *Theophania*, (c.1645, published 1655), and ending with *Pandion and Amphigenia* (1665).<sup>1</sup> If, after Alastair Fowler, we construe genre as 'a family whose sets and individual members are related in various ways, without necessarily having any single feature shared in common by all', the number of new romances published in English during this period number at least thirty.<sup>2</sup> The vast majority were in prose and two, *Parthenissa* and *The Princess Cloria*, in multiple volumes.<sup>3</sup> Texts in this period that use romance forms include parodies such as Samuel Holland's *Don Zara del Fogo A Mock Romance* (1656), while *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656) by the republican James Harrington has been categorised as a hybrid of political philosophy and romance narrative. John Burton's *Eriander* (1661)'s text on educational theory is styled as a virtuous romance biography, and Robert Boyle harnesses a

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<sup>1</sup> Sir William Sales, *Theophania, or severall Modern Histories Represented by way of Romance* (1655), Wing S371; John Crowne, *Pandion and Amphigenia, or, The History of the Coy Lady of Thessalia* (1665), Wing C7396. *Theophania* is accepted as having been written before the final defeat and execution of Charles I. See Augustus Hunt Shearer, 'Theophania: An English Political Romance of the Seventeenth Century', *Modern Language Notes*, 31 (1916), 65-74.

<sup>2</sup> For a chronological list of romances, including parodies and related romance narratives, see Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 41.

romance sensibility to his Christian fiction.<sup>4</sup> This thesis offers close readings of twelve romances produced in this period: Thomas Bayly's *Herba Parietis* (1650), Richard Brathwait's *Panthalia* (1659), Robert Boyle's 'Amorous Controversies' (1648) and 'The Martyrdom of Theodora' (1648-9); the first volume of Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill's *Parthenissa* (1651) Margaret Cavendish's 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity' (1656), John Crowne's *Pandion and Amphigenia* (1665) Sir William Davenant's *Gondibert* (1651), John Harington's *Polindor and Flostella* (1651), Sir Percy Herbert's *The Princess Cloria* (1653-1661), Samuel Pordage's *Eliana* (1661) and William Sales's *Theophania* (1655).<sup>5</sup>

In investigating how these romances articulate social and political change through literary experimentation, this study situates English fiction within a context of conscious publishing innovation, in which printers sought to cater for and create new readerships.<sup>6</sup> This includes a wave of spiritual experience narratives in 1653-4; Peter Cole's English translation from the Latin of Nicholas Culpeper's *Pharmacopoeia* in 1654, after which he launched a series

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<sup>4</sup> Samuel Holland, *Don Zara del Fogo A Mock Romance* (1656), Wing C1866, James Harrington, *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656), Wing H809; John Burton, *The History of Eriander* (1661), Wing B6180; Robert Boyle, *Some Motives and Incentives to the Love of God ('Seraphic Love')*, (1659), in *The Works of Robert Boyle*, ed. by Michael Hunter and Edward B. Davis, 14 vols (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2000), XIII, pp. 3-41.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Bayly, *Herba Parietis or the Wallflower* (1650) Wing B1511; Richard Brathwait, *Panthalia or the Royal Romance* (1659), Wing B4273; Robert Boyle, 'Amorous Controversies' (1648), British Library, Sloane MS 72; 'The Martyrdom of Theodora', c. 1648-9, (St John's College, Oxford MS 66A); *Some Motives or Incentives to the Love of God ('Seraphic Love')* (1659), Wing B4032; Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, *Parthenissa* (Waterford: 1651) Wing O488; Margaret Cavendish, 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity' in *Natures Pictures Drawn By Fancies Pencil to the Life* (1656), Wing N855; Sir William Davenant, *Gondibert, An Heroic Poem* (1651), Wing D326; John Harington, *The History of Polindor and Flostella, with other poems* (1651), Wing H772; Sir Percy Herbert, *The Princess Cloria*, (1661) Wing P3492; Samuel Pordage, *Eliana A New Romance* (1661), Wing E499.

<sup>6</sup> See John Barnard, 'London Publishing, 1640-1660: Crisis, Continuity and Innovation', *Book History*, 4 (2001), 1-16; Kathleen Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography in the Seventeenth-Century Anglophone World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.21; Peter Lindenbaum, 'John Playford: Music and Politics in the Interregnum', *HLQ*, 64 (2001), 124-138.

of vernacular medical titles; John Playford's twenty-four vocal, instrumental and musical instruction books during the 1650s; and Humphrey Moseley's series of octavo play books following the publication of the Beaumont and Fletcher folio in 1647.

The major development in publishing of interest to this thesis is the emergence of romance as a distinct class of titles. In 1650 Humphrey Moseley advertised a print list for the 'Courteous Reader' in an appendix to a text of classical history. The list was divided into prose ('Various Histories'), poetry and sermons. The prose list included two romance translations, *The History of the Banished Virgin* and Marin le Roy de Gomberville's *The History of Polexander*, alongside James Howell's political romance *Dodona's Grove*.<sup>7</sup> By 1658 William London's substantial catalogue had a section entitled 'Romances, Poems and Playes' in which sixty romances are listed. They include a handful of republications of *The Heptameron*, *Astrea* and *Argenis* and a variety of contemporary texts ranging from parodies such as *Don Zara del Fogo*, politico-historical fiction *Cloria and Narcissus*, and heroic romances such as Madeleine de Scudéry's *Artamenes* and *Parthenissa*, written by Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill.<sup>8</sup>

While this study of fiction from 1645 to 1665 has a primarily textual rather than a book-history focus, it nevertheless follows the contours of the publishing market for English romances and also for French translations. French heroic romances continued to be reprinted in England until the 1670s and were read and discussed, but the last works in this style composed in

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<sup>7</sup> Humphrey Moseley, 'Courteous Reader', in *Considerations upon the lives of Alcibiades and Coriolanus* (1650), Wing M356, p. 281.

<sup>8</sup> William London, *A Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England* (1658), Wing L2848, sig. Ee2.

France were Scudéry's *Almahide* (1660-3) and Gauthier de Costes de La Calprenède's *Faramond* (1661-3).<sup>9</sup> The twenty-year period under discussion therefore also represents the high point of French romance translations.

The study therefore engages with scholarship that has problematised the model of a literary rupture in which a high-political event, in this case the return of Charles II to the throne, immediately affects cultural production.<sup>10</sup> Of particular interest to this argument is Steven Zwicker's quantitative analysis of the book trade in the 1650s and 1660s, which points to a broad continuum in generic markers and in reading tastes into the Restoration. In the 1660s, the same number of bibles and psalters were published as in the previous decade, for example.<sup>11</sup> Literature, a category that here ranges from epic poems to ballads, accounts for nine per cent of all titles in the 1650s and 14 per cent in the 1660s, the rise due to the sharp increase in ballads after the Restoration. Zwicker notes that the publication numbers for publishers of romance such as Humphrey Moseley and Henry Herringman, who took over the copyright of many of Moseley's books upon the latter's death in 1661, remain consistent throughout the two decades. Although 1660 is widely used as a start or end date for literary studies, this account sets its periodicity by the cycles in romance publishing and therefore reads critically under-studied post-

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<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth Pepys was a particular devotee of heroic romances in the 1660s: see Kate Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and His Books* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 148-155. Mark Bannister, *Privileged Mortals: The French Heroic Novel 1630-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 186. For an indication of reprints of French novels in English in the 1660s and beyond, see Appendix.

<sup>10</sup> See also David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 491-495, Susan Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and Steven N. Zwicker, *Lines of Authority, Politics and English Literary Culture, 1649-1689* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993).

<sup>11</sup> Steven N. Zwicker, 'Is There Such A Thing As Restoration Literature?', *HLQ* 69 (2006), 425-450.

Restoration texts such as *Eliana*, *Pandion and Amphigenia* and the last volumes of *The Princess Cloria* in continuum with romances such as *Panthalia* and the first four volumes of *Parthenissa*, published before 1660.

As well as elongating discussion of mid-century fiction past 1660, the study presents a slightly wider reach of texts than the usual interregnum romance canon, which relies largely on Paul Salzman's influential survey of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century fiction.<sup>12</sup> His work divides interregnum romance into two, a distinction that is followed by Nigel Smith in his detailed study of mid-century textual culture.<sup>13</sup> One category is political fiction; via Barclay's *Argenis* Salzman traces a direct line to the romans à clef that sprung up in the 1640s and 1650s. These include *Cloria and Narcissus* by Sir Percy Herbert, originally published in two parts in 1653 and 1654 and in five parts as *The Princess Cloria* in 1661; *Theophania* by William Sales (c. 1645, published 1655) and *Panthalia* by Richard Brathwait (1659), all of which are discussed in this thesis. Salzman also appends to this list *Aretina* by Sir George Mackenzie (1660) and the parody political romance *Don Juan Lamberto*, written by either Thomas Flatman or John Phillips and published in 1661.<sup>14</sup> All these works include direct reflections on recent historical events, although many characters and events are conflated and truncated.

The second group of texts identified by Salzman is the import of multi-volume French heroic romance, which is redomiciled into his study of English

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<sup>12</sup> Paul Salzman, *English Prose Fiction 1558-1700: A Critical History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

<sup>13</sup> Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994).

<sup>14</sup> Sir Percy Herbert, *Cloria and Narcissus* (1653), Wing C4725; *Don Juan Lamberto, or a Comical History of the Late Times* (1661) Wing M2492; Sir George Mackenzie, *Aretina, or the Serious Romance* (Edinburgh: 1660), Wing M151.

fiction, a manoeuvre also employed by Annabel Patterson in her discussion of the translations of Scudéry in her study of literary-political writing, *Censorship and Interpretation*.<sup>15</sup> A wave of translations of Scudéry and La Calprenède's romances began in 1652.<sup>16</sup> Replanting a quasi-tragic mode of thwarted love, honour and duty into romance, they were characterised by their length and emotional interiority and used complex chronological structures and inset narratives in order to deal with dozens of noble characters, each with their own tales of extravagant devotion and grand exploits. To this grouping Salzman adds the multi-volume romance *Parthenissa* (1651-6) by Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, characterised as an English version of the French heroic genre. Salzman's work has been supplemented by Amelia Zurcher's diachronic study of ethics and interest in seventeenth-century fiction, which while focusing on earlier texts such as Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania*, enlarges Salzman's grouping of mid-century English fiction in this period to include discussions of texts such as *Eliana* and *Herba Parietis*.<sup>17</sup>

While taking account of the group of texts identified by Salzman and Zurcher, this thesis differs from their studies in offering a synchronic analysis that anchors those romances in a particular historical moment. In discussing twelve core texts from 1645 to 1665 that span heroic, pastoral, parody and historical romance, this thesis therefore unsettles not only the notion of a

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<sup>15</sup> Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984),

<sup>16</sup> Madeleine de Scudéry, *Ibrahim or the Illustrious Bassa*, trans. by Henry Cogan (1652), Wing S2160; *The History of Philoxypes and Polycrite* (1652), Wing S2159A; and *Artamenes, or the Grand Cyrus*, trans. by F.G (1653), Wing S2162. Gaultier de Costes de La Calprenède, *Cassandra the fam'd romance*, trans. by Charles Cotterell (1652), Wing L106A; *Hymen's Praeludia* trans. by Robert Loveday (1652), Wing L111; *Cleopatra a new romance* (1652), Wing L110A.

<sup>17</sup> Amelia Zurcher, *Seventeenth-century English romance: Allegory, Ethics, Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

cultural hard stop in 1660, but also the bifurcation of English romance into two sub-genres of roman à clef and heroic fiction that has been used as a retrospective taxonomy. In recent times scholars such as James Grantham Turner and Isabelle Moreau have declined to taxonomise romance in this period, preferring to register the elasticity of the term 'romance' for seventeenth-century readers; this thesis sits alongside an emerging critical engagement that foregrounds the fluidity and hybridity of interregnum fiction.<sup>18</sup>

### **Critical contexts**

This study of romance situates itself within an existing critical framework concerning political and social transformation during the mid-seventeenth century. The period 1645-1665 variously saw the lifting of censorship and the emergence of the news book, the trial and execution of a king, the closure of the theatres, the establishment of a commonwealth and then a protectorate, the disestablishment of the official church in England, followed by the restoration of the monarchy and the re-establishment of Anglicanism – all of which provoked substantial textual responses in their own right. Accordingly, this study draws on scholarship on English romance and mid-century literature that situates cultural production within a context of profound political and intellectual upheaval.

The critical work on which this thesis has drawn divides into four related areas. There is the reading of romance first as a royalist form; second, as a

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<sup>18</sup> James Grantham Turner, "'Romance' and the Novel in Restoration England', *RES*, 63 (2012), 58-85; Isabelle Moreau, 'Seventeenth-Century Fiction in the Making', in *Seventeenth-Century Fiction: Text and Transmission*, ed. by Jacqueline Glomski and Isabelle Moreau (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 1-16.

vehicle for political theory; third, as an example of how social disruption manifested itself through generic disruption; and fourth, as a wider manifestation of mid-century epistemological crisis that would eventually lead to an alteration in narrative norms that we call the novel.

To begin with the first of these critical groupings, Annabel Patterson and Lois Potter have understood romance as a royalist form that creates a compensatory political narrative within the restricted discursive context of defeat.<sup>19</sup> Patterson examines roman à clef, which she terms a partisan Protectorate genre, as a subset under wider seventeenth-century textual umbrellas that include drama and poetry, rather than in the context of developments in romance narrative. Patterson's framework of early modern censorship and subsequent opposition and literary encoding locates mid-century romance within an activist continuum from Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* to Andrew Marvell, and mobilises it as a sub-genre that writes against the authority of the republic. Potter's assertion that romance 'belonged specifically to the royalists' is part of a rich study of a post-regicide aesthetic of coding, cipher and disguise that includes tragicomedy, coterie letters, and lyric, although the focus is not romance and it examines only William Davenant's unfinished verse narrative *Gondibert*.<sup>20</sup> This study responds directly to the positioning of romance as a royalist oppositional vehicle in chapter two, which examines English roman à clef's narratives of royal history.

A second group of critical writing has proposed romance as a sophisticated forum for political and ethical thought. In the vein of Blair

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<sup>19</sup> Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation*; Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature 1641-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

<sup>20</sup> Potter, p. 74.

Worden's analysis of *Arcadia* not primarily as a literary text but one of political counsel, Victoria Kahn has highlighted interregnum romance's relationship with post-Hobbesian theories of political obligation, the passions and the emergence of the political contracting subject in the seventeenth century.<sup>21</sup> Kahn argues that in romans à clef *Theophania* and *The Princess Cloria* and Margaret Cavendish's treatment of marriage in her short romances, the awareness of the artifice of contract gives place to a greater role for passions – expressed by and in romance – in solidifying social bonds and constructing political obligation. Along with Amelia Zurcher's investigation of romance as responding to the Renaissance reception of Tacitus and the articulation of theories of ethics and interest, this politico-theoretical turn recuperates romance from the charge of being an exhausted form, by taking it seriously as a vehicle for political philosophy. This, argues, J.C. Davis, is what would have encouraged James Harrington to write *Oceana* in the romance vein, since the generic choice itself signals to the reader that the text contains sophisticated political narrative.<sup>22</sup> The thesis builds on this scholarship most particularly in chapter three, which explores interregnum romances' often parodic rewriting of the Arcadian plot of cross-dressed desire and marriage, and in which matrimony is read in the context of contemporary political debates over obligation and authority.

The third critical approach to seventeenth-century romance emanates from the wider critical field of mid-century literary culture, and invites us to

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<sup>21</sup> Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996); Victoria Kahn, *Wayward Contracts: The Crisis of Political Obligation in England, 1640–1674* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004).

<sup>22</sup> J.C. Davis, "The Prose Romance of the 1650s as a Context for *Oceana*", in *Perspectives on English Revolutionary Republicanism*, ed. by Dirk Wiemann and Gaby Mahlberg (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 65-84.

read fiction more dynamically than as a vessel for political debate. David Norbrook, Nigel Smith, Kevin Sharpe, Susan Wiseman and Steven Zwicker have articulated the profound political ferment of the mid-seventeenth century through generic disruption. This includes the end of royal censorship and the rise of the serial news book; the closure of the theatres and the migration of the theatrical into pamphlets; the disintegration of Cavalier court culture and the emergence of republican lyric; a falling-off of epic; the rise of conversion narrative and new literary forms as part of new styles of worship; and a new form of historiography where history was written through character.<sup>23</sup> Politics, suggest these critics, both shaped and was shaped by a textual culture that indiscriminately co-opted literary genres as varied as poetry, playbook, epic, history and devotional writing into polemic.<sup>24</sup>

With the exception of Smith, the critical frame of reference largely excludes romance in favour of poetry and drama, but taken as a whole the scholarship on the relationship between political and generic disruption informs each chapter of this study, which investigates how romance responds to contemporary textual cross-currents and the extent to which it absorbs elements of different genres. Chapter one reads the war narratives in

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<sup>23</sup> See Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 11.

<sup>24</sup> See, *inter alia*, Thomas Corns, *Uncloistered Virtue: English Political Literature, 1640-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday, eds, *Literature and the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*; Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000); Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010); Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England*; Susan Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Steven N. Zwicker, *Lines of Authority: Politics and English Literary Culture, 1649-1689* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993). While there is a large body of scholarship relating to the transformation of textual culture from 1640, studies of romance in this time frame are relatively limited.

interregnum romances in tandem with newsbooks and military manuals; chapter two sets romans à clef alongside the theory and practice of history within heroic romance and also the emergence of secret histories; chapter three reads the romance treatment of desire and marriage with reference to parodies and political theory; chapter four discusses the hero's body in the context of medical texts and neoclassical theories of literary plausibility and decorum; and chapter five reads the Boyle brothers' romances together, taking into account their reading of French drama, Renaissance epic and moral letters.

While the three approaches outlined above foreground the social and political, a fourth critical approach addresses form and sets romance in a long-term context that foregrounds the relationship between genre and plausibility, or what Fredric Jameson terms the contract between reader and text. Literary genres such as romance, insists Jameson, are fundamentally social, and rely on 'tacit agreements or contracts' between a writer and his or her readers.<sup>25</sup> In order for the generic operation to function, the reader must consent to the text as a set of socially plausible utterances via an understood literary contract. In a period where the discourses of social and political authority – for example, the divine right of kings or the indissolubility of marriage – are subject to contestation and polemic, the reader's horizon of expectations shifts, the generic contract becomes fragile and new versions of plausibility emerge.

Michael McKeon's work on the origins of the novel is interest to this study in considering the intersection of the political with the plausible. With just one passing reference to *Parthenissa*, McKeon's canon barely extends to the

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<sup>25</sup> Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton, N.J.; Princeton University Press, 1957); Fredric Jameson, 'Magical Narratives: Romance as Genre', *New Literary History*, 7 (1975), 135-163.

texts under discussion in this thesis.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, his articulation of the development of fiction into the novel situates formal change as a consequence of an epistemological and cultural crisis in the middle of the seventeenth century following a revolution in historiography and the emergence of natural science. The epistemological crisis, argues McKeon, is linked to the instability of generic categories, or a major 'transition in attitudes about how to tell the truth in narrative'.<sup>27</sup> The cultural crisis revolves around how to articulate virtue in narrative when the moral standing of the characters is no longer a consequence of their social standing. As James Grantham Turner observes, while much critical effort has been expended on the apparent dichotomy of romance and the novel, writers and readers in the mid-to-late seventeenth century used the two words interchangeably: instead, the distinction was between older, magical narratives and newer romances that stressed historical plausibility.<sup>28</sup> Accordingly, this thesis is concerned therefore with locating the changing conception of plausibility that occurs in the mid-to-late seventeenth century: the first four chapters investigate the way interregnum romances establish narrative authority through the use of authenticating discourses as varied as engineering, history, medicine and French neoclassical theory, and the fifth chapter examines how Christian romance articulates virtue through coordinates of renunciation and sacrifice rather than by noble birth. The chapters therefore track a conscious experimentation with the generic contract of

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<sup>26</sup> Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600 -1740* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987), p. 59.

<sup>27</sup> McKeon, p. 46.

<sup>28</sup> See Turner, "'Romance" and the Novel'.

English romance within the context of political, social and epistemological upheaval.

### **Primary contexts**

We now consider two contemporary contexts that inform this study's approach to English fiction in the mid-seventeenth century: the role of pleasure in romance-reading, and the status of translations of French romance. This thesis proposes an addition to the work on politics and the generic contract: one that takes account of the contemporary understanding of romance as a genre of pleasure. While scholarship on mid-century textual culture outlined above has much to tell us how genre, politics and plausibility are theoretically intertwined, there has been comparatively little attention paid to the centrality of pleasure within mid-seventeenth century romance. This thesis has built upon Patricia Parker's formulation of romance as a narrative strategy whose notable features are located in the pleasurable plot tension between quest and delay, and of quasi-erotic deferral.<sup>29</sup> Parker's analysis of romance as a genre characterised by flexibility, lateral movements of narrative digression, refusal of closure and resistance to typology, positions it as a capacious form of writing, a point emphasised by Barbara Fuchs who notes romance's disinclination to respect boundaries or be 'quarantined into a generic category'. Instead, she suggests, it 'infects' other genres.<sup>30</sup> The deployment of physical contamination as a critical metaphor is apposite, since it hints at the surfeit of pleasure and physical disorder that the consumption of romance was seen to entail. The peculiar

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<sup>29</sup> Patricia Parker, *Inescapable Romance: Studies in the Poetics of a Mode* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1979).

<sup>30</sup> Barbara Fuchs, *Romance* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 72.

invasiveness of romance is amplified by the contemporary understanding of the porosity of the reading body, as articulated by Katharine Craik in her study of sensations and early modern textual consumption: the passions were embedded in the body and were stimulated by reading matter, which could therefore be construed as dangerous or inflammatory.<sup>31</sup> Taken together, theoretical constructions of romance and studies of embodied reading allow us to register the powerful pleasures of romance consumption and identification for seventeenth-century readers. Robert Boyle, a committed Christian, refers to the dangerously sensual delights of imagination when he recalls that his youthful reading of *Amadis de Gaule* produced a 'restlesse Fancy' and a 'Raving'.<sup>32</sup> His subsequent adaptation of romance into his Christian fiction, which will be discussed in chapter five, signals an understanding of the pleasure of romance as transitive, in that it can be harnessed to persuade the reader to God.

Yet a characterisation of the romance of this period as a vehicle of pleasure has had very limited critical discussion. A century after they were written, Clara Reeve was dismissing mid-seventeenth century romances as 'books that pleased our grandmothers, whose patience in wading thro' such tremendous volumes, may raise our surprize: for to us they appear dull, heavy, and uninteresting.'<sup>33</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin's discussion of texts by D'Urfé and La Calprenède belabours their seemingly uncontrollable length, while Thomas Dipiero's study of French heroic romance ascribes its literary 'unreadability' to

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<sup>31</sup> Katharine A. Craik, *Reading Sensations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

<sup>32</sup> Robert Boyle, 'An Account of Philaretus during his Minority' in *The Life of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, ed. by R.E.W. Maddison, (London: Taylor & Francis, 1969), p. 17.

<sup>33</sup> Clara Reeve, *The Progress of Romance* (1785), p 69.

the interpretive and ideological difficulties faced by the modern reader in attempting to consume seventeenth-century aristocratic fiction.<sup>34</sup>

Nevertheless, even the shortest acquaintance with Dorothy Osborne's letters to William Temple shows the enthusiasm with which contemporary readers consumed romance and in particular how narrative fiction can foster the pleasure of sociability. In the course of some sixty letters over 1653 and 1654 Osborne discusses numerous texts such as Scudéry's *Cyrus*, La Calprenède's *Cleopatra* and Broghill's *Parthenissa*. In September 1653, she wrote to Temple:

My Lady sends mee word she has received those parts of Cyrus I lent you, heer is another for you which when you have read you know how to dispose, there are fower Pritty Story's in it L'Amant Absent L'Amant non Aymé L'Amant Jaloux et L'Amant dont la Maitresse est mort. Tell mee which you have most compassion for [...]<sup>35</sup>

Osborne's letters show that romance becomes an invitation to dialogue, shared identification and in the specific case of Osborne and Temple, to courtship. Hero Chalmers notes the use of romance pseudonyms in Katherine Philips' circle, derived from French texts such as Honoré d'Urfé's *L'Astrée*, which facilitated creative sociability.<sup>36</sup> In similar terms, Mary Rich, sister to the Boyle brothers whose writings are examined together in chapter five, asserts strikingly in her memoir that romance-reading formed part of her social activities and that she

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<sup>34</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin, 'Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel', *The Dialogic Imagination*, trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, ed. by Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), p. 94; Thomas Dipiero, 'Unreadable Novels: Toward a Theory of Seventeenth-Century Aristocratic Fiction', *Novel: A Forum on Fiction*, 38 (2005), 129-146.

<sup>35</sup> Dorothy Osborne, *The Letters of Dorothy Osborne to William Temple*, ed. by G.C. Moore Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), Letter 36, p. 81.

<sup>36</sup> Hero Chalmers, *Royalist Women Writers 1650-1689* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), pp. 74-75.

spent her 'precious time in nothing else but reading romances, and in reading and seeing plays, and in going to court and Hide Park and Spring Garden'.<sup>37</sup> The fifth chapter of this thesis addresses this through its case study of the Boyle brothers, and suggests a form of romance sociability through creative collaboration.

As the testimonies of Dorothy Osborne and Mary Rich suggest, the pleasures of romance can be construed as identification and repetition. The familiarity of narrative features is highlighted by anti-romance, whose business is to caricature fictional conventions. In the 1653 foreword to Charles Sorel's pastoral parody *The Extravagant Shepherd*, the translator John Davies castigates:

[...] the same actions and method perpetually repeated, though in a new dress. The Knight constantly killing the Gyant, or it may be whole Squadrons; the Damosel certainly to be relieved just upon the point of ravishing, a little childe carried away out of his cradle, after some twenty years discovered to be the Son of some great Prince; a Girl after seven years wandring and cohabiting, and being stole, confirm'd to be a Virgin, either by a Panterb, Fire, or a Fountain: and lastly all ending in marriage, and that all of a day, and in the same place; where to make up the number, some body must be fresh discovered, some suddenly change their affections, and others rise as it were from the dead.<sup>38</sup>

Davies' staged fury ascribes rigidity to romance's themes and plot nodes, but his reduction of narrative to common motifs can suggest another construction. In consuming these familiar proairetic sequences, romance readers immediately open themselves to multiple other narratives in which such sequences appear

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<sup>37</sup> *Autobiography of Mary Countess of Warwick*, ed. by T. Crofton Croker (London: Percy Society, 1848), p. 21.

<sup>38</sup> Charles Sorel, *The Extravagant Shepherd*, trans. By John Davies (1654), Wing S4704, sig. A1v.

and are repurposed. In his study of Balzac's *Sarrasine*, Roland Barthes proposed the *déjà-lu*, in which the 'I' that approaches the text 'is already itself a plurality of other texts, of codes which are infinite or more precisely, lost'. Reading is not a passive trajectory from A to B, but one in which 'the goal of literary work (of literature as work) is to make the reader no longer a consumer, but a producer of the text'.<sup>39</sup> Barthes' model alerts us that the consumption of the text is a consumption of a recursive intertext that includes prior forms of romance but also extends to dramatic, religious or historical narratives. Familiar romance elements of the plot function as a code that helps the reader recognise the 'intertextual interlocking' that can connect high-political and popular chivalric fiction.<sup>40</sup> The interlocking code therefore governs the pleasure of both romance continuations and parody, through which the reader is invited to consume not only the text she reads but the pre-text which it modifies, or upon which it comments. As Osborne's 'fower Pritty Story's' suggests, the enjoyment of reading romances resides in comparing and contrasting texts from the same family of narratives. As the chapter summaries at the end of this introduction will show, this study identifies perennial elements that construct romance plotting and readerly identification: physical valour in combat; the authority of kingship; desire in the plot of gender disguise and marriage; the heroism of the hard and invulnerable body; and the articulation and trials of virtue. The thesis therefore compares and contrasts these features both diachronically in relation to prior romances, and synchronically by assessing how these features are adapted to reflect or comment upon changed social or political circumstances.

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<sup>39</sup> Roland Barthes, *S/Z*, trans. by Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974), pp. 10, 4.

<sup>40</sup> Peter Brooks, *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 19.

This study therefore puts to work the intertextual pleasure of familiar romance nodes in order to assess the articulation of social and political change and how fiction constructs new fields of plausibility.

The thesis has drawn on Helen Cooper's work on late medieval and Renaissance romance, in which she coins the phrase the 'romance meme' to express the persistence of motifs in replicating.<sup>41</sup> While the approach of this study differs from Cooper's in examining romance synchronically and over a much more specifically located period, her work is helpful in that such motifs can straddle the often unstable taxonomy of heroic, godly, political-historical, parody and pastoral romance during the long interregnum and can make illuminating connections among different groupings of texts. For example, in discussing representations of war, the first chapter analyses heroic romance *Parthenissa* and roman à clef *The Princess Cloria*; chapter two reads roman à clef's treatment of the sovereign with reference to the use of history in heroic romances; chapter three discusses the transformation of the pastoral plot device of cross-dressing lover and marriage across texts as varied as Brathwait's roman à clef *Panthalia* and Cavendish's 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity'; chapter four reads the hero's bleeding body in *Parthenissa* and *Gondibert*; and chapter five reads Broghill's *Parthenissa* in tandem with his brother Robert's overtly Christian texts 'Amorous Controversies' and 'The Martyrdom of Theodora'.

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<sup>41</sup> Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Cooper's selective typology includes the erotic quest and pilgrimage; providence and the sea; magic and the fairy; love and desire; the woman on trial; and restoration of the rightful heir.

Dorothy Osborne's letters are evidence not just of pleasure derived from fiction but also the popularity of translated French romances, and bring us to the second contemporary context that informs this study. As the history of publishing suggests, an investigation of English romance in this period requires an engagement with romances by Scudéry and La Calprenède, since the six new translations of French texts in the early 1650s together represented the conscious commercial creation of a publishing subgenre in English.<sup>42</sup> Paratexts of the first wave of translations contained marketing strategies to signal this new family of romances: in the year that *Hymen's Praeludia*, Robert Loveday's translation of the first three parts of La Calprenède's *Cléopâtre* appeared, Loveday pointed out to the reader in his foreword that the romance was 'by the same hand that wrote the much cry'd up Cassandra'. In similar vein, Moseley's foreword to *Cleopatra*, a second translation in the same year of the first two books of *Cléopâtre*, makes it clear to the reader that 'The Authour of this Work is same who writ Cassandra; they are two Ciens [Scions] proceeding from one Root'.<sup>43</sup>

The impact of French translations is memorably described by the bookseller Francis Kirkman in his 1673 memoir. In 1652 he published his first romance, a translation of the sixth book of *Amadis de Gaule*. The moment the

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<sup>42</sup> The initial wave of translations in 1652 was based on four original French heroic romances stemming from the 1640s: Scudéry's *Ibrahim* and *Artamène ou le grand Cyrus*, and La Calprenède's *Cassandre* and *Cléopâtre*. This contrasts with just one in the period from 1647 to 1650; William Browne's translation of Marin Le Roy Gomberville's *Polexandre*: see *The History of Polexander*, (1647), Wing G1025, which was reprinted the following year. In 1652, Humphrey Moseley published Scudéry's *Ibrahim* and registered for publication *Philoxipes and Policrite*, a standalone narrative making up the third book of the second part of her ten-volume *Artamène ou le grand Cyrus*, which at that point was not translated into English. *Ibrahim* and *Philoxipes and Policrite* were both registered on 28 April 1651, but the only extant copy of the latter is dated 1652, which may indicate a second printing. A notice at the back of *Cleopatra* (1652), Wing L110A, informs the reader that *Philoxipes and Policrite* is currently in the press (p. 136).

<sup>43</sup> *Hymen's Praeludia*, sig. A3v, and *Cleopatra*, sig. A2r.

book appeared, he realised with dismay that he had misjudged the taste of the reading public and that chivalric romances no longer guaranteed sales. In order to make any money, he needed to find something new:

[...] by experience finding that those sort of Romances that treated of old impossible Knight Errantry were out of fashion, and that there were a sort of new ones crept into their places; I sought for one, and was not long e're I pitch'd upon such a one as I thought would do the business, for is was full of Love-sick Expressions, and Thunder-thumping Sentences, there was Love and Arms, and some strange impossible Adventures [...]<sup>44</sup>

Kirkman's opportunistic translation of *Clerio and Lozia*, which was not a heroic romance but a late sixteenth-century text by Antoine du Périer, might on first glance appear to illuminate the production of romance in English as subservient to the French, a notion this thesis will challenge.<sup>45</sup>

The limited critical work on the appearance of French romance in England dwells on its cultural authority and its reinforcement of the literary values of defeated royalists as part of a critical narrative of romance as political resistance.<sup>46</sup> Humphrey Moseley's publication of sequential volumes by La Calprenède and Scudéry has been persuasively framed as part of a cultural activism in which French literature becomes a signifier for aristocratic refinement and wit.<sup>47</sup> At the same time, his organisation and marketing of texts with common features into what David Scott Kastan terms a 'coherent

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<sup>44</sup> Francis Kirkman, *The Unlucky Citizen* (1673), Wing K638, pp. 180-1. For a discussion on Kirkman in the context of 1650s romance publishing, see Helen Moore, 'Admirable Inventions: Francis Kirkman and the Translation of Romance in the 1650s', in *Seventeenth-Century Fiction*, pp. 143-158.

<sup>45</sup> Antoine du Périer, *Les Amours de Lozie* (Paris: 1599); *The Loves and Adventures of Clerio and Lozia, A Romance* trans. by Francis Kirkman (1652), Wing L326.

<sup>46</sup> Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation*, p. 190. See also Philip Major's study of the exilic royalist context of Cotterell's translation of La Calprenède's *Cassandra* in "'A Credible Omen of a More Glorious Event': Sir Charles Cotterell's *Cassandra*", *RES*, 60 (2009), 406-430.

<sup>47</sup> See Potter, pp. 20-22, 36-37.

discursive field' has had implications for the subsequent visibility of English romance, which was largely excluded from Moseley's ventures.<sup>48</sup>

The relative critical neglect of English texts in assessments of mid-century fiction is a clear invitation to investigate how homegrown romance responded to its French cousin. Indeed, if we return to Kirkman, we can discern hints of an assertion of native writing in the face of the commercial dominance of the French. While the preface to *Clerio and Lozia* acknowledges the wave of French romances of passion ('I beleeeve the French for amorous language, [...] honourable Loves inimitable constancy, are not to be equalled'), it nevertheless insists on the superiority of English cultural production: 'no Nation ever could glory in such Playes, as the most learned and incomparable Johnson, the copious Shakespear, or the ingenuous Fletcher compos'd'.<sup>49</sup> Kirkman's preface, which assimilates translations into a robust English context, invites us to consider cultural production in the face of the commercial success of French romance as confident and independent. Such a stance can also be seen in the preface to *Cloria and Narcissus* (1653), the first of the multi-volume *The Princess Cloria* (1661), in which the publisher reveals that he has persuaded the anonymous author to let his manuscript be printed 'since for many years past, not any one Romance, hath been written in the English tongue; when as daily from other Nations, so many of all sorts fly into the World to be seen'.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, Thomas Heath says in his foreword to *Theophania* (1655) that it

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<sup>48</sup> David Scott Kastan, 'Humphrey Moseley and the Invention of English Literature' in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth Eisenstein* ed. by Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 105-124.

<sup>49</sup> *Clerio and Lozia*, sig. A3r, A2v.

<sup>50</sup> *Cloria and Narcissus*, sig. A3v.

‘deals with ‘Man, and the Passions of man (the great Engines of our Conversation) and (it may be) the Traverses of State, set down as in a Mapp or Chart before you; withall, it is naturally English, and you have it faithfully out of the Original.’<sup>51</sup>

Heath’s reference to a ‘Mapp or Chart’ simultaneously asserts its similarity to but distinctness from French romance, contrasting *Theophania*’s masculine political narrative to the feminine emotional geography of the ‘Carte de Tendre’, or ‘Map of Tender’ in the translation of Scudéry’s *Clélie*, published by Thomas Dring in the same year. The Scottish lawyer Sir George Mackenzie’s foreword to his own romance *Aretina* (1660) is an attempt to absorb French romance into an intertextual English-language framework:

Who should blush to trace in these paths, which the famous Sidney, Scuderie, Barkley, and Broghill hath beaten for them, besides thousands of Ancients, and Moderns, Ecclesiasticks, and Laicks, Spaniards, French and Italians [...] <sup>52</sup>

Mackenzie’s chronology in singling out these four writers privileges contemporary heroic romancers Scudéry and Broghill, over their forebears, Sir Philip Sidney and John Barclay. In grouping Scudéry with Sidney, Barclay and Boyle, Mackenzie is rehomeing her work - and French heroic romance, of which she was the most celebrated practitioner - as an English-language product.<sup>53</sup> Serious heroic romance is firmly redomiciled as English and by this sleight of hand, its French roots are effaced via the patriotic act of translation. *Aretina*, we are reminded on the title page, is ‘Written Originally In English.’

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<sup>51</sup> *Theophania*, sig. A3v.

<sup>52</sup> *Aretina, or the Serious Romance*, sig. A3v.

<sup>53</sup> With ‘Barkley’, Mackenzie is referring to *Argenis*, originally written by the Franco-Scottish divine John Barclay in Latin in 1621. It was translated into English by Kingsmill Long in 1625 and by Sir Robert Le Grys in 1628.

Furthermore, English romances often disclose considerable resistance to the wholesale importation of the heroic model, in which the characters' motivations were portrayed as essentially virtuous, or 'generous'. Mark Bannister's study of French heroic romance persuasively constructs the genre as a totalising articulation of a historically specific 'aristocratic class-myth, according to which nobility was the prerogative of a particular class, the nobles d'épée' that flexed with but did not substantially change after the Fronde and the diminution of the aristocracy's political agency in the face of the increasingly absolutist state of Louis XIV.<sup>54</sup> The discursive conditions in which heroic romance was born was therefore in strong contrast to the socio-political context of romance production in English that underpins this study. While much English romance adopts the historical settings recommended by Scudéry in the theoretical discussion of narrative plausibility in the preface to *Ibrahim*, and some employ the French heroic feature of *in medias res* narrative technique, it is generally characterised by a patchwork of registers that are in marked contrast to French romance's mono-tonality.<sup>55</sup> *The English Lovers*, John Dauncey's 1662 romance adaptation of Thomas Heywood's 1631 play *The Fair Maid of The West*, moves from demotic and rumbustious novella for the action in England and heroic prose for the Mediterranean scenes. *Eliana* carries several elements that are derived from heroic romance, notably *in medias res* and retrospective narratives, two of which are explicitly set in Roman times: the first in Iberia and

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<sup>54</sup> Mark Bannister, *Privileged Mortals*, p. 26. See also Bannister, 'La Calprenède et la politique des années Mazarin', *Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises*, 56 (2004), 379-395, and DiPiero, *Dangerous Truths and Criminal Passions: The Evolution of the French Novel, 1569-1791* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

<sup>55</sup> Scudéry, 'The Preface', *Ibrahim or The Illustrious Bassa*, trans. Henry Cogan (London: 1652), Wing S2160, sig. A3v.

Gaul in the last days of the republic, and the second during the tyrannical reign of Caligula. Chapter three of this thesis discusses *Eliana's* serious debates over the ethics of love and desire and its sexual frankness, which includes scenes of consensual pre-marital sex, failed marriages and attempted homosexual rape, all of which sets it far apart from French texts' bodily decorum. In similar hybrid vein, elements of jest-book coarseness or titillation are scattered across *Pandion and Amphigenia* and royalist political romances *Aretina* and *The Princess Cloria*.

The English text that is closest to the French model and is the best-known example of the genre in the interregnum is Broghill's *Parthenissa*, which is regularly categorised as a brief flowering of homegrown heroic fiction. It has the longest afterlife of any English romance of this period; references to it appear variously in a Playford lute song, an early eighteenth-century tragedy by Colley Cibber and in Charlotte Lennox's 1752 comic novel *The Female Quixote*.<sup>56</sup> It therefore seems to stand apart from its contemporaries as a determined and sustained transformation of French romance into English. Yet a reading attentive to experimentation and multivocality that is on display in English fiction over this period will recuperate *Parthenissa's* other textual affiliations, notably its employment of mathematics and engineering in the context of Civil War siegecraft, its use of neoclassical French drama and the Christian dialogue with the texts of his brother Robert Boyle. The fourth chapter reads *Parthenissa* along with *Gondibert* not only in tandem with medical theory, but as a response

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<sup>56</sup> See, *inter alia*, 'Urania to Parthenissa', in John Playford, *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues to sing to the theorbo-lute* (1676), Wing P2463, p.1, and Colley Cibber, *Perolla and Izadora: A Tragedy* (1706), ESTC T026003, in which Cibber borrows a major inset narrative from *Parthenissa*. In Charlotte Lennox's 1752 novel *The Female Quixote* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), the heroine Arabella lives her life through extravagant romance, principally those written by Scudéry and La Calprenède. The only English text referred to in *The Female Quixote* is *Parthenissa*.

to Scudéry's theories of order in narrative, itself derived from wider neoclassical debates of the 1630s. This thesis therefore situates *Parthenissa* within a variety of discursive cross-currents rather than as a straight copy of heroic fiction. Indeed, *Parthenissa*, which is usually seen to be an exception within English romance through its adherence to the heroic mode, is discussed in four out of the five chapters and has been a central text to the way the thesis approaches romance in this period.

The dismissal, then, by Lennard Davis of English romance in this period as a 'pale imitation' of the French not only ignores the textual workings and topical priorities of English romance but also betrays an inattention to the different historical contexts in which French and English romance was being produced.<sup>57</sup> This study therefore takes as a starting point a model of literary production in which English writers both absorbed elements of the new French romances and differentiated their work from them as part of a conscious programme of renovation. It reads English romance not in the shadow of La Calprenède and Scudéry but as a genre that experiments on its own terms as a response to its immediate political and social environment.

## Chapters

Throughout the thesis, romances are read in relation to a prior corpus of romance texts and alongside multiple contemporary and non-fictional sources. Each of the chapters centres on a transhistorical romance feature which directs plot structure and readerly pleasure: the representation of combat, the

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<sup>57</sup>Lennard J. Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 103.

monarch, cross-dressed disguise regulated by marriage, the hero's body and the triumph of virtue. Taken together, each of these topics also underpin forms of social authority: aristocratic honour and a warrior caste, the power of kingship, the social regulation of desire, the cultural primacy of masculinity, and a Christian articulation of moral duty and sacrifice. The chapter examines the transformation of each feature with reference to a variety of contemporary texts, thereby identifying moments of generic and cultural change.

The first three chapters are centred on elements of fictional narrative that relate to prior forms of romances: chivalric, political and pastoral. Chapter one examines the representation of combat in *Parthenissa* and *The Princess Cloria*. In chivalric romance combat is based upon individual prowess of the knight, whether at the tilt or on the battlefield, but the two romances under discussion foreground siege warfare. The chapter discusses the significance of siege as a dominant form of conflict during the civil wars. It considers how the romances adapt elements from engineering manuals in their representation of warfare as reliant on technology and learned expertise rather than chivalric ritual and individual valour. The chapter then considers the siege narratives in relation to contemporary newsbooks, the primary source of accounts of combat for readers in the 1640s. The Colchester siege of 1648 is a key touchpoint for this chapter, both in its military significance at the end of the second civil war and also for the textual debate it spawned following the execution of two of the royalist defenders after the town's surrender. The chapter considers the influence of news books on the siege narratives in these romances and how they

recast war as a collective civilian experience that highlights atrocity and military ethics.

Political romance concerns itself with the statecraft and the dilemmas of kings; chapter two therefore examines the representation of the monarch in three romances in an era of republican ascendancy. *Theophania*, *The Princess Cloria* and *Panthalía* narrate the personal histories of Elizabeth and Charles I and are, it has been claimed, inheritors of absolutist allegorical narratives *Argenis* and *Dodona's Grove*.<sup>58</sup> In the context of Scudéry's preface to *Ibrahim* and *Parthenissa*'s treatment of history, the chapter proposes that the romans à clef can be seen as aligned with heroic romance rather than these political-allegorical texts in that they imagine the emotional lives of clearly identifiable historical characters. It engages with the question of the royalist affiliation of romance by considering how the literary strategies that foreground revelation of a secret emotional motivation can negatively refashion the presentation of the monarch. The chapter unearths connections between roman à clef narratives and pro-Parliamentarian histories of the Stuarts. In examining the development of the Elizabeth-Essex ring story, which appears in English for the first time in *Theophania*, and the representation of the Spanish Match, the chapter suggests that roman à clef anticipates later Stuart secret histories that are hostile to royal absolutism.

Chapter three explores the interregnum response to pastoral romance through the modification of its key plot component of cross-dressed desire that

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<sup>58</sup> The reign of Elizabeth is narrated in *Theophania*, pp. 104–126; *The Princess Cloria*, p. 442; and *Panthalía*, pp. 1–32. Charles I's reign is narrated in *The Princess Cloria*, pp. 161–177, pp. 192–196; pp. 311–334, and in *Panthalía*, pp. 60–141, pp. 240–250.

is followed by marriage. Arcadianism is construed as an entwined literary and political discourse that underpinned Caroline authority, as evinced in Walter Montagu's pastoral court drama *The Shepherds' Paradise* and the pastoral romances of Honoré D'Urfé, with the metaphors of marriage and love used to authorise the relationship between king and people. The chapter's reading of the trope of gender disguise and marriage aims to draw out political inferences within texts that are not at first glance commentaries on politics. The chapter examines how interregnum texts draw on parody and theories of contract as exemplified in Charles Sorel's *The Extravagant Shepherd*, John Milton's divorce pamphlets and Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*, to challenge the plausibility of the marriage plot. Using the 1651 Arcadian romance *Polindor and Flostella* as an initial point of departure, the chapter subsequently identifies two groups of texts that re-evaluate the disguise and marriage plot. *Panthalia*, *Herba Parietis* and 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity' feature a cross-dressing female but problematise marriage and female submission; these romances are also read in the light of French *femme forte* literature and Scudéry's valorisation of friendship and hostility to matrimony. The final part of the chapter discusses post-Restoration romances *Eliana* and *Pandion and Amphigenia*, which dispense with marriage altogether and in figuring cross-dressing as implausible, subject its cross-dressed, feminised heroes to humiliation and danger.

While the first three chapters examined how English romances overwrite prior narrative conventions in chivalric, political and pastoral fiction, the last two explore how they experiment with elements of French literature to fashion innovative forms of eroticism and virtue. Chapter four takes up the

theme of eroticism examined in the preceding chapter and focuses on the male body as a vessel of both violence and desire. It discusses the significance of the bleeding heroes in *Parthenissa* and *Gondibert* after battle and contrasts their wounded bodies with the hard body of chivalric romance. Reading the romance body in tandem with contemporary medical texts, it argues that the wound is a marker of plausibility in narrating violence and that blood is a marker of decorum in both expressing and punishing the hero's sexual passion. The male body becomes a tool to reform the disorders of violence and desire in romance. Developing the theme of order, the chapter's concluding section sets *Parthenissa* and *Gondibert* in the context of French neoclassical theories of *vraisemblance* and *bienséance* that emerged during the 'Querelle du Cid' in the 1630s and that were redeployed in Scudéry's theoretical writing on romance in the preface to *Ibrahim*; within that framework, the wounded male body can be seen as a proxy of narrative order that can regulate romance errancy.

The fifth chapter analyses romance experimentation and transformation through a case study of the writings of Roger and Robert Boyle. It frames 1649 as a fruitful moment of creative production for the brothers: Broghill was writing *Parthenissa* and Boyle the manuscript romances 'Amorous Controversies' and 'The Martyrdom of Theodora'. This romance production coincided with the conversion of their sister Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick, who would later record her journey towards Christianity in a memoir. The chapter assesses the brothers' religious upbringing and their consumption of the fiction of d'Urfé and La Calprenède, the *histoires tragiques* of Jean-Pierre Camus and the dramatic works of Pierre Corneille. By tracing the lateral

connections between the brothers' works, the chapter puts heroic romance and Christian writing in dialogue with each other as a project to transform romance heroism into religious devotion and conversion. In assessing the brothers' writing as a transitive project whose purpose is to guide the reader towards God, the chapter also suggests a third sibling as reader of their work: Mary Rich, to whom Robert dedicated *Seraphic Love*.

## Chapter One: Combat

This chapter examines the representation of combat in interregnum fiction and asks how post-war romances register recent experiences of the Civil War. It considers how we might situate romances in relation to other texts relating to the war and hence how interregnum fiction articulates plausible narratives of combat.

There is very little critical literature relating to representations of combat in mid-century romances. Appraisal of the reaction of interregnum literature to war has been largely framed in terms of a royalist response to defeat, either through the theme of retreat, or the inability of epic as a genre to deal with the military failure of the king's forces; for example, a number of scholars have discussed the limitations of Abraham Cowley's epic treatment of war in a post-war context.<sup>1</sup> John Adamson has shown the importance of chivalric tradition to aristocratic self-fashioning at spectacles such as the funeral of the Earl of Essex in 1646, which encoded a complex set of political and cultural meanings related to Sidnean romance conventions.<sup>2</sup> At the same

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<sup>1</sup> See Anthony Welch, 'Epic Romance, Royalist Retreat, and the English Civil War', *Modern Philology* 105 (2008), 570-602; Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 207; Robert Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism 1628-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> J.S.A. Adamson, 'Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England', in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake, (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1993), pp. 161-197. See also Alex Davis, *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: D.S Brewer, 2003) and Marco Nievergelt, 'The Chivalric Imagination in Elizabethan England', *Literature Compass*, 8 (2011), 266-279. The textualisation of aristocratic chivalric display included George Peele's *Polyhymnia* (1590), STC 19546, Ben Jonson's 'The Speeches at Prince Henry's Barriers', in *Masques and Entertainments by Ben Jonson*, ed. by Henry Morley (London: Routledge, 1890), pp. 130-142, and the Iberian jousts in Sir Philip Sidney's *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, ed. by Maurice Evans, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London: Penguin, 1987), p. 353.

time, there is a substantial body of scholarship on the development of combat in the Civil War, including its textualisation and diffusion through military manuals and newsbooks.<sup>3</sup> In reading interregnum romances' engagement with forms of warfare, this chapter has drawn on the methodology of two works that study the interplay of Elizabethan drama with non-fictional texts on warfare: Nina Taunton's work on 1590s militarism and the theatre and Alan Shepard's exploration of Elizabethan martial masculinity, both of which subject combat manuals to textual analysis in order to resituate Elizabethan drama within a set of martial discourses.<sup>4</sup>

Accordingly, this chapter frames the relationship between fictional and non-fictional texts on combat as a related set of discourses by examining narratives of siege. Siegecraft was a new and distinctive development in the technology of warfare that had been uncommon in England before the Civil War but had been refined during the conflict on the Continent in the early years of the seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup> It soon became a dominant feature of the conflict in England: the strict discipline inculcated in the New Model Army brought about significant improvements in parliamentary siegecraft, which culminated in the militarily significant victory at the siege of Colchester in the summer of

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See Frances A. Yates, 'Elizabethan Chivalry: The Romance of the Accession Day Tilts', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 20 (1957), 4-25.

<sup>3</sup> See, *inter alia*, Charles Carlton, *Going To The Wars: The Experience of the British Civil Wars, 1638-1651* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992); Austin Woolrych, *Battles of the English Civil War* (New York: Macmillan, 1961); Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Barbara Donagan, 'Code and conduct in the English Civil War', *P&P*, 118 (1988), 65-95; 'Halcyon Days and the Literature of War: England's Military Education before 1642', *P&P*, 147 (1995), 65-100.

<sup>4</sup> Nina Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism: Portrayals of War in Marlowe, Chapman and Shakespeare's Henry V* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001); Alan Shepard, *Marlowe's Soldiers: Rhetorics of Masculinity in the Age of the Armada* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1988).

<sup>5</sup> See Christopher Duffy, *Siege Warfare: The Fortress in the Early Modern World, 1494-1660* (London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979).

1648.<sup>6</sup> This chapter therefore seeks to anchor English romances in their historical context in the aftermath of a decade of armed conflict. It explores their relationship to the idealised aristocratic combat of earlier chivalric fiction and explores alternative textual precedents upon which interregnum romances draw.

To discuss these issues, this chapter centres on the first volume (1651) of the multi-volume romance *Parthenissa* by Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, and Sir Percy Herbert's *The Princess Cloria*, whose first volume was published in 1653 and which appeared in complete five-volume form in 1661.<sup>7</sup> This chapter examines these romances' representation of warfare in the textual context of non-fictional war writing, in which siege theory and practice were disseminated, and in the military context of the rise of the drilled and specialised soldiering of the New Model Army. We begin with a discussion of the innovations of siege during the civil wars and their representation in post-war romance.

### Siege combat

In considering the significance of siege during the civil wars we turn to the case of John Rosworme. In 1649 Rosworme wrote bitterly to Parliament to complain of his treatment at the hands of the parliamentary party. It was no standard complaint from a soldier who had fallen on hard times. The German petitioner

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<sup>6</sup> James Burke, 'The New Model Army and the Problems of Siege Warfare, 1648-51', *Irish Historical Studies* 27 (1990), 1-29.

<sup>7</sup> Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, *Parthenissa* (Waterford, 1651) Wing O488; Sir Percy Herbert, *Cloria and Narcissus* (1653), Wing C4275; *The Princess Cloria, or The Royal Romance* (1661), Wing P3492. Page references to Herbert's romance are taken from the complete 1661 edition and will appear in the main body of the text.

was an experienced engineer who had been recruited by the city of Manchester for a particular purpose:

The Town of Manchester, amongst others, apprehending a manifest danger of ruine, from the Earl of Darby and his strength, who appeared for the King; having none that knew what belonged to Military affairs, either for offence, or defence, and having observed, and heard of me that I was bred up in Souldiery from my youth, well skilled in Fortifications, nor contemptibly furnished with all other military abilities: propounded and concluded with me a Contract under hand and seal, for half a yeer, engaging me by the utmost of my advice and skill, to endeavour the security of their Town [...] <sup>8</sup>

Rosworme's contribution to shoring up Manchester's defences during the early stages of the civil war in 1642 helped Parliament maintain a strong presence in the north of the country, since not long after King Charles raised his standard in Nottingham in August of that year, the royalists had taken the garrisons of Lancaster, Preston and Liverpool. Rosworme went on:

I must be bold to say, that my undertaking of this Service (though for a poore reward) as it was not small in itself, so it proved in the consequents as considerable, both to the weakning of the Kings party, and the strengthening of the Parliaments, as any action in that kind, through the passages of that yeer. <sup>9</sup>

Rosworme's rhetorical mobilisation of his contribution to battle relies on contemporary recognition during the Civil War that military victory became increasingly dependent not on individual valour on a battlefield but upon siege.

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<sup>8</sup> John Rosworme, *Goodservice hitherto illrewarded, or, An historicall relation of eighty years services for King and Parliament done in and about Manchester and those parts by Lieu. Col. Rosworme (1649)* Wing R1996, sig. A4v.

<sup>9</sup> Rosworme, sig. A5r.

Although Rosworme singled out by name a number of Manchester citizens for ingratitude, the anonymous pamphlet *A True and Faithfull Relation of the Besieging of the Towne of Manchester* put Rosworme's activities at a high value. Its narrative of the siege is at pains to ascribe the town's successful resistance against Lord Strange's troops to his preparedness. In this account, providential victory is explicitly yoked to specialist knowledge of fortification:

God by his providence had a quarter of a yeere before sent a German Engineer amongst them, to whose skill, industry, Faithfulnesse and Valour we owe (under God) much for our late preservation; He was often solicited by Letters, Messengers and Promises of great preferment and rewards to serve the Lord Strange, but being unwilling to serve against the Parliament, he accepted of farre lesse encouragement from us, and he gave directions for the chaining up and fortifying the several ends of the Towne.<sup>10</sup>

Rosworme's role in devising the fortifications of Manchester demonstrates the extent to which siege was predicated on specialist expertise in technology. Rosworme was one of a handful of foreign technicians whose contribution helped shaped the direction of the civil wars. Others included the Dutchman John Dalbier, who ran the successful sieges of Basing House and Donnington Castle for the parliamentary armies, but declared for the royalists in the second civil war, and Peter Manteau van Dalem, Engineer-General of the New Model Army.<sup>11</sup> Such technology, while new in England, had been used on the Continent since Charles VIII's invasion of Italy in 1494, which saw the birth of the *trace italienne*, a watershed in military architecture where the walls sloped

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<sup>10</sup> *A true and faithfull Relation of the besieging of the Towne of Manchester* (1642), Wing T2475A, sig. A1v.

<sup>11</sup> See Duffy, p. 147.

backwards and the fortress layout was changed to allow the defenders to return fire to the besiegers. Engineering therefore influences combat: because these construction techniques meant that fortresses could not be stormed easily, attrition and starvation became the chief means of victory. Besiegers began to construct lines of circumvallation, trenches and earthworks that enhanced their blockade of the town, and contravallation, that protected the besieging forces from any army of relief.<sup>12</sup>

The rise of siege combat during the civil wars has attracted considerable scholarly attention. Charles Carlton's study of soldiering in the 1640s calculates that of the 645 military actions in England, 198 (31 per cent) were sieges, while an analysis of civil war sieges and fortifications by Ronald Hutton and Wylie Reeves foregrounds the dominance of attacks on fortified strongpoints during the conflict and argues that siege punctuated and shaped the conflict at key moments.<sup>13</sup> The first English civil war began with the siege of Hull in July 1642 and concluded with the siege of Harlech Castle in March 1647; the second English civil war ended with the successful attack by parliamentarian forces on Pontefract in March 1649. As the conflict continued over the course of the 1640s, sieges became ever more dominant; in its first year of existence, the New Model Army conducted two field battles but a dozen sieges, while Cromwell's campaign in Ireland was shaped by siege warfare. The technology around this

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<sup>12</sup> See Frank Tallett, *War and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1495-1715* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).

<sup>13</sup> Carlton, p. 154-5; Ronald Hutton and Wylie Reeves, 'Sieges and Fortifications' in *The Civil Wars: A Military History of England, Scotland and Ireland 1638-1660*, ed. by John Kenyon and Jane Ohlmeyer (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 195-233. For the New Model Army's use of siege, see James Burke, 'The New Model Army and the Problems of Siege Warfare', *Irish Historical Studies*, 27 (1990), 1-29.

form of warfare culminated in the 1648 siege of Colchester, in which the New Model Army carried out circumvallation for the first time in England.

Historians situate military developments in the British Isles longitudinally within the transformation of warfare by gunpowder that had been taking place on the Continent over the previous two centuries following the fall of Constantinople in 1453 to the Turkish cannon. Their work indicates that war is a form of social and epistemological organisation – or, in John Keegan’s formulation, ‘an expression of culture, often a determinant of cultural forms, in some societies the culture itself’.<sup>14</sup> When considering the epistemological organisation of warfare within a seventeenth-century context, we can see that sieges required a body of engineering knowledge to create effective techniques to withstand new firearms technology. Furthermore, the former pre-eminence of aristocratic cavalry gave ground to artillery and infantry; swordsmanship was superseded by the emergence of drill culture.<sup>15</sup> This culminates in the establishment of the New Model Army in 1645; an event, Roger Manning reminds us, that was ‘wholly without precedent in English military experience’ and was a turning point for the organisation and professionalisation of combat.<sup>16</sup>

In the early decades of the seventeenth century the marked emphasis on drill, discipline and knowledge would often appeal to the example of Prince Maurice of the Low Countries, who, Manning tells us, preferred sabre and firearms over the lance in order to ‘banish individual displays of heroism and

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<sup>14</sup> John Keegan, *A History of Warfare* (London: Hutchinson, 1993), quoted in John A. Lynn, *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture from Ancient Greece to Modern America* (Cambridge, MA: Westview Press, 2003), p. xvi.

<sup>15</sup> Tallett, p. 30.

<sup>16</sup> Roger B. Manning, ‘Styles of command in seventeenth-century English armies’, *The Journal of Military History*, 71 (2007) 671-699 (p. 682).

prowess and to emphasise cohesiveness.<sup>17</sup> The culture of drill was not limited to the training ground but percolated to a wider, non-military audience, who were able to experience it either as performance or as text. The Artillery Company's annual muster just outside the walls of the city of London combined the display of drill with pageantry and attracted a large number of spectators; William Barriffe's account of the 1638 muster declares that the performance 'induced many of the judicious spectators to desire copies'.<sup>18</sup> As Manning's observation suggests, the valorisation of knowledge and collective discipline that underpinned new forms of warfare created a clear challenge to aristocratic constructions of chivalric combat.

We now turn to the implications of these new practices for a literary form in which chivalric conventions of warfare are dominant. Renaissance romance had traditionally shied away from materially realistic depiction of new forms of warfare such as the gun. Michael Murrin argues that epic romance preferred an idealised form of warfare that was reliant on chivalric fictional tradition rather than accurately-referenced contemporary combat styles. The gun, he contends, represented 'a crisis that called into question the future of heroic narrative as well as the heroic code such stories express'.<sup>19</sup> Narrative conventions of epic and romance had, on this analysis, become dislocated from the practice of firearms in battle, which rendered close-quarter combat useless. Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* is notable among Renaissance epic romances for its

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<sup>17</sup> Manning, p. 676.

<sup>18</sup> William Barriffe, *Mars, his triumph, or the description of an exercise performed the XVIII. of October, 1638 in Merchant-Taylors Hall by certain gentlemen of the Artillery Garden London* (1639) STC 1505, p. 4; see also John Adamson, *The Noble Revolt: The Overthrow of Charles I* (London: Phoenix, 2009), p. 66.

<sup>19</sup> Michael Murrin, *History and Warfare in Renaissance Epic* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p.12.

incorporation of gunpowder in the episode where Orlando takes on the forces of Cimosco, the King of Fresia, who has invaded Holland to force the princess Olympia to marry his son. Cimosco's army is bolstered by gunpowder, which the romance condemns as a 'filthie foul invention' that 'makst a coward get the souldiers pension'.<sup>20</sup> Orlando triumphs in his encounter with Cimosco, but gunpowder threatens to destabilise the narrative of individual chivalric endeavour to such an extent that it is thrown in the sea and is not allowed to reappear within the romance.

While Ariosto incorporated occasional references to contemporary combat in the form of gunpowder, siegecraft and its associated military culture of technology rarely inhabited the English poetic imagination. Despite Sidney's own experience of battles in the Low Countries, his narrative treatment of combat in *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* adopts a consciously chivalric mode. As Murrin observes, *Arcadia* is dominated by duels, and 'makes war seem like a series of jousts, the kind that occurred in Elizabethan tournaments'.<sup>21</sup> The setpiece siege of Cecropria's castle in book three of *Arcadia* is not one whose outcome is dependent upon engineering or military strategy; despite one passing reference to building trenches outside the castle, the plot turns on a sequence of fights between Amphialus and his opponents Phalantus, Argalus and Parthenia; it is the tiltyard writ large.<sup>22</sup>

We now investigate Sir Percy Herbert's five-part roman à clef *The Princess Cloria* (1653-61), which retells not only the Civil War in the British Isles but also contains a broad sweep of the politics and Continental Europe

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<sup>20</sup> Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, trans. by John Harington (1591), STC 746, 11.13.

<sup>21</sup> Murrin, p. 237.

<sup>22</sup> *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, pp. 493, 495-509.

from the beginning of the century. In *The Princess Cloria* leading characters of recent political history – while occasionally conflated – are clearly recognisable in their fictional forms.<sup>23</sup> In the second volume of the romance, the royalist leader Dedalus (Lord Ormond) in Crete (Ireland) beats off rebel forces that had surrounded the city of Pergame (Dublin). A few days later, ‘thinking to return again into the Town with both honour and authority, he was suddenly [...] violently opposed and denied entrance’. Dedalus attempts to reassert his authority by sending a clear signal to the townspeople:

to this purpose, although his Souldiers were not many, he began to make formal Trenches, as if he intended a long and continued siege, whereby again to bring the people to their wonted and ancient obedience [...]<sup>24</sup>

Circumvallation has come to stand for military action. In this passage, the inhabitants of Pergame are presented as readers who can decipher the meaning of trenches; these connote a new form of attritional warfare that specifically targets non-combatants. To engineer trenches, therefore, is to issue a martial threat. *The Princess Cloria*, in acknowledging that civilians can read siege preparations, suggests how siege, its preparation and technology, had become embedded in the popular understanding of combat.

*The Princess Cloria* here takes account of the fact that engineering knowledge was beginning to be made available to a non-specialist English readership. *Enchiridion of Fortification* (1645), by the pro-royalist sculptor and master mason Nicholas Stone the elder, is a summary of Continental

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<sup>23</sup> In the identification of *The Princess Cloria*'s protagonists with historical characters, I follow the critical consensus based on Paul Salzman's commentary in his *English Prose Fiction 1558-1700: A Critical History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 157-176.

<sup>24</sup> *The Princess Cloria*, p. 124.

developments in siege technology that also functions as a translation for the lay reader. While the title page proclaims its use 'for all Officers to enrich their knowledge and practise', its alphabetical glossary of terms appended to the main text explains 'the most difficult words, and terms of Art, used in this Book [...] for the help of the plain English Souldier' and pocket book format is an overt attempt to disseminate this expertise to the rank and file.<sup>25</sup> In the same year, his fellow mason David Papillon, a supporter of the parliamentary forces, brought out *A practicall abstract of the arts of fortification and assailing* in which he attacked texts such as Stone's for not being accurate or accessible enough, claiming 'and that is the reason why I write more plainly than they'.<sup>26</sup> However, Stone and Papillon's manuals did not constitute the only access to such specialist knowledge. The civilian reading public had already become familiar with siege warfare even prior to the Civil War, through newsbook reports on Continental sieges such as those by Henry Hexham, who published a number of narrative accounts of battles in the Low Countries, where siege technology and engineering was becoming a crucial part of the outcome.<sup>27</sup>

In writing *Parthenissa* Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, produced a text that was acutely aware of contemporary modes of warfare. He had had personal experience of siege by Irish rebels, of his castle at Lismore in 1642, and his sister Katherine had undergone a siege of twenty-two months at Athlone Castle

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<sup>25</sup> Nicholas Stone, *The Enchiridion of Fortification* (1645), Wing S5732, p.73; Adam White, 'Stone, Nicholas (1585x8–1647)', *ODNB*.

<sup>26</sup> David Papillon, *A practicall abstract of the arts of fortification and assailing* (1645), Wing P303, p. 5.; Malcolm Airs, 'Papillon, David (1581–1659)', *ODNB*.

<sup>27</sup> Hexham's accounts include *A true and briefe relation of the famous siege of Breda besieged* (Delft: 1637) STC 13265; *A journall, of the taking in of Venio, Roermont, Strale, the memorable seige of Mاسترخت, the towne & Castle of Limburch under the able, and wise conduct of his Excie: the prince of Orange* (Delft: 1633) STC 13263 and *A historical relation of the famous siege of the Busse, and the suprising of Wesell* (Delft: 1630), STC 13262.

in the same time period. Broghill also experienced siege as an attacker; in 1649-1650 he interrupted the writing of his romance to return to the war in Ireland, eventually rejoining Cromwell in the siege of Clonmel.<sup>28</sup> Broghill's active service as a soldier was supplemented by a theoretical interest in the practice of warfare, and he would later produce one of the few seventeenth-century English treatises on warfare, *A Treatise of the Art of War* (1677).<sup>29</sup> It is, then, not altogether unexpected to find that in the first volume of *Parthenissa*, published in 1651, combat dominates the narrative.<sup>30</sup> In the introductory narrative set in Parthia there are several bouts of close-quarter styles of combat. As the romance moves to Armenia, Italy and northern Africa, the martial mode changes and there are no fewer than thirteen sieges and battles. Within the interwoven narratives of *Parthenissa* each of the three heroes, Artabanes, Artavasdes and Perolla, relates his own tale and proves his heroism during a siege.

A brief summary of the action underlines the extent to which siege dominates the romance. The first section is set in Parthia, and begins with a tournament and ends in a duel, in which Artabanes distinguishes himself in close-quarter combat. He flees Parthia after mistakenly believing that his beloved Parthenissa, the eponymous heroine, is unfaithful, and he is captured by pirates before being sold as a slave-gadiator in Italy, where he assumes the name Spartacus and leads his forces in both siege and field combat. The hero of the romance's second major narrative, Artavasdes, proves himself politically

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<sup>28</sup> Kathleen M. Lynch, *Roger Boyle, First Earl of Orrery* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1965), p. 46.

<sup>29</sup> *A Treatise of the Art of War* (1677), Wing O499.

<sup>30</sup> Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, *Parthenissa that most fam'd romance the six volumes compleat* (1676), Wing O490. While the first volume was published in 1651, all page references are taken from the full six-volume edition and will be given in the main body of the text.

and militarily heroic in fending off the forces of Celindus during the siege of the city Artaxata, which forms the central action within the Armenian section of *Parthenissa*.

The central Roman section of *Parthenissa* primarily concerns the third hero Perolla, and contains a series of sieges, three of which are based on historical accounts. In the first, Broghill transplants Plutarch's tale of Spartacus and his men being surrounded by Roman forces but escaping through ingenious construction of vines as ropes. The second siege sees Artabanus/Spartacus attack and then enter the city of Salapia, in which he finds the two lovers Perolla and Izadora, who are lovers from enemy families. The reader is then led to the textually enclosed narrative of Izadora and Perolla, set during the Punic Wars.<sup>31</sup> This begins when Izadora recounts Perolla's actions, first at Pettely (Pettelia), the third siege tale in the Roman section in which the townspeople are loyal to Rome but are surrounded by Carthaginian forces. The fourth siege is at Casilinum, where Perolla's army initially relieves the city, only to surrender to Hannibal's army six months later.

In constructing a romance that is concerned with framing combat largely through siege, *Parthenissa* is fashioning a distinctively English representation of conflict. It differs from the French heroic romances of the period with which it is often grouped. Scudéry's *Artamenes or the Great Cyrus*, which was translated into English in 1653, is almost bare of sieges among all the military action. Even at the siege of Babylon, at which Artamenes is trying to rescue his beloved princess Mandana, the narrator informs us:

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<sup>31</sup> In the Roman narrative of the first volume of *Parthenissa*, Broghill features both Spartacus and Hannibal at the same time, an anachronism that he acknowledges in the preface to the 1655 edition of the second volume of *Parthenissa*. For a discussion of Broghill's use of history, see chapter two.

I will not insist upon exact relation of this Siege, or the prodigious pains which was taken in circling about so vast a Town; nor how many Towers Artamenes built up, from distance to distance answerable; as well to secure his entrenchments, and fortifie his Lines, as to discover what the enemies did within their wals [.]<sup>32</sup>

Behind Scudéry's disinclination to narrate at length the preparations for siege is a recognition of a competing representation of combat in military manuals.

Contemporary readers would have understood that in contrast to conventional field battles, this warfare required extensive engineering preparations. It therefore entails a fictional reconfiguration of battle in both time and space. The *Cyrus* narrator's 'prodigious pains...taken in circling so vast a Town' explicitly references the time taken by the sappers and engineers to carry out laborious circumvallation, and the matériel that a siege requires. Broghill would emphasise this point in his *A Treatise of the Art of War*:

If the place be large which you besiege, your Line of Circumvallation must of necessity be many Miles about, for it ought to be out of the reach of your Enemies Artillery, else you will too much expose to the mercy of it [...] <sup>33</sup>

Scudéry's reference to siege preparation in *Artamenes* recognises that the besiegers need intelligence on the bounded area within the town 'to discover what the enemies did within their wals'; a reference not only to the town's defensive preparations but its internal topography. Such preparations were

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<sup>32</sup> Madeleine de Scudéry, trans. by F.G., *Artamenes or the Grand Cyrus* (1653) Wing S2144, Part II, p. 87.

<sup>33</sup> *A Treatise of the Art of War*, p. 164.

expounded at length in military manuals of the 1630s onwards. Henry Hexham, who published a series of accounts of siege battles in the Low Countries, provides an entire taxonomy of military roles and skills in his *Second Part of the Principles of the Art Military*, from trench-masters and carriage-masters to munition clerks, colonels and lords general. Each is given a defined role, and Hexham reminds us that the engineers in charge of preparations had multiple considerations:

An Inginier ought to be a man skilfull and experienced in Arithmattick, Geometrie and the Mathimaticks, and before he begins to breake ground, or runs his lines of Approches, he ought to consider well the Situation of the place, and to have regard to the propriety and nature of the place, whither it be high ground, low, Plaine or hillie.<sup>34</sup>

Hexham then explains how the engineer's mathematical calculations must be converted into troop movements:

By day he viewes well the ground, that he may the better run his Approches by night, in setting out his sticks and markes, that he may Place his men, to get speedily into the ground with the more Safety, and as he advances to make the Corpes de gard, and Batteries vpon the most advantagious places, for if he should mistake his ground, and not run his Approach well, by turning and winding it, and Carrying it from the Bulwarkes, flankes and the, outworkes of a Towne or Fort: he may endanger the lives of many men, and therefore it behoves him to be very Carefull and Circumspect [...] (sig. A2r.)

*Principles of the Art Military* enumerates five types of approach tactics (sig.

(D)1r-(E)1r) and discusses the distances between the besieging forces and the

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<sup>34</sup> Henry Hexham, *The Second Part of the Principles of the Art Military, Practised in the Warres of the United Provinces* (1639), STC 13264.1, sig. A2r. Further page references are given in the body of the text.

fortress, in which engineers must vse all the skill, industrie, and experience they have' so that the soldiers are 'not discovered and seen by an ennemy' (sig. (D)2r). Taking this into account, the siege of Artaxata in *Parthenissa*, narrated by Artavasdes, renders the attack by Celindus's forces in terms entirely familiar to readers of manuals such as Hexham's. The matériel of war is foremost, and the detail of advance is specified geographically through civilian landmarks. The approach takes the townspeople by surprise as the soldiers begin to

advance their Battering-Rams, their Rolling-Bridges, and their Scaling-Ladders, which were all order'd with so much advantage, that the Rams having made a breach, Celindus in person, at the head of Four thousand Men, presented himself at the mouth of it, with so assur'd a countenance, that the dull Inhabitants, and some Soldiers which had the guard of that quarter, fled, and left him the passage clear [...] I found that Celindus had possest himself of that Street which led directly from the Breach unto the Palace, and was already beginning to force open the Gates of it [...]<sup>35</sup>

Broghill's rendition of attack is far removed from Sidneian romance combat. The soldiers' approach, taking the townspeople by surprise, depends on hidden trenches constructed by engineers. Rolling bridges are meticulously constructed of bulrushes, secured with stakes and bound with canvas, according to Hexham's prescription in the second edition of *The Principles of the Art Militarie* (p. 22) Furthermore, Celindus's forces have studied the most advantageous place to breach the wall, and the shortest distance to the palace within the city, a calculation that is frequently diagrammatically expressed within manuals. This is a disciplined army; as is made clear in the text, the

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<sup>35</sup> *Parthenissa*, p. 45.

forces must be 'order'd with so much advantage' since the management of men and matériel requires assigned roles and specialisations, as taxonomy within theoretical military texts emphasises.

Throughout the first volume of *Parthenissa* descriptions of combat are authenticated by reference to siege and its technical preparations. To take one example, Hannibal's siege of Tarentum is successful after Hannibal himself provides an engineering solution:

when all Hannibal's Engineers could not find a way to block it up, he himself did; for having taken good store of Gallies, in the Key of Tarentum, and did not being able by Sea to bring them out of Harbor, because the Castle commanded all the streights and passages, he caus'd the Gallies with an admirable celerity and art to be put upon Carts, and so carried them by Land into the Sea, and in that miraculous manner besieged them round, which the Romans discerning, not long after yielded. (p. 153)

Hannibal's victory is not presented as a triumph of chivalric valour; it is driven by his organisational skill that surpasses his men's. In this account, Hannibal, the acclaimed general, is not just a legendary soldier who can inspire his men, but an arch-engineer who is able to master the mechanical details of siege. Having discussed the importance of sieges within *The Princess Cloria* and *Parthenissa*, we turn now to the implications for martial heroism of mathematics and technology.

### **Mathematics, technology and expertise**

More than any other type of warfare, siegecraft relies on data and engineering.

What are the implications, then, for chivalric romance valour? We now examine

the ways in which interregnum romances employ mathematical means to quantify military feats, and how space is controlled through numbers. In his analysis of the cultural development of disciplinary power in *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault defines the operation of war as:

a meticulous observation of detail and, at the same time, a political awareness of these small things, for the control and use of men emerge through the classical age, bearing with them a whole set of techniques, a whole corpus of methods an knowledge, descriptions, plans and data [.]<sup>36</sup>

Foucault's formulation of the numerical control of space that is required by technologised warfare also describes the way that military manuals underpin their own construction of combat. Seventeenth-century manuals regularly detail the duties of officers and the ordering of a regiment, battle tactics of horse and foot and the organisation of ordnance, weaponry and equipment.<sup>37</sup> For example, Hexham's translation of Samuel Marolois and Albert Girard's *The art of fortification or architecture militaire* (1631), is a text in which information is presented in discursive, tabular and diagrammatic forms. The work's painstaking calculations for fortifying a series of fortress shapes from triangular to heptagonal is a taxonomy adopted by Nicholas Stone in his later *Enchiridion of Fortification*. Hexham's report of the siege of Breda also frames the contribution of the soldier-engineer in notably mathematical terms:

[...] if you consider, the space of ground to be sapped through, before he came to the water, the bredth of the

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<sup>36</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* trans. by Alan Sheridan, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), p. 141.

<sup>37</sup> See Samuel Marolois and Albert Girard, *The art of fortification, or architecture militaire as well offensiue as defensiue* trans. by Henry Hexham (Amsterdam: 1631) STC 17451.

moate about 60 foote, the depth of it 6 foote, and the bredth of the Damne 15 foote, it will appeare a worke of greater bulke, than euer was done in the seruice of this state since the warres began.<sup>38</sup>

Such texts therefore invite the reader to engage with the stories of combat through numbers. Such mathematical and diagrammatic control of space is also found in despatches from the field, which describe in quantifiable terms the success of an engagement. Broghill's letter to Parliament about the progress of the campaign in Ireland in 1651 is an example:

The Lord Broghill hath given battle to the Lord Muskerry's Army which consisted of 1000 horse and Dragoons, and neer 2000 foot. My Lord Broughill [sic] had but 400 horse and Dragoons, and under 600 foot, the charge was bloody on the Victors side; For the Lord Broghill had 120 horse-men shot, and 30 killed; he charged him that led up the Irish opposite wing, and killed him [...]<sup>39</sup>

*Parthenissa* borrows heavily from this contemporary military construction of space. In a mode reminiscent of Broghill's battle report, the first volume of *Parthenissa* is peppered with digits. When Hannibal has his forces march through Salapia, Carthaginian military might is not figured by action but in data. The procession includes '8,000 Numidian horse, 1000 guards, 4000 foot then 4000 mules and horses' (p. 152). *Parthenissa* is a romance highly aware of the methods of quantification in battle and siege, and one that narrates combat and hence romance heroism in clearly numerical terms. It reflects a shift towards

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<sup>38</sup> Henry Hexham, *A true and briefe relation of the famous siege of Breda besieged* (Delft: 1637) STC 13265, p. 22.

<sup>39</sup> Broghill, *A Letter from the Lord Broghill to the honourable William Lenthall Esq; speaker of the Parliament of England*. (1651) Wing O486, p. 1.

organisational control theorised by Foucault and also in contemporary terms practised by the New Model Army.

Military detail is prominent in the story of Artabanes's deeds as Spartacus, which bridges the eastern and Roman sections of *Parthenissa*. The source text is Plutarch's *Lives*, which is fleshed out by Broghill into a longer narrative that enfolds the Perolla-Izadora subplot. Plutarch narrates the beginning of Spartacus's military rise thus:

The Romanes sent Clodius Praetor upon them, with three thousand men. Who besieged them in their sorte, scituate upon a hill that had a verie steepe and narowe ascent vnto it, and kept the passage vp to them: all the rest of the grounde rounde about it, was nothing but high rockes hanging ouer, & apon vp them great store of wilde vines.<sup>40</sup>

Broghill not only incorporates the detail of the three thousand soldiers in his romance (p. 90), but his version of this encounter between the rebels and the Romans also revels in the sort of topographic precision found in fortification manuals:

This place I speak of was a Hill of great height, in the middle of a Plain, about eight Furlongs circumference, and inaccessible every way but one, by which also there could not come above five a-brest [...] (p. 89)

After leaving Salapia, Artabanes/Spartacus moves south to Sicily where Crassus leads the Roman army against him. As is consistent with heroic romance precepts that will be further discussed in the next chapter, Broghill consistently

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<sup>40</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes*, trans. by Thomas North (1579) STC 20066, p. 605. Further page references are given in the body of the text.

embellishes Plutarch's account, portraying Spartacus as the melancholy lover and fleshing out the hero's emotional state, sense of erotic betrayal and relationships with his men, one of whom will eventually betray him. However, in the episode of Crassus's attempted siege Broghill returns to the historical source text on Spartacus, without any amplification. Plutarch's version runs:

This was a maruelous hard and long peece of worke, notwithstanding, Crassus finished it beyonde all mens expectation in a very shorte time, and brought a trenche from one side of the sea to the other ouerthwart this barre, which was three hundred furlonges in length, fifteene foote broade, and so many in height: and apon the toppe of this trenche built a high wall, of a maruelous strength (p. 606)

Broghill lifts almost word-for-word the passage that states the dimensions of Crassus's trenches. The army

in a short while cast up a trench from Sea to Sea, of three hunder'd Furlongs in length, fifteen foot broad, as many high, and on the top of it rais'd a Wall of an admirable strength (p. 262)

Spartacus must gain physical control of parcelled-out territory; the romance animates mathematics to narrate heroism. *Parthenissa* offers new form of spatiality for the romance combatant, in which leadership is literally measured by numerical detail.

Broghill's engagement with engineering and mathematics extends to the second major narrative of *Parthenissa*, which deals with the hero Artavasdes. In the lengthy subplot of the siege of Artaxata, space is overtly surveilled and the encounters are mediated numerically. When Artavasdes, who has returned from Rome and discovered a plot against King Artabazus of Armenia,

approaches the city, he says: 'I then placed Scouts upon all the adjacent heights, whom I commanded to give me advertisement of what they should discover.' (pp. 31-2), gesturing towards a scheme of observation and information that must be ordered into intelligence. Skirmishes prior to the siege are related through distance and number: Artavasdes learns that the rebel Celindus is in a grove with three hundred horse '100 furlongs away', his son Tuminius has '200 horse' in Apollo's grove and Celindus's other son Palisdes had '500 horse' on the hill. When a scout later returns with the news that a body of five hundred horse is now eight furlongs away, Artavasdes deduces their identity from the figure ('this troop we easily imagined was Palisdes' (p. 33)) and sends the king and his beloved Altezeera back to Artaxata with considerable precision in number: 'having left 50 Horse for their Guard, I divided those that remained into two Bodies' (p. 35). Celindus approaches Artaxata

with an Army of about 50000 Foot, and 10000 Horse, well fitted with all things that he wanted, onely a good quarrel. The order in which they marcht, made them as formidable as their very numbers, and having drawn up in a Plain, on the East side of Artaxata, they advanc'd the two wings of their Army be degrees, and inviron'd the Town, having cast a Bridge of Boats over the River Araxis, which separates Artaxata by the middle, and began by flinging up of Earth to secure themselves from our Sallies. (pp. 41-42)

Broghill presents Celindus's tactics in a strikingly contemporary way, marrying geometry, mathematics and engineering to warfare. The preponderance of infantry compared to cavalry was a feature of the later stages of the Civil War, in which combat was less reliant on cavalry charges, and this is denoted in the text in precise numeric terms. Celindus's army, then, conforms to pre-war military theory, which suggested the ideal proportion of horse to foot should be between

1:3 and 1:5. However, royalist armies rarely achieved that ratio. According to Charles Carlton's socio-military history of the English civil wars, they suffered from a surfeit of cavalry and in twenty-seven out of fifty-seven battles they had more horse than foot, putting them at a disadvantage.<sup>41</sup> Celindus is, then, not only narratively characterised as the rebel against a weak king but by the similarity of his forces to the New Model Army is figured numerically as such.

The rebel forces are dangerous not simply because of their size but because they are well commanded: 'the order in which they marcht, made them as formidable as their very numbers' (p.41). Broghill was to return to this point in his *Treatise of the Art of War*, in which he insisted that marching itself, which should be formally directed and the order of which exchanged among regiments, fosters general discipline:

Whether I believed the Enemy near, or far off, I would still observe the like order, and have the same care [...] All the Regiments should in course take their turns, to be in the Van, Rear, and other parts of the Body of the Army; For where there is equality of Duty, there must be also universal satisfaction therein [...] (p. 59)

Broghill's theoretical concerns with discipline in the form of detail are again illuminated when Celindus's forces begin to prepare the trenches, which will not only protect them from cavalry sallies from the forces in the city but also help them fend off any armies of relief. In the ensuing battle, combat is consistently quantified; Celindus initially fields four thousand horse with five hundred in the vanguard, while Artavasdes has a thousand horse. Artavasdes relates: 'By those that reckoned most moderately, in all this fight there were

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<sup>41</sup> Carlton, p. 98.

esteemed near 4000 to be kill'd and we lost about 300'. Honour is painstakingly enumerated, in the form of trophies: 'I took one and twenty Colours, which were the marks of our that days success' (p. 42). Throughout *Parthenissa's* narratives of combat, valour is precisely grounded and heroism is validated mathematically.

Broghill's representation of warfare demonstrates that new technology and methods of discipline demand a new military hierarchy of values based on expertise, rather than flair with a sword or pure horsemanship. The articulation of warfare as discipline, data and the ordering of space poses challenges to traditional romance versions of hand-to-hand combat. The tension between traditional and contemporary technologised combat styles surfaces in Sir George Mackenzie's *Aretina* (1660), which betrays anxiety about combat being rendered diagrammatically rather than through the hitherto authoritative discourse of chivalry.<sup>42</sup> *Aretina* models itself as a fiction that blends heroic and political romance; in his preface to the text Mackenzie provides a brief survey of the romance authors to whom he is indebted. He declares: 'Who should blush to trace in these paths, which the famous Sidney, Scuderie, Barkley, and Broghill hath beaten for them'. Mackenzie's reference to John Barclay positions his romance as a successor to *Argenis* (1621), which discourses upon statecraft in the tradition of the *speculum principis*, or mirror for princes. *Aretina*, then, takes as its project the moral formation of the knightly hero – a project that is potentially destabilised by a new form of specialised warfare.

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<sup>42</sup> Sir George Mackenzie, *Aretina, or the Serious Romance* (Edinburgh: 1660), Wing M151, p. 6. All further page references will be given in the body of the text.

A short episode in *Aretina* presents a contrast between technologically-advanced and chivalric modes of warfare that signals the extent to which military matters and engineering had become common currency through manuals. The heroes Philarites and Megistus are fighting for the Egyptians on behalf of the Persians. While this continues ‘a capricious Mathematician’ (p. 107) who has fled battle mounts a hill and with a telescope sees the outcome of the encounter. He sends to court that Megistus has won ‘hoping, in requital of his news, to have some donatives bestowed upon him’ (p. 107). *Aretina* resists the increasing recognition given to the soldier-engineer as per Henry Hexham’s commendations or Rosworme’s self-presentation. Instead, the episode presents the mathematician as a non-combatant who is so physically distant from the battle that he needs a telescope. Furthermore, the mathematician is seeking material advantage, which makes him potentially unreliable as a witness; far from being a pure and rational discourse, then, mathematics is suddenly allied to personal advancement. The character describes the combat in pseudo-geometrical terms:

Sir, we marched from this City, as from the point A. (demonstrating all upon a Paper) by a direct line to the Citadel of Iris, as the point B. whence by a spiral line, we marched to the Caves of C. where we eclipsed our selves all night; the next morning, before the Sun came from the Antipodes to our Horizon, we marched, keeping the figure of a Parallelogramum, conducted by Megistus, Philarites, and the Martia Knight, who, as three lines, made a glorious Triangle, whereof Megistus, as General, was the Hypotenus; in this figure we marched to the shoar, where we encountered the Persians, upon whose bodies we carved hundreds of wounds, in form of Hoscoles, Scalenumis, and Trapezias (pp. 107-8)

He is met with a hostile reaction from the court, with the king ‘intending to twit the Mathematician for his pedantry’ (p. 108). The king’s fool, alluding to the mathematician’s apparently incomprehensible speech, tells the newly-arrived victorious knights that the mathematician is Persian, whereupon he is dragged away protesting that he is a loyal Egyptian. In this short episode, *Aretina*’s parody of mathematical language sets engineering in opposition to aristocratic construction of valour in battle and presents a breakdown in communication between the romance language of heroism and mathematics to the extent that the speaker is physically attacked. Mackenzie suggests that mathematics cannot incorporate tales of individual valour, and that it is literally regarded as a doubly alien tongue by the heroes. The mathematician is, furthermore, taken to be not just a foreigner like John Rosworme and the other Continental engineers, but an enemy. In the context of Mackenzie’s attempt to fashion *Aretina* in an elite romance mould of the *speculum principis* the episode is a clear sign that mathematics, which underpins the engineering that was so prominent in the civil wars, threatens the construction of the chivalric prince.

By rejecting mathematics as a method of textualising combat, *Aretina* figures war as an aristocratic project, while at the same time acknowledging that this project is under threat. Indeed, later in the romance *Aretina* incorporates another innovation of Renaissance warfare. While trying to liberate the besieged city of Iris, Philarites is accosted by a young gentleman who tells him that the enemy is planning to pass across a wooden bridge over the Nile to attack their camp. He asks to

inclose my self in an Arch of it, with some barrels of Powder, that when such a number of them as your Army is able to encounter, hath past alongst it, I may blow up the Bridge, and so stop both the passage of those who are not already past, and the return of those who are gone over [...] (p. 166)

The unnamed man is dying of cancer and wants to meet his end with glory ‘to sweeten the harshness of death by the generous manner of it, that so my parents might have the breath of my praises to dry up the tears of their compassion’ (p. 167). Megistus and Philarites discuss the logistics of this and hit upon a stratagem of pretending to defend the bridge when the Persian army comes and then abandon it. Megistus then ‘caused shoot some peeces of great Ordnance’ and the powder which was the signal for the gentleman ‘to the terror of the spectators, and ruine of the passers, blow up both himself, them, and the Bridge, and sent them all to heaven in a fiery Chariot (pp. 168-9). As these passages suggest, *Aretina* is at once resistant to the overt discourse of order and mathematics within representations of battle, but nevertheless attracted to new forms of combat through which to express heroism. Noble death is here reliant upon engineering. Philarites and Megistus do not simply relinquish their combat roles to the dying man but have to retreat from single combat entirely. Mackenzie confronts the problem faced by Ariosto in *Orlando Furioso*: how to figure knightly valour in the context of the development of artillery. The only way it can incorporate gunpowder into its patterning of aristocratic knighthood is by subsuming it into a tale of affecting self-sacrifice.

Having discussed the body of knowledge that is deployed in mid-seventeenth century texts on warfare and presented in contemporary romance, we now turn to how interregnum romances present the construction of

expertise in a military context that was shaped by the professionalism of the New Model Army. The theory that underpins the increasingly technological mode of warfare leads to a recognition that expertise is not inherited, but transmitted through study. In 1657 the Newcastle bookseller William London published *A Catalogue of All The Most Vendible Books in England*.<sup>43</sup> The catalogue is prefaced by a disquisition on the value of acquiring knowledge through reading, and its generic categories span divinity, history, physic, law, mathematics, romances and poems and plays, and texts in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. According to London's taxonomy, mathematics includes horsemanship and military discipline. Combat requires learning, says London, citing the example of Alexander: 'It was Great Alexander that laid Homer under his pillow; and him we see, conquering more by his Wisdome, than Hector or Achilles by their Valour' (sig. D4r). The commentary argues by implication that military expertise can be acquired by a diligent reader of London's stock of books.

Notably, London commends the study of mathematics, to which he explicitly ascribes the development of military design and siege technology: 'The Emperour Charles the fifth, was a great Studient in the Mathematicks, and sate close at it in his Tent, in the midst of his Army.' (sig. G4v) Once acquired, this body of knowledge can be reapplied to practical and extreme circumstances in which the hero can find himself. London elaborates Vitruvius's tale of Aristippus in the sixth book of *De Architectura* to show the value of theoretical knowledge within a context of physical crisis:

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<sup>43</sup> William London, *A Catalogue of All The Most Vendible Books in England* (1657), Wing L4829. Further page references to this work are given in the body of the text.

It's somewhat prity that's said of Aristippus: whom, the adverse fortune of a stormy wind, and roaring Sea vomited out of the Ship, upon the banks of a forreign Countrey (who was you must think in great straits, to know whether his destiny was worse or better, than if a favourable Sea had given him a quick and suddainer death, by sending him to the bottom, than to fall into the hands of wild Beasts, or savage men) whils't thus tortur'd with fear in his mind, he spies some Mathematical Figures drawn on the sandy Banks, as the Antients then did use to do [...] Concluding, there muyst be some City nigh for their comfort: that those marks were the steps of more civility than they could have expected from so barbarous and silent a Coast [...] (sig. G4r-v.)

Aristippus, who is here cast as a romance hero through the familiar device of shipwreck, is saved not through chance or physical prowess but by his ability to grasp mathematics. Similarly, in London's examples of the military leaders Alexander and Charles V, mathematics is seen as a body of knowledge that can be acquired and reused to understand and shape the world through action. We now consider two romances that situate generalship as a specialist body of knowledge that can be learnt rather than inherited. As we will see, these texts frame leadership in explicit contrast to improvised physical bravery.

Margaret Cavendish's 1656 romance 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity' in her collection *Natures Pictures* begins during a time of conflict, a period of 'plaguey rebellion, killing numbers with the sword of unjust war' is cast upon strange shores.<sup>44</sup> Early on in the romance she is given a choice of reading materials and declares her intention to read for action, citing the study of mathematics as a prerequisite for acquiring a body of knowledge that is conspicuously martial. She desires to know:

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<sup>44</sup> Margaret Cavendish, 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity', in *Natures Pictures Drawn by Fancies Pencil to the Life* (1656), Wing N855, p. 220. Further page references to this work are given in the body of the text.

[...] all arts usefull & pleasant for the life of man as Musick, Architecture, Navigation, Fortification, Water-works, Fire-works, all engines, instruments, wheeles and many such like, which are usefull, besides, I shall learne to measure the earth, to reach the heavens, to number the Starrs, to know the Motions of the Planets, to divide time and compasse the whole world, the Mathematics is a candle of truth, whereby I may peepe into the works of nature to imitate her in little therein (p. 225).

Later in the romance, the cross-dressed heroine becomes the leader of the forces of Amity but fails in single combat with her admirer the prince because of her lack of sword skills. Travelia's inability fully to inhabit a physically heroic role has a plot rationale in that it leads her to an erotic rapprochement with the prince that will be discussed in chapter three, but at no point does incompetence with arms prevent her from leading an army. Her command of the detail of military organisation is made clear when she inspects her arms and ammunition and ensures that 'the most Mechanicks went with the Bag and Baggage, as Smiths, Farriers, Pioneers, Cannoneers, Sumpter-men, Wagoners, Cooks, Women and the like' (p. 255). It is clear that her studies have equipped Travelia to be the ideal general of the forces of Amity in the preparation for battle, since she understands the importance of military order and organisation.

Cavendish's articulation of leadership as a form of acquired expertise also emerges in Sir Percy Herbert's *The Princess Cloria*. The hero Narcissus, who is based on William II, Prince of Orange, has returned to Lydia (England) in order to join the forces of king Euarchus (Charles I) and also to pursue his wooing of princess Cloria (Mary, Princess Royal). During his adventures he is sheltered in the woods by a priest, and the two enter into a debate over the uses

of knowledge on the battlefield. Narcissus puts forward the case for action over learning:

[...] he said, that action did not onely nourish it self, but gave life to other things, as namely History, the worlds Looking-glass, and times Recorder. [...] Books I must confess, said he, are commodious pictures, to teach present times by predecessors examples, what men ought to do in their own persons; whereas by activity and arms, we are put in possession of the honour it self (p. 178)

The priest dismisses this view of military heroism. The debate between the two characters is modelled on the early modern pedagogical format of *disputatio*, which structurally reinforces the weight given to acquisition of knowledge. In privileging the very method of learning through use of *disputatio*, the romance therefore supports the priest's argument in favour of theoretical instruction. Furthermore, Herbert's use of the hermit and the young knight explicitly recalls what Maurice Keen terms the 'classic account of knighthood', Ramon Llull's *The Order of Chivalry*, which was first translated and printed by William Caxton in 1484, and in which a hermit teaches the would-be knight the precepts of chivalry from a book.<sup>45</sup> Herbert is using earlier chivalric literature to recalibrate what is considered knightly achievement in combat: it is no longer individual prowess that counts, but a skill and knowledge base that can be transmitted textually. While Narcissus cleaves to history as the discourse by which warlike deeds will be recorded after battle, the priest argues for a theoretical approach prior to combat that will also privilege good order:

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<sup>45</sup> Maurice Keen, *Chivalry*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), p.11; Ramon Llull, *Here begynneth the table of this present booke intytuled the book of the ordre of chivalry or knyghthode*, trans. by William Caxton (1484), STC 3356.7.

Books render a man more capable to act with advantage, without which, attempts would not be much profitable, since mans life is too little a space to learn sufficiently, what were best to be done in many things: he said further, that Military Discipline it self, could not subsist to any prevailing purpose, without those rules and orders, which were before thought upon, and learned by method and instruction; for that it is not onely, the running precipitately into hazards and dangers, that ought to render a person deservedly admired, though sometimes blindefold fortune crown the action or attempt with success; but rather, when as by a knowing valour, we have either prevented a mischief, or procured a victory, deserves estimation (p. 179)

The 'rules and orders' of military discipline are contingent upon the act of study and are set in opposition to undisciplined and extravagant deeds in the heat of battle ('running precipitately into hazards and dangers').

Such an emphasis on skill and order has a contemporary military purchase. The increased professionalism of the army during the 1640s extended also to the lower ranks, as demonstrated in a 1644 pamphlet, *The Souldiers Catechisme*. Written by the Parliamentary army chaplain Robert Ram, and reprinted seven times by the end of 1645, it exhorted three things of its readers: to be 'religious and godly', 'couragious and valiant' and 'skilfull in the Militarie Profession'. To be skilful, the text advised 'Both Commanders, Officers and common Souldiers may advantage themselves by reading and observing what hath been written by eminent Souldiers'.<sup>46</sup> As in Herbert's romance, military discipline is contingent upon reading. All participants in combat, from the most to the least senior in rank, can gain military advantage from study.

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<sup>46</sup> Robert Ram, *The Souldiers Catechisme: composed for the Parliaments Army* (1644) Wing R196 p. 26.

Broghill also frames textual transmission of military knowledge as an agent of heroic action, proposing the study of classical models to construct a heroic warrior. In *The Art of War* he cites Julius Caesar's descriptions of the siege of Alésia against Vercingetorix in the seventh book of the *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* and the techniques of circumvallation and contravallation, in which the besieging Romans were able to starve out the town and see off an army of relief led by Vercassivellaunus.<sup>47</sup> In choosing this example Broghill is not just alighting upon a great moment in the history of a hero, as Narcissus would have it. Rather, it is embedded within a wider current of study and appreciation by lay readers of Caesar's cool head at during his campaigns in Gaul and the Alésia siege in particular. It is tradition of reading that reaches back to Montaigne, who favourably contrasted Caesar's 'warie and considerate' approach to Alexander's disposition to 'seeke out, and by maine force to runne into dangers, as an impetuous or raging torrent'.<sup>48</sup> In Broghill's eyes, the deeds of the great hero must be studied for practical purposes; the *Commentarii* is the Ur-text, and the genealogy of siegecraft extends to the great Continental campaigns of the early seventeenth century that were documented by Hexham and others:

[...] the most eminent Captains of the Moderns, as I have been credibly informed, have model'd the design of their Sieges [upon Caesar], viz. the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Parma, and the Marquiss of Spinola, in their great Sieges of Maestricht, Antwerp, and Breda. (p.168)

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<sup>47</sup> *The Art of War*, p. 168.

<sup>48</sup> Michel de Montaigne, 'Observations concerning the meanes to warre after the maner of Iulius Caesar', *The Essayes, or morall, politike and militarie discourses* trans. by John Florio (1603) STC 18041, 2.34, pp. 421-426, (pp. 423, 424).

Broghill's valorisation of Roman discipline, generalship and classical siegecraft implicitly applauds their contemporary iterations in the parliamentary forces, for which he fought in Ireland. Such qualities are also to the fore in *Parthenissa's* accounts of combat. In the romance's second major narrative strand, Artavasdes has returned to Armenia from Rome where he had been sent by his father 'to instruct me in the Civil and Military Discipline' (p. 30). As we have seen, Artavasdes's narration of combat in Armenia is notably numerical in expressing military strength and topography, a sign that he has learned his soldiering not just through experience but also through study. In similar terms, Broghill admits in his foreword to the 1655 edition of *Parthenissa* that in his youth he had a 'Detestation to Readeing and Studdy' that was only overcome when he read romances in France. 'In the Perusall of those Bookes, I met with the names & some of the Actions, of those Hero's, whome I had heard off, in the Scoole'.<sup>49</sup> Broghill positions romance alongside these historical textbooks in informing the reader of the details of their leadership. By incorporating a Roman history as a manual, romance, too, can become a tool of learning.

The first section of this chapter has investigated the way that interregnum romance is shaped by accounts of the technological operations of contemporary siegecraft. We now examine further implications of modernising combat narratives in romance by considering the representation of siege as a social phenomenon.

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<sup>49</sup> Broghill, Preface to *Parthenissa, A Romance* (1655), Wing O491A, sig. Ar, sig. Av. This preface does not appear in the 1676 six-volume edition.

### Honour, ethics and the civilian experience of siege

In contrast to field battles, sieges of towns immediately embroiled civilians in combat. Accordingly, we now consider the extent to which siege prompts romance to widen its narratives of combat into the civil sphere and begin to document war as a social experience. In discussing this question, this section reads romances in tandem with widely-consumed news book narratives of combat during the Civil War.<sup>50</sup> The protracted nature of siege meant that it became fodder for pamphlets, which as Joad Raymond makes clear, changed news from being a 'restricted private experience' into one that was 'widespread and available to less prestigious social groups.'<sup>51</sup> Pamphlet versions of siege differed markedly from elite fictions of war in that they were largely demotic accounts of witness in which documentary testimony was overtly performed. Even more pertinently, newsbooks include non-combatants, whether as narrators or as characters within the narrative. In particular, we will read the romances in the light of the 1648 siege of Colchester. That siege had considerable military and cultural significance, and the execution of two of the royalist defenders of the town, spawned considerable commentary on ethics, military law and political martyrdom.

The narration of attritional warfare in both *Parthenissa* and *The Princess Cloria* draw on texts that rely on techniques of immediacy. *The Princess Cloria*, which retells the events of the Civil War in more detail than any other interregnum romance, relies upon the reader's familiarity with first-person reportage. Throughout the romance, military engagements in Britain are

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<sup>50</sup> See Joad Raymond, *Making the News; An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England, 1641-1660* (Moreton-in-Marsh: The Windrush Press, 1993), and *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641-1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

<sup>51</sup> Raymond, *Making the News*, p. 6.

recorded not in an epic register but with concision and material detail borrowed from pamphlet accounts. For example, in June 1648 the royalist newsbook *Mercurius Psitacus* recorded with great approval the sally out of Colchester led by Lord Goring and Sir Charles Lucas against Sir Thomas Fairfax's entrenched army:

Being come before the towne the Turkes streight fell to fashioning their half moones, and to raise batteries, as if they meant to scale heaven, as the Titans of old, but the Lord Goring and Sir Charles Lucas soon thundred amongst them, firing so furiously upon them, with their brazen cannons, that they were compelled to forsake Pelion and Offa, and to betake themselves into their trenches for shelter; but Sir Charles Lucas, not wishing to give the Cravens breathing time, with six hundred selected horsemen sallied out upon them ere the Saints could buckle on the shield of Salvation, and after a cruell fight (for indeed the righteous were more in number than the wicked) totally routed them, pursuing the elect many miles, so that the high waies were paved with their Carkasses.<sup>52</sup>

*The Princess Cloria* closely follows newsbook reporting of the early days of the Colchester siege. It incorporates the political importance of the siege in the latter days of the second civil war, the town's attempts to fortify itself, the arrival of Farezius (Sir Thomas Fairfax), and the first sally by the besieged forces from within the walls, who

quickly issued out of the Town with such a violence, as if nothing but slaughter and destruction could satisfie the raging spleen, that seemed to be created in our enflamed bosoms [...] in an instant on both sides, our Troops and Companies began to be divided, onely by heaps of dead

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<sup>52</sup> *Mercurius Psitacus*, 21<sup>st</sup>-26<sup>th</sup> June (1648), Thomason 71.E.449 [28], p. 2.

bodies, that appeared in some sort to be circumscribed by bounds, or rather Rivers of blood [...] (p. 240)

*The Princess Cloria* does not simply follow the documentary project of the newsbook but also incorporates the newsbook on a meta-textual level. It intersperses numerous passages in which a character gives Cloria or her nurse Roxana the latest news, and in which romance diction is eschewed in favour of quasi-journalistic narration of events that take into account recent history, political wranglings and battles. *The Princess Cloria's* rendering of the siege of Cleosa is through a messenger who has travelled with Ascanius (Prince James) on the Continent and who has returned to Lydia and taken part in the siege. The messenger's name, Mercuris, is a personification of newsbooks such as the royalist *Mercurius Aulicus* and the Parliamentary *Mercurius Britannicus* that shaped reportage and polemic in the 1640s. Mercuris's letter of introduction to Roxana, Cloria's nurse, even functions as a kind of paratext to the mini-narrative; he tells her that he will 'impart unto your self many remarkable and beneficial passages' (p. 234), a persuasive frame that would have been familiar to newsbook readers.

All narration of battles and of many political events in *The Princess Cloria* is carried out by narrators who relate the events at one remove to the listener. These accounts play on romance-readers' expectations of narrative digressions, but they are recast as news stories that allow the reader to grasp the histories of European royal families, the situation in Ireland, or military campaigns and political developments in England and Scotland. Both Creses (Clarendon) and the priest who shelters Narcissus, who are the two key providers of lengthy

newsbook-style accounts of current events, are also consumers of news. They travel to the outskirts of Sardis to an inn:

They desired their Hoast with an equal indifference to let them understand, as well the news that concerned the proceedings of the Senate as that which belonged more properly to the Army (p. 187)

*The Princess Cloria's* rendition of recent history therefore acknowledges newsbooks' centrality to contemporary political and military developments and underlines the importance of narrative immediacy within romance.

While *Parthenissa* largely avoids direct reference to incidents from the Civil War, its fictional siege of Artaxata encompasses the military, political and civic dimensions of conflict that were present in pamphlet accounts of sieges, and in which the hunger of the inhabitants document an underlying crisis of political and military authority. The experience of siege within a town becomes an overt negotiation of political control, since the leader must seek the loyalty of the inhabitants, who are not under his direct military command and not subject to the same military code of conduct. For example, the siege of Chester lasted several months from autumn 1645; by the end of the siege, and with barely any food supplies, the city governor Lord Byron could no longer count on the support of the townspeople and eventually signed articles of surrender on 1 February 1646.<sup>53</sup> The parliamentary besiegers at Colchester understood how a town's suffering could be used to their advantage; when it was clear that no

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<sup>53</sup> See 'Early modern Chester 1550-1762: The civil war and interregnum, 1642-60', *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 5 part 1: The City of Chester: General History and Topography* (2003), pp. 115-125. <[www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=19198](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=19198)> Other examples of besiegers trying to starve out the towns include the second siege of Basing House in 1644 and the third siege of Newark in 1645. Like Chester and Colchester, both were held by royalists and surrendered to parliamentary forces.

royalist army of relief would come to Colchester's rescue, General Fairfax's forces sent kites with pamphlets over the city walls in an attempt to sway the townspeople to rebellion.<sup>54</sup> It was a recognition that the townspeople's loyalty to military leaders was usually fragile in times of crisis, and also of the persuasive power of newsprint.

Broghill later noted in *The Art of War* that 'in time of War, especially in Garisons where there are many Inhabitants, who can know when danger and treachery is at hand' (p. 43). The observation is dramatised at length in Artavasdes's narration of the siege of Artaxata in the first volume of *Parthenissa*. Despite losing four thousand men in his initial attack on the city, Celindus, the rebel leader, mobilises his forces once more. Artavasdes immediately informs the king and his council, 'who were all astonisht at Celindus resolution, and believ'd he durst not have assum'd it, were he not favour'd by some of the Garrison' (p. 44). Indeed, Crasolis, a city nobleman on the king's council is secretly working for Celindus's interest. He advises the council to be harsh with the discontented townspeople, but his real reason is 'that Celindus might make use of the disorder' (p. 51). Artaxata is a siege in which trust cannot be assumed.

The military and the civic spheres conflict most obviously when the narrator Artavasdes tells of the townspeople protesting to the king, Artabazus, their hunger tempting them to give in to the Celindus's forces that are waiting outside the walls:

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<sup>54</sup> See Andrea Brady, 'Dying with Honour: Literary Propaganda and the Second English Civil War', *The Journal of Military History*, 70 (2006), 9-30.

the scarcity of Victuals which now began somewhat to afflict the Inhabitants (though not in so high a degree by as much as was represented to Artabazus) gave Celindus's Partizans too plausible a rise to renew their former requests, and to put the King in mind of his engagement of soon ending their miseries by Treaty or Force The multitude much discontented by the length of the Siege, greedily laid hold of the exhortation, and came far more numerous to the Palace than the first time (p. 52)

In its inclusion of public unrest and hunger, *Parthenissa* is drawing on journalistic accounts of siege, which concern themselves not just with military actions but also the effect of war on civilians. This was most dramatically realised at the three-month siege of Colchester. A report dated 28 June 1648 from Colchester relates that even a fortnight into the blockade 'they begin to be exceedingly straightned in the towne for provisions, especially for horse-meat'.<sup>55</sup> Matthew Carter's later, more detailed, account of the siege relates the material privations of the inhabitants:

Whereupon the poor of the Town having quite exhausted their provision, began to throng together, making great clamours and exclamations of their ill usage, and the necessities they were fallen into, their Bellies sounding alarums to their Mouthes, made their mouthes instruments to thunder them forth to the ears of the Officers of the Army [...]

And now began Horse-flesh to be as precious to us as the choicest meat before, the Souldiers in generall, and all Officers and Gentlemen from the Lords to the lowest degree or quality, eating nothing else, unlesse Cats and Doggs [...] <sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> R.L., *Two sallies forth by the Lord Goring and Sir Charles Lucas at Coulchester, on Munday and Tuesday last* (1648) Wing L56A, p. 6.

<sup>56</sup> Matthew Carter, *A Most True and Exact Relation of that honourable though unfortunate Expedition of Kent, Essex and Colchester* (1650) Wing C662, pp. 158, 160-1. Further references are given in the text.

The siege of Artaxata in Armenia is told by Artavasdes to Artabanus. The narration dwells on the miseries of the townspeople:

[.] we found that many of the Inhabitants of Artaxata had petition'd to Artabazus to commiserate their condition, since by their wants they were reduc'd to such misery, that if by some means, a Peace were not concluded with Celindus, or the Siege rais'd, they must yield to him rather than to Famine (p. 51)

The presentation of siege through the material details of misery and famine recurs in the tale of Casilinum in the Roman section of *Parthenissa*. The short account of Casilinum is based on Livy, who tells us that the lack of food became so serious that the inhabitants had to 'chew leather thongs and the hides from their shields, softened in hot water; they ate mice and other creatures, and dug up every sort of root and green-stuff they could find'.<sup>57</sup> Whereas in Livy the detail is part of an assessment of Hannibal's military options, in *Parthenissa* the focal point is shifted towards the inhabitants' physical experience of siege. Broghill anchors the siege of Casilinum in the town's wretchedness that is entirely in keeping with renderings of the Colchester siege, during which, as Matthew Carter reported, the inhabitants were reduced to eating cats and dogs. The people of Casilinum are 'constrain'd to feed upon Mice, Rats, and such Roots as they could dig out of their Counterscarfs and Meadows under their Walls' (p. 113). The famished bodies of the townspeople evoke a collective heroism of

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<sup>57</sup> *Livy*, trans. by Frank Gardner Moore, 14 vols (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1940), VI, Book XXIII, p. 67.

suffering that displaces a caste-based heroism of action, much as newsbook reports framed the besieged, such as the 'gallant town' of Colchester.<sup>58</sup>

What we see, then, within the narratives of Artaxata, Pettelia and Casilinum in *Parthenissa* are accounts of the civilian experience of siege that absorb elements from newsbooks. For romance to draw on the newsbook is to engage with a textual culture that offers both a stylistic and thematic reworking of accounts of combat. To build in the social dimension of warfare is a clear shift within romance, which had hitherto narrated combat from a position of identification with the chivalric warrior. In turn, this concern with non-combatants leads a number of interregnum romances to embark upon a critique of both an idealised martial code and military behaviour in practice.

We now consider how *Parthenissa* and *The Princess Cloria* depict the moral complexities of siege, and in particular how they present the code of military honour. To begin with, the notion of obtaining victory through blockade already challenges traditional military notions of honour in combat. Henry Hexham noted the unease felt by soldiers in winning siege through attrition rather than fighting:

Heere your honour shall see, the difference between a Towne blocked vp, which is a languishing death, and a Towne bravely besieged, & taken in by Approaches, which in a Souldiers opinion, is accounted more honorable [...] <sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> *The Colchester spie. Truly informing the kingdome of the estate of that gallant town, and the attempts of Fairfax against it* (1648), Thomason E.458 [4].

<sup>59</sup> Henry Hexham, *A True and Briefe Relation of the Famous Siege of Breda* (Delft: 1637), STC 13265, sig. A1r-v.

Hexham unambiguously states that siege disrupts the notion of traditional valour in combat. *Parthenissa's* rendition of Hannibal's exploits explicitly confronts this uncomfortable form of victory at the siege of Pettelia:

But Hannibal, who by three bloody assaults, had learn'd,  
that Famine onely could make him Lord of Pettely, had  
given over all hopes of obtaining it by storm, and lay a  
while blocking of it up, with as much quiet, as his  
disgraces would permit, and at last weary'd with the  
tediousness of the Siege, left Himilco to starve them out  
[...] (p. 109)

The military and civilian jurisdictions may physically overlap in the space of combat, particularly in a besieged town, but they are distinct. *Parthenissa* and *Princess Cloria*, the two romances of the 1650s in which combat, particularly large-scale siege warfare, is fundamental to the narrative, both ventilate the anxiety about the meaning and application of military honour precisely because of its impact on civilians.

We now return to the siege of Colchester of 1648, which crystallised contemporary debate around military honour, ethics and atrocity. The controversy revolved around the extent to which attrition and starvation could be allowed to continue, and at what point should the besieged lay down their arms when they had already lasted so long. There were claims of atrocity on both sides: parliamentarians accused the Colchester defenders of using poisoned bullets, while the royalists charged Fairfax's forces with looting the family tombs of the Lucas family. Famine and the absolute impossibility of royalist victory once Fairfax's forces were joined by those of Colonel Thomas Rainsborough, led Colchester's soldiers to near-mutiny and Lord Goring, Lord

Capel, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle were eventually persuaded to surrender. Having previously offered quarter to the town, Fairfax and Rainsborough had Lucas and Lisle executed because they had held out. The parliamentarians claimed that the royalists had prolonged the sufferings of the people by refusing to surrender earlier.

Narratives of the siege of Colchester are numerous. In these, the royalists began a project of elegy and martyrdom that would prefigure that of Charles I at his execution six months later, while parliamentarians justified their actions.<sup>60</sup> They include dramatic and poetic texts written in the aftermath of the town's surrender and the execution of Lucas and Lisle, which contest the heroism and, correspondingly, the ethics of the encounter. Royalist examples include the 1649 playtext *The Famous Tragedie of King Charles I, Basely Butchered*, in which the dead royalist heroes of Colchester make an appearance, and Hester Pulter's manuscript poem 'On Those Two Unparalleled Friends, Sir George Lisle and Sir Charles Lucas'. On the parliamentary side, John Milton praised Fairfax's 'firm unshaken virtue' in his own unpublished poem 'On the Lord General Fairfax at the Siege of Colchester'.<sup>61</sup> As Andrea Brady notes in her study on the literary

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<sup>60</sup> Royalist tracts include *An Elegie on the most Barbarous, Unparallel'd, Unsouldiery Murder committed at Colchester* (1648) Wing E424-74; *The Cruell Tragedy or inhumane Butchery of Hamor and Shechem* (1648); Wing C7422-74; *Two Epitaphs occasioned by the Death of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, basely assassinated at Colchester* (1648), Wing T3440-74. Parliamentary pamphlets include *A copy of some papers lately passed betwixt Lord Fairfax on the one side, and the Earle of Norwich, Lord Capel and Sir Charles Lucas on the other* (1648) Wing C6198A; *The Earl of Norwich, Lord Capel & Sir Charls Lucas, their Peremptory Answer, in refusing to Surrender Colchester, upon the Lord Generalls Conditions* (1648) Wing N1337; *Articles for the Surrender of Colchester* (1648), Thomason E.461[18]; *A True and Exact Relation of the Taking of Colchester* (1648) Wing S186; See also Barbara Donagan, 'The Web of Honour: Soldiers, Christians and Gentlemen in the English Civil War', *The Historical Journal*, 44 (2001), 365-389; and Susan Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 63.

<sup>61</sup> *The Famous Tragedie of King Charles I, Basely Butchered* (1649), Wing F384; Hester Pulter, 'On Those Two Unparalleled Friends, Sir George Lisle and Sir Charles Lucas', in *Women Poets of the English Civil War*, ed. by Sarah C.E. Ross and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp. 104-7; John Milton, 'On the Lord General Fairfax at the

propaganda that was spawned by Colchester, rhetorical devices drawn from classical and British history ‘inscribed the death of these three English soldiers, and by extension the armed struggle between the parties of the king and of Parliament, in larger narratives of heroism and providential history.’<sup>62</sup> Colchester became a textual crucible in which different iterations of heroism and honour were formed, whether they belonged to the besiegers, the defenders or the town itself. Despite the attention given to the textualisation of Colchester, scholarship on the romance response to those events has been lacking. Accordingly, we now address how interregnum romances engage with the issues raised by the Colchester siege.

As a text written in the vein of heroic fiction, *Parthenissa* might be seen to borrow from the Frondist aristocratic construction of honour, or ‘gloire’, that suffuses contemporary French romance. Mark Bannister, in his study of the genre, tells us that ‘since the heroic novel was concerned almost exclusively with military leaders, the area in which *gloire* manifested itself in the novel tended to be dominated by the battlefield or tournament’.<sup>63</sup> If located as a mere imitation of French romance, *Parthenissa*’s innately virtuous characters do not on an initial reading lend themselves to a critique of honour. However, if we read it as an English romance written by an experienced soldier, we see that *Parthenissa* responds to the contemporary debate over military ethics that crystallised at Colchester.

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Siege of Colchester’ in *The Major Works*, ed. by Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 85.

<sup>62</sup> Andrea Brady, ‘Dying with Honour: Literary Propaganda and the Second English Civil War’, *The Journal of Military History*, 70 (2006), 9-30.

<sup>63</sup> Mark Bannister, *Privileged Mortals: The French Heroic Novel 1630-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 42.

In the love story of Izadora and Perolla in the Roman section of *Parthenissa*, Izadora relates Perolla's heroic history prior to their meeting, and in particular the siege of Petelia, a city loyal to Rome and under a Carthaginian blockade. She recounts that while many of the old people and children had been sent away before Hannibal's approach, there were many non-combatants who remained in the city and who were draining resources and potentially weakening the town's defence: 'yet they retain'd so many Women, that the feeding of them must of necessity hasten their ruine' (p. 110). *Parthenissa* is faithful here to Livy's account of the siege of Petelia during the wars of Hannibal, which insists on the obstinate defence of the town amid the miseries of famine, and the inhabitants were 'reduced to living upon hides, grass, roots, soft bark and leaves stripped from trees'.<sup>64</sup> But whereas Livy dispenses with the siege account in several sentences and makes it clear that attrition has won the day, Broghill diverges from Livy's account. He adds the story of Amazora, a high-born lady of Petelia who gathers together the women of the town and exhorts them to self-sacrifice. All the women, who 'thought Glory was more pleasing than Life' (p. 110) steal out to certain death at the hands of Hannibal's forces in order to 'free the City from the misery of Famine, or at least from their hastening it'. She and the other women refuse to suffer the 'certain languishing death' of famine and, unbeknownst to the men in the town, opt instead for death by the sword. Amazora writes to Perolla:

We had been ill Proficients, and unworthy your  
protection, had not the daily demonstrations of your  
Gallantries created some in us, and though the too rigid

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<sup>64</sup> *Livy*, Book XXIII, p. 101.

Laws of our Sex, forbid us to employ our resolutions in an Active, yet it exempts us from a Passive Virtue. We are therefore gone to expose our selves to the Carthagineans Swords, and, and had rather they should be employ'd for our destructions, than be indebted for our lives, to those which are Enemies to your and our Liberties. If contrary to our hopes and desires they save us, we have eased you of a burthen your civilities did not mention, and which consequently had had an unfitting return any way but this. But if we are sacrific'd to their fury, let your courages (if they are capable of any accession) be thereby so heightned, that whilst you celebrate our Deaths in Tears, you necessitate your Enemies to do the like in Bloud. (pp. 110-111)

After Amazora leads out two thousand women of Petelia to death at the hands of the Carthaginians, their self-sacrifice inspires the remaining three thousand Petelian men to sally out of the town and fight the besiegers. The fall of Petelia to famine as related by Livy, is rewritten in *Parthenissa* as a glorious last stand. It is the most extreme act of heroism in the whole romance and one of which Dorothy Osborne took particular note as a 'handsome thing'.<sup>65</sup>

Broghill's alternative version of the Petelian siege attributes heroic agency to the women, as Amazora's exhortation in her letter to Perolla makes clear ('Then let your courages (if they are capable of any accession) be thereby so heightned'). The civilians provide the valiant template that the soldiers follow: when they go to battle, they are rallied by Perolla's cry of 'remember Amazora and her followers' (p. 112). After the women's bodies are recovered for burial, Perolla's companions find among her effects a letter to Perolla that she had never sent. In it, the reader learns that Amazora's sacrifice has been occasioned by love:

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<sup>65</sup> Dorothy Osborne, *The Letters of Dorothy Osborne to William Temple*, ed. by G.C. Moore Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), Letter 58, p. 143.

‘Tis not Amazora, but her death discovers she had a passion for you, had she lived, the impossibility of disclosing, had it been as great, as perhaps the obtaining of a reciprocal one (p. 111)

Amazora, faced with a passion she believes Perolla cannot return, has put her love at the service of the town of Petelia, and in return she, rather than the soldiers, has won renown. By creating an example of courage of sacrifice, Amazora’s love has broken the impasse of the siege.

There are textual precedents for female sacrifice on behalf of a community; the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis; or the deaths of Pasithea, Theope and Eubule, offered up to the gods by Leo, son of Orpheus, who did so ‘to divert a great pestilence which then raged in the City’.<sup>66</sup> As we will see in chapter five, Broghill was drawn to the concept of sacrifice as supreme virtue. However, there are no traces of Greek stories in *Parthenissa*, which uses Roman history, chivalric romance and French neoclassical writing as its intertextual touchpoints. Rather, the violent episode of Amazora episode can be seen as a radical refashioning of a reported incident at the siege of Colchester – a siege that took place just nine months before Broghill began writing the romance and which involved his brother-in-law Lord Goring as one of the four royalist commanders.

Two months into the siege, according to the Parliamentary newsbook *The Moderate Intelligencer*, the starving town sent a letter to the

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<sup>66</sup> Edward Phillips, *The new world of English words, or, A general dictionary containing the interpretations of such hard words as are derived from other languages* (1658) Wing P2068, sig. Z1.

Parliamentarian forces asking that people be allowed to leave, to which Fairfax replied that Colchester must first surrender.

The next day they send out 500 women, who with much confidence march towards Col. Rainsborows Quarters: he commands a Cannon to be shot off, but so as not to hurt them, they come on notwithstanding, he orders the firing some Muskets with powder, that daunts them not, he sends out some souldiers, bids them strip some, this makes them run, but none were stripped; the Town refuses to let them in, they stand between both: the Gen. sends, tells them of their cruelty, and saith, they shall answer for their bloud [...] <sup>67</sup>

The report makes it clear that it is a chaotic rather than heroic incident in which the women are - literally - caught between the military jurisdiction of the parliamentary forces and the civil jurisdiction of the starving town. The story of the women encapsulates in spatial terms the challenge that siege poses to martial honour, and the clash between social and military dimension of war. Situating *Parthenissa* in the context of the extratextual debates over martial honour and civilian suffering in the wake of Colchester makes the passage considerably more incendiary than on first reading.

The textual process by which Broghill transforms the five hundred civilian women into two thousand fictional heroines of siege begins with an incident from a newsbook and is amplified through romance into a competing version to masculine martial valour. They leave the walled town for the same reason of famine, but whereas the Colchester women are pleading to live, the Petelian women have decided to die in an act of self-abnegation in order to save the men they leave behind, and ultimately the city itself. Their leader has died

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<sup>67</sup> *The Moderate Intelligencer*, 17-24 August (1648), Thomason 73:E.460[35], sig.A6v.

for love, a heroic act that is devoid of self-interest and hence deserves the name of honour.

While Broghill allows virtuous sacrifice to shape his fictional siege of Petelia, there is more political disquiet at play in Herbert's romance account in *The Princess Cloria* of the siege of Cleosa. In both its treatment of the events and its placement in the narrative as one of the last conflicts before the defeat of the king's forces, Cleosa clearly represents Colchester. In Herbert's version of the siege, one commander, Leonides, is the fictional representation of a group of officers including Lord Goring, Lord Capel, Sir George Lisle and Sir Charles Lucas who undertook the defence of the town. The narrative begins with Farezius (Fairfax) pressing Leonides to surrender Cleosa to besieging forces. Farezius sends a messenger to the commander and warns him that if he does not surrender then he can 'when as the Tenders in the general being refused, what the power of his conquering Sword can purchase, you must expect in full rigour' (p. 241). Farezius's declaration frames Leonides's dilemma in deciding whether to surrender the town in conventional military terms of quarter, the basis upon which the parliamentarians decided to execute Lisle and Lucas. Deliberating with his men, Leonides's resistance to Farezius takes two forms. The first is pragmatic. He argues that in surrendering they cannot count on mercy from their enemies ('where power and opportunity had the upper hand, what one proof have we had of their lenity?' p. 242). The second reason is abstract, but the one that would be entirely familiar to readers of romance. What compels Leonides to action is his sense of honour and reputation:

No, my friends, and dear fellows and companions in Arms, said he, let us either purchase an absolute freedom and security by our swords, whereby we may gain our own conditions, without the control of other Masters but our King, for whom we have professed only to take up Arms; or let our blood and honour be buried together in one grave, to teach worth and truth to posterity, who may thereby after our deaths be instructed towards the forming of such governments, as may make both them and us famous in the world to some convenient eternity (p. 242)

Leonides' dogged defence of the town in the face of disaster is one that opens up the wider issue of honour and pragmatism. In one of his essays, Montaigne articulates the problem of excess of valour:

Valor hath its limites, as other vertues have: which if a man out-go, hee shall find himselfe in the traine of vice: in such sort, that vnlesse a man know their right bounds, which in truth are not on a sudaine, easily hit vpon, he may fall into rashnesse, obstinacie, and follie. From this consideration grew the custome we hold in warres; to punish, and that with death, those who wilfully opiniate themselves to defend a place; which by the rules of warre, can not be kept.<sup>68</sup>

Echoing Montaigne, Herbert dramatises how an overly heroic stance can have vicious effects. The siege of Cleosa becomes the scene of a potentially tragic dilemma when Farezius kidnaps Leonides's son in order to force the surrender of the town. Herbert is using an incident reported in *The Colchester Spie* in the second month of the siege:

Yea their barbarous crueltie extended so farre, that they commanded the Lord Capells Son, an infant of tender

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<sup>68</sup> Montaigne, 'Men are punished by too-much opiniating themselves in a place without reason', *The Essayes*, 1. 14, pp. 23-24 (p. 23).

yeares to be ravisht from his mothers armes, and sent him downe to the Excellent villaine Fairfax, to place him before the mouth of their Enemies cannon, that so in case any shot was made the Innocent Child might first lead the dance of death.<sup>69</sup>

However, in the romance the leader of Farezius's troops who stages the abduction, feels moral qualms on being overcome with pity on seeing the sleeping child (p. 244), but carries out his commander's orders. Human sympathy is briefly pitted against the exigencies of conflict, foreshadowing an impassioned debate between Leonides and his wife over military honour and civilian love.

So far the narrative has framed the action in heroic romance terms; to surrender, even if it is to save lives, is dishonourable. Leonides declares: 'Fame, fame, is that must make us both live eternally' (p. 246). He refuses to deal with the hostage-taker Farezius, preferring to be 'his own child's executioner, then suffer him to live, either to be a stain to his honour' (p. 244). But the intervention of Salona, Leonides's wife and the mother of his son, entirely recasts the politics of surrender. She rails:

But Leonides if you will needs for your glory shew your self the worst of tyrants, at leastwise begin the Tragedy with your ever loving and obedient Wife; and by that act you will become something more merciful, for that she shall not be obliged to behold, not onely her Son slaughtered, but slaughtered by the endeavours of his own Father: 'Tis most certain that Farezius doth shew himself a great deal less cruel, in prosecuting the death of his esteemed enemies, then Leonides who becomes the unrelenting destroyer of his chiefest friends; for he would have our Son live, when the Father is most violent to have him dye: No, no, do not flatter your self with these fond

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<sup>69</sup> *The Colchester Spie*, 1, 11 August 1648, Thomason 73:E.458.4, sig. A2v.

conceits of Honour and Loyalty, when this very act of yours in future times, will be sufficient to destroy that opinion, which you think should make you famous to after ages. (p. 246)

The son, named Astianax, is a reference to the son of Hector and Andromache who was held hostage by Pyrrhus after the fall of Troy. In a romance that operates within the convention of fictional names to represent versions of historical characters, this is the one of two names with loaded classical allusions. Astianax, who according to Ovid's version of the Trojan story, 'downe was cast' by the Greeks, becomes a wider allegory for the fate of Colchester itself and of a nation's hopes.<sup>70</sup> In this context, the choice of Leonides for Astianax's father, is surely intended to evoke Leonidas, the king of Sparta who died as his tiny force held off Xerxes's Persian army at Thermopylae. Yet Herbert rejects the opportunity to elegise the events of the Colchester siege. Instead, he insists on the frailty of any heroic romance or epic position and instead critiques the overblown ethos that puts death before dishonor and which are inscribed in the characters' names. Leonides determines to rescue his son from his captors and recants from his original rigid position:

[...] it will be thought the purchase was bought at much too dear a rate, when not onely my own blood and yours have been spilt in the service, but an innocent sacrifice offered to the onely opinion of fame [...] (p. 247)

Leonides believes he has found the middle way between the two positions of honour and affection by deciding to rescue his son but not surrendering the

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<sup>70</sup> Ovid, *The XV books of P. Ovidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphosis*, trans. by Arthur Golding (1567), STC 18956, p. 164.

town. Yet once the boy is delivered home, the narrative focus is on the reunion of mother and son. Despite the danger run by Leonides and his men, Salona 'seemed neither to reflect upon the manner of her Sons delivery, much less took any notice of the persons present, that had been gallant actors in so noble design' (p. 249). Not only is Leonides not reunited with his wife and child, but he has no gratitude from the inhabitants of Cleosa; the scene of reunion is interrupted by the other soldiers, who arrive saying that "The Town must needs have been left unguarded and by that means exposed to dangerous consequences, if the plot should not have succeeded according to their intention' (p. 249). In a grimly bathetic ending, the heroism of Leonides and his men goes unrecognised by the mother and the other soldiers. Furthermore, there is no glorious last stand for Leonides. The narrative of Cleosa fades away unresolved in the romance as the narrator Mercuris tells his auditor Roxana that at this point he leaves Cleosa for the capital Sardis (London). Furthermore *The Princess Cloria*, which holds itself out as a royalist romance in its frontispiece, significantly declines to participate in the martyrology around Colchester, in which the martyrdom shores up the discourse of honour and fame after death.

As we have seen, both *Parthenissa* (obliquely) and *The Princess Cloria* (overtly) incorporate the Colchester siege into their narratives of combat. In doing so, they offer critiques of honour that form part of a wider textual response to Colchester, in which the conduct of siege warfare was so violently contested. *Parthenissa* proposes a valour based on self-sacrifice in which honour is displaced onto the civilians and allows them to access the heroic state

hitherto reserved for warriors, while *The Princess Cloria* overtly questions the ideology of military honour itself.

Victoria Kahn has argued that the romances of the 1650s labour to balance self-interest or vainglory with affection and in doing so, participate in the seventeenth-century debate about the role of emotion within political obligation. 'Like Hobbes,' she argues, 'these authors depict a world of passion and interest, in which the aristocratic pursuit of honour is more often a cloak for factional self-interest and self-aggrandisement than an expression of true nobility'.<sup>71</sup> In the episode of Cleosa, Herbert takes a real incident and uses it to interrogate the assumptions around honour in a way that chimes with Thomas Hobbes's analysis in *Leviathan* that 'glory', 'competition' and 'diffidence' are the 'three principall causes of quarrell'. Glory (or the aristocratic gloire in French romance), drives men to desire 'trifles, as a word, a smile, a different opinion, and any other signe of undervalue, either direct in their Persons, or by reflexion in their Kindred, their Friends, their Nation, their Profession, or their Name'.<sup>72</sup> Such vainglory is pitted against both virtue and the security of the community. While Hobbes's solution is to make the sovereign the only source of honour rather than its being refracted among quarrelling citizens, interregnum romances must create fictions within a context of contested authority. What *The Princess Cloria* in particular proposes is a discourse that is fundamental to the pleasure of the romance genre: love. The affective romance form is utilised to offer an alternative system of emotional identification or sympathy, that

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<sup>71</sup> Victoria Kahn, 'Reinventing Romance, or the Surprising Effects of Sympathy', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 55 (2002), 625-661 (p. 627).

<sup>72</sup> Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan: The English and Latin Texts*, ed. by Noel Malcolm, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2012), II, p. 192.

displaces Hobbesian vainglory. In engaging the reader's emotion, love becomes a powerful tool to challenge the notion of honour in combat.

### **Conclusion**

In investigating romance narratives of combat produced in the decade after the Civil War, this chapter has put *Parthenissa* and *The Princess Cloria* next to contemporary non-fictional texts and found that they register changes in warfare through the centrality of siege in their narratives. Siege, which was a key development of the war in England, becomes a marker of plausibility since contemporary readers would have encountered it through their own lived experience of conflict, through contemporary accounts of Civil War engagements or popular theoretical manuals of engineering.

Heroic romance and roman à clef are rarely read together, but this chapter has shown that both sub-genres of fiction show irresistible textual pressures to re-evaluate literary narratives of battle and the warrior caste. While chivalric conventions in fiction were under attack from parodies such as *Don Quixote*, interregnum romances embed a wider critique of their own heritage by an attention to the changes in warfare and begin to construe war as first a technological and second a social phenomenon. This is at its most evident in city sieges, since they required advanced engineering expertise by both defenders and besiegers, and the involvement of non-combatants entailed a civic dimension that is absent from the traditional space of war, the battlefield.

In examining the use of siege within these texts an emerging tension in the relationship between romance and military discourse becomes apparent. *Parthenissa* and *The Princess Cloria* overtly absorb technology and

contemporary attritional warfare into their narratives by drawing on mathematics and military manuals, in which the romance hero is reimagined as a skilled general with intellectual capital and a grasp of martial discipline.

The chapter's investigation of combat in *Parthenissa* and *The Princess Cloria* also reveals another similarity between the two romances: they recast warfare as a social phenomenon, which in turn has revealed the influence of newsbook reporting in their representations of war. It suggests that Broghill and Herbert see that romance has a role to retell events that are close to their readers' experience. By being aware of the way that romance discourse blends with an immediacy recognisable from newsbooks, this discussion has in particular touched on how romances replay factual events. The next chapter develops this point and explores the way interregnum fiction narrates political history and the status of the monarch.

## Chapter Two: The sovereign

From *Arcadia* to *Argenis*, political romance is regularly concerned with statecraft and the deeds of kings and queens. Taking a diachronic approach in contrast with the last chapter's synchronic discussion of romance's shared discourses of war, this chapter investigates the representation of kingship in romances written in a period in which the king had been charged with tyranny and dethroned. How do interregnum romances narrate royal history, and what commentaries do they offer on the authority of the sovereign?

The 1650s and early 1660s saw the publication of a number of allegorised political narratives that retold events from Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline politics. Between 1653 and 1661 *The Princess Cloria* (1653-61), *Theophania* (1655) and *Panthalia* (1659) appeared in print. Both *Panthalia* and the 1661 five-volume of *The Princess Cloria* perform their political affiliation through identical sub-titles ('The Royal Romance') and illustrated frontispieces that include royal portraits, *Panthalia* depicting Charles II and *The Princess Cloria* Charles I.<sup>1</sup> All three retell episodes from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century history and dramatise challenges to royal authority; all are, on first reading, broadly sympathetic to the Stuart kings, use an easily-deduced code to represent individuals and places and end in the restoration of the monarchy.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sir William Sales, *Theophania: or severall modern histories represented by way or romance* (1655), Wing S371; Sir Percy Herbert, *The Princess Cloria, or the Royal Romance* (1661), Wing P3492; Richard Brathwait, *Panthalia, or the Royal Romance* (1659) Wing B4273.

<sup>2</sup> An exception is *Theophania*, which does not deal with the regicide, and was almost certainly written prior to the execution. See Augustus Hunt Shearer, 'Theophania: An English Political Romance of the Seventeenth Century', *Modern Language Notes*, 31 (1916), 65-74.

In considering romance's relationship with royal authority, the chapter responds to scholarship that frames interregnum romans à clef chiefly as a supplement to history. Political romance in this period has been located as a narrative of the vanquished, and therefore articulating what Victoria Kahn memorably terms a 'compensatory fiction' in a context of defeat.<sup>3</sup> On these terms, roman à clef is a narrative from which royalist readers could covertly challenge providential explanations for parliamentary victory, and accordingly as a forum of theoretical political reflection. A number of critics locate two earlier Stuart romances, John Barclay's *Argenis* (1621) and James Howell's *Dodona's Grove* (1640), as the primary influences on royalist roman à clef, because of their allegorical technique and authoritarian political affiliations.<sup>4</sup> Lois Potter and Annabel Patterson identify coded historical narrative in the interregnum as setting out an oppositional royalist aesthetic during the republic and thus ideological inheritors of *Argenis* and *Dodona's Grove*.<sup>5</sup> Potter inserts romance into a collective praxis of ciphers and disguise within the restricted discursive context of defeat; such codes are framed as fundamental drivers of royalist writing and identity during the 1650s, across genres as varied as poetry, news books, coterie correspondence, tragicomedy and romance, including roman à clef. In her study of coded political dissent, Patterson argues

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<sup>3</sup> Victoria Kahn, *Wayward Contracts: The Crisis of Political Obligation in England, 1640-1674* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 224.

<sup>4</sup> See Gerald Langford, 'John Barclay's "Argenis": A Seminal Novel', *Studies in English* 26 (1947), 59-76, in which *Dodona's Grove* features as *Argenis*'s descendant; also 'Introduction', in *John Barclay: Argenis*, ed. and trans. by Mark Riley and Dorothy Pritchard Huber, 2 vols (Tempe, AZ: Bibliotheca Latinitatis Novae, 2004), I, pp. 35-39, in which Howell's text is located as one of the successors to Barclay's.

<sup>5</sup> Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984); Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature 1641-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). See also Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 58.

that literature owes many of its own conventions, whether generic affiliations, plot and other textual processes, to censorship, as writers explore a functional ambiguity to negotiate the sayable and the unsayable. Censorship, Patterson argues, had a direct effect on the development of romance; Sidney's affiliation to the militant Protestant party at court deprived him of easy political dialogue with Queen Elizabeth, but *Arcadia* opened up a discursive space that allowed him to air issues of statecraft or, in Basilius's case, the lack of it. In identifying a gap or denial of political access Patterson sketches out a line of counsel from *Arcadia* to the Jacobean romance *Argenis* that culminates in a literary circumnavigation of censorship by *The Princess Cloria* and *Panthalia*. Through their influential work, Potter and Patterson have positioned roman à clef as a subset of royalist textual studies.

Subsequent scholarship has continued to situate roman à clef as literature of political reflection. The declaration in the preface to *The Princess Cloria* that romance invents and elaborates upon history through an emotional lens, or the 'inward disputations' and 'supposed passions' has drawn some critical notice.<sup>6</sup> For Victoria Kahn, interregnum roman à clef's foregrounding of passions and sympathy is part of a move to propose a new foundation of affect in political obligation that negotiates contemporary post-war debates on obedience to the sovereign power, and reflects on royalist uses of romance in dramatising the relationship between sovereign and subject. Nigel Smith sees interregnum roman à clef's narration of internal motivations as aligned to emerging royalist historiography such as Clarendon's which 'located causation simply in the vicissitudes of personality, so that history was to be written

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<sup>6</sup> *The Princess Cloria*, sig. A2r.

through character'.<sup>7</sup> While Smith is one of the few scholars to consider romance within wider transformations of post-war textual culture, his readings of *Theophania* and *The Princess Cloria* characterise roman à clef as an inferior form of history-writing which fulfils itself in the restoration and in which fictionality is 'drained by allegorical pressure'.<sup>8</sup> Such exasperation is echoed by Amelia Zurcher, who remarks that interregnum roman à clef differs from other types of romance in that it 'offers the reader little to do'.<sup>9</sup> Such an approach, while taking roman à clef seriously as documentary form, would appear to exclude any possibilities of pleasurable reading.

This chapter broadens the questions being asked of romans à clef in this period. Rather than being vehicles of political philosophy or supplements to history that are primarily indebted to earlier political fiction, this chapter examines them as literary and pleasurable productions that absorb, rather than being absorbed by, contemporary versions of historical fiction such as heroic romance. We begin by assessing the articulation of royal history in the political fiction of John Barclay and James Howell.

### Earlier political fiction

To track changes in fictional versions of royal history, we now examine how pre-war Stuart political romances figured the authority of the monarch. John Barclay's political romance *Argenis*, which first appeared in Latin in 1621, was translated into English by Kingsmill Long in 1625 and by Sir Robert Le Grys in

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<sup>7</sup> Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, p. 239.

<sup>9</sup> Amelia Zurcher, 'Serious Extravagance: Romance Writing in Seventeenth-Century England', *Literature Compass* 8/6 (2011), 376-389 (p. 384).

1628, the latter edition dedicated to Charles I. It draws upon elements of the history of France in the reigns of Henri III and Henri IV and maps certain European historical events into fiction: Queen Hyanisbe of Mauritania, for example, is partly modelled on Elizabeth I since her two key political problems include the need to request money from Parliament and a foreign invasion. The revolt of the nobles, led by Lycogenes, can broadly represent the rebellion of the Catholic League in 1576 by the Duc de Guise against the prospect of a Protestant succession, although Barclay's own Catholicism and attack on Calvin in the romance hardly suggests sympathy with Henri III's conciliatory policy towards the Huguenots. However, while Meleander can partly stand for Henri III, the reader may also discern traces of James VI and I. We are told that at the beginning of his reign Meleander is over-generous, impatient, spends a little too much time hunting and is given to passionate relationships with his friends; furthermore, in the sixth chapter of the first book Barclay makes a distinct reference to the Overbury affair.

*Argenis* does not present itself as a disguised chronology of French history but as a deliberately allusive text. Within the romance, the poet Nicopompus sets out a theory of fiction in which he declares that he will 'circumvent [the reader] unawares, with such delightfull circumstances': 'I, that binde not my selfe religiously to the writing of a true History, may take this liberty.'<sup>10</sup> Indeed, Sir Robert LeGrys's afterword to his 1629 translation notes that the romance's characters do not correlate directly with historical personages. He states:

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<sup>10</sup> *Argenis*, trans. by Kingsmill Long (1625), STC 1392, p. 109. The Long translation adds chapter headings and states 'Nicopompus his designes, where hee is thought to be the Author and subject of this Booke' (p. 107). Further references to *Argenis* will be drawn from Long's translation and will be embedded in the body of the text.

wherewith the Reader may unlocke the intentions of the Author in so many parts of it, as I could conceive he had any aime in at all. I say, where he had any aime; for that himself in the second Booke, under the name of Nicopompus (by which, throrow the whole worke he doth personate himself) declares, that he will in divers things raise imaginary names, onely to beare the persons of vertues and vices, so as he shall as well mistake, that conceives all things contained in it, to be nothing but a description of things indeed and really acted.<sup>11</sup>

The 'clavis', which was not written by Barclay but in which various characters are identified, can be seen as an exercise in politic misdirection. Rather than presenting a detailed historical narrative, then, *Argenis* holds itself out as a political manual; indeed, Mathias Prideaux's *An Easy and Compendious Introduction for Reading all sorts of Histories* (1648) classes it along with More's *Utopia* as one of the 'Romances that point at Policy'.<sup>12</sup> *Argenis* includes debates on religious tolerance (pp. 76-80); standing armies (pp. 246-252); and the difficulties of finding virtuous and talented men for court service (pp. 34-37). Principal among the debates is the relationship between monarch and subject (pp. 158-163) in a dialogue between Meleander and his chief adviser Cleobulus, in which the latter urges his king to restrain the nobility by destroying many of their secondary castles and by limiting the tenure of provincial governors.

As the above example indicates, *Argenis's* discussions of statecraft emphasise what would later be termed absolutist articulations of kingship. Meleander, whose mildness is signified by his nominative proximity to the Latin 'mel', or 'honey', finds the courage to be more authoritarian as the romance goes on, while the hero Poliarchus convinces queen Hyanisbe that the consent of

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<sup>11</sup> *Argenis*, trans. by Robert Le Grys (1628), STC 1393, p. 485.

<sup>12</sup> Mathias Prideaux, *An Easy and Compendious Introduction for Reading all sorts of Histories* (Oxford: 1648), Wing P3439, p. 344.

Parliament to raise taxes should not be needed.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, in *Argenis* literary dissent is framed as vainglory: 'Who doe not yet remember the impiety of the late Poet, who having provoked his Prince with most contumelious Libels, had the Gallowes for a reward of his villainy, and got a fame by his punishment, which hee sought by his wickednesse?' (p.108) The defeat of the nobility is prefigured by an earlier debate among the characters in which the nephew of the rebel Lycogenes attacks monarchy and argues for a republican state, while the poet Nicopompus, who performs the role of literary commentator and hence as Le Grys observed in the afterword, an authorial voice, defends monarchy:

A King, and his vices, death at the uttermost can take away; and better things may be hop't for from his successor: but a corrupted Senate not many deaths can purge; for their maners once tainted, grow still worse and worse, till with their owne fall they crush in pieces the Common-wealth. (p. 51).

As Lois Potter has argued, while literary romances such as *Arcadia* and *Argenis* present examples of 'incompetent kingship', at no point do they propose a limitation on the king's power.<sup>14</sup> *Argenis* anticipates Thomas Hobbes in arguing that chaos can be checked by centralised royal power, and that an aristocratic republican government can only create faction; as such, it puts fiction at the service of absolutist monarchism. The role of the sovereign represents a familiar and stable point within romance, and the resolution of the plot reaffirms the monarch's power.

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<sup>13</sup> Paul Salzman suggests that Poliarchus's argument that the monarch should not be constrained by Parliament may be one of the reasons James VI and I had enjoyed the romance and commissioned Ben Jonson to write a now-lost translation. See *English Prose Fiction 1558-1700: A Critical History*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 149-150.

<sup>14</sup> Potter, p. 76.

Nineteen years after the appearance of Barclay's political fiction and two years before the start of the Civil War, James Howell published *Dodona's Grove*. The text presents a vast European forest in which great trees flourish, which in turn represent kingdoms: Ampelona (France) is the vine, Elaiana (Spain) the olive, Holland (Itelia) the orange and Druina (England) is the oak, with which Cardenia (Scotland) is now united, 'ingrafted upon one stocke into one body politicke'.<sup>15</sup> While Druina is figured as part of a greater European whole, the narrative of *Dodona's Grove* is largely domestic, covering Stuart history from the Gunpowder Plot via the Palatine marriage to the attempted Spanish match and the eventual Anglo-French marriage of Rocalino (Charles) and Aretina (Henrietta Maria). *Dodona's Grove* seeks to cast the Stuart monarchy as a virtuous and stable regime that is well able to deal with political or diplomatic events foisted upon it.

Howell's narrative of Stuart kingship and political compliment, grounded in an extended arboreal allegory, proclaims it as *Argenis'* direct descendant; indeed, two commendatory poems in the preface overtly stake a claim for *Dodona's Grove* to be read in tandem with Barclay's romance. Henry Wotton applauds the politico-historical content ('each Line/Me thinks, breathes Barclay, or a Boccoline), while 'T. P. S. T. D' commends Howell's extension of Barclay's allegorical method: 'The pleasant Arbour gently whispers this/Trees have their Keyes, as well as Argenis.' *Dodona's Grove* asks to be read as a continuation of Barclay, not only by the literary use of code but also in Barclay's support of strong monarchical rule. Indeed, in one respect Howell goes further than

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<sup>15</sup> James Howell, *Dendrologia Dodona's Grove, or, the vocall forest* (1640), STC 13872, p. 45. Further references will be given in the body of the text.

Barclay. While in *Argenis* Lycogenes' nephew voices republican political thinking, such a dissenting theory never appears in *Dodona's Grove*; Howell's eternal forest is in no danger from the axe. Any challenge to royal authority is viewed with bemusement, as we see in his account of the contemporary grievances of the Scots in the Bishops' War:

A strange league is made without consent of royall Majesty, point blank against the lawes of Cardenia, and nothing will serve their turne but the utter extinguishing of the greatest Luminaries of the Church, and the abjuration of whatsoever the late royall Oke (who they glory to have bin the most religious and learnedst Prince that ever wore Diademe) had done in point of ecclesiasticall government (p. 214)

Equally, Howell disdains any challenge to textual authority. His account of the arrival of Aretina (Henrietta Maria) to Druina also details the dismissal of her attendants for 'fond fopperies of superstition' and 'other morall miscariages'. The French courtiers, insists Howell, suffered no financial loss: 'their salaries being punctually payed them to a penny, and many of them parted with rewards' (p. 180). The inclusion of this apparently trivial detail of Anglo-French court politics runs counter at first glance to the broad sweep of the historical narrative elsewhere in *Dodona's Grove*, but Howell develops it into an attack on unauthorised versions of royal history:

Though a very moderne Chronicler traduceth Druina in this point, to have dismissed them without their wages, &c. But as in this, so in many other relations hee takes up things upon trust; and imperfect partiall information; A grosse defect in a royall Chronologer, nor indeed can it be judgd whether his faults in this kind, or flatteries throughout the whole body of his story, bee grosser; And whereas history should bee the torch of truth, hee makes her in diverse places a fuliginous linke of lies. (p. 180)

Competing versions of events are simply framed as unreliable; the function of fictionalised royal history is to shore up the authority of the king. As we see, both *Argenis* and *Dodona's Grove* endorse an absolutist stance that ideologically underpins Stuart power.

As the introduction to this chapter indicated, *interregnum roman à clef*, which resembles these prior versions of political narrative in its allegorical technique, has been seen as being ideologically aligned with pre-war romance. However, this chapter periodises mid-century political romance slightly differently from its characterisation by Patterson as a 'Protectorate genre'.<sup>16</sup> For example, *Theophania*, while published in 1655, is accepted by scholars to have been written several years before the regicide, since King Antiochus (Charles I) is referred to as being alive. Augustus Hunt Shearer notes that Coroastus (Cromwell) is mentioned as a rising star rather than sole political leader and theorises that the romance was written after Essex left the Parliamentary army in September 1645 and before his death in September 1646.<sup>17</sup> *Panthalia* appeared in 1659 and narrates the recent death of Oliver Cromwell and the removal of Richard Cromwell as Lord Protector. A restoration of the monarchy is assumed, but not certain, and its playful use of printed marginalia both comments upon and undercuts royalist narrative: it concludes with the return of Charicles (Charles II), but in one marginal note, proposes his death and the succession of Jagonius (James, Duke of York) as an alternative ending: 'Some vary in this Relation, saying, that Charicles dyed before he ascended the Regal

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<sup>16</sup> Patterson, p. 180.

<sup>17</sup> Shearer, p. 73.

Throne; and that his Brother Jagonius, a Prince of an undanted spirit, and by all the Souldiery infinitely loved, lineally succeeded him' (p. 291). Lastly, while the first two volumes of *The Princess Cloria* were published as *Cloria and Narcissus* at the height of republican ascendancy in 1653, the full five-volume romance appeared after the Restoration, in 1661. Like *Panthalia*, it styles itself 'The Royal romance' and the final pages narrate Arethusius's (Charles II's) return to Lydia (England). As this summary indicates, the history of roman à clef spills out of the six-year confines of the Protectorate to which it is generically assigned.

A recalibration of roman à clef's publication history leads us to explore why, if roman à clef is an oppositional code, the deliberate and performed indeterminacy of the text continues into the Restoration. Is roman à clef concerned to comment only on the failings of the republican regime, or might it also make an intervention in wider political narrative? Sir Percy Herbert's foreword to the full five-volume edition of *The Princess Cloria* in 1661 acknowledges that the romance is a highly public act of coding, of disguise as display, and that the textual disguise of his royal personages allows space for readerly interpretation: 'Too much explanation of Mysterious Conceptions of this nature, would have taken off something from the quaintness of the Design' (sig. A2r). While Annabel Patterson concedes that restoration roman à clef enables the reader to ponder a 'not uncritical account of Caroline history, of Charles's behaviour as directly contributing to the revolution', this acute insight has not subsequently been explored by scholars.<sup>18</sup> The consideration of the dates of publication therefore allows us to widen roman à clef's narrative of politics from its characterisation as a genre of resistance to Protectorate

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<sup>18</sup> Patterson, p. 196.

authority to a literary discourse of political commentary that might equally assess the uses of royalist history.

### History in heroic romance

We turn, then, to the literary context in which we might read roman à clef: the theory and use of history in contemporary heroic romance. What happens when we situate *Theophania*, *The Princess Cloria* and *Panthalia* among wider developments in romance during the long interregnum, notably the fictionalisation of history, and how do these texts' strategies contribute to changing views of the authority of kingship?

An examination of mid-century fiction shows a proliferation of historical and classical rather than Arcadian settings. French heroic romances translated into English used ancient-historical settings and events involving war on an epic scale, usually in the eastern or Roman empires. The heroine of La Calprenède's *Cleopatra* is the daughter of Queen Cleopatra and Mark Anthony and the romance is largely set in Alexandria during the reign of Tiberius; *Cassandra*, also by La Calprenède, takes place in Babylon during the time of Alexander. Scudéry's *Artamenes* uses Xenophon as one of its sources for its Persian plot, while her *Clelia* is set in the early days of Rome.<sup>19</sup>

Numerous English texts adopt a historical framework. *Parthenissa* is set in Rome and the eastern empire of Parthia during the Punic Wars and the later years of the republic; the action of *Birinthea* takes place in Persia under the

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<sup>19</sup> Gauthier de Costes de la Calprenède, *Cleopatra, a new romance*, parts 1 and 2 (1652) Wing L110A; *Cassandra, the fam'd romance, the whole work in five parts* trans. by Sir Charles Cotterell (1652), Wing L106; Madeleine de Scudéry, *Artamenes or the Grand Cyrus*, trans. by F.G (1653), Wing S2144, *Clelia the first part* trans. by John Davies (1655), Wing S2151.

control of Cyrus; *Eliana* is set in part of Gaul during the Roman empire and also in Rome during the reign of Tiberius and features Sejanus and Caligula; *Herba Parietis* takes place largely in northern Africa during the later days of Rome as it is besieged by the Goths. John Dauncey set *The English Lovers*, his romance adaptation of Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West* in Italy, northern Africa and the Low Countries at the beginning of the seventeenth century and features Genoese aristocrat and Spanish general Don Ambrogio Spinola as a major character early in the narrative.<sup>20</sup> Romances in this period that are not historically anchored are in the minority, such as John Crowne's *Pandion and Amphigenia*, and a cluster of Arcadian romances that appeared before the French translations of 1652, and which will be discussed in the next chapter.<sup>21</sup>

Such a historical emphasis suggests that we can read English romances as part of a wider project of opposition to magical and Arcadian narratives and a conscious renovation of what constitutes literary plausibility, topics that will be revisited in chapters three and four. An important manifesto for plausibility occurs in the preface to *Ibrahim* in 1641, a romance attributed at the time to Georges de Scudéry rather than his sister Madeleine and translated into English in 1652.<sup>22</sup> Significant for English romance is, first, Scudéry's espousal of history as an authoritative discourse and second, the recommendation that writers should fictionalise the inner life of historical characters represented within romance.

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<sup>20</sup> Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, *Parthenissa that most fam'd romance the six volumes compleat* (1676), Wing O490; Thomas Bayly, *Herba Parietis, or the Wallflower* (1650), Wing B1511; John Bulteel, *Birinthea A Romance* (1664), Wing B5454; Samuel Pordage, *Eliana A New Romance* (1661), Wing E499; John Dauncey, *The English Lovers, or a Girl Worth Gold* (1662), Wing D289A.

<sup>21</sup> John Crowne, *Pandion and Amphigenia* (1665), Wing C7396.

<sup>22</sup> Scudéry, *Ibrahim or the Illustrious Bassa*, trans. by Henry Cogan (1652), Wing S2160.

In Aristotelian theory, and as most potently developed by Sidney in the *Defense of Poesie*, art is opposed to the ‘mouse-eaten Records’ of history; the messy or barbaric events within historical narrative require art to order them into fulfilling a moral purpose.<sup>23</sup> In a move that might appear to represent a break with Sidneyan poetics, and which Scudéry argues is necessary in order to bolster verisimilitude, romance must take its initial lead from history:

But amongst all the rules which are to be observed in the composition of these works, that of true resemblance is without question the most necessary [...] I have labored then never to eloigne my self from it, and to that purpose I have observed the manners, customes, Religions, and inclinations of people: And to give a more true resemblance to things, I have made the foundations of my work Historicall, my principall personages such as are marked out in the true History for illustrious persons, and the warres effective.<sup>24</sup>

Scudéry’s recommendation of the adoption of a historical framework to give ‘true resemblance’ is not a restriction of the fictional but an enlargement of it. Romance, the preface declares, should imagine and reveal the inner lives of its historical characters rather than simply chronicling great deeds: ‘it is not by the caprichioes of destinie, that I will judge of him; it is by the emotions of his soul, and by that which he speaketh.’<sup>25</sup> Scudéry recommends here a turn away from the Heliodoran reliance on chance, often in the form of shipwreck, to drive plot revelation. Instead, the reader is allowed to access the internal motivations and emotional secrets of the characters. In the afterword to *Cassandra*, La

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<sup>23</sup> Sir Philip Sidney, *The Defence of Poesie* (1595), STC 22535, sig. C4r.

<sup>24</sup> Preface to *Ibrahim*, sig. A3v.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, sig. A4v.

Calprenède makes it clear that romance can overwrite historical sources while still remaining plausible:

If I make Statira and her Sister live again contrary to the report of Plutarch, who sayes she was killed by Roxana's cruelty; I have followed the Opinion of many Historians, and I make her passe the rest of her life in Countries very remote from those where she spent her yonger years, and under a different name from that by which she was known to Plutarch.<sup>26</sup>

La Calprenède licenses the fictionalisation of fact, where romance can trump history by inserting supplementary narratives into the crevices of accepted events.

Scholars such as Barbara Foley, Robert Mayer, Michael McKeon and Amelia Zurcher have noted the categorical instability of factual discourses of history, news and memoir as well as fiction.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, the reader did not, as Foley comments, live 'in some sort of epistemological haze'.<sup>28</sup> Rather, assert these scholars, the reader was entirely aware of the permeable boundaries between factual and fictional discourses. Interregnum prefaces regularly alert the reader to the fictional transformation of apparently factual narrative and of new romance's resulting liminal status. In the preface to the translation of Scudéry's *Artamenes or the Grand Cyrus*, the publisher Humphrey Moseley reminds the reader that there were two historical figures called Cyrus, one whose life was noted in Herodotus and the other whose biography was narrated

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<sup>26</sup> La Calprenède, *Cassandra* (1652), Part Five, p. 83.

<sup>27</sup> See Barbara Foley, *Telling the Truth: The Theory and Practice of Documentary Fiction* (Ithaca, N.Y., and London: Cornell University Press, 1986); Robert Mayer, *History and the Early English Novel: Matters of Fact from Bacon to Defoe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 8-17; Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel 1600-1740* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), pp. 52-60; Amelia Zurcher, 'Serious Extravagance: Romance Writing in Seventeenth-Century England', *Literature Compass* 8/6 (2011), 376-389.

<sup>28</sup> Foley, p. 100.

by Xenophon. ‘Be pleased to know,’ says Moseley, ‘Tis neither of them, and yet both’.<sup>29</sup> The writer and translator John Bulteel’s romance *Birinthea* (1663) not only writes its narrative from the margins of Scudéry’s *Cyrus* but also situates itself in the slipstream of French translations by aping Moseley’s paratextual strategy.<sup>30</sup> In the preface to his romance Bulteel declares:

But it may be Objected, that I am my self guilty of those lapses, I here condemn, and chide so much in others; since I have feined the adventurers of so many persons, and principally Birinthea, never mentioned by any ancient Author. To this I Reply, that my designe, being not only to transcribe former Historians but to take my rise from thence for fresh inventions; I think them very pertinent and excusable, so long as they are within the compass of probability, and are not found impossibilities.<sup>31</sup>

Both Moseley and Bulteel follow Scudéry in alleging that verisimilitude is shaped within the romances from their historical source material, but that what Bulteel terms the ‘fresh inventions’ of fiction can be distinguished from history by the reader within the same text. Broghill’s 1655 preface to the republished first volume of *Parthenissa* develops Scudéry’s theory of romance’s absorption of history further, by arguing in favour of mixing fact and fiction:

Though many Historyans, write the same History, yet they write not the same things [...] Historyes are for the most Part but mixt Romances, and yet the Pure Romance Part, may be as Instructive as, if not more than, the Historicall. Yet I may say that this way of writing Romances is lesse ill, than any I have yet seene Originally in our Language; for all that have bin presented to the World First in English have bin Purely Fabulous; This contayning much of Truth ‘tis like Ore in which the Refyner will have Drosse, and Mettle, and indeed almost the best Historians, differ herein, not in

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<sup>29</sup> *Artamenes*, sig. Av.

<sup>30</sup> V. Allen, ‘Bulteel, John (bap. 1627, d. in or before 1692)’, *ODNB*.

<sup>31</sup> *Birinthea*, sig. A7v-A8r. See also the preface to the translation of Scudéry’s *Clelia* (1655), Wing 2151, in which Moseley refers to the ‘Truth of History and the Illustration of Fiction’ (sig. A2v).

the Quality, but the Quantity; at least as to the causes and retayles of Wars.<sup>32</sup>

The operation of plausibility, then, resides not in a smooth blend of romance and history but the reader's grasp of the oscillation of two discursive fields within the same text. Dorothy Osborne, that inveterate reader of romances, was clear on the distinction between fictional narrative and factual events when she wrote to William Temple in 1653:

Mr Waller they say is makein one [a romance] of Our Warr's, which if hee do's not mingle with a great deal of pleasing fiction cannot bee very diverting sure, the Subject is soe sad.<sup>33</sup>

Examples of the combination of invention and fact in mid-century romance range from the historical record of Cyrus's military campaigns and his fictionalised passion for the princess Mandana in Scudéry's *Artamenes or the Great Cyrus* to the appearance of Hannibal in the same narrative as Spartacus in Broghill's *Parthenissa*, despite their living centuries apart.<sup>34</sup> History, then, works to displace the magical or the fantastic within romance but nevertheless becomes another path to textual pleasure: romance's absorption of historical discourse requires the reader simultaneously to hold multiple narrative versions of events. Indeed, readers of heroic romance who were unable to do so would become the subject of comedy. Arabella, the passionate devotee of Scudéry, La Calprenède and Broghill in Charlotte Lennox's eighteenth-century novel *The Female Quixote*, is satirised precisely for her inability to hold history

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<sup>32</sup> Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, *Parthenissa, A Romance: The First Part* (London: 1655), Wing O491A, sig. B1r-B1v.

<sup>33</sup> *The Letters of Dorothy Osborne to William Temple*, ed. by G.C Moore Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), Letter 40, p. 91.

<sup>34</sup> Broghill, 'Preface', *Parthenissa, The First Part* (1655), Wing O491A, sig. A1v.

and fiction simultaneously in her head; she reads the heroic romances as pure history.<sup>35</sup>

We now turn to a closer examination of the mingling of history and imagined history in *Parthenissa*, which, as discussed in chapter one, combines large-scale borrowings from Plutarch and Livy with imagined inner motivations of historical military leaders. The lengthy Roman section of the narrative begins when the hero Artabanus escapes Parthia following a duel with his rival Surena for the love of Parthenissa. After capture by pirates, he arrives in Italy and becomes a gladiator and then military rebel by the name of Spartacus. At this point the narrative adopts wholesale Plutarch's account of the progress of Spartacus's forces in Italy, but this is interrupted when Artabanus/Spartacus, besieging a town with his forces, meets the lovers Izadora and Perolla. As the narrative unfolds, it becomes evident that this section of the narrative is set during the Punic wars a century before the historical Spartacus, and that it features Hannibal both as a great military commander and as a fictional and highly persistent suitor of Izadora, who is nevertheless faithful to her beloved Perolla. Within this inner section, Broghill converts elements of Thomas Nabbes's play *Hannibal and Scipio*, in which Hannibal is briefly distracted by sexual desire, into one of ennobling passion that is central to the inset narrative.<sup>36</sup> *Parthenissa's* account of Hannibal's doomed pursuit of Izadora reimagines the reason he decides to stay in Capua, which Livy records as an episode wherein Carthaginian soldiers live a life of ease and luxury.<sup>37</sup>

Furthermore, *Parthenissa's* foregrounding of Hannibal's passion rewrites Livy's

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<sup>35</sup> Charlotte Lennox, *The Female Quixote* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

<sup>36</sup> Thomas Nabbes, *Hannibal and Scipio: An Historical Tragedy* (1637), STC 18341.

<sup>37</sup> Livy, trans. by Frank Gardner Moore (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1940), VI, Book XXIII, p. 62.

account of the halt of the Carthaginians outside the walls of Rome. Hannibal's decision not to attack is explained through the addition of a key plot point: the letter sent by Izadora pleading with him not to launch an action against Rome.<sup>38</sup>

While Spartacus and Hannibal never physically meet and their stories are separated into different *écits* within the romance, Broghill acknowledges the evident anachronism:

All the Readers of Parthenissa may wonder at my making of Spartacus and Perolla contemporaries, & that Artabbanes [sic] & Spartacus should be the same Person. But I hope they will no longer do so, when I mind them, that I write a Romance, not a History. [...] But to Evidence Chronologie is not essential in Romances, Virgill (who writes a Romance in Numbers, & who is as Famous now, as he was in Augustus Time) makes Aeneas and Dido Lovers, when according to most Chronologers the Trojan Preceded her, at least two Centuries [...]<sup>39</sup>

By drawing attention to Artabanes' disguise as Spartacus as historically implausible, Broghill flatters the implied reader with knowledge of the chronologies of republican Rome. A reader with knowledge of Plutarch would see another pleasing structural connection that underpins the Parthian and Spartacus narratives: the Roman general Marcus Crassus, who appears as a bit-player in *Parthenissa*, defeated Spartacus in Italy but was later defeated when he tried to invade Parthia. Furthermore, Broghill accurately sets his Parthian section in the same court ruled by Orodes/Arsaces and his heir Pacorus, both of whom play secondary roles. Yet his preface draws attention not to the faithfulness of his adaptation of Plutarch, but to the romance's inaccuracy, a piece of misdirection that will serve a theoretical purpose, as we will see.

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<sup>38</sup> *Parthenissa*, p. 156.

<sup>39</sup> Broghill, 'Preface', *Parthenissa, A Romance In Four Parts, The First Part* (London: 1655), Wing O491A, sig. Av-A1r. Further references to the preface will appear in the main body of the text.

Turning the Parthian war hero Artabanus into the Roman rebel Spartacus, who following his erotic disappointment in his native Parthia is recharacterised as a lovesick melancholic, is a bold fictional manoeuvre, and according to one scholar, initially an opaque one. Amelia Zurcher calls it 'a complete collapse of one character and his narrative into the identity and the narrative of another'.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, she adds, 'the identification occurs between characters who seem to share almost nothing.' Through this disguise, she concludes, *Parthenissa* is enacting a resistance to seventeenth-century romance's allegorical norms and metaphorical organisation, a category that includes roman à clef. Zurcher's standpoint would seem to reinforce the critical orthodoxy that *Parthenissa* stands apart from other English romances of the time because of its conscious adoption of the French heroic model. However, the Artabanus/Spartacus disguise has much to tell us about the way that fictionalised history refreshes the operation of narrative revelation, a key source of readerly pleasure, and how such narrative revelation in turn governs roman à clef.

The imagined history of Artabanus disguising himself as Spartacus and rebelling against Rome becomes a pivot of narrative levels as Spartacus moves from being a narrator of his story to becoming a listener of Izadora and Perolla's. Artabanus/Spartacus becomes a hinge between the external frame and the narration of the embedded *récits*, as exemplified in an incident at the beginning of the narration of the Spartacus tale. Artabanus' right-hand man Symander is recounting to the priest Callimachus his prince's journey to Italy:

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<sup>40</sup> Amelia Zurcher, 'The Narrative Turn against Metaphor: Metonymy, Identification and Roger Boyle's *Parthenissa*' in *Go Figure: Energies, Forms and Institutions in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Judith H. Anderson and Joan P. Linton (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), pp. 73-90 (p. 76).

O gods! (said Callimachus to Simander) Is it then Artabanus, that under the name of Spartacus, did from so weak a beginning shake the Roman Empire worse than ever Hannibal did? And who so fill'd the World with his generous Actions, that not to have heard of him is as great wonder as any he perform'd? (p. 89)

The moment of revelation that Artabanus and Spartacus are one and the same is signposted with an interjection that pulls the reader back into the present, or the initial framing narrative. The revelation of the second historical figure of Spartacus as Artabanus's secret persona here not only deliberately draws attention to the complex balance between narrative levels, but also dramatises the very contract between narrator and listener/reader. Callimachus' surprise that the two heroes Artabanus and Spartacus are the same person is, as we have seen, foreshadowed within Boyle's preface to the romance, and revelation of the supplementary history is therefore meta-dramatised within the text itself.

Broghill's peritextual claims of anxiety over plausibility hence call attention to the relationship between history and fiction as an organising principle. The reader must simultaneously believe and not believe in what is set before her; the pleasure of the text is located within the conscious operation of double reading. As *Parthenissa* and its preface powerfully demonstrate, the 'fresh invention' of a character's secret history can spearhead a move within romance to remodel its own narrative strategies and to insist on the pleasure of the simultaneous reading of the factual and fictional.

Having considered the wider literary context of the fictionalisation of fact and the theoretical context of the creation of a historical character's secret narrative, we now turn to their function in three mid-century romans à clef and examine the treatment of English royalty in *Theophania*, *The Princess Cloria* and

*Panthalia* through the lens of narrative revelation that is encouraged by heroic romance.

The first element to consider is the nature of the secrets that are being revealed within roman à clef. The answer to this is hinted at in the preface to *Theophania*, which declares that the subject of romance is ‘Man and the passions of Man’ (sig. A3v). Indeed, the political and emotional history of monarchs makes up the majority of the narrative in *The Princess Cloria*, *Theophania* and *Panthalia*.<sup>41</sup> Two of these ostensibly take the courtship and marriage of Mary, Princess Royal and William II of Orange as a primary romance premise, around which numerous narratives of politics, passion and history sprawl. *Theophania* begins with the shipwreck of two princes who are washed up on the shores of ‘Sicily’, the location another salute to *Argenis*, in which Sicily stands loosely for France. The princes are taken to the home of Synesius (Duke of Leicester) and are revealed to be Alexandro (Prince Charles) and Demetrius, prince of Cyprus (William II of Orange), who is in love with Alexandro’s sister Mariana (Mary, Princess Royal). The third main character to appear is Cenodoxius (the Earl of Essex), who in a lengthy inset narrative explains his rebellion against Antiochus (Charles I) by reference to his father’s abandonment by Theodora (Elizabeth). The historical narrative is interspersed with a semi-Arcadian tale of two shepherds in love with the same woman.

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<sup>41</sup> Other texts that are occasionally designated romans à clef make only glancing references in their narratives to specific historical events. The third part of Sir George Mackenzie’s four-volume *Aretina* (Edinburgh: 1660), Wing M151, narrates the recent civil wars in Lacedemon (England) and Athens (Scotland) as an adjunct to the main narrative of the loves and moral education of the princes Philarites and Megistus. William Chamberlayne’s dense verse romance *Pharonnida, An Heroic Poem* (1659), Wing C1866, allegorises the union of England, Scotland and Ireland through the love of prince Argalia and the princess Pharonnida, who have to deal with attempted usurpation and rebellions, while burlesque Restoration tale *Don Juan Lamberto* (1661) Wing M2492 characterises John Lambert as a deluded republican Quixote and features Cromwell as Soldan of Brittain and his son Richardus as the Meek Knight.

In the first two volumes of the five-volume *The Princess Cloria*, Cloria (Mary, Princess Royal) is wooed by Narcissus, prince of Cyprus (William II of Orange), but their relationship is soon subsumed into tales of the civil wars of Lydia (England), Myssia (Scotland), Crete (Ireland) and a wider European context of conflict. The romance begins with the appearance at court of the nephew of the Lydian king Euarchus (Charles I), Cassianus (Charles Louis, Elector of Palatine), who has arrived to court Cloria. The majority of the narrative in the earlier parts of the five-volume romance is concerned with Lydian politics, with inset historical narratives, dealing with the reign of 'the old queen' (Elizabeth) and the death of Minerva (Mary, Queen of Scots). Later volumes elaborate upon contemporary political and military conflicts between the kings and politicians of Asia (Europe), including diplomatic tussles between Lydia and Egypt (Spain) that allegorise the abortive marriage negotiations between Mary and the son of Philip IV of Spain; the rise of Mazarinus (Mazarin) in Syria (France) and the Fronde.<sup>42</sup>

In contrast to *The Princess Cloria* and *Theophania*, which begin *in medias res* and weave history and political narrative through the digressive reminiscences of its characters, Richard Brathwait's *Panthalia* (1659) differs structurally in offering a chronological, fictionalised history of the reigns of Bellingeria (Elizabeth), Basilius (James), Rosicles (Charles I) and the rebellion and death of Climenes (Cromwell). While its linear presentation is similar to historical narrative, it performs its literary distance from history with printed marginalia that often ironise the events narrated within and an inset novella

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<sup>42</sup> Marika Keblusek, 'Mary, princess royal (1631–1660)', *ODNB*.

recounting the adventures of the eponymous Panthalia, and which will be discussed in the next chapter.<sup>43</sup>

As these brief summaries indicate, and as this chapter will elaborate, the three major romans à clef of the period pay considerably closer attention to the historical record than *Argenis* in that they refer to a large number of recognisable political events, and unlike *Dodona's Grove*, refuse to maintain a respectful distance from the inner lives of kings, queens and the nobility. At the same time, like heroic romance, they foreground the passions and ambitions of sovereigns through fictional episodes, as the foreword to *The Princess Cloria* (1661) makes clear when it discusses how it represents the royal family:

But here perhaps some may wonder, why the perfect History might not have been as well undertaken for their Honour, as to be thus mixed with several sorts of Invention and Fancies, that rather leads peoples thoughts, into a dark Labyrinth of uncertainties, then instructs their knowedges how matters passed indeed? Unto which this answer must be returned; That as the intricate Transactions of other places, hapning not seldom at the same instant, being otherwhiles onely conjectural (wherefore point of time is not always observed) though conducing for the most part to the main design, could hardly have been explained by a bare Historical Relation, that gives no liberty for inward disputations, or supposed passions to be discovered; so on the other side, Councils for the most part being given in private, much of the lustre of the whole Book would have been taken away [...] (sig. A2v.)

In arguing that revelation of 'inward disputations, or supposed passions' – albeit fictional – is the task of romance, Herbert echoes Scudéry's precept of representing the 'emotions of the soul'. The statement also hints at how we can

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<sup>43</sup> In noting the evocation of specific historical personages through corresponding fictional characters throughout this thesis I follow a broad critical consensus. See, *inter alia*, Salzman, Patterson, Kahn and Zurcher.

read this strategy politically in the context of the publication of Charles's personal correspondence in *The Kings Cabinet Opened*.<sup>44</sup> In his discussion of royalist poetic activism James Loxley has anatomised writers' subsequent defence of the king, in which they justify Charles and charge their opponents with transgressing a wider social decorum.<sup>45</sup> In particular, the invasion of kingly privacy is framed as indecent; Martin Lluelyn attacks 'Closset-Spies', declaring: 'Our Thoughts no Commons, but Inclosures are:/What bold Intruders then are who assaile,/To cut their Princes Hedge and break His Pale'.<sup>46</sup> In this context, Herbert's justification for roman à clef is closer to the textual tactics utilised by parliamentarians in the publication of *The Kings Cabinet*. In its narration of 'inward disputations' and 'private passions', *The Princess Cloria* frames itself as a royalist reappropriation of parliamentary political revelation in which the king's private thoughts are taken into the public domain.

Nevertheless, the simultaneous reading of historical fact and inner fiction that heroic romance recommends also engages with the considerably more fraught political context of truth and falsehood in which the king might be revealed to be publicly espousing certain actions while privately disavowing them. In this light, and to return to the question posed at the beginning of this section about the function of narrative revelation, we will therefore assess what roman à clef's fictional revelations of the secret inner lives of monarchs tell us about mid-century romance's relationship with royalism and the political ends to which fictional revelation is deployed. We turn first to the representations of

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<sup>44</sup> *The Kings Cabinet Opened* (1645), Wing C2358.

<sup>45</sup> James Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry in the English Civil Wars: The Drawn Sword* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 129-137. For a further discussion of the effect of *The Kings Cabinet Opened* on royalist writing, see Potter, pp. 57-71.

<sup>46</sup> Martin Lluelyn, *Satyr, occasioned by the author's survey of a Scandalous Pamphlet Intituled The King's Cabinet Opened* (Oxford: 1645), Wing L 2627A, quoted in Loxley, p. 131.

Elizabeth I in interregnum roman à clef, and then discuss how the texts treat Charles I.

## Elizabeth

We begin by asking: what revelations do mid-century romans à clef purport to make about Elizabeth, and how do they in turn comment upon Elizabeth's authority? The representation of Elizabeth in the aftermath of the Civil War bore a complex set of political resonances. Both royalists and parliamentarians used her reign, which could stand as a proxy for the concept of royal authority, to justify their cause. In a clear comparison with Charles I's personal rule, parliamentary supporter Francis Osborne approvingly notes Elizabeth's 'frequent calling Parliaments, and not staying till she was compelled, kept them in [...] moderate [...] temper'.<sup>47</sup> By contrast, the royalist Mathias Prideaux calls her the 'heroick' Elizabeth, characterising her reign as one of English triumph in quelling rebellions at home and in Ireland and 'banish[ing] all Popish Idolatry and restor[ing] the purity of Religion'.<sup>48</sup> John Watkins has noted that positive treatments of Elizabeth among supporters of regicide contained counter-revolutionary possibilities since acknowledgement that monarchy had been in any way admirable 'risked encouraging dreams of a Restoration'; at the same time, Commonwealth writers routinely minimised and gendered her personal agency by applauding the queen's taking guidance from a male Parliament.<sup>49</sup> In

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<sup>47</sup> Francis Osborne, *Historical Memoires on the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James* (1658), Wing O515, p. 75. Further references will be given in the body of the text.

<sup>48</sup> Mathias Prideaux, *An Easy And Compendious Introduction for Reading all sorts of Histories* (1648), Wing P3439, pp. 334-335.

<sup>49</sup> John Watkins, *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England: Literature, History, Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 97.

this context one might, then, expect royalist romances to display approval for Elizabeth's rule.

This is not the case in *Theophania*, in which one of the main narrators is Cenodoxius, the third Earl of Essex. He justifies his own rebellion against the king by invoking history; namely, how his family has had to withstand unjust treatment at the hands of monarchs. Cenodoxius's narrative forms the bulk of the second half of the text, in which he recounts the history of his father Heraclius (Robert Devereux, the executed second Earl of Essex) and his father's relationship with Theodora (Elizabeth). Theodora reveals to Heraclius her 'secret counsels which have so long laboured in my bosom' (p. 114). She means to rid the nation of the 'luxury, pride and avarice' (p. 114) of Catholicism, replacing it with a new religion:

[...] no God shall be acknowledged in Sicily but the omnipotent Jupiter, whose Images we will adore by the name of the Sicilian Jupiter, yet with a limited devotion, and such rites as may best suit with the politick maxims of the present Government (p. 116).

Theodora's new religious settlement is designed to politically disable 'those who tacitly disavow our right of succession' (p. 115) and she confides in Heraclius that it is important that the people 'not imagine it proceeds from any interest of our own' (p. 116). The narrative presentation of Theodora's secret avowal to Heraclius unites political and personal revelation, with her hitherto hidden motives presented also as a revelation to Cenodoxius's auditors and by extension *Theophania's* readers.

Just as *Parthenissa* reimagines Hannibal's decision not to conquer Rome, *Theophania* offers an explanation of a historical event through the revelation of

personal motive. Heraclius's reaction of 'no little astonishment' (p. 116) is made clear within the text. The entire episode of the Essex rebellion is therefore mediated through the voice of a historical character who can then plausibly argue that his attempt to restrain Theodora was not the act of a usurper but one of a true servant and statesman; in doing so, *Theophania* advocates a guiding role for the monarch's courtly advisers rather than for an elected parliament. Furthermore, in its fictionalisation of late Tudor history, *Theophania* rewrites the Henrician Reformation as Elizabethan, and in so doing implicitly places Theodora as an agent of social chaos rather than a monarch who presided over a golden age.

The nominative choice of Theodora to represent the historical Elizabeth I in *Theophania* alerts us to a supplementary textual undercurrent. Procopius's *Secret History of the Court of the Emperor Justinian* details the tyranny and corruption of the Emperor and his wife Theodora, who is presented as enjoying absolute monarchical power:

Theodora was grown to that authority in the Empire, that alone she created all the Prelates, and Magistrates, and having absolute power in her hands, she managed it so well, there was no in all the Offices of the Empire, one good Man, whose Conscience would not suffer him to obey her in her pernicious designs.<sup>50</sup>

Procopius's *Secret History* had been translated into Latin by Nicolas Alemanni in 1623, and while not available in English until 1674, its existence was known.<sup>51</sup>

The preface to Procopius's official history of Justinian published in 1653 refers to it directly as his 'Book, which he durst not then publish, and therefore calls it,

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<sup>50</sup> Procopius, *The Secret History of the Court of the Emperor Justinian* (1674), Wing P3641, p. 91. Further references will be given in the body of the text.

<sup>51</sup> Procopius, *Arcana historia* (Lyon: 1623).

his Secret History'.<sup>52</sup> In this light, then we can read *Theophania* not only as a text that follows the heroic romance injunction to conjure the secret lives of characters, but that draws on Procopius to create explicitly political commentary on the inner motivations of monarchs and a direct critique of their exercise of power. Accordingly, *Theophania's* revelation of her private thoughts dramatises the contrast in public and private persona on display in *The Kings Cabinet Open'd*.

*Theophania* offers a harsh assessment of Theodora's reign that emphasises the suffering of the people: 'Infants were torn from their Mothers breasts, and even Priests in the midst of their sacrifices were dragged from the Altar to the place of execution' (p. 112). Heraclius charges Theodora with having desecrated royal authority:

When you embolden the vulgar with prophane hands to violate those things which in all ages have been reputed sacred, at the same time you instruct them to vilifie and despise the authority of kings; for if they once perceive the holy mysteries of the Gods have not been exempt from error, upon the least suggestion of turbulent discontented spirits, they will easily believe that Princes then Vicegerents have through ambition usurped tyrannical jurisdiction. (p. 117)

Heraclius's strictures echo Procopius's characterisation of the reign of Justinian and Theodora:

The Laws lost their authority, Contracts were void, and unprofitable, and all things were decided with violence and confusion. In short, the Empire degenerated into a kind of mutuable tyranny, subject every day to change and innovation. (p. 39)

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<sup>52</sup> Procopius, *The History of the Warres of the Emperour Justinian in eight books*, trans. by Sir Henry Holcroft (1653), Wing P3640, sig. A5r.

By figuring the Elizabethan age as one of chaos and civil strife, *Theophania* invites parallels with more recent history, attacking the hotter sort of Protestants and accusing the sovereign of traducing the authority of religion:

And though our habitation be indeed strongly fenced in with the Sea; and separated from all the rest of the World, yet are we so small a parcel of it, that we cannot possibly think long to subsist, if we live at defiance with the whole race of Mankind: which, if we set up a new Religion, never before heard of, or received any Clime or Region, must inevitably follow' (p. 118)

It forms a clear crypto-Catholic criticism of the Elizabethan Protestant settlement and by extension, Stuart Anglicanism.

There was precedent for discussing the Protestant Reformation in political fiction. *Argenis*, written by the Catholic Barclay, blames Calvin ('Usincula') and his Protestant followers ('Hyperephanians') for political and social chaos across Europe, but barely refers to specifics of British religious history.<sup>53</sup> By contrast, both *Theophania* and *The Princess Cloria* are pointed in ascribing civil strife in England to the rejection of the Catholic church and Elizabeth's adoption of Protestantism for personal motivations. We are told in *The Princess Cloria* Elizabeth, referred to as 'the old Queen', changed her country's religion simply in order to keep power. Joyela, a noblewoman who helps Arethusius (Charles II) escape, tells him that Anglicanism was imposed 'onely to keep the Crown sure to the possession of the old Queen that then reigned, who as it was supposed more doubted the right of her Title, then was any way convinced in her opinions' (p. 442). By contrast, *The Princess Cloria* devotes some pages to the story of the queen Philogenia, an Amazonian cross-

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<sup>53</sup> *Argenis*, pp. 134-140.

dresser, celibate and convert, who corresponds to the historical Queen Christina of Sweden. Her willed chastity, abdication and conversion to Catholicism are together framed as a 'heroical act of piety' (p. 463). This laudatory representation of this virgin monarch, who is presented only a few pages after the references to Elizabeth, compares Philogenia with the self-interested 'old Queen'.

Unlike many of the other *récits* in *The Princess Cloria* whose function is to build up historical texture, the Philogenia/Christina story is not an isolated episode. It forms part of a concealed narrative within the fourth volume of the romance which presents Catholicism as a political and irenic choice. Before his execution, Euarchus (Charles I) has a vision of heaven as a beautiful mountain that he reaches only with the guidance of a female intercessor (p. 331), a Marian touch that rewrites Charles's protestations in *Eikon Basilike* that it is his 'chiefest glory to be The Defender of the Church'.<sup>54</sup> After Cloria has married Narcissus, her brother Arethusius (Charles II) wanders Europe trying to find allies, having been deserted by so many: it is at this point that the story of Philogenia is revealed to him, whereupon Arethusius laments the bloodshed caused by confessional differences: 'Is it possible, said he, that all this can be done for Religion [...]?' (p. 463). The chaos caused by the 'old Queen' in changing the country's religion is multiplied across Europe.

The fourth volume of *The Princess Cloria* narrates a series of conversions. Parismenus, a confidant of the exiled Arethusius/Charles, goes to Delphos (Rome) to become a priest, an incident that is followed by extended passages in

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<sup>54</sup> Charles, King of England, *Eikon Basilike, The Pourtracture of His Sacred Majestie in his solitude and sufferings* (1649), Wing E311, p. 107.

which Creses (Clarendon) considers conversion, first through lengthy debate with a priest and then through a vision that recapitulates that of the martyred king, in that it involves a Marian figure leading him to heaven:

Apollo and the Goddess Vesta, shining with excessive rayes of Glory; withal telling him, that unless he suddenly changed his erroneous belief, by embracing the right Worship of the Heavens, according to the Temple of Delphos practice, showed plainly by the Priest, those eternal torments prepared for the breakers of the omnipotent Law, would undoubtedly fall to his share for his contempt [...] (p. 519)

Creses decides that if he recovers he will 'perform speedily a Pilgrimage to the holy City of Delphos, there to offer up a vow upon the sacred Altar of the Gods, never again to return to the Heresian Religion, either in opinion or practice' (p. 526). The narration of conversion to Rome is not entirely rooted in fantasy: Anglicans in Continental exile came under sustained pressure to convert to Catholicism, as the Reverend John Cosin, chaplain to Anglicans in the exiled court of Henrietta Maria, recounted:

At my first coming into France, I found many of the Roman profession (both priests and others) very busy and industrious in persuading them of our religion ... to turn papists; for which purpose the chief arguments that they used were such as these: 'You have lived a long while in heresy, which hath brought God's anger and indignation upon you; your kingdom of England is ruined; your Church is lost; your Bishops and priests are put out of their places, and are never likely to be restored [...] your Service-Book and your Sacraments are come into the contempt and scorn of the world; the head of your Church aches, and is ready to perish; the members are scattered and torn in pieces [...] There is no safety, no salvation for you to be had but in in the bosom of [Rome] [...]'<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> John Cosin, *The Works of the Right Reverend Father in God John Cosin, Now First Collected*, 5 vols. (Oxford: 1843), IV, p. 242, quoted in Mark F. M. Clavier, *The Role of Custom in Henry*

In the context of *The Princess Cloria's* numerous tales of politics at various Continental courts, announced on the title page of the romance as 'The story of most part of Europe, for many years last past' the multiple references to conversion in the text combine to position Anglicanism as historical aberration, much as continental Catholic exiles laboured to suggest.

Furthermore, *The Princess Cloria* does suggest Catholic sympathies, at the very least, on the part of Charles II. In a politically bold piece of ventriloquism, Herbert has Arethusius agree with Joyela that the troubles of Europe must be laid at the door of Herenzius (Calvin), whose story was related in the second volume of *The Princess Cloria* as a priest who 'quarrelled with the form of the Service to the Gods then used', 'denyed Kings and Princes Obedience, or rather Loyalty from their natural Subjects' fled Syria (France) for a new country (p. 197). Arethusius says it is

an evident and indubitable truth since the first appearing of Herenzius, in the Confines of Arabia, the world hath been filled in a manner with nothing but Slaughters, Rebellions, and impiety [...] (p. 442)

In its later volumes, *The Princess Cloria* overtly presents Catholicism, rather than Anglicanism, as a political and personal option for the young exiled king, an audacious move given the continuing exclusion of Catholics from public life by the first parliament of the Restoration and the vigorous press regulation

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Hammond's "Of Schism" and John Bramhall's "A Just Vindication of the Church of England", *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 76.3 (2007), 358-386. See also Sarah Mortimer, 'Exile, Apostasy and Anglicanism in the English Revolution', in *Literatures of Exile in the English Revolution and its Aftermath, 1640-1690*, ed. by Philip Major (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 91-103.

conducted by Roger L'Estrange.<sup>56</sup> By attributing the troubles of England to Protestantism and the fictionalised actions and motivations of Elizabeth, both *Theophania* and *The Princess Cloria* differ from orthodox royalism. Both advocate the re-establishment of the king's authority in the face of rebellion, but not the restoration of Church of England of which he is head. Such textual manoeuvres allow us to frame *The Princess Cloria* not simply as a Protectorate romance but one that is in coded opposition to the Restoration Anglican settlement.

Having discussed these roman à clefs' presentation of Elizabeth's overweening monarchical power in enforcing the Protestant religion in England, we now explore royal authority in a different form, through the monarch's relationship with the subject, with particular reference to its representation of Elizabeth and Essex. The equation of courting and courtiership was a commonplace within political discourse. Sidney's falling out of favour with his queen was, as Patterson points out, a starting point for the Ur-text of English political romance, as the writing of *Arcadia* became a substitute for Sidney's frustrated political ambitions and enforced idleness.<sup>57</sup>

In *Theophania*, Cenodoxius, a character who corresponds to the son of the Elizabethan rebel earl of Essex, is strongly critical of Theodora and her abuse of the romance relationship between sovereign and subject:

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<sup>56</sup> 'XVIII: Exception of Jesuit and Romish Priests' in 'Charles II, 1660: An Act of Free and Generall Pardon Indemnity and Oblivion', in *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5, 1628-80*, ed. by John Raithby (s.l., 1819), pp. 226-234. *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol5/>>; Harold Love, 'L'Estrange, Sir Roger' (1616-1704), *ODNB*. See also Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales, 1658-1667*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) pp. 166-168.

<sup>57</sup> Patterson, pp. 25-26.

Amongst other subtleties by which she deluded the world, it was her chiefest glory to maintain the name and reputation of the Virgin-Queen, pretending that having wedded the Subjects Interests, she could not confine her love to any particular object [...] <sup>58</sup>

Cenodoxius relates that his father's rebellion is grounded in Theodora's inconstancy to her servants as 'the Queen began already to cast her eye upon new Favourites' (p. 124). Heraclius is thus cast in the role of the wronged lover who must withstand the queen's emotional and political infidelity. The characterisation of Essex as virtuous had a considerable afterlife. For example, the opening page of Robert Codrington's encomium to the third earl, written around the time of the composition of *Theophania*, underlines his father the second earl's heroic qualities: 'I may call it his Sonnes Master-Piece that he did lively resemble so brave a Father'.<sup>59</sup> Readers of *Theophania* in its publication year of 1655 may also have been aware of the second earl's afterlife in *Scrinia Sacra*, the second volume of *Cabala*, the publication of Tudor and Stuart political letters in 1653 and 1654.<sup>60</sup> Essex's letters show his pleading on behalf of the queen's secretary William Davison following his fall from favour in 1587, and also protest a doomed loyalty to her: 'cure I expect none, her Majesties heart being obdurate'.<sup>61</sup> The instability of court politics is attributed to royal capriciousness, a characterisation that *Theophania* follows.

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<sup>58</sup> *Theophania*, p. 105. Further page references will be given in the body of the text.

<sup>59</sup> Robert Codrington, *The Life And Death of the Illustrious Robert Earle of Essex* (1646), Wing C4877, p. 1.

<sup>60</sup> *Cabala, Mysteries of State, in Letters of the great Ministers of K James and K. Charles* (1653), Wing C183; *Scrinia Sacra; Letters of illustrious Persons, A Supplement of the Cabala* (1654), Wing S2110. See Samantha Smith, 'Unlocking Cabala, Mysteries of State and Government: The Politics of Publishing', unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, Birkbeck College, 2017, pp. 136-164.

<sup>61</sup> *Scrinia Sacra*, p. 29.

However, *Theophania* largely sidesteps the factional history on display in *Scrinia Sacra*. Its narration of the relationship between Elizabeth and Essex is wholly concerned with their personal relationship and finds its dramatic apogee in the episode of the ring.

To her therefore with many conjurations of secrecy, he delivered that pledge of a perpetual Union, the divided Ring, which in his greatest perils Theodora had obliged him to send her, with a solemn protestation, that she would interpose the whole power of her Kingdom, and even her own life between him and danger [...]' (p. 148)

Just before his execution Heraclius sends the ring back to the queen via one of the queen's women, who instead of delivering it maliciously tells the queen that Heraclius has declared that he 'despised both her favour and her power' (p. 149). His fate is sealed.

The ring story in *Theophania* has largely gone unremarked by scholars of roman à clef or later Stuart secret histories. It is probable that it takes as its source *Le Comte d'Essex*, a little-noticed 1638 play by La Calprenède.<sup>62</sup> The play was not translated into English but as chapter five of this thesis will elaborate, there was a keen Francophone audience in England for La Calprenède's romances from the mid-1640s onwards. Given the play's subject matter of English history and rebellion, it is therefore plausible to assume that it was circulated in the original French. *Le Comte d'Essex* avoids direct commentary on Tudor history, but it is clear that the play's sympathies are with the queen; Essex's fall is due to a fatal flaw of arrogance and refusal to admit wrongdoing, while the queen's motivation is not love or jealousy of Essex but her duty as

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<sup>62</sup> La Calprenède, *Le Comte d'Essex* (Paris: 1638).

sovereign to maintain order in the kingdom. By contrast, *Theophania's* reworking of the relationship between queen and courtier through the ring story allegorises the quasi-marital bond between sovereign and subject in order to show that that bond is frail and easily disrupted by courtly intrigue and individual self-interest. The ring story therefore underpins the criticism of Elizabeth.

The potency of the ring story in *Theophania* is such that it recurs in subsequent texts published during the years of the republic. Each time it is differently inflected according to the wider politics of the authors. The first retelling occurs three years later than *Theophania's* print publication in an apparently historical account of Elizabeth, Francis Osborne's *Historical Memoires on the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James*. In contrast to *Theophania*, Osborne, a Parliamentary supporter critical of the Stuarts, approves of Elizabeth's political moderation, since she 'was rarely found to interpose the power of the Crowne in her owne cause'.<sup>63</sup> However, while advertising his historical approach as a series of factual events, each numbered in the preface, Osborne drifts into a narrative of scandal when he speculates about the queen's secret sexual behaviour, only to ostentatiously dismiss the rumour: "But that she had a son bred in the State of Venice, and a Daughter I know not where and when, with other strange tales that went on her, I neglect to insert, as fitter for a Romance, then to mingle with so much truth and integrity as I professe' (p. 62). Nevertheless, Osborne is considerably more acidic than *Theophania* about Essex's 'destructive Ambition' (p. 87). The earl is presented as the architect of his own downfall, an end that is accelerated by the

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<sup>63</sup> *Historical Memoires*, p. 37.

machinations of the pro-Stuart Sir Robert Cecil, who persuades the Countess of Nottingham not to deliver the ring from Essex to Elizabeth (p. 93).<sup>64</sup>

The ring tale then appears the following year in Richard Brathwait's historical romance *Panthalia*, in which the queen Bellingeria (Elizabeth) gives a token to Clarentio (Essex).<sup>65</sup> Brathwait's portrayal of Essex is closer to *Theophania's* presentation than to Osborne's; there is barely any mention of the 1601 attempted coup, which is referred to only in passing as an action that is 'by some censorious spirits misstyl'd an Insurrection' (p. 6). Instead, Clarentio is figured as a wronged hero abandoned by his associates and his sovereign and his speech declaring his love and loyalty to the queen and his generous help to the 'Panick[ed]' (p.20) executioner underscores his noble death. As this chapter will go on to consider, the execution of Essex that is at the heart of the ring story prepares the ground for Brathwait to attack Charles's abandonment of Strafford and the earl's subsequent execution. The relationship between sovereign and subject in both *Theophania* and *Panthalia* is presented as abuse of monarchical power, and the Elizabeth-Essex ring story in both texts therefore indicates the way that mid-century romance, written in the context of the defeat of monarchical authority, is thinking differently from earlier Stuart romances about royalty.

The appearance of the ring story in 1650s romans à clef casts new light on the emergence of secret history. Critical work on later Stuart political writing locates the first appearance of the Elizabeth-Essex ring story in *The Secret*

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<sup>64</sup> Osborne's later meditation on the character flaws of the earl does not include the story of the ring. See *A miscellany of sundry essayes, paradoxes, and problematicall discourses, letters and characters; together with politicall deductions from the history of the Earl of Essex, executed under Queen Elizabeth* (1659), Wing O516.

<sup>65</sup> *Panthalia*, pp. 13-22. Further references will be given in the body of the text.

*History of the Most Renown'd Queen Elizabeth, and the Earl of Essex, In Two Parts*, a 1680 translation from a 1678 French text. The story's presentation of political motivation as erotic or emotional has been periodised as part of a wave of anti-absolutist secret histories that appear after the translation of Procopius's *Secret History* in 1674.<sup>66</sup> Roman à clef and secret history make different generic claims on the fictional and the factual; as we have seen in the preface to *The Princess Cloria*, the former stresses its divergence from historical events, while secret history holds itself out as a documentary form. However, a study of these hitherto unremarked earlier versions of the ring tale in the 1650s suggests that the two forms are working along parallel lines, often with similar outcome.

The foreword to *The Secret History of the House of Medici* (1686)

arrogates what Scudéry recommended for romance narrative to secret history:

Here the Historian considers almost ever Men in Publick, whereas the Anecdographer only examines 'em in private. Th'one thinks he has perform'd his duty, when he draws them such as they were in the Army, or in the tumult of Cities, and th'other endeavours by all means to get open their Closet-door; th'one sees them in Ceremony, and th'other In Conversation; th'one fixes principally upon their Actions, and th'other wou'd be a Witness of their inward Life, and assist at the most private hours of their leisure: In a word, the one has barely Command and Authority for Object, and the other makes his Main of what occurs in Secret and in Solitude. <sup>67</sup>

While roman à clef foregrounds its own fictionality, it conjoins with secret history – which also purports to reveal new facts - in offering supplemental

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<sup>66</sup> Anon., *Le Comte d'Essex, Histoire Angloise* (Paris: 1678); Anon., *The Secret History of the Most Renown'd Queen Elizabeth, and the Earl of Essex, In Two Parts* (Cologne: 1680), Wing S2342A. See Rebecca Bullard, *The Politics of Disclosure, 1674-1725* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009), pp. 36-37; Watkins, pp. 150-156.

<sup>67</sup> Varillas, *Anekdotia Eterouiaka, or, the Secret History of the House of Medici* trans. by Ferrand Spence (1686), Wing V112, sig.a4r.

versions of official biography that are pleasurably rooted in anecdote of personal, emotional and sexual behaviour, in which motivations of those in power are not necessarily noble or abstract. The sovereign is invariably revealed to the outside world as frail, buffeted by emotion and therefore vulnerable to pressure in a court prone to faction. As the story of Elizabeth and Essex demonstrates, it is not secret history but romance – a genre to which unwavering royalism is so often ascribed - that first articulates the connections between political critique, and emotional behaviour and inner motivations. In its transformation from the original plot point in La Calprenède's play, the emotional history of Elizabeth and Essex is used in crypto-Catholic criticism (*Theophania*), a parliamentarian history (*Historical Memoires*) and a critique of the relationship between sovereign and subject that prefigures that of Charles and Strafford (*Panthalia*). A reading of roman à clef's fictionalisation of fact shows a textual chain that extends to secret histories of sovereigns, part of the armoury of late Stuart political polemicists.<sup>68</sup>

## Charles I

We have seen how the purported revelations of Elizabeth through her relationship with Essex represent a morally compromised authority on the part of the sovereign. Our investigation of monarchical authority in roman à clef now widens out to Charles I, in particular his treatment in *Panthalia*. How does roman à clef develop the relationship between sovereign and subject outside a

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<sup>68</sup> See John Phillips, *The Secret History of the Reigns of K. Charles I and K. James II* (1690), Wing S2339; Anon., *The Secret History of the Duchess of Portsmouth* (1690), Wing S2340; Eustache Le Noble, *The Cabinet Open'd: or, the Secret History of the Amours of Madam de Maintenon with the French King* (1690), Wing L1015A; and M. Vanel, *The Royal Mistresses of France, or the Secret History of the Amours of all the French Kings* (1695), Wing V90.

gendered framework of courtiership? The relationship between Elizabeth and Essex traces in advance Brathwait's central political critique. That critique centres on Charles's abandonment of Thomas Wentworth, the earl of Strafford, accused by the pro-Scottish contingent in Parliament of treason because of his actions in assembling an army that consisted of Irish Catholics, which his enemies claimed he would have used against Englishmen.<sup>69</sup> *Panthalia's* fictionalisation of recent history telescopes the eight years separating their deaths so that the execution of Sophronio immediately precedes and hence informs that of Rosicles.

The importance of Strafford's death within royalist narrative had already been sanctioned by *Eikon Basilike*. In it, the king admitted his lasting political regret was his abandonment of his friend. In his view the earl was flawed: 'Though I cannot in my judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the Temper of that people'. Nevertheless, admitted Charles, 'I never bare any touch of Conscience with greater regret'.<sup>70</sup> *Panthalia* contradicts Charles's assessment of Strafford by figuring Sophronio as a hero without obvious flaws; where it does agree with *Eikon Basilike* is Charles's admission of his own failure to support his friend. Sophronio is not only a man betrayed by his own king, but his composure at his execution overshadows that of his monarch – and in this, the romance becomes a covert counter-text to *Eikon Basilike*, which is premised on the king's central Christian sacrifice upon the scaffold.

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<sup>69</sup> Ronald G. Asch, 'Wentworth, Thomas, first earl of Strafford (1593–1641)', *ODNB*.

<sup>70</sup> Charles, King of England, *Eikon Basilike, The Pourtracture of His Sacred Majestie in his solitude and sufferings* (1649, Wing E311, p. 6.

The narrative of Sophronio's execution becomes the performance manual for the art of dying well, gesturing to a rich classical and religious hinterland that advised the reader how to conduct him or herself before death. Upon the scaffold, Sophronio's performance, like that of Essex, is exemplary:

A Scaffold, by the Consuls express Command, was erected upon Pharamount; in which Sophronio with a strong Guard of Souldiers was conducted. Where mounting the stayrs of the Scaffold with a cheerfull and pleasant countenance, as if he had address himself rather for a Festival Solace, than a Funeral Office. (p. 235)

*Panthalia's* account of Sophronio's death conforms to a tradition of the noble end that has been laid out in J.A Sharpe's study of scaffold speeches, in which the condemned is penitent before God.<sup>71</sup> Sophronio accepts his death stoically, but the narrator does not, accusing Rosicles of betraying the bond between king and subject. Sophronio is 'the only Mirror of that age for Prudence, Courage and Polity. Unthankfully sentenc'd, and subscrib'd to by Rosicles. Whose faithful Servant and Creature he had been' (p. 240). Rosicles, by contrast, is denied an entirely dignified end. The night before his execution, he considers the possibility of a revolt upon the scaffold that runs counter to the Stoic good death: 'how ill it would become him to subject his head to the Hatchet of a slavish Bandit, and without resistance to submit himself to the execution of so unjust a Sentence'. (p. 245) Upon the scaffold, he protests his innocence:

Never did subject merit more of Princes affection, and receive for his service a more undeserving guerdon. Oh, that my tears could rinse or raze forth the memory of so unhandsome an action' or expiate the guilt of such a crimson crime! (pp. 246-7)

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<sup>71</sup> J.A. Sharpe, 'Last Dying Speeches': Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England, *P&P*, 107 (1985), 144-167.

He proclaims that his sin is not tyranny but in not having cleaved to his friend, and appropriates the tears of royalist elegy to mourn Sophronio.

In Foucault's theorisation of power exercised on the scaffold, the visibility of the prisoner's body at execution serves as 'the public support of a procedure that had hitherto remained in the shade; in him, on him, the sentence had to be legible for all.'<sup>72</sup> To execute a king is the ultimate demonstration of political power, but the broken body on the scaffold was also legible in martyrological terms for supporters of the monarchy. Royalist elegy turned weakness to its advantage. A pamphlet *The Life and Death of King Charles the Martyr* subtitled 'Parallel'd with our Saviour in all his Sufferings' likens the scourged crucified body of Christ to Charles's beheading. Walter Montagu's *Jeremias Redevivus, or an Elegiacall Lamentation* urges Christians to 'use otherwise this blood/Detest the Act, yet turne it to their good'. The bleeding royal body may be a mark of the usurper's temporal and temporary power, but it is ascribed the superior sacramental qualities of the bleeding body of Christ.<sup>73</sup>

What is notable about *Panthalia's* account of the king's death is the absolute avoidance of these tropes of royalist elegy. Rosicles's body is absent from the narrative apart from one brief reference. It is 'without any solemnity at all, privately interred'. (p. 247) In preferring a ferocious examination of the weak king, *Panthalia* proposes a different dynamic of power from that inscribed in the abject body of the saint. Instead of becoming a martyr, Rosicles is a secular disappointment because he has abandoned his friend and ally, and because he has failed to woo and win his people, or 'the giddy Multitude' (p. 5)

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<sup>72</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* trans. by Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin, 1991), p. 43.

<sup>73</sup> Anon., *The Life and Death of King Charles the Martyr* (1649) Wing L2001; Walter Montagu, *Jeremias Redevivus, or an Elegiacall Lamentation* (1649), Wing 2472A, p.3.

*Panthalia's* censure of Charles's kingship has largely gone unremarked by scholars of roman à clef, but attention to its outspoken critique allows us to group it with other negative assessments of the king's leadership during the 1650s, notably the Laudian clergyman Peter Heylyn's *Observations on the Historie of the Reign of King Charles Published by H.L. Esq* (1656).<sup>74</sup> In short, royalist romance distances itself from the textual culture of martyrology.

At the same time as contesting Charles's status as royal martyr, *Panthalia* stages the participation of the common people at his execution. The appearance of the populace is a distinctively post-war development in political romance, in which we see the relationship between king and subject move from one of love and subservience to something considerably more unstable. In *Arcadia*, the people are figures of plebeian fun; indeed, Stephen Greenblatt has written about the grotesque comedy in the uprising of what Sidney calls the 'unruly sort of clowns and other rebels'.<sup>75</sup> *Arcadia* acknowledges that the governed may periodically revolt, but they are not required to participate in the public processes of state. In *Argenis* the people are entirely invisible, with the revolt being led by the aristocratic Lycogenes. By contrast, in *Panthalia* the populace are brought into witness the execution and the public and performance space of the scaffold becomes the test of unstable sovereign power. The execution of Clarentio (Essex), for example, is potentially so inflammatory that the authorities decide to carry it out privately in case he woos the crowd into rebellion. Rather than the aristocrat having to court the sovereign, political

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<sup>74</sup> Anthony Milton, 'Heylyn, Peter (1599-1662)', *ODNB*. See Anthony Milton, "'Vailing his Crown": Royalist criticism of Charles I's kingship in the 1650s', in Jason McElligott and David L. Smith eds, *Royalists and royalism during the Interregnum* (Manchester and New York: Manchester UP, 2010), pp. 88-105.

<sup>75</sup> *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, p. 379. Stephen Greenblatt, 'Murdering Peasants: Status, Genre and the Representation of Rebellion', *Representations* 1 (1983), 1-29, (p.15).

authority now requires courting the people. Sophronio's good death evokes sympathy among them: 'As his last adue breathed forth with so graceful a passion, enforced teares in their Eyes who never before that time lodged remorse in their hearts.' (p. 238) Furthermore, the reaction of the crowd to Sophronio's death effects political and jurisprudential change:

It was ordained, that no Action whereof Sophronio stood accused or impeached, should after his death be recorded as Capital, but the memory therof should be to all intents and purposes utterly abolished: and that no Person whatsoever should be rendred Criminal or accessory to Treason, being attached upon the same grounds. (p. 239)

Conversely, Rosicles has lost the love of his people:

Now it might be asked, how it could possibly come to pass, that in so populous and confluent a City no hand should be lifted up in defence of his innocence. And there is an apparancy of reason for it. Those who stood well affected to the Royal Cause, were but few, and those naked: Whereas the disaffected were many and those completely armed. (p. 248)

The site of the execution puts in place therefore not just a relationship between the state or sovereign and condemned, or the condemned and God, but between the state, the condemned and the people who are observing and participating in the act of power.

The will of the people is figured more violently at the end of *The Princess Cloria*, when Arethusius returns home after exile. On his progress to Sardis (London), he sees on a 'huge pyle of Wood, raised in the nature of a Pyramid [...] a man tyed naked, with many strong Iron Chains; notwithstanding others were also in lower degrees bound, although in the same posture of appearing punishment' (p. 612). The men are traitors to the restored crown, representing

the regicides. Although Arethusius 'had pitty sufficient in his disposition, to have saved a whole world of offenders', he makes no move to stop the men being burned to death. Instead, he 'past by without speaking a word, onely casting down his eyes with a modest look, as if he delighted no so much in any Legal Cruelty, though necessity and example required oftentimes the effects' (p. 613). The force of law is no longer personated within the body of the king, but is externalised to the people, who effect their own version of justice and 'who appeared to triumph, if not to glory in the execution' (p. 613). Arethusius's decision not to interfere can either be read as weakness, or as an acknowledgement that political power must be based on a negotiation with the will of the people, whose love can very easily turn to violence.

The acknowledgement of the people as authority that counterweighs that of the king has textual consequences. *Panthalia* in particular absorbs a non-fictional, demotic discourse into its narrative. The execution of Sophronio becomes a public event that will be disseminated textually outside the immediate gathering of observers. Sophronio's last words on the scaffold are, on seeing the axe: 'This, said He, is a Cure for all diseases; a receipt against all maladies' (p. 238). Here, Brathwait chooses not to quote Strafford himself but to appropriate Sir Walter Raleigh's words at his execution: 'This is a sharp medicine, but it is a physitian that will cure all diseases'.<sup>76</sup>

The significance of Raleigh's words in *Panthalia* are complex. Andrew Fleck's study of the manuscript circulation of Raleigh's last moments on the scaffold argues that the constant copying and recopying of his speech underpinned Raleigh's status as a 'hero of opposition to early Stuart

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<sup>76</sup> *The Arraignment and Conviction of Sir Walter Rawleigh* (1648), Wing A3744, p.34.

absolutism'.<sup>77</sup> Raleigh's scaffold speech was circulated in manuscript for two decades and would appear in print in England for the first time a year before the regicide, in 1648. By including the quote from Raleigh and attributing it to Sophronio/Strafford, *Panthalia* not only gives voice to a hero widely considered to be a victim of royal injustice, but also acknowledges that the experience of execution was disseminated largely through covert manuscripts, pamphlets and newsbooks, which transformed political debate and textual culture from 1641 onwards.

Accordingly, in *Panthalia* pamphlet culture determines the aftermath of the reaction to the deaths of Sophronio and Rosicles, just as they did with Strafford and Charles. After Sophronio's death 'sundry papers were pasted and posted up in the eminentest part of Thamipolis' (p. 238). After Rosicles's execution and the end of the monarchy, *Panthalia* adopts the vernacular reportage of the newsbook and recounts the strange and marvellous presages across the nation of Candy, from bizarre births to ghostly apparitions, the withering of cypress and laurel trees and the appearance of two moons. In similar vein, *The Princess Cloria* discloses a 'happy omen' in that 'a Crown of Starres was seen in a Circular Figure, to hang in the Ayre over the Building', but couches it entirely through the eyes of the crowd, through 'the amazement of the people' (p. 613). John Adamson's detailed study of the political manoeuvring in the two years prior to the Civil War has located the trial of Strafford as a critical moment in the development of the public sphere. From that point, he argues, 'metropolitan opinion – and eventually, its physical manifestation, the

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<sup>77</sup> Andrew Fleck, "At the time of his death": Manuscript Instability and Walter Raleigh's Performance on the Scaffold', *The Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), 4-28 (p. 28).

London crowd – was to become a participant, and a highly partisan one, in the judicial process.<sup>78</sup> In their absorption of the popular newsbook, then, both *Panthalia* and *The Princess Cloria* gesture to a challenge to political and textual authority and recognise the shortcomings of romance in adequately sustaining a political narrative of monarchical power. To explore this point further, we now turn to roman à clef's treatment of the political uses of romance in the Spanish Match.

As pamphlet culture within romance emerges as a competing narrator of political events, what are the implications for romance itself as a privileged narrator of high politics and royal history? The use of romance in high politics was a marked feature of the prolonged negotiations around the Spanish Match in the early 1620s. While Anglo-Spanish discussions about the potential marriage of Charles and the Infanta Maria Anna had been in train since 1614, the Spanish Match refers primarily to the climax of the negotiations in 1623, when Charles' travelled incognito to Spain with his companion the Duke of Buckingham in a bid to speed up the process. Disguising themselves as John and Thomas Smith, the pair made their way to Madrid in March 1623, staying until the October of that year.<sup>79</sup> The refraction of Charles and Buckingham's adventure through the lens of romance began almost immediately. A

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<sup>78</sup> John Adamson, *The Noble Revolt: The Overthrow of Charles I* (London: Phoenix, 2007), p. 202.

<sup>79</sup> James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-elianae, Familiar letters domestic and forren divided into sundry sections, partly historical, political, philosophical, upon emergent occasions* (1650), Wing H3072, p. 59. For a discussion of the politics of the Spanish Match, see, *inter alia*, Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), and Alexander Samson ed, *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

manuscript poem attributed to King James bemoaned their departure: 'What suddayne change hath dark't of late/The glory of th'Arcadian state?' 'Jack' and 'Tom' are depicted as valiant young men on a quest 'in heate of love', much as James himself travelled to Denmark to woo his queen: 'So Jacke and Tom doe nothing new/When love and fortune they pursue'. The circulation of the Arcadian poem, as Curtis Perry points out, 'attempts to recuperate the king's discursive authority' in the context of anti-Spanish criticism.<sup>80</sup> Charles and Buckingham's journey is figured not as a rash act but one authorised by royal tradition. Despite Charles' self-presentation as besotted lover of the Infanta and the lengthy diplomatic negotiations, the marriage agreement was never resolved and Charles returned home without a bride. Romance, as Lois Potter comments, referring to the Spanish Match, 'enabled the narration and thus the assimilation of potentially embarrassing events', particularly following Charles's marriage to the French princess Henrietta Maria.<sup>81</sup> Accordingly, the romance plot of the pastoral drama *The Shepherds Paradise* performed at court in 1633 explained away the Spanish Match as a trial love that was found wanting.

Three decades on from the Spanish Match, we find a continuing response in roman à clef to Caroline representations of royal authority through diplomatic courtship. *Panthalia's* narrative of the Spanish Match barely recounts Rosicles' (Charles') courting of Parthenia (the Infanta Anna Maria). Instead, the bulk of the narrative focuses on Silures (Buckingham), who

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<sup>80</sup> 'What suddayne change hath dark't of late', Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 21r-v, [http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/spanish\\_match\\_section/Nv1.html](http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/spanish_match_section/Nv1.html). See also Curtis Perry, "'If Proclamations Will Not Serve": The Late Manuscript Poetry of James I and the Culture of Libel', in *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I*, ed. by Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002), pp. 205-224 (p. 211).

<sup>81</sup> Potter, p. 77.

attempts to woo Valeria, a court beauty. Valeria proves to be a better politician than Silures; she 'knew well enough how to vie with him at that Game, and could bestow a Look, where she never ment to fixe her Love' (p. 62), while Silures 'quite forgot his Office of an Intelligencer' (p. 73). His final attempt to seduce Valeria is phrased as a parody of high-flown romance diction:

When the Phebean Charriot after a long dilatory progress (for so it appeared to Silures) had finished his Course: and given way to Larona with her Sable Curtains to oer-canopy the inferior Orbe (p. 75).

The elevated register is immediately undercut by the action that follows in which, unbeknownst to Silures, Valeria initiates a bed-swap. Silures is taken to an unlit room where a woman in bed is wearing the jewelled collar he had given Valeria.

He lay close inwreath'd in the armes of his uncouth comfort an Exposed Prostitute: a Moorish Woman, of an obscure quality, an infectious and diseased body. So as, when the Sun had display'd his burnish'd locks, his radiant splendour over the Universe: and Morpheus cloyed with a long nights slumber, had drawn aside his Curtains, that he might better discover the deformity of his Inmate; in a Furious and madding passion, as one quite distracted with that ugly Object of his loathed pleasure. Silures leaps out of his Bed, vowing revenge for this his unexemplary dishonour. (p. 75)

By inserting a Moorish character, the episode immediately evokes the most contentious political allegory of the Spanish match, *A Game at Chesse*. In Thomas Middleton's play the English are white, the Spanish black and powerful figures such as Charles, Buckingham and James himself are thinly allegorised into chess pieces on stage. A dumbshow scene in Act Four stages a bed-swap where the

black queen's pawn disguises herself as the white queen's pawn and tricks the black bishop's pawn into having sex with her. The manoeuvre is emblematic of the play's theme of political and sexual corruption that is far removed from the Jonsonian compliment of *Neptune's Triumph*.<sup>82</sup>

As the submerged *Game At Chesse* reference implies, *Panthalia's* use of parody is not simply used for comic purposes but is a political critique that draws upon the dissatisfaction recorded at Buckingham's behaviour in Madrid. Writing from Spain in *Epistolae Ho-elianae*, James Howell refers obliquely at 'some distast taken at the Duke of Buckingham here' and later reports that two ambassadors have been sent to prison 'for the scandalous information they made here against the Duke of Buckingham'.<sup>83</sup> It seems that Brathwait's historical source on the bed-swap story is most likely Sir Anthony Weldon's hostile narrative of the Jacobean court, *The Court and Character of King James* (1650). The history presents James' reign as a clear moral and political descent from 'the never to be forgotten Elizabeth, of happy memory'.<sup>84</sup> Weldon's account nods to the romance element of Charles and Buckingham's journey to Spain, noting sardonically that they attempted 'to imitate the stories of the Knights Errand' (p. 133), but the focus of the historical narrative is on Buckingham's diplomatic incompetence in Madrid that is mirrored in *Panthalia*:

It should seem hee made court to Conde Olivares Wife, a very handsom Lady. But it was so plotted betwixt the Lady, her

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<sup>82</sup> Ben Jonson, 'Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion' in *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments, 1605-1640*, ed. by David Lindley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 136-146.

<sup>83</sup> *Epistolae Ho-Elianae*, pp. 66, 104.

<sup>84</sup> Sir Anthony Weldon, *The Court and Character of King James* (1651), Wing W1274, p.1. Further references to this work will be given in the body of the text.

Husband and Bristol, that instead of that beauty, he had a notorious Stews-bird sent him [...] (pp. 135-6)

A concealed fragment from an anti-Stuart history into a text whose full title is *Panthalia, or The Royal Romance* and whose frontispiece displays an image of Charles II is a striking inclusion of political dissatisfaction.

*Panthalia's* equation of debased romance with debased politics powers Brathwait's deliberate conflation of Caroline neoplatonism with the excesses of the Jacobean court. James, assigned the name Basilius in the roman à clef, is the epitome of the weak king critiqued by Sidney in *Arcadia*. Happening upon his queen Ismenia in 'pleasant private discourse' (p. 37) with the courtier Lycorus (Sir Henry Jermyn), Basilius remarks: 'I approve this highly [...] I see we are all for Platonick Learning' (p. 37). The relocation of a queen's apparently inappropriate relationship with a 'platonick Lord' into the Jacobean period allows Brathwait to incorporate a potentially incendiary criticism of Henrietta Maria's relationship with Jermyn, as appears in Sir Edward Peyton's ferociously hostile history *The Divine Catastrophe of the House of Stuarts* (1652), in which the king is

urged by an Earl much with him, if he would not believe the unsutable behaviour between the Queen and Jermine, if he would go into her Chamber, he might be satisfied, and behold Jermine sitting upon the bed with the Queen; so the King and the Lord went in, and found her and Jermine in that posture. The King presently, more ashamed of the act, then blaming her, departed, without speaking a word [...] <sup>85</sup>.

The use of anti-Stuart history indicates the extent to which Brathwait is rewriting the royalist history of the marriage negotiations and drawing on

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<sup>85</sup> Sir Edward Peyton, *The Divine Catastrophe of the House of Stuarts* (1652), Wing P1952, p. 69.

contemporary hostile commentary on hispanophilic diplomacy to make wider criticisms of the behaviour of the king and queen. Indeed, the use of anti-royalist histories and parody indicate that *Panthalia* is offering an alternative to romance in shoring up the authority of the sovereign. Written near the end of republic, *Panthalia* is a royalist fiction that holds Charles I to account.

## Conclusion

In studying the post-war representation of the sovereign in *Theophania*, *The Princess Cloria* and *Panthalia*, this chapter has contested the critical assertion referred to in its introduction that the fictionality of roman à clef is leached out by the demands of historical allegory. By proposing a method of reading the three texts in the light of contemporary heroic romance, which foregrounds the pleasurable misdirection of historical fiction, we have read roman à clef not as a form of inferior documentary but one of literary play. The revelation of inner motivations and untold tales, licensed by heroic romance, has shown that roman à clef insists on invention. By paying close attention to the fictional representation of the sovereign's authority through the lens of his or her interior passions, this chapter has recalibrated roman à clef politically within a vein of critical royalism. The scepticism in *Panthalia*, *Theophania* and *The Princess Cloria* about the virtue and motives of rulers allows us to uncouple them from earlier authoritarian allegorical romances and allows interregnum roman à clef to be read not in a linear descent from *Argenis* and *Dodona's Grove* but as absorbing a wide variety of political commentary. Indeed, this approach has uncovered more immediate textual connections. Roman à clef is seen to mine a seam of textual revelation that began with *The King's Cabinet Opened*,

and coincides with the emerging genre of secret histories that two decades later would create a body of texts hostile to absolutism.

The next chapter discusses how interregnum fiction that is not overtly political engages in a similar project of questioning pre-war Stuart narratives by their contestation of love, desire and the regulatory authority of marriage of Arcadian romance.

## Chapter Three: Cross-dressing, desire and marriage

Then Hymen Marriage-God, and she  
Births Goddess, Juno solemnly  
Joynd both their hands; these words apply.  
None these Handes, Heart dare to sever:  
Grow your Joyes unnumbered, Ever. (*Polindor and Flostella*,  
1651).<sup>1</sup>

Having thus led my Hero through all difficulties, into the Throne, and layd him in the lap of Fortune, it may be expected, that to compleat his happiness, I should have paced him in the Arms of his beloved Amphigenia. But they that know the tedious intricacy, and perplexing (but yet fidling) difficulty there is in getting the love of a Coy Mistress, will I hope excuse me, if I give my pen a quietus est, after so long a Pilgrimage. I esteem Ambition a more tolerable, and Masculine distraction than Love: And therefore I had rather place my Hero in the more noble embraces of Fortune, than in the soft Effeminate Arms of a Lady (*Pandion and Amphigenia*, 1665).<sup>2</sup>

The contrast of romance conclusions in the extracts above directs us to examine how the marriage plot is treated at different points in the mid-seventeenth century and what might underlie such revision. John Harington's 1651 verse romance *Polindor and Flostella* employs an amatory plot line that features desire, in the form of eroticised gender disguise, followed by marriage. The hero Polindor, having fallen in love with Flostella, disguises himself as a woman to enter the vestal temple where his beloved lives. The two eventually marry in a harmonious ceremony attended by rustics and blessed by the gods, in a social operation that defuses the energies of cross-dressed desire. Fourteen years

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<sup>1</sup> John Harington, *The History of Polindor and Flostella* (1651), Wing H772, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> John Crowne, *Pandion and Amphigenia: or, the History of the Coy Lady of Thessalia* (1665). Wing C7396, pp. 306-7.

later, John Crowne's exuberant *Pandion and Amphigenia* features a central character who despite lengthy pursuit of his beloved, can never persuade her to marry him. As Crowne makes clear in the conclusion, the traditional romance ending of matrimony is simply implausible.

*Pandion and Amphigenia* is by no means an isolated example of an interregnum text that problematises the convention of cross-dressed desire and joyful wedding that is found in courtly-pastoral romances such as *Arcadia* and *Astrea. Panthalia* (1659) and *Herba Parietis* (1650) both foreground the notion of unhappy wedlock; in *Eliana's* framing story (1661) Argelais never marries the eponymous heroine, Lonoxia sees his beloved Atalanta die, and Euripides' lengthy narration of his love history includes a marriage cut short by the almost immediate death of his wife, followed by unhappy relationships with villainous women.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Sir George Mackenzie's *Aretina* (1660) presents a conclusion that, like *Pandion*, ostentatiously declines to perform matrimony. The assumed outcome of the romance in which the heroine Aretina might be expected to marry the hero Philarites is circumvented by the abduction of the couple by pirates and a bald 'Finis' that is immediately undercut by the next section, headed 'Here is continued the History of Aretina, which was too abruptly ended in the former page' (p. 409). In this coda it is revealed that Megistus, Philarites' friend, has mounted a false abduction to convince Aretina's father of the affection of the couple. Yet even this additional staging of romance digression does not feature a nuptial ceremony to reward the lovers. Philarites' journey

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<sup>3</sup> Richard Brathwait, *Panthalia or the Royal Romance* (1659), Wing B4273; Thomas Bayly, *Herba Parietis, or the Wallflower* (1650), Wing B1511; Samuel Pordage, *Eliana A New Romance* (1661), Wing E499; Sir George Mackenzie, *Aretina, or the Serious Romance* (Edinburgh: 1660), Wing M151

home ends with an encounter with a hermit who narrates the death of his virtuous wife, whom he had rescued from a brothel. *Aretina* therefore ends on notes of sorrow, atonement and grief. The romance ‘incite[ment] to vertue and generosity’ (p. 7) that Mackenzie applauds in his foreword to *Aretina* is accomplished not through the resolution of a wedding but a digressive tale of loss and grief outside the main narrative.

What might the disinclination to plot marriage as an outcome of desire suggest? This chapter responds in the broadest sense to Michael McKeon’s characterisation of seventeenth-century fiction’s dilemma about ‘how to tell the truth in narrative’.<sup>4</sup> More narrowly, it engages with existing scholarship that registers a shift in how mid-seventeenth century romances approach Arcadian conventions of authority in the form of love and matrimony.<sup>5</sup> The change in amatory plotting across a variety of interregnum romances has not hitherto been studied in any detail, but comments by two critics have been helpful in shaping this enquiry. Nigel Smith’s statement in his survey of mid-century textual culture that ‘Arcadian romance structure was understood demonstrably to have failed’ situates that failure within the discursive cacophony of 1640s and 1650s; the chapter examines the detail of that failure by examining experimentation with Arcadian plotting. Amelia Zurcher, whose work on seventeenth-century fiction foregrounds the ethical and philosophical positions of individual texts as part of a continuum of Renaissance thinking about interest, observes that while the turn away from marriage-as-telos can be read as a generic manifestation of romance open-endedness, it might also function as

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<sup>4</sup> Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1740* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987), p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 14.

an ethical objection to the wish-fulfilment of an idealised ending. Accordingly, this chapter explores how plotting itself can make a political or philosophical statement.<sup>6</sup>

This study construes Arcadia in two ways: as a literary genre of courtly pastoral that includes, but is not limited to, Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* and Honoré d'Urfé's *Astrea* in which desire is regulated by matrimony, and a political discourse that underpinned Charles I's personal rule. In doing so, it builds on Kevin Sharpe and Erica Veevers's influential studies of court culture and the Caroline politics of love.<sup>7</sup> Neoplatonic ideas underpinned court theatricals in which both Charles and Henrietta Maria were joint and separate agents in conflating marriage and virtuous government. In tracking what Smith has observed as the failure of Arcadian romance in this period, the chapter explores the resistance to the plausibility of Arcadia within a social and political context, and widens out the resistance to the marriage plot to an ideological rejection.

The chapter divides its discussion of texts into two parts. The first examines a group of 1650s romances – *Panthalia*, *Herba Parietis* and 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity' - which reshape cross-dressing and matrimony. The second groups together two late romances, *Pandion and Amphigenia* and *Eliana*, where marriage disappears from the main plotline entirely.<sup>8</sup> The chapter begins

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<sup>6</sup> Amelia Zurcher, 'Serious Extravagance: Romance Writing in Seventeenth-Century England', *Literature Compass*, 8/6 (2011), 376-389, p. 386. See also her *Seventeenth-Century English Romance: Allegory, Ethics and Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

<sup>7</sup> Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The politics of literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Erica Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and court entertainments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

<sup>8</sup> Margaret Cavendish, 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity', in *Natures Pictures Drawn by Fancies Pencil to the Life* (1656), Wing N855, pp. 220-272.

with an examination of the workings of gender disguise, desire and matrimony in the last Arcadian romances of this period, published in the early years of the republic.

### Arcadia: continuity and contestation

We now turn to how Arcadian romances present eroticism and the function of marriage. The Church of England wedding service declares that marriage is 'ordeined for a remedy against sinne and to avoide fornication, that such persons as have not the gift of continencie, might marrie, and keepe themselues undefiled members of Christs body.'<sup>9</sup> The function of marriage is as much social as personal, to regulate the untamed and disruptive forces of desire. Along these lines, the brief flurry of romances in the 1650s that recount the various love-plots of noble characters end in untroubled marriage and wedding hymns. *The Loves of Amandus and Sophronia* (1650) was written by Samuel Sheppard, originally a presbyterian supporter of Parliament who turned to the royalist cause following the king's imprisonment.<sup>10</sup> In one of the prefatory poems to *Amandus and Sophronia*, an Anthony Davenport invokes the authority of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*: 'Ladies, you that hug the Quill/of Renowned Astrophil/Here, behold a second Birth/Tasting of Sydnean worth'. The reader is explicitly commanded to view *Amandus* through *Arcadia* ('in Clodomer view/Basilius, and his humour too', sig. A4r). The first part of the romance centres on the virtuous princess Sophronia, who is conspired against and put on

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<sup>9</sup> The forme of solemnization of Matrimonie', *The Booke of Common Prayer*, (1603), STC 16326, sig. O14v.

<sup>10</sup> Andrew King, 'Sheppard, Samuel (c.1624–1655?)', *ODNB*; Samuel Sheppard, *The Loves of Amandus and Sophronia* (1650), Wing S3167. Further page references are given in the body of the text.

trial followed by a false accusation of unchastity and murder. The literary model for Sophronia is Pamela, who bears the prospect of execution following imprisonment by the would-be usurper Cecropia and whose virtue is underlined by her prayer just before being taken to the scaffold.<sup>11</sup>

In a plot gesture to Sidney, the character of Sophronia encodes another, more political reading of a show trial that springs from the mobilisation of *Arcadia* as a royalist text. In *Eikonoklastes* (1649), his attack on *Eikon Basilike*, John Milton charged the dead king with having inappropriately co-opted from Sidney's 'vain amatorious Poem' the prayer uttered by Pamela during her imprisonment.<sup>12</sup> Milton's manoeuvre insists upon a generic and cross-gendered link between the Sidneian heroine and the dead king, thereby inadvertently creating another romance continuation in that royalists could commemorate Charles' death through reading the fiction of *Arcadia*.<sup>13</sup> The intertextual connections therefore create a literary model for Sophronia in Pamela and a political model in Charles. On trial for her life, the princess pleads her innocence bravely and with so much sincerity that she is acquitted: 'the people gave a shout, crying She is innocent, she is innocent, which also was the sense of the whole Counsell' (pp. 98-99). Having rewritten the king's trial and execution as a fantasy of innocence vindicated, *Amandus and Sophronia* concludes with an epithalamium in which their marriage is welcomed 'to the Generall Joy of the whole Realme' (p. 141).

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<sup>11</sup> Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, ed. by Maurice Evans (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987) p. 464.

<sup>12</sup> John Milton, *Eikonoklastes*, in *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, 8 vols, ed. by Don M. Wolfe and others (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1959), III. p. 362.

<sup>13</sup> See Elizabeth A. Spiller, 'Speaking for the Dead: King Charles, Anna Weamys, and the Commemorations of Sir Philip Sidney's 'Arcadia'', *Criticism*, 42 (2000), 229-251.

While *Amandus* presents its alliance with Sidney through paratext and allusion, *A Continuation of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia* (1651) by 'A.W' is, as its title suggests, an overt commemoration of Sidney that situates itself not just in his shadow but in the wider tradition of Stuart Arcadian continuations. In a letter in *Epistolae Ho-elianae* the previous year, the royalist James Howell identified the author as Anna Weamys, daughter of an Anglican clergyman.<sup>14</sup> In the preface, Sidney is claimed to be the guiding muse of the text, working through a female hand. The paratextual construction of a cross-gendered narrator therefore legitimises and protects Weamys' position as a public writer: 'He breathes through female organs, yet retains/His masculine vigor in heroic strains'.<sup>15</sup> In Weamys, the loose ends of Sidney's original are tied up. The Urania/Claius/ Strephon triangle is resolved, Erona is convinced to marry Plangus and Philoclea mandates Amphialus to love Helen: 'Then after all ceremonies accomplished, they retired severally to their flourishing kingdoms [...] where they increased in riches, and were fruitful in their renowned families.'<sup>16</sup> The conclusion of Weamys' continuation of Sidney makes clear that marriage portends political peace and prosperity.

The third and last romance from the same period that is indebted to courtly pastoral is John Harington's verse narrative *The History of Polindor and Flostella* (1651), in which the Arcadian plot sequence of gender disguise and marriage is prominent. There is no record of Sir John Harington (1560-1612) being the author of the verse romance; the other Harington candidate is the

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<sup>14</sup> See James Howell, 'To Dr. Weames', *Epistolae Ho-elianae: Familiar Letters* (1655), Letter 10, Vol. 4, pp. 56-7 (Wing H3073); Jane Collins, 'Weamys, Anna (fl. 1650-1651)', *ODNB*.

<sup>15</sup> Anna Weamys, *A Continuation of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia*, ed. by Patrick Colborn Cullen (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

<sup>16</sup> *A Continuation*, p. 105.

contemporary lawyer and diarist John Harington, who withdrew from Parliament in protest over Pride's Purge and was an advocate of negotiation and compromise with Charles.<sup>17</sup> Like *Amandus* and *A Continuation*, authority and political harmony are figured by the marriage ceremony at the end, which offers a restorative social vision in which high- and low-born can all participate. The preface declares its textual affiliation to courtly romance:

Hoping I have not much Err'd, in beating this Road thus farr,  
wherein others (Great Parts too) the Arcadia, Argenis, &c have  
farr more voluminously gone before mee.<sup>18</sup>

*Polindor's* paratext continues to demonstrate an alliance with royalist tastes in its twenty-page appendix. The section contains a series of love-poems that align it with Cavalier lyric tradition, such as 'The Authors First Dream of Flostella, Not seen Bathing, but as he rode on Hunting'; 'Flostellas Close Nun-like coyness', 'and 'Flostella's Hand and Glove'.<sup>19</sup>

The romance narrative begins with an act of voyeurism. The hero Polindor, leaving the other 'Arcadian' (p. 2) youths, finds himself near the vestal grove and spies Flostella bathing. He immediately embarks upon a four-page rhapsodic blazon of the perfections of her body: 'Next shew those Brests, which seetly aspire/As meant to suckle th'babe Desire/So swelling, plumpe: Then arms, hands and waist' (p. 11). Overcome, Polindor faints with desire and is

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<sup>17</sup> See J.H. Bettey, 'Harington, John (1588/9–1654)', *ODNB*. Harington has an unexpected connection with another romancier. He was the brother-in-law of poet Hester Pulter, who visited the Haringtons in 1647 and 1652. See *Women Poets of the English Civil War*, ed. by Sarah C.E. Ross and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), p. 90.

<sup>18</sup> *Polindor and Flostella*, sig. A3v. Further page references to this work will be given in the body of the text.

<sup>19</sup> See, *inter alia*, Robert Herrick, *Hesperides* (1648), Wing H1595; Richard Lovelace, *Lucasta epodes, odes, sonnets, songs* (1649), Wing L3240.

discovered by Flostella, who promptly falls in love with him. In order to be close to his beloved, who has not yet taken the final vestal vow, Polindor dresses as a woman (Althuse) and enters the vestal sanctuary:

[...] We shall not here recount  
 Their pleasant Cabins, Fountaines, Bowres,  
 Groves, Walkes; their Evening sports, their houres  
 For burning Incence, Sacred fires;  
 Their Musick consorts,  
 Rare Pencills art; their Needles-glories (p. 43)

In contrast to Polindor's boisterous games with his companions, the passage marks out female space as separate from the male by domestic, leisure, and artistic accomplishments.

Courtship through cross-dressing in romance is characterised by the performance of femininity allied to an aggressively penetrative act, since it propels the disguised hero into feminine spaces from which he would be otherwise barred. In *Astrea*, Celadon disguises himself as a shepherdess to penetrate the vestal temple where the three nymphs, all half-naked and led by Astrea herself, are enacting the drama of the judgment of Paris.<sup>20</sup> In *Arcadia* and *Argenis*, Pyrocles and Poliarchus colonise the private retreats in Arcadia and Sicily, their Amazonian disguises assigning them a qualified masculinity and allowing them to show their martial prowess. Both save the heroines from violent encounters, but must therefore concoct tales to explain why they are unable to perform gendered skills; in *Argenis*, Poliarchus/Theocrine excuses her

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<sup>20</sup> Honoré D'Urfé, *Astrea*, trans. by Steven Rendall (Tempe, Arizona: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1997), p. 92.

inability to embroider by explaining that her noble family partook of hunting as a pastime instead. The act of narration is co-opted into the act of seduction.

It is a feature of pastoral romances that the hero, once cross-dressed, is also acknowledged as female by the narrator. *Arcadia*, *Astrea* and *Argenis* use the feminine pronoun to refer to the disguised hero, colluding with the cross-dressing and by implication the intention of the hero. Similarly, *Polindor and Flostella* adheres to this tradition, with Polindor disguised briefly within the text as 'she' and the text's eroticism firmly grounded in this temporary episode of cross-dressing that is eventually regulated by marriage. Just as the heroine who disguises herself as a boy on the Renaissance stage became a stock operation of the theatrical erotic, the Arcadian romance hero disguised as a woman is embroiled in an encounter that contains within itself layers of possibilities. In male-to-female transvestism the reader is simultaneously confronted with a hero-as-man wooing the heroine, a hero-as-woman wooing the heroine, and the heroine's erotic response to a character she believes to be a woman.

In a clear borrowing from *Arcadia's* characterisation of the smitten Gynecia, another vestal falls in love with the disguised Polindor to the extent that she becomes ill with passion: 'Sighs, Mournes, Weeps:/Yet smothering all; till sick bed keeps' (p. 44). Just as Polindor's desire for Flostella accords him agency to penetrate the cloister, the nun's initial same-sex desire for Althuse allows her to penetrate Polindor's disguise, in the same way that Gynecia eventually realises that Pyrocles/Zelmane is not female. The enamoured nun shortly realises that the object of her passion is not a new vestal, but a man: 'Love soon had spy'd/Polindor through Althuse (quick-eyd)' (p. 45). It marks out Polindor as the object of the gaze, reversing his position of voyeur at the

beginning of the romance; he/she is now vulnerable to discovery. The desiring subject (Polindor) is nominally in control, but there is danger in turn for the interloper, whose assumed identity is fragile and can be penetrated by others.

Cross-dressing therefore allows the creation of delayed revelation, itself a source of readerly pleasure. In *Argenis* the experienced romance reader, as Gynecia detects with Zelmane in *Arcadia*, will guess that the fair Amazonian stranger who arrives at Argenis's sequestered court of women and who defends her visiting father Meleander from the insurgents is the hero Poliarchus in disguise. Just as we take pleasure in the textual rendition of Theocrine's 'grace of speech, together with the beauty of her dimples', we have already been alerted to Poliarchus/Theocrine's performance of gender in the 1628 translation, in the argument before the chapter, which reveals the stranger's true identity: 'A young Stranger, named Theocrine, presented to Selenissa: hee relateth his misfortunes to her; and desireth her secrecie and helpe from the search of Icciobates'.<sup>21</sup> The reader is encouraged to take pleasure in the withholding of this revelation from the eponymous Argenis, whose body is suddenly in close proximity to the cross-dressed and desiring hero.

Sigmund Freud's study of sexual fantasy in 'A Child Is Being Beaten' provides a parallel model of narrative slippage that fosters the erotic. In producing the fantasy narrative, the subject identifies variously with the beaten, the beater and the viewer of the beating. 'It is true that the person beating remains the same (that is, the father),' comments Freud, 'but the child who is beaten has been changed into another one and is now invariably the child

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<sup>21</sup> John Barclay, *Argenis*, trans. by Kingsmill Long (1625), STC 1392, p. 176.

producing the phantasy [...] accompanied by quite a high degree of pleasure.’<sup>22</sup> The simultaneous overlapping of masochist, sadist and voyeur parallel the different subject positions inhabited by the reader of the erotic episode of disguise, who oscillates constantly between the viewpoints of desiring subject and desired object in a delicate tangle of control and loss of control. The gap between one character’s knowing viewpoint and another’s not-knowing viewpoint produces an erotic charge for the reader. The fitful pulse of narrative withholding, revelation and voyeurism creates an erotic gap identified by Roland Barthes as ‘the intermittence [...] between two edges [...]: it is this flash itself which seduces, or rather: the staging of an appearance-as-disappearance’.<sup>23</sup> As such, cross-dressing becomes a micro-demonstration of romance’s wider narrative strategy of withholding and deferral. Disguise thus models a way of extending and developing the pleasure of narrative.

*Polindor and Flostella* presents male-to-female disguise followed by the marriage of the hero and heroine, as entirely plausible. Polindor’s cross-dressing allows him to woo his beloved successfully and is the first step towards a maritally and socially harmonious ending. The lovers manage to escape the convent to live together chastely in a lush Edenic forest, ‘like that first blest Payre/Of Innocence’ (p. 60). Following various intrigues involving a wicked stepmother and a failed abduction, the romance ends with the lovers’ wedding, in which they are crowned by rustics. Taking its authority from Sidney, Barclay and Honoré D’Urfé, Harington’s romance begins with voyeurism

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<sup>22</sup> Sigmund Freud, ‘A Child is Being Beaten’, in *The Complete Psychological Works*, trans. by James Strachey, 24 vols (London: Hogarth Press, 1955), XVII, pp. 180-204, (p. 181).

<sup>23</sup> Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, trans. by Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1975), pp. 9-10.

and cross-dressing and ends in marriage, the authoritative signifier of a social and sexual contract.

The presentation of marriage as socially harmonious and authoritative thus aligns *A Continuation, Amandus and Sophronia* and *Polindor and Flostella* as remnants of a Caroline aesthetic that was itself partly shored up by romance, notably Honoré D'Urfé's *Astrea*, which was imported by Queen Henrietta Maria into the English court. It was exemplified in the courtier Walter Montagu's *The Shepherd's Paradise*, a play that like *Astrea*, is set in a feminocentric pastoral community that engages in extended debates on the nature of love and fidelity. The valorisation of marriage as a discourse of government was to the fore in a number of court theatricals, such as Carew's masque 'Coelum Britannicum' in which Charles and Henrietta Maria were figured as the apotheosis of matrimony in the figure of Carlomaria.<sup>24</sup>

Despite functioning within a clear pastoral tradition, a later edition of *Polindor and Flostella* is hesitant about acknowledging its Sidneian heritage. The preface to the 1657 edition attempts to reposition the romance away from its forebears. It omits the reference to *Arcadia* and *Argenis* altogether, and says: 'hoping I have not much err'd, beating this Road thus far, wherein so many Others (great Parts too) have gone far more Voluminously before me'.<sup>25</sup> In a paratextual move that is part marketing ploy, part cultural positioning, *Polindor's* Tudor and Stuart antecedents are scrubbed from the record and their absence, along with the retention of the word 'voluminous', misdirects the

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<sup>24</sup> Walter Montagu, *The Shepherds' Paradise* ed. by Sarah Poynting (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Malone Society, 1997); Thomas Carew, 'Coelum Britannicum', in *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments 1605-1640*, ed. by David Lindley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) p. 172. See Karen Britland, *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

<sup>25</sup> *Polindor and Flostella*, sig. A2v.

reader's attention to contemporary multi-volume French romance translations instead. Such a manoeuvre prompts us to examine the discursive environment in which both the status and plausibility of Arcadian romance and its manifestations in the disguise and the marriage plot are contested in the years of the interregnum. In examining how mid- and late-interregnum romances differentiate themselves from pre-war texts in this period, the chapter draws upon scholarship that in tracking the crisis of both political and generic authority after the Civil Wars, reads challenges to Arcadia as both literary and ideological. Accordingly, the chapter considers two sources of challenge to Arcadian romance: parody and political writing.

The most cogent burlesque of courtly pastoral appeared in English in 1653 in the translation of Charles Sorel's 1628 work *The Extravagant Shepherd*, in which aristocratic pastoral is comically transposed to a largely urban, mercantile and serving-class environment. *The Extravagant Shepherd* was reprinted in the following year, which also saw a translation of Thomas Corneille's comedy based on the same text, indicating an appetite for pastoral parody.<sup>26</sup> *The Extravagant Shepherd* follows the adventures of the credulous reader Lysis, who like Don Quixote, is unable to distinguish between fiction and reality. It parodies a variety of amatory conventions such as the lover keeping objects that the beloved has touched, the expectation that 'real' shepherds can produce verse to order, the hero's efforts to perform serenades, craft love-letters and build a temple to his love and, most importantly for the purposes of this chapter, the attempt to approach the beloved through gender disguise. The

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<sup>26</sup> Charles Sorel, *Le Berger Extravagant* (Paris: 1628); *The Extravagant Shepherd*, trans. by John Davies (1653), Wing S4703. Further page references to this work will be incorporated in the text. Thomas Corneille, *The Extravagant Sheepherd a pastoral comedie*, trans. by T.R. (1654), Wing C6323.

English publication of *The Extravagant Shepherd* appeared with a thirty-four-page prefatory exegesis by the translator John Davies, who discusses each chapter's line of attack on aspects of pastoral romance.

Throughout the preface, Davies criticises the conventions of pastoral romance on the grounds of plausibility:

For his [Lysis] disguising himself like a Maid, and his perswasions that he was really one, and was taken for one, 'tis an humor so thread-bare in all Books of Shepherdry and Love-stories, that I need say nor more of it (sig. b1v)

While cross-dressed disguise is positioned as an already tired trope that is barely worth attacking, the romance ending of a marriage ceremony in which all the couples are united is framed as equally fantastic:

Lysis is somewhat troubled that Hircan and Anselme marry before the end of the Book, and that they are not all married on a day. That marrying all of a day Clarimond needed not so much to have laugh'd at: for your Romantick Shepherds being all Beggars, such a thing might happen, if they came to some good house, where after good drink and victuals, 'twas easie to bring them into the humour, as being such as of whom it might be said, when they caper'd in a dance, that all their worldly wealth was in the Ayr. But for Lysander's History, that treats of persons of Quality, to have all match'd of a day, and that in the Chappel of Bourbon, was a little extravagant. (sig. dv)

As we see, Davies's resistance to the Arcadian disguise and marriage plot turns on the idea of collusion between text and reader, a generic obligation based on stale custom rather than a socially nuanced reality.

Davies's criticism that the plotting of cross-dressing and matrimony is reliant on the reader's acceptance of an intertextual legacy of elite politico-

pastoral fiction is made clear within *The Extravagant Shepherd*. The deluded hero Lysis cites the authority of two early seventeenth-century romances:

Was not Poliarchus cloath'd like a maid, and was called Theocrine? And did not Celadon do the like, and was called Alexis? This is the principal subject of Romances, and an amorous history is never good, if there be not a young man puts on maids cloathes, or a maid a mans. I would to God Charite would imitate me, and put on the habit of my sex, as I have put on that of hers. Then must she pretend to love me, and if we were married, the change of cloaths would not deceive any body; all would be very well. (pp. 94-5)

Lysis specifically references *Argenis* (Poliarchus/Theocrine) and *Astrea* (Celadon/Alexis), but English readers of Sorel would add a third authoritative text, *Arcadia*, in which Pyrocles dresses as an Amazon in order to get close to Philoclea. Taken together, Sorel and Davies's attacks on romance bear out Michael McKeon's observation in his study of the development of the novel that early seventeenth-century fiction's 'reigning narrative epistemology involves a dependence on received authorities and a priori traditions'.<sup>27</sup> In all three romances, the convention of gender disguise requires the reader to accept that the virile young man is sufficiently feminine-looking to fool most or all onlookers, and secondly that such deception will not only end in unproblematic matrimony but is ethically neutral.

The resonances of parodic attacks on the artifice of generic convention are deepened by their rhetorical similarities to contemporary political discourse. The most useful points of comparison here are the 1640s pamphlets of John Milton, the foremost literary-political polemicist of the period. In his

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<sup>27</sup> McKeon, p. 21.

foreword to *The Extravagant Shepherd*, Davies argues that ‘the Generality of mankinde are wholly led away with their first thoughts, and are guided by Authority and Tradition, rather than satisfied with the scrutiny of their own reason’.<sup>28</sup> Davies’s deployment of reason against custom bears a remarkable resemblance to Milton’s argument in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649): ‘If men within themselves would be govern’d by reason, and not generally give up thir understanding to a double tyrannie, of Custom from without, and blind affections within, they would discern better, what it is to favour and uphold the Tyrant of a Nation.’<sup>29</sup> Davies’s attack on the uncritical reader also echoes the broadside in *Eikonoklastes* against the implausibilities of romance and their political deployment by the ousted royalists. *Arcadia*, argues Milton, should not ‘be read at any time without good caution; much less in time of trouble and affliction to be a Christians Prayer-Book.’<sup>30</sup> In contrast to the truth of godly texts, romance requires the reader to accept convention in the same way as the political subject has hitherto submitted to the artifice of royal authority, and the preface to *The Extravagant Shepherd* suggests a similar perspective.

The nature of consent to authority had acute contemporary purchase. It was the subject of considerable pamphlet debate following the execution of the king and the related Engagement Controversy, when the new government required its citizens to declare loyalty to the commonwealth.<sup>31</sup> The idea of

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<sup>28</sup> *The Extravagant Shepherd*, sig. A1v.

<sup>29</sup> *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, ed. by Merritt Y. Hughes, in *The Complete Prose Works*, III, p. 190.

<sup>30</sup> *The Complete Prose Works*, III, pp. 362-3.

<sup>31</sup> ‘January 1650: An Act for Subscribing the Engagement’, in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. by C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (London: 1911), pp. 325-329 <[www.british-history.ac.uk](http://www.british-history.ac.uk)>; Anthony Ascham, *The Bounds and bonds of publique obedience*

authority as being collectively constructed was addressed at length in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, in which Milton theorised that in order to defend themselves, early civilisations ‘saw it needful to ordaine som authoritie, that might restrain by force and punishment what was violated against peace and common right’. Self-protection gave rise to elected authority, whereby kings or magistrates should be ‘Deputies and Commissioners, to execute, by vertue of their intrusted power, that justice which else every man by the bond of nature and of Cov’nant must have executed from himself, and for one another’.<sup>32</sup> Kings were not brought about by God, but by humans. Institutions, from the sovereign’s authority to the contract of matrimony, can thus be seen as de facto human constructions to which a subject may actively consent according to changing circumstances.

Milton’s argument that political structures have a constructed rather than natural genealogy anticipates *Leviathan*, published in 1651, the same year of the last of the interregnum Arcadian romances. ‘For by Art is created that great Leviathan called a Common-Wealth, or State (in latine Civitas) which is but an Artificiall Man [...] in which the Sovereignty is an Artificiall Soul, as giving life and motion to the whole body,’ argues Hobbes.<sup>33</sup> In citing Milton and Hobbes as examples of the debate over political authority, this chapter draws on Victoria Kahn’s study of the poetics of contract and the development of theories

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(1649) Wing A3918A; Anon., *A Logical Demonstration of the Lawfulness of Subscribing the New Engagement* (1650), Wing L2839; Samuel Eaton, *The Oath of Allegiance and the National Covenant proved to be non-obliging* (1650), Wing E124. See also Glenn Burgess, ‘Usurpation, Obligation and Obedience in the Thought of the Engagement Controversy’, *The Historical Journal*, 29 (1986), 515-536 and Quentin Skinner, ‘Conquest and Consent: Thomas Hobbes and the Engagement Controversy’, in *The Interregnum: The Quest for Settlement 1646-1660*, ed. by G. E. Aylmer (London: Macmillan, 1972), pp. 79-98.

<sup>32</sup> *The Complete Prose Works*, III, p. 199.

<sup>33</sup> Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan: The English and Latin Texts*, ed. by Noel Malcolm, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2012) II, p. 16.

of political obligation from the seventeenth century onwards, which offers a helpful approach through which to understand the incorporation of the political into generic contestation.<sup>34</sup> Her observation that writers during the Civil War and its immediate aftermath ‘explicitly analogised the reader’s consent to the literary contract to an individual’s consent to the political contract, and vice versa’ (p. 18), reminds us of the interpenetration of politics and genre; as the preface to *The Extravagant Shepherd* illustrates, in their common use of metaphor, romance and political philosophy can function on the same terrain.

In particular, Kahn’s work suggests how we might read the function of matrimony in interregnum fiction, by taking into account its prior use as an allegory of political structures. Royalist uses of matrimony abounded, from Charles and Henrietta Maria’s marriage, held out as a symbol of the sovereign’s love for his people to Sir Robert Filmer’s absolutist defence of divine right. In Filmer’s model, power is absolutely located in the father, and by extension the husband, whose ‘wife’s obedience depends upon the law of God, which hath made the bond of matrimony indissoluble’.<sup>35</sup> In similar terms, Henry Ferne’s defence of Charles ridiculed the idea that Parliament could have any powers over the king’s actions. Such an idea, he argued, was ‘as if, in Matrimony (for the King is also sponsus Regni, and wedded to the kingdom by a ring at his Coronation) the parties should agree, on such and such neglect of duties, to part

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<sup>34</sup> Victoria Kahn, *Wayward Contracts: The Crisis of Political Obligation in England, 1640-1674* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004). Further references are incorporated in the text.

<sup>35</sup> Sir Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha and Other Political Works*, ed. by Peter Laslett (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1949). While *Patriarcha* was printed only in 1680, it is thought to have been written by 1630. See Glenn Burgess, ‘Filmer, Sir Robert (1588?–1653)’, *ODNB*.

a sunder'.<sup>36</sup> For royalist writers, marriage provided a useful framework for the subordination of the subject to the king.

The rhetorical deployment of matrimony could be used for opposing political ends. In *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (1643), Milton likens unhappy marriage to political servitude, castigating:

canonically tyranny snatcht into the compulsive censure of a judicial Court; where Laws are impos'd even against the venerable & secret power of nature's impression, to love what ever cause be found to loath. Which is a hainous barbarisme both against the honour of marriage, the dignitie of man and his soule, the goodnes of Christianitie, and all the humane respects of civilitie.<sup>37</sup>

Milton's divorce pamphlets posit marriage as a human, not a divine institution.

Furthermore, a shift in the status of matrimony was underlined by its desacralisation in 1653 when Parliament required marriages to be formalised by a justice of the peace rather than the church, a move disapproved of by the romance reader Dorothy Osborne, who predicted that it will 'fright the Country people Extreemly, for they apprehend nothing like goeing before a Justice; they say noe Marriage shall stand good in Law'.<sup>38</sup> The discourse of marriage therefore incorporates not just allegory and theoretical debate but has a wide

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<sup>36</sup> Henry Ferne, *Conscience Satisfied: That There is now warrant for the Armes now taken up by Subjects* (Oxford:1643), Wing F791, p. 12. See also Mary Lyndon Shanley, 'Marriage Contract and Social Contract in Seventeenth-Century English Political Thought', *The Western Political Quarterly*, 32 (1979), 79-91.

<sup>37</sup> Milton, *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, in *The Complete Prose Works*, II, p. 238.

<sup>38</sup> 'Act touching marriages and the registering thereof, and also touching births and marriages' in 'Table of acts: 1653', in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C H Firth and R S Rait (London, 1911), pp. xc-xciv. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum/xc-xciv> [accessed 17 March 2018]; *The Letters of Dorothy Osborne to William Temple*, ed. by G.C. Moore Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), Letter 34, p. 76.

social purchase, being grounded within the political upheaval of the post-regicide republic.

The questions that both Milton and Hobbes ask of existing political and ideological structures, and of their characterisation of those structures as contingent, therefore cohere with Davies's challenge to generic tradition. Anti-Arcadian discourses of parody and polemic unite in characterising political and generic authority as analogous, secular ideological constructs that maintain plausible force only through custom. The entanglement of politics and genre in the mid-seventeenth century that was discussed in the introduction to this thesis can here be seen in close-up: just as the political draws upon the literary device of allegory, so romance tropes bear a political load. Attentive, therefore, to the interplay of generic and political challenge shaping romance plotting, we now turn to three texts of the 1650s.

### **Troubled matrimony**

In *Herba Parietis* (1650), the inset narrative of *Panthalia* (1659) and the novella 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity' in Margaret Cavendish's *Natures Pictures* (1656), the heroines all marry after a period of cross-dressing, but matrimony does not necessarily betoken a joyous conclusion. In the context of the contestation of Arcadia outlined above, we now consider the function of marriage in these narratives, and the extent to which these romances encode broader contestations of political authority.

In 1620 the pamphlet *Hic Mulier* specifically attacked romance-reading and cross-dressing romance heroines for their lack of decorum:

[...] doe not become the idle Sisters of foolish Don Quixote, to beleue every vaine Fable which you reade, or to think you may bee attired like Bradamant, who was often taken for Ricardetto her brother; that you may fight like Marfiza, and winne husbands with conquest, or ride astryde like Claridiana, and make Gyants fall at your stirrops [...]<sup>39</sup>

*Hic Mulier's* polemical conflation of romance folly with transgressive femininity is based upon a politics of gender hierarchy that invokes the spectre of female sexual availability. The text glosses over the implied telos of matrimony in romances, many of which present a disguised woman who is searching for a lost or feckless lover or who wants to serve her beloved. For example, in *Arcadia*, cross-dressing females perish virtuously; Parthenia disguises herself as a knight in order to fight Amphialus, who killed her beloved Argalus and who then kills her in single combat. The devoted Zelmane becomes Philocles' page before dying nobly and being commemorated by Pyrocles taking her name in his own gender-switch. Male clothing is invariably a demonstration of female constancy, a desire for marriage – and in the case of Bradamante in *Orlando Furioso* and Britomart in *The Faerie Queene*, martial cross-dressing will end not just in matrimony but dynastic or national foundation.

We can contrast the uses of female disguise and matrimony in mid-seventeenth century romance by reading Richard Brathwait's *The Two Lancashire Lovers* (1640) alongside his later *Panthalia* (1659).<sup>40</sup> *The Two Lancashire Lovers*, in which the impoverished tutor Philocles successfully woos Doriclea, is an urban tale of intrigue and generational conflict in which the

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<sup>39</sup> *Hic Mulier* (1620), STC 13375, sig. B3r.

<sup>40</sup> Richard Brathwait, *The Two Lancashire Lovers: or, the excellent history of Philocles and Doriclea* (1640), STC 3590. Further page references will be given in the body of the text.

virtuous pair are rewarded with marriage. While Doriclea is resourceful, energetic and occasionally devious in deceiving her strict parents, she is consistently presented as virtuous and unswervingly devoted to her lover. Her declaration early on in the text that ‘Those, who make Choice of Husbands, purposely to make them their slaves, are domesticke Tyrants’ (p. 22) conforms to expectations of feminine submission. Deception is merely a means to end; Doriclea’s maid advises her mistress to dissemble where necessary, saying ‘Love is personated with most grace, when it entertaines a disguise’ (p. 109). Indeed, Brathwait makes use of cross-dressing to demonstrate feminine devotion at two points in the narrative.

When the heroine disguises herself in the clothes of her page in order to escape the house to see Philocles, she is caught by the town’s watchmen, who are have been charged with examining everyone following the abduction of a girl from a noble family that night: ‘So as being found upon search, the poore amorous Girle was stript of her Pages habit, and re-attyr'd in her own’ (p. 110). Doriclea is forcibly and publicly reclothed, but gender disguise nevertheless reappears at the end of the romance when the page to the hero’s friend Euphilus is revealed as the Valeria, sister to the hero Philocles. She has strangely remained unrecognised by her brother Philocles and by Euphilus himself, who had been her fiancé. The reason for their original separation is never given, but we are invited to witness Euphilus’s joy at the ‘strange Metamorphosis of his Page to his Lover’ (p. 252). The seemingly hasty insertion of this mini-narrative in which revelation happens over half a page is designed to emphasise *The Lancashire Lovers’* allegiance to romance convention wherein disguise is followed by happy nuptials.

Brathwait's *Panthalia, or the Royal Romance*, published nearly two decades after *The Two Lancashire Lovers*, approaches cross-dressing and matrimony rather differently. The eponymous Panthalia is a character in 'The Pleasant Passages of Panthalia, the Pretty Pedler', a tale placed in the middle of and at first glance unrelated to the main body of the text, which as we saw in chapter two, is a roman à clef of recent political history. The tale is nevertheless anchored within the context of wartime in which female cross-dressing is partly sanctioned; in a conventional demonstration of female devotion, Panthalia is betrothed to the soldier Acolasto and goes to search for him with her maid Pandione, disguising herself as the youth Melicertes. Trying to reach the garrison where Acolasto is stationed, the pair are sheltered by an old man and his daughter Aretina, a respectable older virgin. Aretina falls in love with the disguised Panthalia immediately. It is made clear that Aretina's feelings are powerfully sexual; her whispered protestation to a sleeping Panthalia that her desire is not physical is undercut by the narrator's comment that it is 'a strange dissembling Rhetorick, deserving rather to be admir'd then believed'.<sup>41</sup> As *The Extravagant Shepherd's* parody makes clear, in *Astrea* and other pastoral romances the narrator terms the disguised hero 'she' throughout and uses the hero's assumed name, but here the assumed name of Melicertes is barely used, and the masculine pronoun is never employed, thereby rendering Aretina's passion comically deluded.

Despite the application of parody to the cross-dressing narrative, the text appears to lead the reader in a conventional direction towards matrimony. However, *Panthalia* denies a happy ending to the couple:

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<sup>41</sup> *Panthalia*, p. 161. Further page references will be given in the body of the text.

But transitory joys cannot possibly admit a perpetuity. These Nuptial hony Months are ofttimes mixed with much aloes: as it fared with this unfortunate Couple. For Acolasto, either forth of a distaste which he conceiv'd of Panthalia's Freedom; being such as a moderate or unprejudcate judgement would have ascribed rather to her affability then levity or out of his own inconstancy (as if he had taken a Surfet of inclosed grounds) they begun to live apart. (p. 219)

Rather than end at the ceremony, the marriage plot is extended some way after the wedding. Acolasto begins to court the lady Morana, who shows him much favour along with his rival Trimelio. Acolasto accuses him of his having claimed to others that he is free and intimate with Morana, with the result that Morana confronts Trimelio and pronounces death upon him. Her servants dispatch him, and Morana, 'a woman of a masculine and vindicative nature' (p. 220) finishes him off, 'with three mortal stabs with a poniard: upon receipt whereof this unfortunate Favourite presently expired.' (p. 223) Acolasto the soldier, so bold in accusing his rival, becomes suddenly afraid and resolves to 'decline his pursuit after strange mistresses, and his adoration of prohibited beauties, and seasonably to endeavour his peace and reconciliation to his late-deserted Panthalia.' (p. 223). It concludes:

[...] their means became much improved: which raised their youthfull Spirits to that unaccustomed port, as it begot in them a profuse and excessive Freedom: the blame whereof, as opinion spread itself, was laid upon Panthalia's delicacy: for Acolasto, after such time as he had sown his wild Oats in Forraigne Fields, grew so uxorious, as his Course was wholly managed by her Conduct. So strangely became he reclaimed; as from a Favourite of other light Mistresses, he fell to be an obsequious Servant to his own. (p. 224)

The five-page coda, detailing adulterous desire and murder, entirely undermines the prior reconciliation between the 'two loving Turtles' (p. 217), who had pledged devotion during the wedding ceremony. Even with Acolasto's reconversion to his love for Panthalia following his dalliance with Morana, Brathwait provides a superficially happy ending with darker undertones.

Despite the errant husband's return, the ending of the tale of Panthalia and Acolasto remains intriguingly unresolved. A bequest of money gives the young couple an enhanced material existence, but at the same time the 'profuse and excessive Freedom' (p. 224) of prodigality. In the convent prior to the ceremony Panthalia's induction into the order of nuns, Pandione tries to dissuade her mistress from joining the convent, putting forward the familiar argument that the world must be peopled: 'For you oppose the meanes of Generation, and no People, no Society: and no Society, no World. Thus would your Monastick Concept make the World a wilderness' (p. 203). Pandione's argument echoes a key component of the Church of England marriage service, which figures union as fundamentally generative:

Duely consideryng the causes for the whiche matrimonie was ordeined. One cause was the procreacion of children, to be brought up in the feare and nurture of the Lord, and prayse of God.<sup>42</sup>

Despite the textual emphasis on the duty of procreation, there is no mention of children in Panthalia and Acolasto's marriage: it is literally and symbolically barren, hinting that this mismatched couple can never manage a golden mean. What begins as romance convention of temporarily up-ending early modern

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<sup>42</sup> 'The forme of solemnization of Matrimonie', *The Booke of Common Prayer*, sig. O14v.

gender roles ends in those roles being permanently skewed from the perceived natural order: Acolasto has become servile, while Panthalia's dominating behaviour echoes that of the 'masculine' and vicious Morana.

*Panthalia* contrasts markedly with Brathwait's pre-war tale *The Lancashire Lovers* and Arcadian romances in breaking the expected sequential link between erotic transvestism and its happy resolution into matrimony. Panthalia's original disguise as the faithful cross-dressed lover is one of a series of volatile stances she adopts: the trick-seducing of another woman, the decision to join a convent, her marriage, abandonment and final prodigal triumph do not form the conventional tale of the faithful woman cross-dressing to pursue her lover; instead, it becomes a narrative of the illusory nature of romantic love.

Our second romance to feature a cross-dressing heroine is Thomas Bayly's *Herba Parietis*, which tells the story of siblings Bertaldo and Honoria, nephew and niece to the emperor Honorius, who separately flee to Carthage. Honoria and the prince Lorenzo fall in love, while Bertaldo falls in love with Amarissa. Amarissa is both Lorenzo's former beloved, and also the beloved of the nobleman Berontus, who has not disclosed his passion for her. Meanwhile, Perissa, a gentlewoman of less high birth than the others, falls in love with Bertaldo and disguises herself as the youth Philoret.

References to Shakespeare plays are studded throughout *Herba Parietis*, directing the reader to consume it within a theatrical intertext. The lovers' knot involving Amarissa, Berontus, Bertaldo and Philoret evokes the shifting allegiances of the Hermia, Helena, Demetrius and Lysander in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Lorenzo becomes suspicious of Honoria's

relationship with Hortensius after his spies report that she 'stroakt him under the chin, clapt him on the Cheeks, thrust her fingers into his Bosome, smil'd him in the Face', evoking parallels with Leontes' jealous fantasies of Hermione and Polixenes' 'paddling palms and pinching fingers' in *The Winter's Tale*.<sup>43</sup> Finally, the romance's Moorish elements amplify an important jealousy plot that draws on *Othello*. The Carthaginian nobleman Maximanus, who has tried unsuccessfully to seduce Honoria, takes revenge by co-opting her maid Bonella to drug her mistress and the gardener Hortensius so that they are found together as if in flagrante. Lorenzo orders his wife's death, but Honoria's innocence is finally proved through a handkerchief embroidered by Bonella that states that the queen is the victim of a cruel trick. The handkerchief, rather than the evidence that leads to the death of Desdemona in *Othello*, becomes the object that saves Honoria. Taken together with the preface, we see that *Herba Parietis* textually remounts elements from theatrical performances, banned since 1642, as part of the author's protestations of loyalty to the executed king in the preface.<sup>44</sup> The theatrical disguise at the heart of its plot therefore becomes a cultural and political signifier of loyalty that shores up its paratextual protestations.<sup>45</sup>

*Herba Parietis* restages the very act of performance, of an actor becoming a character, when Perissa disguises herself as a boy and offers to be Bertaldo's

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<sup>43</sup> *Herba Parietis*, p. 28. Further references are given in the body of the text. William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale* (1611), in *The New Oxford Shakespeare*, ed. by G. Taylor, J. Jowett, T. Bourus and G. Egan, (Oxford: Oxford Scholarly Editions Online, 2016) <[www.newoxfordshakespeare.com](http://www.newoxfordshakespeare.com)>, I.2., l. 115.

<sup>44</sup> 'September 1642: Order for Stage-plays to cease.', in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. CH Firth and RS Rait (London, 1911), pp. 26-27. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum/pp26-27> [accessed 13 May 2018].

<sup>45</sup> Thompson Cooper, 'Bayly, Thomas (d. c.1657)', rev. Stephen Wright, *ODNB*.

page. That transformation is comically rendered as an operation requiring considerable care:

before he was aware, he was going to make him a Cursie, which having perform'd halfeway, remembering himself, he fell quite downe at his feet, and so converted an Errour (that would soon have been observed) into the highest observation' (p. 17)

While Bayly overtly frames Perissa's transformation into Philoret as plausibly effortful, the second stage of the disguise is considerably more extravagant.

When Lorenzo and Bertaldo lead the Carthaginians to war with the Moors,

Philoret doubles his disguise from white female to white male to black male:

having at the beginning of the Battell taken a box of Oyntment from a Captive Tawny-Moore (wherewith the Moores used to make their Faces more black (as more beautifull) he colours his face as black as jet, imagining (therby) to performe some notable piece of service that day, in the behalfe of his most beloved, Bertaldo (p. 22)

The double love-disguise reorientates the stratagem of war into one of love.

After battle, Bertaldo, still believing Philoret is a Moor, asks him what he has

done with his page. Philoret, asking whether Bertaldo loves his page and

receiving the answer (s)he craves, says: 'I ask at both your hands no other

favour but that you would give me for all my service, one Bason of faire Water'

(p. 23), whereupon the disguise is washed off. The quasi-erotic unveiling has a

dual plot purpose. First, in amazing Bertaldo it nevertheless keeps Philoret's

real identity hidden. Second, it allows the reader's enjoyment of sexual

suspense to continue, as Philoret is granted his/her wish to sleep always at

Bertaldo's feet.

In its treatment of blackness as temporary rather than fixed, *Herba Parietis* might appear to owe some debt to Jonson's 'Masque of Blackness' in which skin colour can be washed and wished away.<sup>46</sup> Whereas Jonson's masque can be read as a commentary on the majestic agency of the king in transforming black to white, Bayly does not fix blackness to a larger allegory of power and is more interested in its elements of stagy disguise; its most important intertextual connection is Walter Montagu's *The Shepherds' Paradise*. Montagu's play, which was strongly derivative of D'Urféen pastoral romance, was performed by Henrietta Maria and her court ladies in 1633, with those acting the male parts appearing cross-dressed. At the beginning of *The Shepherds' Paradise*, the princess Fidamira rejects the love-suit of the prince Basilino. She is secretly in love with his companion Agenor and follows the two friends to the shepherds' enclave. Rather than dress as a man, however, Fidamira disguises herself as the Moorish lady Gemella and proves that her virtue is able to shine through 'despite' her blackness.

Erica Veevers's work has demonstrated that *The Shepherds' Paradise* validated the offstage marital relationship of Charles and Henrietta Maria and also dealt with the thorny problem of Charles' previous courtship of the Spanish Infanta.<sup>47</sup> In an exchange between Bellesa, played by Henrietta Maria herself, and Moromante/Basilino, the subject of a previous love is tackled head-on:

Bellesa: You think (it seems) heaven doth allow of loving twice?  
 Moromante: Our mindes are but loves pupils at the first Madam,  
 which fit themselves but to proceed and take degrees; soe not by

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<sup>46</sup> Ben Jonson, 'The Masque of Blackness', *Ben Jonson's Plays and Masques*, ed. by Richard Harp (New York: Norton, 2001), pp. 314-324.

<sup>47</sup> See Veevers, pp. 39-47.

the first stepp but by a gradation, love ascends unto it's heights  
[...]<sup>48</sup>

As an agent in the cultural construction of the marriage of the king and queen as residing on the highest plane of domestic and political virtue, *The Shepherds' Paradise* is evoked as an explicitly political touchpoint that coheres with Bayly's paratextual protestations of loyalty to the royalist cause.

At first glance, *Herba Parietis'* choice of Montagu as a chief reference might appear to align it with romances such as *Polindor and Flostella*, discussed earlier in this chapter. However, the conclusion of *Herba Parietis* differs from Arcadian continuations or Montagu's resolution of pastoral love entanglements in *The Shepherds' Paradise* where the characters are paired off into joyful matrimony. At the end of *Herba Parietis* Philoret's true identity is revealed, almost too late. Preparations begin for the wedding between Amarissa and Bertaldo. Philoret collapses, and recovering, asks Bertaldo if he can lie at his feet one last time, on the eve of the wedding. The physician who attends to Philoret unwittingly comes close to the truth of Philoret's identity, telling him – and reminding the reader – that his collapse is 'More befitting some female weakness, then relating to such Prowesse as is always resident in thy manly breast' (p. 99). Philoret's disguise is therefore threatened by Perissa's 'true' feminine frailty, which precipitates the final act, when (s)he collapses and is thought dead. On examination it is revealed that Philoret is in fact a woman, and Bertaldo – now married to Amarissa – tears his clothes and hair, utterly distraught. Philoret returns to consciousness to hear her real name, Perissa, spoken by Bertaldo, and to learn that Amarissa is actually Bertaldo's sister. This

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<sup>48</sup> *The Shepherds' Paradise*, p. 59.

late revelation betrays another borrowing from *The Shepherds' Paradise*, in which Fidamira, the previous beloved of Agenor who has disguised herself as the Moorish Gemella, is revealed to be his long-lost sister Miranda. A happy ending beckons with the unions of Perissa and Bertaldo, and Amarissa and Berontus promising to replay the conclusion of *The Shepherds' Paradise*.

All appears resolved, but troubling elements remain. Unlike the resolution of *The Shepherds' Paradise*, which avoided the prospect of incestuous marriage between Basilino and Fidamira, the union between Amarissa and Bertaldo must now be annulled ('the Wedding-knot must be dissolv'd', p. 104) on the grounds of consanguinity. The remarkable revelation that Amarissa and Bertaldo are siblings is a development that has not been narratively seeded and requires an awkwardly digressive backstory of Amarissa's childhood. Furthermore, even before the plot twist is set in motion, *Herba Parietis* has already floated an objection to the marriage of Bertaldo and Amarissa on grounds of spousal incompatibility. When the bride and groom are brought to bed following the unveiling of Philoret's true gender identity but before the sibling revelation, they separately realise that their marriage will be a disaster:

how could Bertaldo delight in her, when he delighted in nothing else, but thinking how he might have been anothers? And how could Amarissa joy in him, when she thought of nothing more, but how she might have been any way happier? (p. 103)

The plotting of the sibling revelation to occur after the wedding and not before prompts us to consider what might be served by disobeying the conventions of romance with a two-stage reversal. Between the two revelations of Philoret/Perissa's real identity is a short stretch of time in which we are invited

to consider a calamitous union of two individuals who have made entirely the wrong choice. *The Shepherds' Paradise* ends with the revelation that Moramante/Basilino had been pledged at birth to the princess Saphira, who is revealed to be Bellesa – a turn that immediately legitimises the hero's love. By contrast, with a wedding 'so like a Funerall' (p. 101) in its unhappiness *Herba Parietis* unsettles the idea of marriage as indissoluble and ideal and instead foregrounds its precariousness.

Seven years after Milton's first divorce tract, and as in *Panthalia* with the heroine's marriage to Acolasto, *Herba Parietis* shows that romance is developing a narrative about the discontents of matrimony. In *Herba Parietis* the newlyweds appear to be trapped within what Milton termed the 'rooted and knotty sorrowes' of incompatibility.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, the narrative viewpoint wherein the aftermath of the wedding is relayed through the sudden horror of the newlyweds recalls Milton's argument in *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* that

those who having throughly discern'd each others disposition which oftentimes cannot be till after matrimony, shall then finde a powerfull reluctance and recoil of nature on either side blasting all the content of their mutuall society, that such persons are not lawfully married [...]<sup>50</sup>

In the end the blockage within the love-disguise plot is resolved by resorting to annulment; only the overt make-believe of theatre can come to the aid of marriage. Nevertheless, the spectre of incompatibility abides. In the closing pages of *Herba Parietis*, joy is tinged with sombreness:

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<sup>49</sup> *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, in *The Complete Prose Works*, II, p. 241.

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.*, p. 270.

Into this glorious Temple the Heralds lead these loving Paires,  
and placed them in their severall seates of rotten, but now shining  
wood; upon one side whereof was written Mortallity; and upon  
the other, Corruption upon armes whose hands laid hold upon the  
seates, as if they were ready to teare them in sunder (p. 129).

The wedding ceremony, the embodiment of Caroline social harmony, is refashioned to emphasise the fragility of marriage. *Herba Parietis* rescripts Montagu's theatrical hymns of matrimonial resolution into something considerably more politically disillusioned, and its treatment of matrimony as a brittle undertaking makes it a companion text to *Panthalia's* critique of the politics of love.

From a text that contests Arcadia through reworking Caroline cultural production, we now consider a romance in which the allegory of marriage as political and personal is literalised. In Margaret Cavendish's 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity' (1656), the heroine spends most of the narrative dressed as a man and is eventually offered governorship of a kingdom, and gender disguise is explicitly linked to female political autonomy. Miseria is shipwrecked in the Kingdom of Sensuality, where she is sold to a bawd. Here the narrative performs two inversions of romance expectations in short order. First, the married prince develops a sexual passion for Miseria, who violently rebuffs his advances by shooting him with a pistol and his copious bleeding replaces her threatened deflowering. The second inversion occurs in Miseria's very adoption of transvestism. In disguising herself as a page, she dresses not in order to pursue her beloved but to escape a debased form of love, a reverse operation that implicitly brackets rape with marriage as a form of masculine power.

Cavendish's cross-dressed romance is founded on a premise of female moral and physical agency that is embedded in 'Travelia', the name the narrator adopts for her heroine once she has disguised herself as male. By impersonating a man, Travelia can cross borders and command a hitherto masculine control of geography. Travelia journeys through the Kingdom of Fancy and becomes the general of the forces of the Kingdom of Amity in its battles with the Kingdom of Amour. The prince, meanwhile, lands at the kingdom of Amour, where he becomes the king's right-hand man in his attempt to conquer the land of Amity and marry its queen:

For the King, at that time, was newly entred into a Warr with the Queen of Amity; the chief cause was, for denying him Marriage, he being a Batchelor, and she a Maid, and their Kingdoms joining both together; but he nearer to her by his Affection, being much in Love with her: But she was averse and deaf to his Suit; and besides, her People was loath, for fear of being made a subordinate Kingdom. Wherefore, he sought to get her by force. (p. 250)

The body politic is here regendered as female: both the queen's realm and her chastity are at stake, echoing the prince's attempted assault on Travelia/Miseria. The emotional geography of the kingdoms of Amour and Amity morphs into a map of invasion. 'Amour', led by two men, becomes synonymous with power and violence, while Travelia becomes the queen's general and leads the defending forces of Amity.

Cavendish's use of Francophonic terms 'Amity' and 'Amour', rather than 'Friendship' and 'Love' strongly hints at a textual alignment with Madeleine de Scudéry's 'Carte de Tendre' in *Clélie*. The 'Carte' is Scudéry's spatial representation of how heterosexual intimacy can and should progress. It begins

at *Nouvelle amitié* (new friendship) and presents routes to three destinations, *Tendre-sur-reconnaissance*, *Tendre-sur-inclination* and *Tendre-sur-estime*: gratitude, inclination and esteem. Along the way, the lover must pass through towns called *Complaisance* (obligingness), *Petits Soins* (small favours), or *Obéissance* (obedience), but there are dangers for the unwary traveller, who can wander to *Négligence* (neglect), *Légereté* (frivolity), *Perfidie* (treachery) and *Orgueil* (pride) and potentially end up in the *Mer d'inimitié* (sea of Enmity). The most perilous endpoint is *La Mer Dangereuse*, a place of unbridled passion.<sup>51</sup>

'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity' begins at the equivalent of *La Mer Dangereuse*, the Kingdom of Sensuality, which presents the most peril to Miseria in the person of the desiring prince. Once in her male disguise, she is able to travel through the Kingdom of Fancy to the realm of Amity, which is at war with the kingdom of Amour, and where she becomes the general of the forces of Amity's queen. The king of Amour had previously abducted the queen by force as part of his strategy of courtship; rather than being a grand gesture of passion, it echoes the attempted rape of Travelia/Miseria earlier in the romance. Love and marriage, Cavendish suggests, also entails an unacceptable subjugation on the part of the female. By her soldierly efforts, Travelia avoids Scudéry's sea of enmity and unites the kingdoms of Amity and Amour in tender alliance, thereby tempering the excesses and desires of Amour. By reading the travels and travails of the heroine alongside the 'Carte de Tendre', we can see that 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity' engages in a similar project as Scudéry to reject the lust and libertinage that is inscribed in the title of the novella.

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<sup>51</sup> Madeleine de Scudéry, *Clélie, Histoire romaine*, 10 vols. (Paris: 1654-1660); Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1973, I, pp. 396-400.

A reading of Cavendish's marriage plot through the prism of Scudarian romance and *précieux* culture reinforces a pronounced scepticism towards marriage as resolution.<sup>52</sup> In the narrative of Sapho contained in the last section of *Artamenes*, the poet, a thinly-veiled version of Madeleine de Scudéry herself, declares her mission of independence outside matrimony:

Doubtlesse Madam, replied Tysander, then you do not look upon marriage as a happinesse. The truth is Sir, (replied Sapho) I look upon it as a slavery. Then Madam (replied Tysander) do you look upon all men, as Tirants? I do look upon them (replied she) as men that may be so, as soon as they become husbands. <sup>53</sup>

The stance of the *précieuses* on marriage was a regular target for French satirists.<sup>54</sup> In England, *précieux* culture was also mocked. In his foreword to *Aretina* George Mackenzie says: 'I hear there is now a ridiculous caball of Ladies at Paris, who terme themselves the precious, and who paraphrase everything they speak of, terming a mirrour, the counsellor of beauty, and a chair, the commoditie of conversation, &c'.<sup>55</sup> The translations of Scudéry's romances nevertheless offered a competing alternative to marriage as female destiny to English readers, notably in *Clelia*'s valorisation of tender and idealising friendship between the sexes set out in the *Carte de Tendre*.<sup>56</sup> Romance cross-dressing therefore allows Cavendish to transform Scudéry's vision of affective

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<sup>52</sup> For further sceptical treatments of marriage in *Natures Pictures drawn by Fancy to the Life*, see 'The Matrimonial Agreement', pp.121-124; 'The Contract', pp.183-214 and 'The Converts in Marriage', pp.116-117.

<sup>53</sup> Madeleine de Scudéry, *Artamenes, or the Grand Cyrus*, trans. by F.G. (1653), Wing S2144, Vol. X, p. 87.

<sup>54</sup> See Molière, 'Les Précieuses Ridicules', *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil 1962); Nicolas Boileau, 'Satire X', *Satires, Épîtres, Art poétique*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Collinet (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), pp. 123-142.

<sup>55</sup> *Aretina*, p. 10.

<sup>56</sup> See Madeleine de Scudéry, *Clelia*, (1655), Wing S2151, pp. 69-71, for the narrative accompaniment to the Map of Tender, in which is explained the tiny gradations of friendship, trust and tenderness between men and women.

geography into a tale of a heroine who is in control of her own emotional liberty and physical space.

The heroine's masculine impersonation has clear limits. When Travelia cross-dresses, firstly as a page and the adoptive son to the unnamed old man with whom she travels extensively, and secondly in her persona of the youth who becomes the queen's general, the narrator refers to her as 'he'. The moment that the Prince perceives her real identity Travelia reverts to 'she' within the text:

But he having no skill in the Art and use of the sword, nor strength to assault, nor resists, was wounded, which wound bled so fast that he fainted and fell down to the ground; but the Prince, who was of a noble nature, perceiving by his shape, that he was but a stripling, run to untie his head piece, and viewing his face straight knew her, who grew so astonished thereat, as he had not power to stir for the present, but he stopping the wound as well as he could, brought life again, yet so faint she was, as she could not speak (p. 258)

The switch between Travelia's masculine performance of leadership and virtue and her chaste female body is undertaken by the narrative shift of pronouns that dramatise the public and the private. While the narration does encourage us to watch Travelia through the prince's eyes, the presentation of disguise in this episode is far removed from Arcadian voyeurism in which the reader is invited to inhabit different erotic subject positions. Rather, the function of this episode is to refocus attention on the perception of Travelia's public persona by the very revelation of her private identity, which only emerges after she engages in one-on-one combat with the enemy. The contrast between her untrained fighting and her natural gifts as a general, coupled with the prince's

astonishment, therefore remind us of her previous military feats, underscoring her role as heroic model.

Travelia's exemplarity encodes the *femme forte* of French feminist literature, which burgeoned under the regency of Anne of Austria and presents heroic Amazonian examples from Old Testament, classical and Christian sources. A key characteristic of *femme forte* literature, notably in the works of Pierre Le Moyne and Jacques du Bosc, was the valorisation of chastity as an active, rather than passive virtue.<sup>57</sup> Travelia's moral strength, her physical defence of her virginity and her later defence of the attack from the Kingdom of Amour marks her out as a heroine in the mould of Deborah, who became 'the Governesse of [God's] people, and the General of his Armies, a Woman who gave Judgements, and gained Battels', while her assault on the prince with a pistol, which leaves him 'all smeared in blood', echoes Le Moyne's description of Jahel's attack on Sisera in *The Gallery of Heroick Women*, in which the Canaanite 'swollen with the blood and spirits which are there poured out from the whole bodie'.<sup>58</sup> The *femme forte* was explicitly utilised by Anne's daughter Henrietta Maria in the articulation of a royalist female heroism, notably with her 'martial ladies' as her appearance in Amazonian costume in the masque *Salmacida Spolia*.<sup>59</sup> The foreword to Le Moyne's *The Gallery of Heroick Women*, which

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<sup>57</sup> Hero Chalmers has suggested that Cavendish would have been exposed to *femme forte* literature during her exile in Paris at the court of Queen Henrietta Maria. See *Royalist Women Writers 1650-1689* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 40. These texts were largely confined to bilingual aristocratic circles, but two were made available in English during the interregnum: Pierre Le Moyne, *The Gallery of Heroick Women* trans. by the Marquess of Winchester (1652), Wing L1045; Jacques Du Bosc, *The Accomplish'd Woman*, trans. by Walter Montagu (1656), Wing D2407A. Scudéry's own work in this vein was translated decades later as *Les Femmes Illustres or the Heroick harangues of the illustrious women* (1681), Wing S2158. See also Ian Maclean, *Woman Triumphant: Feminism in French Literature 1610-1652* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 85.

<sup>58</sup> Le Moyne, *The Gallery of Heroick Women*, pp. 2, 7, 20.

<sup>59</sup> Chalmers, p. 40; William Davenant, *Salmacida Spolia, A Masque* (1640), STC 6306, sig. D2r.

appeared in English in 1652, clearly positions the publication of the work as the circulation of a continuing feminocentric and royalist ethos within republican England:

These Gallant Heroesses repaired first from all the Regions of History to the Court of France to lay down their Crowns at the Queen Regents Feet: This Ceremonie and Duty performed, they had a desire to passe the Sea, and inform themselves of the condition and state of this Island; And finding no Queen here to whom they might render the same obedience, they resolved to address themselves to you, hoping to finde amongst such noble Company, some Ladies, who resemble them at least in part of their Vertues, if not in all.<sup>60</sup>

‘Assaulted and Pursued Chastity’ therefore offers a model of female-to-male impersonation that is a pathway to an active public life through the assimilation of masculine and public features into a recognisably royalist heroine.

While Travelia’s gender disguise underlines a royalist articulation of female agency and virtue in the public sphere, marriage as a political institution is figured rather less robustly. As we have seen, difficulties for the Caroline narrative of perfect royal love were embedded in Charles’ very public prior wooing of the Spanish Infanta in 1623. That theme resurfaces in ‘Assaulted and Pursued Chastity’, which dramatises a tale of a monarch marrying their second choice of lover: the queen is in love with Travelia, but is told, to her great shock, that Travelia is a woman.

Then Madam, said he, I must tell you, you are in love; and those you love, although there is a society of all excellencies, yet cannot return such love you desire; for you have placed your affection upon a woman, who hath concealed her sex, in taking the habit of

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<sup>60</sup> *The Gallery of Heroick Women*, sig. Ar.

a man, and might more confirm your mistake by the actions of a soldier. (p. 267)

That transfer of affection which is so problematic within the Caroline romance was solved in *The Shepherds' Paradise* by Bellesa's being Basilino's original betrothed all along. In 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity' the queen must master reluctantly her sexual desire for Travelia and begs the god of love to 'quench the scorching heat thou mad'st to burn/Unless A woman to a Man can turn' (p. 268). The marriages in 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity' are conditional and even precarious; that between the king and queen depends on the questionable solidity of the queen's sudden new affection, while that between Travelia and the prince is closer to a truce. While Cavendish belatedly tells us that on seeing the prince her 'Heart did beat, like a Feverish Pulse' (p. 269), marriage is nevertheless on her own terms: 'But the Prince told his Mistress, She should also govern him. She answered, That he should govern her, and she would govern the Kingdom.' (p. 271). Travelia arrogates political power to herself in order to correct what Scudéry warned was an imbalance of power within marriage, thereby enabling herself never to be a slave to a tyrant-husband. In this marital figuration of authority, Cavendish is balancing a negotiation of public and private, male and female that has already been played out through her gender disguise.

Travelia's apparent private and erotic submission to the prince in 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity' can be seen in a very different light when read alongside 'The Contract', a novella in the same collection in *Natures Pictures*. In the tale, the lady Deletia is betrothed to an aristocrat at a young age by her uncle. The aristocrat later withdraws from the agreement, arguing that he was

coerced into it, and in the meantime he marries another woman. Deletia comes to court at the age of seventeen in order to pursue the contract. He falls in love with her and as Victoria Kahn puts it, a contract that was originally broken for lack of consent 'begins to be validated through romance, specifically romantic love'.<sup>61</sup> However, in order to carry out the original contract they must collude to break another, the questionable ethics of which are not explicitly addressed within the text. The outcome turns upon a trial scene where the duke's wife tries to persuade him that the original contract is valid. Deletia argues before the judges that what she terms 'Tyrant Love' has led the duke astray in marrying another, while the duke, pretending reluctance, argues that his love for his current wife cannot trump the original contract.<sup>62</sup> However, their arguments are feigned; the duke and the lady have together concocted a private strategy of public dispute. It is 'Tyrant Love' that has brought them back together, not the original agreement; in other words, the exact opposite of what they are arguing in the case. The story of the prior affection, one that was so difficult for real life Caroline royal romance in the form of the Spanish Match, is overcome through deceit and casuistry.

In the light of the tale of Deletia, we see that Travelia's contract of marriage can also be easily revoked through her reassumption of male role. 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity' keeps open the possibility of her returning to male clothing and by implication a life separate from her marriage:

Thus with my Masculine Clothes I have laid by my Masculine Spirit; yet not so, but I shall take it up again, if it be to serve the

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<sup>61</sup> Kahn, p. 182.

<sup>62</sup> 'The Contract', p. 213.

Queen and Kingdom, to whom I owe my Life for many Obligations.' (p. 270)

Gender disguise will continue to be available, and will allow her to return to exactly the same position of power as when the queen fell in love with her. Travelia is tacitly consenting to be an object of (female) desire once more, thereby holding the Caroline story of a first, trial love followed by the perfect union and floating the disruptive possibility that the first love may return.

In 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity' matrimony is based on a contract that is unstable and can be revoked – an outcome that is considerably more radical than the explorations of unhappy marriage in *Herba Parietis* and *Panthalia*. Despite Cavendish's declared royalism, such a stance is far removed from justifications of monarchical authority founded on the natural submission of wife to husband and of child to father.<sup>63</sup> Instead, both 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity' and 'The Contract' allegorise the concept of dynamic renegotiation between ruler and subject that is found, inter alia, in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, in which Milton declared that kings 'may bee as lawfully depos'd and punish'd, as they were at first elected'.<sup>64</sup> Milton's argument that the 'power of kings and magistrates is nothing else, but what is only derivative, transferr'd, and committed to them in trust from the People' is paralleled near the end of

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<sup>63</sup> See Catherine Gallagher, 'Embracing the Absolute: The Politics of the Female Subject in Seventeenth-Century England', *Genders* 1 (1988), 24-39, and Susan Wiseman, 'Gender and status in dramatic discourse: Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle' in *Women, Writing, History 1640-1740*, ed. by Isobel Grundy and Susan Wiseman (London: Batsford, 1992), pp. 159-177. For work that explores Cavendish's engagement with elements of republican thinking, see Lisa Walters, *Margaret Cavendish: Gender, Science and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) and Emma L.E. Rees, *Margaret Cavendish: Gender, Genre, Exile* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).

<sup>64</sup> *The Complete Prose Works*, III, p. 198.

the romance.<sup>65</sup> The revelation of Travelia's true gender results in her forces declaring loyalty and support:

And when it was read that the Prince should be Vice-roy in the Kingdome of Amity, all the Souldiers, as if they had but once Voyce, cryed out, Travelia shall be Vice-regency; which was granted to pacifie them. Whereupon there were great acclamations of Joy. (p. 271)

Cavendish's eclectic vision of female sovereignty that borrows from the royalist *femme forte* is shored up by this striking moment of popular affirmation that appropriates the will of the people.

As the above reading has shown, 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity' absorbs elements of contemporary debates over social contract theory in order to offer a dramatic climax to a narrative of female sovereignty; the people's 'acclamations of Joy' are reserved not for the wedding, but for Travelia's political agency. Indeed, in all three 1650s texts discussed above, the conventionally irenic Arcadian outcome of marriage is reworked into potentially problematic union that can encompass incompatibility and power negotiation.

### **Cross-dressing and desire**

We have seen how the divergence from Arcadian romance plotting can be used to reflect critically on the political uses of marriage. We now examine *Eliana* (1661) and *Pandion and Amphigenia* (1665), two early Restoration romances that further distance themselves from Arcadian plotting by eliminating

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<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202.

marriage altogether as a narrative endpoint. Given that absence of marriage, how do these romances subject gender disguise, a key expression of desire in romance, to scrutiny?

*Eliana*, which was published anonymously, has been attributed to Samuel Pordage, who would later reach some renown for his heroic tragedies.<sup>66</sup> While John Crowne's *Pandion and Amphigenia* appeared in 1665, it is likely to have been written in 1661, the same year that *Eliana* appeared, since in the dedicatory epistle (sig. A2r) he claims that he wrote it when he was 'scarce twenty years of Age'.<sup>67</sup> In his taxonomy of early modern English fiction, Paul Salzman categorises *Pandion and Amphigenia* as an 'impure' romance that juxtaposes ornate style with picaresque incident, while *Eliana*, with its classical settings, inset narratives and serious discussions of the nature of love is operating partly within the heroic romance genre.<sup>68</sup> What the two romances have in common is the insistence on cross-dressed wooing as unsuccessful and ethically problematic, and the very denial of matrimony as conclusion.

We now explore how *Pandion* and *Eliana* differentiate themselves from prior versions of male gender disguise by reading them in conjunction with parody's challenges to generic convention. Returning briefly to *The Extravagant Shepherd*, a key comic episode is the attempt by the deluded Lysis to approach his beloved Charite by dressing as a female. Leaving the house with his friend and trickster Hircan, he comes across an old woman. 'Being desirous to try

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<sup>66</sup> Nigel Smith, 'Pordage, Samuel (bap. 1633, d. in or after 1691)', *ODNB*. Pordage's *Herod and Mariamne* (1673), Wing P2969 is based on the initial narrative in La Calprenède's *Cleopatra*, the first volume of which was translated by Robert Loveday in 1652 as *Hymen's Praeludia* (Wing L111).

<sup>67</sup> B. Neman, 'Crowne, John (bap. 1641, d. 1712)', *ODNB*.

<sup>68</sup> Paul Salzman, *English Prose Fiction 1558-1700: A Critical History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) p. 282.

whether she took him for a maid', he asks her with 'a counterfeit voyce' the way to Orontes' castle, where Charite is working. Lysis tells her: 'I am a poor maid out of my way'. The old woman replies in scorn, pointing out the sexual nature of his quest: 'I would not such a maid lay a night with my daughter, I should fear she might bring me more.' Lysis' vocal imitation of a woman is not enough to fool anyone; romance disguise requires transvestism, and Lysis needs female clothes. When Hircan procures some for him, Lysis is amazed at his own transformation:

O God! It is impossible more to resemble a Shepherdess then I do: Here's nothing left of the Shepherd Lysis, but a soft down that shadows my chin. That's not much, saies Hircan, there are many women have more beard then that, and among others, my own Kitchin-maid' (p. 94)

Lysis assumes the name Amarillis and lives in Orontes' castle as a serving woman for several weeks, but gives up his disguise after being falsely accused of immoral behaviour with a steward. Despite his efforts, his transvestism does not bring him into contact with Charite; his ambition to live out the life of a pastoral romance hero is once again comically thwarted.

Despite the deadpan rejoinder by Hircan, other characters collude in Lysis's delusion. The other characters 'knew all that it was Lysis, but they were expressly forbidden to discover that they knew any thing, nor to call her by any other name then Amarillis' (p. 95). Furthermore, the narrator too becomes overly embroiled in the fabrication. Lysis/Amarillis, like Celadon/Alexis in *Astrea* and Pyrocles/Zelma in *Arcadia*, is always referred to as 'she'. Even when Lysis has resumed his given gender, the narrator confesses in a

parenthetical aside to the reader: '(how hard I finde it not to call him still Amarillis)' (p. 99). The overt truth-telling role about Lysis's real sex is therefore assigned not to the narrator but to the peasant woman, the first witness of Lysis's purported metamorphosis when he disguises his voice as female. In refusing to participate in the fiction, the woman frames disguise not as a noble erotic quest that will end in marriage but as an predatory sexual act in which her own daughter would theoretically be at risk.

Attentive to the questions of plausibility and ethics that parody poses to romance, we turn first to Crowne's *Pandion and Amphigenia*. Disguise and disintegration form the central narrative thrust in *Pandion*, a sprawling and episodic tale in which the hero's pursuit of the heroine is thwarted at every turn. As a brief summary will indicate, disguise is the pivot of the narrative, both in terms of plot and its theme of usurpation. Pandion is the son of Agis, the king of Thessaly. Agis has been challenged by the powerful Hiarbas and civil war ensues, with Hiarbas eventually usurping the throne. Pandion has escaped to live in the forest and our first sight of him is narrated by the knight Periander, himself banished and wandering Greece. Mistaken identity is fundamental to the plot; in a nightmarishly comic spiral of fractured identity the hero is buffeted by a string of misunderstandings and accused of actions actually carried out by a pretender who adopts the name of Pandion, thereby forcing the real Pandion to change his name to Danpion. The romance culminates with the pretended Pandion initially taking the crown, and the true prince finally ascends to the throne only by chance. Throughout the romance, the hero's unstable identity is used to highlight contingency and capricious authorial

decisions. From the beginning, he is portrayed as a figure whose gender identity is in flux:

[...] his habit and lovely shape made Periander almost think he was Diana, but that too much virility appeared in his countenance. His Hair hung in waving Curles upon his shoulders, which the wind, the better to display his comeliness, wantonly tossed from his face.<sup>69</sup>

Pandion – now renamed Danpion – determines to regain the throne. He travels to Thessalia, where he falls in love with Amphigenia, the daughter of the usurper Hiarbas. The congested narrative progresses with a series of travels, chaotic battles and false trails, with a large cast of characters pursuing their own mini-romances, but at its heart are the parallel stories of Amphigenia's rejection of Danpion and the political plot of usurpation and civil war.

Danpion is largely a quasi-incompetent hero, unable to assert ownership even of his own identity or original name. Near the end of the romance, the banished Danpion is advised that the only way to return to court is to disguise himself as a woman. Following a series of botched attempts at wooing, Danpion is finally able to get close to Amphigenia in the guise of a noblewoman, 'Celania'. The text reintroduces him in his new form through a detailed description of vestal garments that evoke the female cloister:

Danpion arrayes himself in a white silken Robe, that taught from his shoulders to the ground, the train whereof strayed a pretty distance from his heels, and before was buttoned with rich Jewels, from his neck, to his knees, and there left open to discover the pure whiteness of his skin. [...] His legs and feet were imprisoned within the gilded Labrinth of rich Buskins, which were fasn

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<sup>69</sup> *Pandion and Amphigenia*, p. 26. Further references to this work will be given in the text.

under his knee, with a most precious Jewel, where the ends of all the Knots did centre and unite: His hair being very long, after the Thessalian manner, hung loosely and carelessly upon his shoulders, having not other attire upon his head, than a lawn Veil cast over his head, face and sholder, on the top of which, he wore a Coronet of Gold, set with Diamonds, the antient Habit of Virgin-Princesses in some parts of Greece." (pp. 273-4)

It is notable that while Danpion has been assigned the 'wrong' name for most of the romance while his impostor assumes the 'Pandion' identity, the text steps back from any narrative identification with the cross-dressed hero as now female. Unlike the disguised heroes in *Arcadia*, *Argenis* and *Astrea*, Celia is referred to in the masculine pronoun. Any hint that the reader might accept the disguise as plausible is immediately foreclosed by the narration; as with parody, we are always to remember that the character is male.

Male-to-female disguise is often figured as a form of romance *sprezzatura*, facilitated by the hero's extraordinary physical beauty and erotic energy. The pan-sexual charisma of Pyrocles in *Arcadia* attracts both Basilius, who thinks he is a woman, and Gynecia, who recognises he is a man. Similarly, in *The Historie of Don Bellianis*, the eponymous hero 'put on Florianas apparel, wherewith he became so faire, that the damzels not a little wondred to see him so beautifull'.<sup>70</sup> Yet while in *Arcadia* or in chivalric romance there is little attention paid to the mechanics of disguise, in *Pandion and Amphigenia* Pandion/Danpion/Celia's metamorphosis connotes exertion and strain. The hero is encased in his garments, his legs and feet 'imprisoned' in a 'Labrinth'. The binding into his disguise further emphasises Danpion's powerlessness

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<sup>70</sup> Jerónimo Fernandez, *The Honour of Chivalrie set down in the Historie of Don Bellianis* (1598) STC 1804, p. 132. See Winfried Schleiner, 'Male Cross-Dressing and Transvestism in Renaissance Romances', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19 (1980), 605-619.

throughout this episode. As the romance draws to a close, the false Pandion usurps Hiarbas' throne, but just a few pages from the end comes a swift resolution of the political plot as our hero Danpion is finally revealed to the court to be the true Pandion, son of Agis.

At this point, the romance reader would expect marriage to be part of a twin resolution that includes political restoration. However, in violation of romance norms, the cold Amphigenia never succumbs to being wooed. In the conclusion to the tale, the narrator argues that the object of desire does not always succumb to pursuit and that romance can no longer guarantee a happy ending for the suitor. If the reader is displeased with the outcome, the narrator continues, the alternative is simply a debased and implausible narrative:

let them throw away as many idle hours as I have done and they may compleat that Story. [...] The vulgar Rule of Romances may salve all, That the Knight must kill the Gyant, and get the Lady. (p. 307)

The overt resistance to deploying marriage in its conclusion and the acknowledgement of the reader's disappointment draws attention to the artifice of the narrative convention that powered Caroline romance and, in the overt scepticism of the passage, reminds us how close romance reversal is to parody. The trials of the hero's disguise in *Pandion and Amphigenia* are definitively uncoupled from any marriage plot. Instead, masquerade gives rise to a dream-logic of fragmented identity and fantasy of powerlessness. The hero is consistently passive, buffeted by events and hapless – a hero, in other words, very close to parody. Indeed, the extravagance of disguises in *Pandion and*

*Amphigenia* is complementary to the work of parody in foregrounding the artifice of the literary contract itself.<sup>71</sup>

The testing of plausibility of cross-gender disguise staged in *Pandion and Amphigenia* is clearly discernible in *Eliana*. Substantial elements of *Eliana* follow heroic romance convention exemplified by *Parthenissa*, beginning *in medias res* with plenty of retrospective narratives set in the classical world, but as we shall see, it is rather less sexually decorous than any of the works of Broghill, Scudéry or La Calprenède and rather more likely to interrogate the heroes' virtue than presenting it unquestioned. *Eliana* begins with the young nobleman Argelois discovering the elderly Euripides living a life of retreat along with his companion Lonoxia. The narrative, which is broadly set in the time of the Roman empire, see-saws between the present and the past, the present being the ongoing relationships between Argelois, Eliana, the prince Dardanus and his sister Panthea and the past being the various accounts of love and adventure recounted by Euripides and Lonoxia. Both Euripides and Lonoxia's tales of passion are shot through with grief, loss and loneliness: Euripides' first great love Amenia dies, and his subsequent loves for the unfaithful Cynthia and the murderous Agavve respectively lead him into despair and then into villainy, as he carries out Agavve's wishes to kidnap her stepson. His last romantic episode is marriage to an unnamed widow, who ends up controlling his fortune. Having rejected all passion, Euripides recounts:

Love that before appeared to me as the most beautiful goddess,  
and with a luster that begat her adoration, now seemed [...]

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<sup>71</sup> Lawrence A. Gregorio, *The Pastoral Masquerade: Disguise and Identity in L'Astrée* (Saratoga, CA: Anma Libri, 1992), p. 9.

worthy of all detestation: the scales began to fall from my eyes,  
and I began to see my folly [...] <sup>72</sup>

Euripides' sceptical view of love and his characterisation of marriage as inimical to reason prepare the reader for the pessimism within Lonoxia's inset narrative. The youngest of three princes of Mauritania, Lonoxia quarrels with his second brother Massanissa and kills him in a duel. He is banished by his father and sails to Spain, where he sees a beautiful woman at a window and discovers that she is Atalanta, the daughter of a prince.

The central part of Lonoxia's story begins in remodelling the Arcadian convention of male voyeurism, as he watches Atalanta closely. Rather than her body, however, it is her clothes that occupy his attention:

The fashion of her clothes showed she was in her night dress, but they were such that with their nigritude set off the altitude of her countenance. Her body was shrouded under a garment of rich silke, the color being indiscernible at that time, but it was made so long that trailing upon the grasse it might renew its verdue by the happy kisses of her garment; over her shoulders was flung a night mantle which was lined with the furs of delicate ermine, and in which she wrapped her armes as she walked (p. 123)

The striking material detail is strongly redolent of paintings of contemporary aristocratic fashion undertaken by Van Dyck and popularised further by Peter Lely in his Restoration portraits of 'undress'.<sup>73</sup> In 1658 Sir William Sanderson drew the links between such fashion and the romance mode, calling Van Dyck

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<sup>72</sup> *Eliana*, p. 112. Further references will be given in the body of the text.

<sup>73</sup> See, *inter alia*, Anthony Van Dyck, *Lady Mary Villiers, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox* (c. 1637), oil on canvas, Windsor, The Royal Collection and Peter Lely, *Unknown Woman, formerly known as Elizabeth Hamilton, Countess de Gramont* (c. 1665), oil on canvas, National Portrait Gallery.

The first Painter that e're put Ladies dresse into a careless Romance. This way suits well to most fancies, and not improperly befits the various modes, that alter with the time, and which our *vine-folkes* call a New-fashion.<sup>74</sup>

The detailed description of Atalanta's fashionable undress emphasises that her appearance corresponds to readerly expectations of a high-born romance heroine and functions as part of a conscious strategy of verisimilitude.

Clothing forms the key plot point in Lonoxia's narrative. His disguise has a dual end: the first is to escape the assassins sent by his oldest brother Marcipsius, but secondly, it also opens up the opportunity to pursue Atalanta. The latter impetus is the most powerful, confesses Lonoxia: '[...] it was Love (that powerful persuader to any action) that induced me to that Metamorphosis, and charmed me to forgoe my proper shape' (p. 126). Instead of a frictionless metamorphosis, it is reliant upon the close observation that he has already demonstrated through his painterly description of Atalanta's clothes and skilful stagecraft.

I spent the rest of the day in an unusual, but sedulous observance, of the accoutrements and deportments of women, I seldom observed the faces of any, having so deep a character of one in my heart, but my eyes like those of Taylors seemed to take pattern by every vestment, and to make all their deportments praeceptors to mine. By this you meay easily guess at my intentions, and that I sought for precedences how to become the more womanish. (p. 126)

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<sup>74</sup> Sir William Sanderson, *Graphice. The use of the pen and pensil. Or, the most excellent art of painting: in two parts* (1658), Wing S648. See also Diana de Marly, 'Undress in the Oeuvre of Lely', *The Burlington Magazine*, 120 (1978), 749-751, and Emilie E. S. Gordenker, 'The Rhetoric of Dress in Seventeenth-Century Dutch and Flemish Portraiture', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 57 'Place and Culture in Northern Art' (1999), 87-104.

It is clear in this passage that *Eliana's* account of cross-dressing is primarily concerned with plausibility: how can Lonoxia convince observers that he is a woman? *Eliana's* verisimilitude is not just based upon the why and the where of disguise, which is traditionally authorised by the romance contract, but the what and the how.

In its attention to physical detail *Eliana* distances itself from Arcadian tradition and assumes scepticism on the part of contemporary readers in relation to gender disguise, thus allying itself both thematically and stylistically with parody.<sup>75</sup> In Sorel's burlesque of cross-dressing in *The Extravagant Shepherd*, Lysis is helped to transform himself material item by material item: 'He put off all to his drawers, which done, she put on him an under petty-coat, and on that a green coat, and a gray waistcoat, and coiff'd him'.<sup>76</sup> *Eliana* borrows from the parody of transvestism on display in *The Extravagant Shepherd*; it focuses on the detail of disguise in order to create a plausible narrative.

The cross-dressed romance hero's entry into a feminised and cloistered space is presented not just as a physical but a speech act, a fake romance biography that functions as another inset story. Lonoxia presents himself as Sabane, a North African noblewoman fleeing civil war and attempted rape and escaping abduction by pirates to land in Spain, where 'she' is found in the woods by Atalanta. Lonoxia confesses his present-day auditors that his narrative disguise takes place over several hours: 'This discourse took up a Larger extent of time, being then told very formally and so pathetic that it

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<sup>75</sup> For the relationship between romance parody and 'realistic' fiction, see Northrop Frye, *The Secular Scripture: A Study in the Structure of Romance* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 37-39.

<sup>76</sup> *The Extravagant Shepherd*, p. 94.

mov'd the benign Atalanta to tears, and made them all condole my feigned miseries' (p. 132). The lurid tale of assaulted chastity is in fact a seduction tool.

*Eliana* reshapes the conventional sequence of disguised wooing followed by revelation and mutual love into a meditation on ethics. Lonoxia hears that Atalanta had been seduced by his own brother Marcipsius but was abandoned, and is now pregnant:

For what is all this grief but because I cannot enjoy Atalanta? It is not because she loves me not, or because she despises me, but because I have lost that carnall pleasure which I had hop'd to enjoy. Surely that love cannot be good which so poorly covets for its own ends. I love her, why? because I might enjoy her. Shall I not love her now I am sure I shall not enjoy her? Or shall I pine my self to death for that which often times quenches the flames of love? No doubt but Marcpsius lov'd her before he enjoy'd, but in enjoying her his love was quench'd. Seeing herefore after some small pleasure the flames of Love are often extinguished, or abated, is it not better to love without ends or any desire or enjoyment than that which is between a brother and sister: which is pure and celestial and not subject to decay? (pp. 150-1)

In this passage of marked self-examination, Lonoxia dissects his emotions and tries to find a moral path through love. From then on, the tale layers sorrow onto sorrow: Atalanta gives birth but becomes grievously ill and entrusts her son to his care, but the boy is lost in a storm; on returning to the dying Atalanta, Lonoxia concocts another fake narrative, lying that her son is safe. On one level disguise has accomplished romance expectations in bringing Lonoxia physically close and emotionally intimate with his beloved. However, the tale ends not in their wedding but Atalanta's funeral and Lonoxia, the dispossessed prince, must embrace piracy to survive. Throughout Lonoxia's narrative, *Eliana* uses the

assumptions of parody – namely material detail, failure, disappointment, loss of agency and mounting catastrophes - to weave a tale of genuine grief.

By subverting the sequential romance links between disguise and eventual happy marriage and creating instead a bleak outcome, *Eliana* overtly problematises the ethics of desire and love.<sup>77</sup> In doing so, it draws on a wider contemporary debate around the passions, partly fostered by the translations of René Descartes and Jean-François Senault's works in 1649 and 1650, both of which sought to rehabilitate passion, regulated by reason or divine example, as a source of good rather than self-interest.<sup>78</sup> The tension between love and interest is enlarged upon immediately after Lonoxia's narrative, when Euripides and Argelois embark on a discussion that is indebted to this contemporary debate. Argelois argues that desire leads to marriage, which in turn is bound up with a wider social compact:

the gratest ligament in the world to concord, when it joynes either sex in the bands of Hymen? unites Kings, States, Lords, and private men who are enemies and opposers of each other, and causes them to become friends and in amity? (p. 172)

Argelois's declaration that love underpins social relations invokes marriage as an irenic political ideal. In contrast, for the sceptical Euripides, passion is merely a mask for darker urges. Reinforcing the internal struggle undergone by Lonoxia, Euripides espouses the position that love not only destabilises both the body and the soul but changes man's moral nature: 'And what rapes what sinnes, what polutions, what fueds, and what murthers hath it committed? was

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<sup>77</sup> For a discussion of *Eliana* within the context of the early modern debate over interest, see Zurcher, *Seventeenth-Century Romance*, pp. 124-6.

<sup>78</sup> René Descartes, *The Passions of the Soul* (1650) Wing D1134; Jean-François Senault, *The Use of Passions*, trans. by Henry, Earl of Monmouth (1649) Wing S2504; see also Zurcher, p. 124.

it not the cause of the destruction of ancient Troy?' (p. 169). What begins as a classic cross-dressing romance narrative at the end of which the reader might expect the 'bands of Hymen' becomes one in which the act of disguise subjects desire to ethical scrutiny and in which marriage is never allowed to be an outcome. Their discussion dramatises a philosophical fault line that maps onto Caroline and anti-Caroline articulations of love as virtue.

We turn now to a question posed earlier in this chapter on the relationship between generic contestation and political commentary. How might the renovation of the plot of cross-dressed desire incorporate broader contestations of authority? Euripides' Stoic argument that untrammelled sexual appetites degrade humanity is demonstrated vividly by a narrative later in the romance that uses disguise to fashion links between transgressive desire and political tyranny and is a dark burlesque of the Caroline equation of love and political governance.

Epidauro, Dardamus's companion, recounts the story of his master's adventures in imperial Rome in the latter years of Tiberius's reign. The account amplifies both Tacitus and Suetonius in its detailing the vices of Sejanus and Caligula, while the appearance of Sejanus, and thereby the evocation of Jonson's *Sejanus His Fall*, immediately alerts the reader to the episode's articulation of corruption. Arriving in Rome just after the death of Tiberius's son Drusus, Dardamus spends three years winning renown for his martial performances. However, he is put into a difficult position with the rise of Caligula, whose viciousness is underlined from the beginning.

That monster Caligula seemed every day more affectionate than other to my master as if he had been courting his mistresse he

would with new coyn'd words seek to exhibit the affection he bore him. My master being but a child in impieties could not imagin that turpidude that was lodg'd in the putrified heart of Caligula. (p. 208)

Unlike the early modern reader, for whom Caligula is a byword for tyranny, and despite Epidauro's explicit characterisation of Tiberius's heir as a 'monster', Dardamus's behaviour is bound by the conventions of prior romances in which the object of desire does not perceive that (s)he is being watched or pursued.

A subsequent episode of seduction develops into a critique of the inability of romances to recognise real tyranny as opposed to the conventional villainy that is found in fiction. When Sejanus tells Dardamus that Caligula loves and esteems him, it signals to the reader that Dardamus is the object of same-sex desire, which unchecked political power has transmuted into lust and cruelty. Yet Dardamus, like an innocent pastoral heroine, is entirely unaware of any predatory gaze. Epidauro describes their meeting:

I know not what flagrancies in his eyes, which I believe was but the exhibition of that abominable lust which boyled in his veines. He expressed his wonted civilities, and sought to expresse the ardency of his affection, by the stricknesse of his embraces [...]. At last the prince as 'twere complying with his desires, which he did to see the utmost of his intentions, led him into a chamber, which was his ordinary place of repose, and seating himself upon the side of the bed gave liberty to Caligula to exhibit what he was. It was a long time before the strength and fury of his Lust could overcome that awe which the gravity and Majest of young Dardamus had struck him with, 'twas that suspended his embraces [...] the darkenesse beginning to hide those fair eyes of the Prince, which stroak an awe, into the soul of Caligula, and which with their lightning carried such a virtue that o'repower'd the vicious thoughts and instigations of that wretch, he began to cast his lascivious armes about his neck, and pressing his cheeks with his lips. Ah dear Dardamus (said he) how surpassing is thy beauty all the Romane dames! (p. 209)

This episode is based upon Suetonius's account of Caligula's behaviour following his accession which forms part of a wider examination of the decadence of imperial Rome. Among Suetonius's catalogue of Caligula's vicious acts is a brief reference to his homosexual activity:

No regard had he of chastitie and cleannesse, eyther in himselfe or in others. M. Lepidus Mnester the Pantomime, yea & certain hostages he kept and loved as the speech went, by way of reciprocall commerce in mutuall impunity, Doing & suffering against kind, Valerius Catullus, a yong gentleman descended from a familie of Consuls degree, complained & openly cried out, that hee was unnaturally by him abused; and that his verie sides were weried, and tyred out with his filthie companie [...]<sup>79</sup>

By using Suetonius as a source, *Eliana* underlines the extent to which the episode is both a political critique of power and how the literary convention of seduction can be restated as abuse.

Using a technique derived from parody which splits out the totality of the attempted seduction into individual acts, the verbal escalates to the physical, Epidauro's narrative teeters between the comic and terrifying. Dardamus rejects Caligula and in a travesty of the romance abduction trope, is later taken prisoner. Caligula tells him to 'take his choice whether he would consent willingly or be forced, for he would stay no longer' (p. 213). Dardamus's second refusal is followed by a scene that features an elaborate preparation for a semi-public rape, where violation is not euphemised but rendered with material detail. Caligula's guards enter with planks that they join together so the ends are looped with iron and ropes,

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<sup>79</sup> Suetonius, *The historie of twelve Caesars emperours of Rome*, trans. by Philemon Holland (1606) STC 23422, pp. 139-40.

into which they had intended to have lock'd the Princes armes and legs, and so to have expos'd him to the enormous lust of that paedo. When they made everything fit, come (said that brute I mean Caligula) we must force the modesty of this young man, who like many virgins will out of pudicity be forced to what they desire, see how he fits, you need not hear his struggling (p. 213)

The reader is spared a rape scene, as it transpires that Dardamus is secretly armed and is able to flee the city. However, the episode is a clear echo of Euripides' earlier pessimistic statement on human desire ('what rapes, what sinnes [...] hath it committed?' (p. 169)).

In presenting such uncomfortable scenes, *Eliana* questions the processes of male seduction and restates the verbally evasive romance term 'ravishment' as a violent assault upon bodily integrity. Following a narrative interlude that describes the hero's fighting abroad for the empire with great renown, the story recommences when Dardamus hears that Caligula has sent out a search for him with a great reward. The hero, 'sufficiently disguizing himself under the habit of a woman' (p. 218) enters Rome with his friend Argelois, who is masquerading as the husband. Caligula abducts the disguised Dardamus then having newly 'drest up and perfumed his deformed and rotten carcase' (p. 218) – a preparation that Eliana's narrator clearly sees as unnaturally effeminate - and declares that he is 'wounded' and 'aflake' (p. 218). Dardamus debunks Caligula's debased Petrarchan language of love through a refusal of metaphor, a strategy derived from parody. He answers:

I am very ill acquainted with the language of Rome, and I know not how to interpret words that cary another sence with them: They are paradoxes to me, you tell me you have fell into the

flame, and received many wounds, when I see neither scare or burning. (pp. 218-9)

The entrapment of Caligula continues with Dardamus letting the emperor into the bedchamber and enacting the parallel scene to Caligula's attempted rape of the hero. Dardamus takes a rope, playfully saying 'You shall see Caligula what a female strength is likely to do' (p. 220). Caligula, confused, does not resist, but he oscillates between seeing it as a comic and threatening:

When he saw that his mistress had an intent to bind him, between smiling and frowning not knowing whether to take it in jest or anger, he went to thrust her from him but he met with a strength that was not so easily to be repulsed. (p. 220)

Dardamus spares Caligula's life, and he and Argelais escape Rome.

The effeminated Caligula, 'dressed' and 'perfumed', is a dark burlesque of the Sidneian cross-dressed romance narrative. Dardamus's disguise is morally allowable because it is not donned in order to pursue a love object but to reverse and revenge Caligula's prior same-sex pursuit. In presenting lust aligned with tyranny *Elia* is, first, offering a critique of romance assumptions of erotic conquest that have already been problematised in *Lonoxia's* story. Second, it makes the explicit link between sexual ethics and wider political virtue that is dramatised in the secret histories of Procopius and anti-royalist histories that were discussed in the previous chapter. The attempt by the tyrant Caligula to rape a cross-dressed Dardamus, whom he believes to be a married woman, also evokes the story of Tarquin's rape of Lucretia, the foundational narrative of the establishment of the Roman republic and one that was regularly

used as anti-Stuart propaganda.<sup>80</sup> *Eliana's* version of Roman history restages the rape of Lucretia not as a story of female virtue and resistance that justifies political rebellion, but instead gestures towards an early satirical reading of a degraded Restoration court; as such it anticipates the interconnections of the political, philosophical and erotic that underlie later Stuart political figurations of power.<sup>81</sup>

As the readings above have demonstrated, the *Lonoxia* and *Caligula* narratives trade on the terror of lust, discovery and violence rather than pleasurable frisson of cross-dressed desire with an inevitable romance outcome of heterosexual marriage. Instead, gender disguise in *Eliana* involves distinct danger at all times; it is no longer an erotic jape but considerably darker fantasy of powerlessness, ending not in culturally-sanctioned marriage but on the contrary evoking social disintegration and moral collapse of a debased society. Even Dardamus's heroically virtuous action in sparing *Caligula's* life is counterbalanced by the reader's understanding that his survival means that Rome will undergo tyranny; romance conventions cannot undo the terrors of history. On the contrary, disguise allows *Eliana* to figure desire as emotionally and politically destructive and romance itself as a timorous and ineffectual political tool.

The readings of *Eliana* and *Pandion and Amphigenia* show that both texts fashion a new form of narrative plausibility that draws on parody in its reliance on physical detail. Secondly, instead of being an engine of courtship, cross-

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<sup>80</sup> See Smith, p. 197; Ian Donaldson, *The Rapes of Lucretia: a myth and its transformations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), Susan Wiseman, *Conspiracy and Virtue: Women, Writing and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 37-49.

<sup>81</sup> See James Grantham Turner, *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics and Literary Culture 1630-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

dressing dramatises erotic failure, creates newly disempowered heroes and redraws the sexual ethics of romance. In both cases, the absence of happy matrimony and gender disguise become key in writing against Arcadian romance tradition.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has explored how the plot sequence of cross-dressed desire followed by marriage shifts over the interregnum. In examining how love and marriage in romance become narratively problematic, this chapter has situated them in relation to contemporary debate and teased out relationships to theoretical discussions in contemporary political texts. In taking Arcadia as a literary and political construct that reinforced royal sovereignty, we can see interregnum romances' alteration of generic tropes within wider social contestations of authority.

From *Polindor* to *Pandion*, this chapter has tracked how over the course of a decade, romances not only experiment with this narrative sequence but often reject matrimony altogether. While versions of eroticised disguise persisted in the early part of the 1650s, interregnum romances stage a sharp break with Arcadia: *Herba Parietis* and *Panthalia* take as a plot endpoint potential incompatibility instead of nuptial joy, while *Eliana* and *Pandion* erase both matrimony and the eroticism of male disguise from the plot. This chapter therefore anatomises a moment in which we can see a generic shift occurring over a short space of time.

Of the texts discussed in his chapter, Margaret Cavendish's have attracted the most scholarly attention because of her rich status in early

modern studies as a female writer of prose, drama, poetry and philosophy, and her vivid experimentations in political, literary and scientific thinking. But by grouping the disguise and marriage plot of 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity' with that of under-studied contemporary romances we can see a generic experimentation that is more widespread than has hitherto been charted. In reading interregnum romance within a context of literary and social contestation, this chapter has examined the way that romances that are not overtly political texts nevertheless rescript pre-war courtly pastoral and engage with and contest its ideological dimensions. In doing so, it has shown that failure of Arcadia as social and political virtue is actively worked through within the texts in literary terms, by a transformation of plot convention.

Close reading of these texts in this chapter has found that parody is a significant discourse that interregnum romance imports in order to challenge prior convention. The voice of parody challenges the plausibility of the literary contract and functions in parallel with emerging theories of political contract and feminist thinking that challenge royal authority and marriage. Parodic strategies test generic conventions against lived experience, dramatise disappointment and unfulfilled wishes, and curtail the eroticism of cross-dressing in which the desiring hero temporarily inhabits femininity. This chapter has considered interregnum romance not as an idealising set of narratives but one that draws on sceptical discourses to formulate new iterations of plausibility and coheres with a political and sexual cynicism that is attributed to post-Restoration writing.

The disappearance of the Arcadian version of libidinous plotting leads us to consider how interregnum fiction articulates the erotic. With this in mind,

but also building on the discussions of anti-chivalric writing in chapter one, the next chapter explores how two mid-century romances narrate the hero's body.

## Chapter Four: The hero's body

How does the hero's body function in interregnum romance? This chapter considers what is at stake aesthetically and in terms of genre in the representation of the hero's body in *Parthenissa* and *Gondibert*, both of which were published in 1651. Roger Ascham's perfunctory summary of Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* in his education manual *The Scholemaster* (1570), which is regularly cited as evidence of existing anxiety about the growing popularity of romance and how it might inculcate vice among the young, alerts us to the centrality of the hero's body within romance. In his complaint, the male body is the hinge upon which disordered narratives of violence and eroticism depend:

In our forefathers tyme, whan Papistrie, as a standyng pole, covered and ouerflowed all England, fewe books were read in our tong, sauyng certaine books of Cheualrie, as they sayd, for pastime and pleasure, which, as some say, were made in Monasteries, by idle Monkes, or wanton Chanons: as one for example, Morte Arthure: the whole pleasure of which booke standeth in two speciall poyntes, in open mans slaughter, and bold bawdrye: In which booke those be counted the noblest knightes, that do kil most men without any quarell, and commit fowlest aduoultures by sutlest shiftes: as Sir Launcelote, with the wife of king Arthure, his master: Syr Tristram with the wife of King Marke his uncle; Syr Lamerocke, with the wife of King Lote, that was his own aunte.<sup>1</sup>

Ascham localises vice within the body of the hero, who carries out acts of violence ('open mans slaughter') and is subject to unfettered desire ('bold

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<sup>1</sup> Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (1570), STC 832, sig.27r-27v.

bawdrye') that transgress Christian codes of conduct. His criticism of romance is a negative imprint of Ariosto's celebratory opening lines in *Orlando Furioso*, in which the knight is marked as a desiring being and a martial one from the first page, which declares its subject: 'Of Dames, of Knights, of arms, of lous delight'.<sup>2</sup> Courage and prowess at arms are causally linked with love, for the chivalric quest must involve physical courage and great martial achievements before the knight can win his beloved.

As Ascham and Ariosto acknowledge, romance narrative oscillates between love and combat, or the martial and erotic acts of the hero. In the *Discourse Upon Gondibert* (1650) a dialogue between William Davenant and Thomas Hobbes that was printed in Paris a year before the publication in England of Davenant's *Gondibert*, the hero's body is put forward as one of the determinants of textual credibility.<sup>3</sup> Hobbes castigates the 'impenetrable Armours, Incharnted Castles, Invulnerable Bodies, Iron Men, Flying Horses, and a thousand other such things, which are easily feign'd by them that dare' (sig. D7r). Hobbes's critique situates the literary depiction of chivalric warfare, in which the armour is rigid and flesh is unyielding, as fantastical as the flying horses in *Orlando Furioso*. Such romances, says Hobbes, 'exceed the work, but also the possibility of nature' (sig. D7r), and the hero's 'invulnerable' body is equated with disordered fantasy.

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<sup>2</sup> Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, trans. by John Harington (1591), STC 746, l.1.

<sup>3</sup> William Davenant, *A discourse upon Gondibert an heroic poem, written by Sr. William Davenant; with an answer to it, by Mr. Hobbs* (Paris: 1650), Wing D322. The 1650 preface was reprinted a year later with alongside the first appearance of the verse romance: William Davenant, *Gondibert an heroick poem* (1651), Wing D326. For ease of reference, further references to both the *Discourse* and *Gondibert* will be taken from the latter publication and will appear in the main body of the text.

In examining how *Parthenissa* and *Gondibert* present the male body and its disorderly discourses of violence and desire, this chapter first considers the presentation of the hard male body in earlier romances and then discusses the significance of the wound in *Parthenissa* and *Gondibert*. Through close reading, it explores how the wounded male body becomes a tool through which Davenant and Broghill can impose plausibility and decorum on violence and desire in romance. The chapter then considers how we might read the disciplining of the male body through the lens of heroic romance and its related neoclassical theories of *vraisemblance* and *bienséance*, and how disciplining the body might become a proxy for narrative order.

### The male body in earlier romances

We begin with a discussion of the presentation of the masculine body in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century fiction. In chivalric romance, in which battles are central to the narrative, the warrior is barely ever conscious of his wounds and shrugs them off. When the eponymous hero of *Amadis de Gaule* fights the forces of Abies outside King Perion's castle the queen says to Amadis:

I mervaille Gentleman, seeing you are so hurt, that you tooke no longer time for your Combate. It had been needlesse, answered the Prince, for I haue no wound (I thanke God) that can keep me from the Combate.<sup>4</sup>

To stop fighting because of injury is anti-heroic; instead, the wound is a minor hiatus in the pursuit of glory through battle. In *Amadis de Gaule*'s battles, bodies are invisible and if blood appears, it is incidental: 'Every blow caused the blood

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<sup>4</sup> *The first book of Amadis de Gaule*, trans. by Anthony Munday (1590) STC 541, sig. L3r. Further references are incorporated within the text.

to gush out abundantly, yet they were of such invincible courage, as they seemed to feel none of this annoyance' (sig. M1r). As we might infer from *Don Quixote*, in which the anti-heroic is figured in terms of wounds and bruises, and in which Quixote's inability to live up to the prototype of the invulnerable fighter is rendered as comic, *Amadis de Gaule's* textualisation of combat routinely avoids the notion of flesh.<sup>5</sup> Instead, the challenge to the masculine body is displaced onto armour, which must withstand the blows. Similarly, the great warrior Orlando in Ariosto's romance *Orlando Furioso* is routinely presented as hard-bodied: when he slays the orc and rescues Olympia from being offered as a sacrifice to Proteus, he is easily able to beat the enraged islanders, for 'They knew not that his skin from head to foot/Was such to strike on it, was was no boot'.<sup>6</sup> Flesh itself becomes armour.

Such hardness of body was co-opted into romance figurations of Protestant militarism, which routinely reproached the effeminising effects of peace on the body politic and which offered a martial masculinity that was metonymically represented as an encasing of armour. In *Polyhymnia*, George Peele's versified account of the 1590 Accession Day tilts, what is on display is not flesh but steel, prettified by plumes and heraldic devices. John Gerrarde, in the second joust, is 'mounted in seate of steele' (sig. A3v). Sir Charles Blunt and John Vavasour 'make to meete, and meete they doo/ And do the thing for which they meete in hast/Each in his armour amiable to see' (sig. B1r). Peele describes the tilt between Sir Thomas Knowles and Sir Philip Butler: 'And so they meet; the armour beares the skar /Of this encounter and delightfull war'

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<sup>5</sup> See Don Quixote and Sancho Panza's injuries after their fight with the Yanguesans in Miguel de Cervantes, *The Historie of the Valorovs and Wittie Knight-Errant, Don-Qvixote* (1612), STC 4915, pp. 115-121.

<sup>6</sup> *Orlando Furioso*, XI. 39.

(sig. B2r).<sup>7</sup> While Roger Ascham had condemned Continental romance as a dangerously Catholic import, by the late sixteenth century romance display was a primary transmitter of idealised aristocratic combat within military Protestantism, from the spectacles of the Accession Day tilts and the Arthurian-themed ‘The Speeches at Prince Henry’s Barriers’ in 1610, and the textual products of the Iberian jousts in *Arcadia*, and Peele’s *Polyhymnia*.<sup>8</sup> As Frances Yates has explored, the tilts were themselves reinscribed into romance by Sir Philip Sidney, who was a regular participant.<sup>9</sup> Such chivalric tropes continued to have some resonance in the mid-century. The reappropriation of the hard-bodied Elizabethan mythos by the parliamentary nobility to align themselves with a glorious past culminated in the funeral of the earl of Essex in 1646, which adopted Elizabethan chivalric romance conventions. It was this idealised display of aristocratic chivalry derived from the Elizabethan tilts and the brief era of prince Henry to which the parliamentary nobility looked to frame their cause as a continuation of a righteous militancy.’<sup>10</sup>

While martial Protestantism co-opted chivalric romance to present an idealised soldier, the feminocentric neoplatonic pastoral, heavily indebted to Honoré d’Urfé’s romance *Astrea*, was dominant in figuring the desiring hero. Near the end of the first volume the shepherds and shepherdesses discover the Temple of Astrea, where The Statutes of Love are engraved. The second statute

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<sup>7</sup> George Peele, *Polyhymnia* (London, 1590), STC 19546, sig. B2.

<sup>8</sup> ‘The Speeches at Prince Henry’s Barriers’, in *Masques and Entertainments by Ben Jonson*, ed. by Henry Morley (London: Routledge, 1890), pp. 130-142. For a fuller discussion of this topic, see John Adamson, ‘Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England’, in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 161-197.

<sup>9</sup> Frances A. Yates, ‘Elizabethan Chivalry: The Romance of the Accession Day Tilts’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 20 (1957), 4-25.

<sup>10</sup> See Adamson, ‘Chivalry and Political Culture’, p. 193.

commands the lover: 'Let him th'puissant god of Love adore/And let him love some One, and not one more'. The fifth law reads 'Let his affection to his Mistris, be/So dear so chaste, so full of purity/As he fruition of her shall despise/Before a stain upon her honour rise'.<sup>11</sup> This erotic manifesto posits a submissive (male) lover who must serve his lady. Whereas medieval courtly love often had an adulterous subtext, the Astréen lover desires a chaste neoplatonic union of souls, a drive towards sublimation characterized by Gérard Genette as an infantile regression and urge towards lost unity; the lover owes the beloved everything, even his life, and he must obey her in all things.<sup>12</sup>

While they offer seemingly opposing versions of the hero, both pre-war traditions of chivalric romance and neoplatonic pastoral that were active in forging a discourse of aristocratic masculinity represent the male body without flesh. In martial romance flesh is displaced by a carapace of armour; in neoplatonic pastoral the sexual body is sublimated into reverent unity with the beloved. As we saw in chapter one of this thesis, *Parthenissa* and *The Princess Cloria* interact with non-romance writing on warfare and engage with representations of death and physical injury brought to a wider public by news books. Hobbes's dismissal of chivalric narrative's 'invulnerable bodies' suggests that post-war romance had to refigure the warrior's body in order to cohere with the contemporary collective understanding of warfare. As we will see, in line with this changed horizon of expectations, *Parthenissa* and *Gondibert* assert

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<sup>11</sup> Honoré d'Urfé, *Astrea a Romance*, trans. by John Davies (London, 1657) WingU132, p. 272. Although the 'Statutes' episode is not in the shorter, 1620 translation of *Astrea* (STC 24525), the original French texts had wide purchase in pre-war courtly Francophone circles. See Erica Veivers, *Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and Court Entertainments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) and Karen Britland, *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

<sup>12</sup> Gérard Genette, 'Le serpent dans le bergerie' in *Honoré d'Urfé: L'Astrée* (Paris: 10/18, 1964), pp. 7-22.

the fleshiness of the body by conspicuously featuring prone and bleeding heroes. We will therefore read the heroic body as a key signifier of textual credibility and how a vulnerable body might be harnessed as a tool to renovate romance.

### **The bleeding body in *Gondibert* and *Parthenissa***

The bodies of the heroes in *Gondibert* and *Parthenissa* differ substantially from those in earlier romances in that valour is expressed through physical vulnerability and the bleeding wound. The romances neither efface the body in the union of souls nor displace it by the donning of armour; instead, they mutilate it.

We begin with *Gondibert*, whose unfinished narrative falls into two distinct parts. The first part is dominated by factional strife, where the two great nobles Oswald and Gondibert are rivals for political prominence through their valiant deeds in battle. Their physical prowess also makes them potential rivals for ultimate power, since the king Aribert is on the brink of offering the hand of his daughter and only child Rhodalind in marriage as a prize for the most heroic deeds. The martial culture over which the king presides is initially framed as virtuous: 'Prais'd was this King for war, the Laws broad shield'.<sup>13</sup> However, the idealisation of the regulatory value of war is undercut when the knights of the court leave for an annual hunt and factional hostilities break out between them, beginning with an ambush led by Oswald. Over the second, third and fourth cantos of the first book, the flower of Lombard chivalry is cut down

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<sup>13</sup> Sir William Davenant, *Gondibert An Heroick Poem* (1651), Wing D326, l.1.8. Further references are incorporated in the text.

in the forest. The narration of this factional combat follows Peele's ceremonial *Polyhymnia* in its sequential narration of individual knights on the attack, but rather than achieving glory at the tilt numerous knights die in the space of one quatrain, such as Paradine in his combat with Arnold:

Him Paradine into the brow had pierc't;  
From whence his blood so overflow'd his Eies,  
He grew to blinde to watch and guard his brest,  
Where wounded twice, to Death's cold Court he hies. (I.4.16.)

Davenant presents a combat that is nothing but destructive; the only combat within the poem has neither the status of war between nations nor the ritual attached to the chivalric joust. It is a civil war in which all the leading knights are injured and from which symbolic meaning is absent. The fifth canto of the first book is devoted to the aftermath of the battle, where wounded and mutilated bodies abound: Oswald, the leader of the faction opposed to Gondibert, dies of his wounds. Hurgonil, who is on Gondibert's side, is maimed: 'His two wide wounds from Borgio had receiv'd/His beauties blemish, but his valours grace' (I.5.32). *Gondibert* never allows the reader to forget the softened heroic body; the word 'wound' pulses through the romance, appearing no fewer than eighty-eight times, while 'blood' or 'bleeding' appear fifty-one times. As we will see, the wound dictates both the structure and the moral theme of the text.

Gondibert's body becomes the gateway to the second part of the romance. The aftermath of the battle sees the hero entirely incapacitated: his 'wounds, ere he could waste Three League of way/So wast him, that his speech him quite forsook'. (1.5.82). Almost expiring, he is taken to the castle of Astragon where he falls in love with Astragon's daughter Birtha. His wounds

have brought him to a place of revelation where he will encounter learning in the form of Astragon's vast library that contains Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and Latin books, and a great chamber, the 'House of Praise', in which is played the vision of creation itself. Gondibert will have to make the great decision between love and enlightenment on the one side and worldly glory on the other.

This move from battle and court politics to a world of individual revelation and love is organised through the contrasting uses of male blood. The doomed valour on the battlefield at the beginning of the poem is signalled by wounds, which at that point in the romance are presented as badges of status. Before the battle begins, injuries are anticipated: 'Each did their force more civilly express/To make so manly and so fair a wound/As loyal Ladies might be proud to dress' (I.4.12). *Gondibert* airs anxiety on the part of the combatants over the disintegration of the hard body. Hugo, one of Gondibert's knights suffers 'many wounds in unexpected place/Which yet not kill, but killingly perplex/Because he held their number a disgrace'. (I.4.19.) For Oswald's knight Dargonet, to bleed and to be penetrated is a matter of shame:

For Dargonet in force did much exceed  
The most of Men, in valour equal'd all;  
And was ashamed thus diversely to bleed,  
As if he stood where showers of Arrows fall. (I.4.20.)

Despite the poem's previous assertion that wounds would fill the court ladies with admiration, Hurgonil conceals his injuries after the battle. Although wounds are a mark of manhood, Hurgonil's anxiety about appearing at court as a broken warrior underlines that within a chivalric culture of the hard body they can connote loss of masculine and therefore social status.

In the first book of the romance *Gondibert* does fashion a system of glory from the wound. Surrounded by his injured comrades, he imparts a social significance to their injuries by projecting them into the future as hardened scars: 'Thy Age will kiss those wounds thy Youth may loath' (I.5.35.). The line is reminiscent of the wounds in the St Crispin's Day speech in *Henry V*, when the warrior-king invokes a stable future past where wounds function as a prompt to collective patriotic memory of the sort favoured by militant English Protestantism, that can be drawn upon though display: 'Then will he strip his sleeve and show his scars'.<sup>14</sup> It is made clear that the chivalric warrior can accept the future hard scar, but the blood that produces the scar does not form part of the hero.

However, after *Gondibert* has been gravely injured and is taken to Astragon's palace in book two, he undergoes a shift of moral perspective. Following the battle and his near-death, he recognises that war is politics writ large rather than a place of testing of true valour. Although he claims not to have been motivated by ambition, the wound represents a moral retribution for him and his fellow warriors of Lombardy: 'The lust of Pow'r provokes to cruel war' (II.8.31). *Gondibert* rejects the outward pomp of the court and learns how to re-read his own body not through a scar but a wound, telling Astragon: 'But that my luckie wounds brought me to know/How with their cure, my sicker mind to save.' (II.7.56). In his retreat from court, *Gondibert* overtly critiques the system of honour displayed within the hardened scar, since it is too much bound up with display and faction.

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<sup>14</sup> *Henry V*, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare*, ed. by G. Taylor, J. Jowett, T. Bourus and G. Egan, (Oxford: Oxford Scholarly Editions Online, 2016), IV. 3, 47.

The wound that opens up the male body encodes the opening of the mind to peaceable learning, which in turn directs the body away from violence and war. Gondibert undergoes a revelation: 'Here all reward of conquest I would find/Leave shining Thrones for Birtha in a shade/With Nature's quiet wonders fill my mind' (II.8.46.). In his discussion of generic transition within *Gondibert*, Anthony Welch argues that the epic display in the first book gives way to romance interiority in second, and that the tears of the women mourning the dead and wounded heroes fashion an affective community that can reform epic.<sup>15</sup> Developing this point, we might read the wounds that inspire feminine tears as fundamental to the privileging of affect and contemplation. The broken body, in its openness to the world, allows romance to be morally instrumental.

Like *Gondibert*, the structural patterns of *Parthenissa* (1651) are emphasised through the body of the bleeding hero. The first volume deals with the story of the Parthian nobleman Artabanes, who falls in love with Parthenissa but is tricked into believing her to be unfaithful. After leaving Parthia his ship is captured and he is sold as a slave in Rome but escapes and performs feats of arms under his guise of Spartacus. In the second plot line the Armenian nobleman Artavasdes is in love with the princess Altezeera and saves her brother, King Artabazus, from rebels who are plotting to overthrow him. Captured in war by the Parthians, he conceives a deep friendship with Artabanes and tells him his tale. The third plot line is presented to the reader when Artabanes, disguised as Spartacus, is fighting in Italy and captures the city

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<sup>15</sup> Anthony Welch, 'Epic Romance, Royalist Retreat, and the English Civil War', *Modern Philology*, 105 (2008), 570-602.

of Salapia from the Roman patriot Perolla, who emerges as the third hero of the romance. Perolla is the son of Pacuvius, Hannibal's ally, and rejects his father's political support of the invading Carthaginians. He has fallen in love with Izadora, the daughter of his father's sworn enemy Blacius, and the pair tell their lengthy tale of thwarted passion to Spartacus. The first volume reverts to the story of the main hero at the point when Artabanes relinquishes his disguise as Spartacus and escapes to Hierapolis, from where the inset romances are narrated. Over the course of this first volume of the romance, a pattern emerges through the heroes' experiences of bodily collapse. Each is seriously wounded after fighting, and as we will see, each recounts his brushes with death and disintegrating selfhood through the first person.

*Parthenissa* sees an explicit reversal of chivalric convention in one of its earliest scenes. We are reminded at the beginning of the romance that Parthia is a martial state:

The Parthians were ever esteem'd the Warlik'st Nation in the whole World, to continue that just reputation, they declin'd all those effeminacies which are so predominant in other Courts, and absolutely addicted themselves to such Martial exercises as are nothing less pleasing and delightful than the others, and yet fit and prepare men more for the real use of Arms and Acquisition of Glory.<sup>16</sup>

Parthia enjoyed a high status within the register of early modern masculinity, since it was supposed by some to be the birthplace of that most terrifying of warriors, Tamerlane. Andrea Cambini's history of the Turks translated by John

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<sup>16</sup> Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, *Parthenissa that most fam'd romance the six volumes compleat* (1676), Wing O490, pp. 5-6. Further references will be incorporated into the text.

Shute in 1562 recounts Tamburlaine's impeccable martial training from infancy:

thys Tamerlano was borne in Parthia, of base and simple parents, he was exerised in armes even from his childehed, and did so profyte therin, that it was harde to saye which had greater place in him, eyther strength and lustines of his bodye or els his wisdome and other vertues of the minde.<sup>17</sup>

The terrifying Parthian fighter was invariably seen as hard-bodied. In an essay 'Of The Arms of the Parthians', Montaigne quotes Marcellinus on the carapace of the eastern warrior:

A man would have said, they had beene men made of yron: For they had pieces so handsomely fitted, and so lively representing the forme and parts of the face, that there was no way to wounde them, but at certaine little holes before their eyes, which served to give them some light, and by certaine chinckes about their nostrils by which they hardly drew breath.<sup>18</sup>

Parthian knights are therefore not, in the cultural imagination, leisured aristocrats whose play has no purpose. Accordingly, in *Parthenissa* the tilt is aligned to a familiar version of political masculinity. It is explicitly a training ground for war, and its Parthian location might appear to re-enact the oft-rehearsed reproach to the effeminised decadence of Caroline peace.

The hero-narrator Artabanus is set a performance test of valour early on in the narrative. During the three-day festival of tilting, Artabanus wins several jousts. With great ceremony, the Arabian warrior Ambixules enters and

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<sup>17</sup> Andrea Cambini, *Tvvo very notable commentaries the one of the originall of the Turcks and Empire of the house of Ottomanno*, trans. by John Shute (1562), STC 4470, sig. A3r. See also Jean Du Bec's version of the Tamburlaine story, *The historie of the great emperour Tamerlan* (1597), STC 7263.

<sup>18</sup> Michel de Montaigne, 'Of the Parthians Armes', *The Essayes or morall, politike and militarie discourses*, trans. by John Florio (1603), STC 18041, 2.9, pp. 233-5, (p. 235).

announces that he is fighting in the name of his dead love Mizalinza and will challenge any man who asserts that their mistress is more beautiful than her; if Ambixules wins the combat, then he will also carry off the picture of the vanquished's beloved, as he has done in twenty-four previous contests.

The episode is a clear borrowing from the first book of *Arcadia*, in which Phalantus of Corinth arrives with a challenge to fight any knight who asserts that his beloved is more beautiful than Artesia. Like Ambixules, Phalantus trails in his wake the portraits of the ladies whose knights have been defeated. Phalantus defeats several challengers but is eventually bested by the ill-apparelled knight, who is Zelmane – or, as the reader is aware, the doubly-disguised Pyrocles.<sup>19</sup> The insertion of the stranger knight's challenge over the portrait of the beloved may seem to stake out *Parthenissa's* chivalric romance inheritance with its undertones of Protestant militancy, but to read the episodes together is to see how far *Parthenissa* diverges from Sidney's rendition of the heroic body. The choreography of the Arcadian joust does not focus on the bodies of the participants, since the defeated Phalantus remains uninjured, and his loss is therefore not blood but status. In *Parthenissa*, however, the fight, which begins as a ritual test of honour, becomes vicious. Ambixules is finally killed, but unlike the chivalric romance heroes who win their bouts with barely a scratch, Artabanus is penetrated by his opponent's sword and overcome by physical collapse. As he salutes Parthenissa at the end of the duel, Artabanus recalls: 'on an instant, I found a certain coldness like the hand of Death seize on

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<sup>19</sup> Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, ed. by Maurice Evans, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), p. 153.

me, and suddenly after, I fell pale and speechless at Parthenissa's Feet.' (p. 11)

The Parthian warrior is reduced to a mass of blood and flesh:

[...] as soon as those which stood by knew me, they cry'd out. Artabanes is dead: which repeated noise coming at last to Moneses and Lyndadory's hearing; they ran transported with admiration and grief to the place where I lay, and where they found Parthenissa with one hand stopping a spring of blood which issued from a large wound Ambixules had given me, with the other endeavouring to wipe away two springs of tears which ran from her fair Eyes. (p. 11)

In dismissing conventional chivalric outcomes, Broghill shows the reader that combat is not simply an exercise in display, but that it also entails injury and pain. The Parthian joust establishes a sustained attention to the traumatised body, a project that is fundamental to *Parthenissa's* construction of heroic masculinity.

Artabanes' tale is followed by the second plot line in which he is the auditor of a narration that features another broken body. After Artabanes recovers he joins the Parthian forces at war with Armenia. During the battle the valiant Armenian champion Artavasdes is captured and tells his story to Artabanes. This retrospective narration centres upon the rebellion of the nobleman Celindus against the weak king of Armenia, Artabazus. Artavasdes saves the king and his sister Altezeera, with whom he is secretly in love, from an ambush. Led by Artavasdes, the king's forces repel the rebels' siege of the city of Artaxata, but the hero is seriously wounded:

We so husbanded this disorder, that we absolutely routed the Rebels; and the slaughter had been much bloodier, had not I been the occasion of hindring it; for during the Fight, I receiv'd some wounds, out of which ran such abundance of Blood, that in

following the execution I fell down pale and speechless, and suddenly a rumour being dipers'd that I was kill'd, Amidor, and all the rest were so much concern'd in my loss, that they neglected increasing Celindus's, who in our disorder found his safety. When Amidor and the rest of my Friends came to me, they saw me environ'd with dead Bodies, and with as little sign of life as those I was amongst, yet they carried me to my Chamber and lay'd me on a Bed. (p. 46)

Broghill uses precisely the same template as seen in Artabanes's combat to present Artavasdes's injuries. Both fighters are rendered 'pale and speechless' and can only narrate their unconscious bodies through others' eyes. As Elaine Scarry comments, intense pain 'destroys a person's self and world' and that it also annihilates language: 'As the self disintegrates, so that which would express and project the self is robbed of its source and its subject'.<sup>20</sup> *Parthenissa* dramatises a temporary oblivion and disintegration of consciousness that cannot be remembered by the subject but can only be narrated by observers.

The two eastern heroes' experiences of wounding and loss of the conscious self are repeated in the romance's lengthy Roman section, of which Artabanes is again the auditor. In this retrospective tale, the hero Perolla unknowingly saves the life of Blacius, his father's sworn enemy; terribly wounded, he is taken to Blacius's house and is tended by Izadora, with whom he falls in love. Izadora recounts to Artabanes Perolla's near-death experience as an outside observer:

On a sudden, the fresh colour in his Cheeks, began to wear Deaths Livery, his knees too to tremble, and at last his Spirits failing, he fell (without speech or motion) at my Fathers Feet, this sudden change made him suspect some private hurts were the cause of it, he therefore open'd his Doublet, and immediately discover'd a Sea

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<sup>20</sup> Elaine Scarry, *The Body In Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p.35.

of Bloud, which issued from a large wound that had pierced his Body through and through. (p. 115)

Perolla's collapse, his pallor, sudden loss of voice, and the narration of this state by a third party, echo the collapses experienced by the other two heroes within the romance. The physical collapses of the heroes are linked through blood, blanching and silence.

Throughout *Parthenissa*, the warriors' bodies withstand enormous agony and blood loss and thus subject chivalric romance to considerable revision. Through their attention to the wound, *Parthenissa* and *Gondibert* tacitly take note of accounts of the Civil War in which bodies were anything but invulnerable and always at risk of disfigurement or death. Such accounts shaped the debate over authenticity in romance narrative, which is evident in Hobbes's insistence on the vulnerability of the warrior's body.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, Broghill himself was a witness to numerous deaths in combat when he was fighting with Cromwell to subdue Catholic Ireland between 1649 and 1651. In a report on the battle with the forces of Lord Muskerry sent to the speaker of Parliament in the same year that the first volume of *Parthenissa* was published, he wrote:

What people of quality are killed we know not, onely one L. Col. Suggaine that ran up and down the field offering 100li. for his life, neither doe we know the number of the dead, but this we know, that all the field was well bestrewed with dead bodies. I think that there was never knowne better knocking in Ireland, nor so faire a

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<sup>21</sup> Accounts of Civil War battles and sieges that detail dead and mutilated bodies are too numerous to list, but a representative sample might include: *A narration of the siege and taking of the town of Leicester* (1645) Wing N162; *A Description of the Siege of Basing Castle* (1644), Wing D1170; William Lithgow, *A True Experimentall and Exact Relation upon That famous and renowned Siege of Newcastle* (Edinburgh: 1645) Wing L2545; *A true & Exact Relation of the severall passages at the Siege of Manchester* (1642), Wing T2462.

field, where all divisions came to handy-blowes, few of our Horse Officers but are themselves or their horses wounded. My own Horse was wounded in three severall places, and I had a good knock with a Pike over my left arm Lieut. Inman under God saved my life, but in doing it, had like to have lost his owne, being wounded in two places, and his horse shot under him.<sup>22</sup>

Broghill's construction of his own heroism on the battlefield overtly confronts the possibility of his own death or maiming. The textual representation of battle is not epic or chivalric, but takes account of the dead bodies strewn about the field and the injuries to the survivors, including Broghill as the narrator. Within that rendition of the chaos of fighting, in which there is none of the master-choreography of the tiltyard, Broghill focuses on the wounds of his comrades, his horse and his own body. As we saw in the first chapter in the discussion of combat styles in *Parthenissa* and *The Princess Cloria*, romance has become allied with reportage: the wound underscores an anti-fantastical view of romance violence, since it inscribes pain and frailty within the hero's body as a logical consequence of battle. Pain, with its concomitant fracturing of selfhood, is inscribed into the experience of victory.

The vulnerability of the male body that is so present in *Gondibert* and *Parthenissa* can also be read in the light of a new understanding of the dangers of blood loss following William Harvey's discovery of the circulation, published in 1628 in Frankfurt as *Exercitatio anatomica de motu cordis et sanguinis in animalibus*.<sup>23</sup> Harvey's work proved that blood was distributed through a closed circuit pumped by the heart, rather than being constantly produced by the liver

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<sup>22</sup> *A letter from the Lord Broghill to the honourable William Lenthall Esq; speaker of the Parliament of England* (1651), Wing O486, pp. 4-5.

<sup>23</sup> The treatise was translated into English twenty-five years later. See William Harvey, *The anatomical exercises of Dr. William Harvey professor of physick, and physician to the Kings Majesty, concerning the motion of the heart and blood* (1653) Wing H1083. Roger French, 'Harvey, William (1578–1657)', *ODNB*.

and distributed to the other organs in a cycle of replenishment. In the wake of Harvey's work, the production of blood was no longer seen as open-ended, as Galen had theorised, but limited. Such vulnerability is underscored by the numerous references to dressings of the wounds and the closing up of the body through the touch of a surgeon.

In *Gondibert*, the hero is saved by medical intervention. Ulfin, Astragon's veteran attendant, rescues the perilously injured duke, who is stranded after battle. Gondibert's body is reordered and literally closed off: 'His hands the Duke's worst order'd wounds undress/And gently bind' (I.6.34). At Astragon's palace further procedures are taken: 'Then thin digestive food he did provide/More to enable fleeting strength to stay/To wounds well search'd he cleansing wines apply'd' (I.6.75.). In these few lines *Gondibert*, which is set in medieval Lombardy, sets out a contemporary medical frame of reference. William Clowes' 1596 medical treatise encompassed a variety of cures for wounds, including the correct food: 'It is said in the first seven daies his diet must be thin and slender, inclining to cold and moistnesse, specially if the patient be yong and full bodied'.<sup>24</sup> The sixteenth-century French surgeon, Ambroise Paré, insisted on the importance of searching wounds to remove any foreign objects: 'Now, to leaue the Arrow in the body, would cause uneuitable death, and Chirurgian would be esteemed unpittifull and inhumane, and by drawing it forth the Patient may peradventure escape'.<sup>25</sup> In just a few lines, *Gondibert* reminds the readers of procedures that await the hero in the wake of

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<sup>24</sup> William Clowes, *A profitable and necessarie Booke of Observations, for all those who are burned with the flame of Gun powder* (1596), STC 54455, p. 102.

<sup>25</sup> Ambroise Paré, *The method of curing vvounds made by gun-shot Also by arrowes and darts, with their accidents*, trans. by Walter Hamond (1617), STC 19191, p. 118.

the battle and how the traumatised body can be understood through medical knowledge.

*Parthenissa*, in which all the major male characters are seriously wounded, consistently features surgeons who make commentaries on the level of violence done to the heroes' bodies. Speaking of his wounds sustained in the duel with Ambixules, Artabanus says he 'receiv'd an assurance from the Chirurgions, that I had none which were dangerous; that loss of blood was the greatest harm I had sustained, and that rest was one of the best remedies they could prescribe' (p. 11). Artavasdes recounts that the surgeons 'having search'd my wounds and dress'd them, found they were very dangerous, yet to console my Mother, told her they were curable' (p. 47), while after the siege of Artaxata his brother Amidor, 'having conjured the Chirurgeons to deal clearly with him, whether there were any likelihood of recover, he receiv'd from them a sad Negative'. (p. 61) When the wounded Perolla, who is besotted with his regular visitor Izadora, is pronounced healed, he laments their separation: 'that fatal day came, wherein the Chyrurgeons told me, I might undertake a journey without any pain or danger. O how I curst their skill that separated me from my desires!' (p. 127) In all these episodes, the surgeons' diagnoses represent an authoritative discourse to which the hero must submit.

It is notable that *Eliana* and *Birinthea*, two later texts from this period that are in the heroic romance vein, feature bleeding heroes and accompanying surgeons, which suggests that the wound under medical control becomes a marker of verisimilitude in terms of rendering the heroic body. In *Eliana*, the main character Euripides is badly injured on several occasions. At one point following battle with the Roman army he is prevented from finding Amenia, a

Lusitanian princess with whom he is in love. He says: 'I neglected the counsel of those that were careful of my wounds, who recommended silence and rest to me'. The surgeons tell him that 'death would inevitably follow if I persisted in my violences, and I that must perish unless I gave my self to rest.' In the end Euripides has to submit to their authority: 'they dressed my wounds as it were by force and much against my will.'<sup>26</sup> Like Perolla in *Parthenissa*, who on being pronounced recovered must part from his beloved, Euripides' courtship is also thwarted. The presence of surgeons, a manoeuvre that shores up the plausibility of wounded body, creates opportunities for plot dilation and delay, and hence narrative pleasure.

We have seen that the violence carried out by the hero is returned upon him in the form of the wound, and how the wound leads to the heroic body's being further subdued by medicalisation. Developing the idea of control of the body, we now turn to how these romances render the erotic decorous through the wound.

### **Blood and eroticism**

From the hero as fighter, we now turn to the hero as lover and examine how the romances under discussion incorporate the bleeding male body into their erotic scheme. In considering the link between blood and desire in *Gondibert* and *Parthenissa* this chapter draws on the still-influential understanding of the body within the Galenic system, the medical philosophy based on four humours: blood, yellow bile, phlegm and black bile. Ambroise Paré, whose medical

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<sup>26</sup> Samuel Pordage, *Eliana A New Romance* (1661), Wing E499, p. 77. See also John Bulteel, *Birinthea A Romance* (1664), Wing B5454, pp. 53-54.

textbooks were extensively translated in English, explained to his readers: ‘An Humor is called by Phisitions what thing so ever is Liquide and flowing in the body of living Creatures endued with Blood’.<sup>27</sup> Each humour was manufactured within the body and had a corresponding mental disposition. The liver was thought to manufacture blood and was regarded as the central organ of the body; its related temperament was sanguine. Yellow bile, which underpinned the choleric temper, was created by the spleen; black bile emanated from the gall bladder and gave rise to melancholy temperament, while phlegm, from which the phlegmatic disposition derived, was associated with the lungs. In excess, each of the humours produced ailments both mental and physical, and Renaissance medicine strove to fine-tune the balance between the humours, often through ingestion. Gail Kern Paster, in her study of Galenic humoralism and sexual difference, notes that early modern physiology ‘proposed a body whose constituent fluids, all reducible to blood, were entirely fungible’.<sup>28</sup> Thomas Cogan’s sixteenth-century manual *The Hauen of Health* is explicit on this point:

as everie concoction hath his superfluitie, of excrement, as the stomack ordure, the liver urine, there is left some part of profitable blood, not needefull to the partes, ordeyned by nature for procreation, which... is woonderfullie conveighed and carried to the genitories, where by their proper nature that which before was plaine blood, is now transformed and changed into seede. <sup>29</sup>

In Galenic physiology, the link between blood and semen in the desiring body of the hero is literal.

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<sup>27</sup> Ambroise Paré, *The Workes of that famous Chirugion Ambrose Parey*, trans. by Thomas Johnson (1634) STC 19189, p. 12.

<sup>28</sup> Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 9.

<sup>29</sup> Thomas Cogan, *The Hauen of Health* (1589), STC 5480, p. 240.

Desire and blood are markedly present within a key erotic moment of *Gondibert*. The wounded hero falls in love with Birtha, a development to which we are alerted by the argument of the seventh canto in book two, in which we are told that Gondibert 'gets new wounds before the old are cur'd' (p. 135). Rather than his wounds hardening into scars of courtly and chivalric display, his body softens and becomes more fleshy as he becomes a desiring being:

Hither, with borrow'd strength, Duke Gondibert  
Was brought, which now his ripening wounds allow;  
And high Heav'ns praise in music of the heart,  
He inward sings, to pay a victor's vow. (II.6.83)

The 'ripening wounds', with their connotation of softening fruit, become a sensual reaction to his new surroundings. They take the place of the apple in the tree of knowledge and recast that story not as the fall, but as a movement towards virtue through enlightenment and growing love for Birtha. In the neoplatonic thinking that informed *Astrea*, the body is sublimated in the union of souls; here, the lover is flesh and the blood of the wound is an active agent that animates desire. Erotic liquidity occurs more explicitly later in the romance when Orna tends the wounded Hurgonil, when 'Since as her double Patient he receive'd/For War's wounds, Balm, dropp'd in her previous tears' (III.1.15). The sexual element is reinforced several stanzas later:

When o're him then, whilst parting life She ru'd,  
Her kisses faster (though unknown before)  
Then Blossoms fall on parting Spring, she strew'd,  
Than Blossoms sweeter, and in number more. (III.1.20)

Through their mingling, blood and tears each intensifies the other, reflected in the quickening rhythm of the line; desire takes the form of bodily fluid.

This striking moment of wounds, fluid and eroticism in *Gondibert* is prominent throughout *Parthenissa*, which links blood and sexual desire at moments of extreme crisis for the hero. After the siege of Artaxata, the Armenian princess Altezeera commands the bedridden Artavasdes to live (pp. 48-9). Up until this point she has refused to countenance Artavasdes's devotion, but in asking Artavasdes to survive, Altezeera then reveals that she returns his passion. However, their relationship can continue only on condition that he tells nobody, a command that is reminiscent of D'Urfé's forbidding heroines whom the lovers are constrained to obey. In marked contrast to *Astrea*, Artavasdes's physical ecstasy upon confirmation of Altezeera's love is made evident:

all my wounds fell fresh a bleeding, and I was so taken up with my present raptures, that had not Lindesia been more careful of me than I was of my self, I had dyed in, and by them, but having discover'd that my sheets were all bloody, she came running to me, and so timely, that the least delay had render'd her care fruitless [..] But my wounds being again bound up, they enjoin'd me to take my rest, as the best and easiest, cure. Thus my deere Freind, you see how at last my desires were Crown'd (p. 49)

The sexual charge of the discovery of mutual desire is clear, underlined by the use of 'dyed', the conventional euphemism for orgasm. To die 'in' the wound connotes the mental state of passion; to die 'by' the wound the physical, and the wound becomes the semantic meeting place of valour and desire, of mind and body. The sexual revelation is underscored by the evident play on the bloody sheets of the virgin when Artavasdes's wounds open up. The blood on Artavasdes's sheets is not only desire expressed as a metaphorical re-enactment of the loss of virginity but is desire as physical reality; blood is not a decorous or allegorical substitute for semen but is of itself a sexual emission. At

no point does *Parthenissa* forget that the hero's body is flesh; the wound is not just a carrier of metaphor but a mechanism of desire.

In the context of blood as a sexual emission, the bleeding, leaking body of the hero governs the erotic relationships throughout *Parthenissa*. Paster's work on Renaissance humoral physiology and the controlling discourse of shame and bodily decorum has explored the gendered implications of the fungibility of bodily fluids, notably the ideological implications of woman as leaky vessel, the over-fluid and hence over-sexual, uncontrolled woman unable to master her own bodily functions. Paster suggests that the early modern subject experienced the world through a physiology that posited that all bodily fluids were fungible, but bodily fluids and juices that in masculine terms were seen to be purging were differently inflected for the female. The man was hot and dry while the woman was moist and cold; women's bodies were seen as being more liquid than men's.<sup>30</sup>

We might read *Parthenissa* as both replaying and attempting to control anxieties over the pleasures of desire found in earlier romance texts, which often constructed male sexual desire as effeminising. Sidney incorporates these anxieties into *Arcadia*, when Musidorus is trying to dissuade Pyrocles from dressing as a woman. He declares:

this effeminate love of a woman doth so womanize a man that, if you yield to it, it will not only make you a famous Amazon, but a launder, a distaff-spinner, or whatsoever other vile occupation their idle heads can imagine and their weak hands perform [...] <sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Paster, p. 41.

<sup>31</sup> *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, p. 134.

It is made clear that the feminising nature of desire is literalised into his female disguise. *Parthenissa* refashions the cross-dressing of earlier romances by feminising the bleeding hero into prone passivity.

At the key erotic moments in the romance, the heroes Artabanes, Artavasdes and Perolla are all poised between life and death. But within this temporary passivity, the prone warrior's desire can sway from supplicatory to aggressive. Julia Kristeva, in her essay on the abject, suggests that a collapse of boundaries between the subject and the object, between ourselves and the world, can occur in the perception of foods, of corpses and the open wound.<sup>32</sup> We can see an example of this when Artabanes, who is wounded following the Parthian tilt at which he has fought in the name of Parthenissa, turns on her in a fury at her seeming rejection of him:

Yes Madam, I acknowledge your reprehension to be as just as my presumption is great, and I am now so sensible of my Crime, that if you do not speedily pardon it, I will revenge you upon the miserable Artabanes, 'tis but letting these wounds weep blood until their source be dry; so Death more pitiful than you, will make my punishment the way unto my quiet. These words spake in a high tone, made Symander almost as frantick as my distempers had me; for being ignorant of the cause, hee concluded the height of my Fever made me rave, and fearing lest I should put my words in practice, he ran to the Bed's side, and flinging open the Curtains, besought me in tears, not to make my self the means to increase a danger, which of it self was but too desperate [...] (p. 11)

In the case of Artabanes, that aggressive drive is masochistically turned inward onto their own wounded bodies, which become, in Kristeva's terms, the abject Other. The play of aggression and passivity that throbs through the wound is

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<sup>32</sup> Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, trans. by Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

equally apparent in the subplot involving Perolla and Izadora. Perolla has been brought inside the house of Blacius and is tended by Izadora, with whom he falls violently in love. The virtuous Izadora rejects his passion and Perolla proclaims:

I will wash away in my Blood my presumption and unfortunate extraction; and since you have declar'd Perolla to be your Enemy, you shall perceive I will use him at that rate. Izadora at these passionate expressions turn'd about again, but when she saw me pulling off my plaisters and tearing my wounds, she ran to my Bed-side, and falling on her knees with a throng of sighs and tears she begg'd me not to be my own executioner [...] (p. 119.)

Such a declamatory act of violent sexual disrobing insists at the same time that the wound be read as a mark of abject erotic repulsion as Perolla seeks to add to his own injuries. Yet at the same time, the wound, which connotes pain, heroism and love, arouses a passionate and quasi-devotional response from Izadora in the form of tears. The episode emphasises the extent of the effemisation of the hero in that his blood mirrors the leaking body of the female.

From the beginning of *Parthenissa's* third plotline, wounding informs the relationship between the lovers Perolla and Izadora. Artabanes, who is disguised as Spartacus, meets the pair after capturing the city of Salapia. They are in the company of their parents and are at a pitch of despair that their union has been prohibited. Perolla tries to run on his own sword, but Spartacus anticipates the action, 'and though it were tyme enough to hinder his fatall determination, yet it could not prevent a slight wound' (p. 99). Symander, the witness to the scene, continues:

Izadora on the other side, thinking Perolla had bin his own Executioner, resolv'd to bear him company, and with a courage which disdain'd exclaiming against Fate, drew out a Ponyard which she had conceal'd for some such desperate exigency, and cry'd out, this stroke Perolla shall prove more kind than you, and give us that union you would so cruelly deprive me of: then lifting up that fatal weapon, she had (doubtlesse) perform'd what she spoke, but that by thrusting away her Hand, I made that wound light upon her Arm, which she intended for her Heart, but having mist her aim, she was going to double her stroke had not I forced the Ponyard from her [...] Perolla unfortunatly espy'd some Bloud runing out of the faire Izadora's Arm, alas how fatal was that object like to prove, his passion made him act many extravagancies, which nothing except Love could render legitimate: but when he remember'd the cause of her wound how soone was that new-created harmony dissolv'd? and having againe found, that all his attempts against his life were fruitless, he prostrated himself at his faire Mistrisses feet, and told her: Must I then, Madam? must I then see that precious Bloud shed for my sake, and at the same time be renderd uncapable of emptying all my veins to bear it company and expiate my crime? (pp. 99-100.)

The lovers' attempts at inflicting wounds upon themselves drive

Artabanes/Spartacus to let them narrate their story, in which blood is signalled as the definitive part of their erotic relationship. As they embark upon their lengthy narrative, Perolla reverts to the prone position, as he lies prostrate at Izadora's feet. It is a position that will anticipate their first bloody meeting, narrated later in the text, and also hint at Perolla's willed abnegation.

The previous chapter discussed the extent to which interregnum romances show unease at plotting eroticism through cross-dressing, which is presented as implausible and morally dubious. *Gondibert* and *Parthenissa* confront these problems of implausibility and impropriety by staging their eroticism via the wound, which allows the heroes to occupy a temporary femininity that does not compromise their virtue. Taking the implications of

literary propriety further, we now explore the connotations of bleeding as a moral purging in order to articulate a decorous masculine body.

Turning again to contemporary physiology, we can see that Galenic theory sought to regulate excess or imbalances, which could be affected by internal dispositions corresponding to the four humours, or external factors, which could also be fostered by external influences such as air, seasons or diet. The liver was thought to manufacture copious quantities of blood continuously, and an overabundance was thought to be harmful. Phlebotomy therefore evolved to relieve the patient of excess, often with spectacular results with tools such as lancets and scarificators, and the early use of vacuum suction.<sup>33</sup> Galenic theories were under attack by the middle of the seventeenth century following William Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood in 1628, but Galenic tradition remained substantial and maintained a hold on medical thinking as well as the cultural imagination, while in practice remedies such as purging continued.<sup>34</sup>

The most sustained contemporary discussion of purging is found in *Erotomania*, written in French by Jacques Ferrand in 1623 as a textbook that

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<sup>33</sup> See Noga Arikha, *Passions and Tempers: A History of the Humours* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008).

<sup>34</sup> See Oswei Temkin, *Galenism: Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1973) p. 165. A sample of medical texts published in the same year as *Gondibert* and *Parthenissa* that continue to rely on humoral theory include: Jean d'Espagnet, *Encyridion physicae restitutae, or, The summary of physicks recovered where nature is explained* (1651) Wing E3276A; Johann Amos Comenius, *Naturall philosophie reformed by divine light, or, A synopsis of physicks by J.A. Comenius..with a briefe appendix touching on the diseases of the body, mind and soul, with their general remedies* (1651), Wing C5522; Daniel Border, *Polypharmakos kai chymistes, or, The English unparalell'd physitian and chyrurgian shewing the true vse of all manner of plants and minerals in which is explained the whole art and secrecy of physick and chyruery* (1651) Wing B375.

discusses the diagnosis and treatment of lovesickness.<sup>35</sup> Translated into English in 1640, *Erotomania* is prefaced by a series of poems by various Christ Church wits that ironise the text they preface and jokingly frame the book itself as a prophylactic. The first poem, by a W. Towers, plays on the conceit that the lovesick reader must have made a mistake in buying the volume, that (s)he has picked it up not for medical reasons but has mistaken it for a pleasurable romance, the joke being that romances will heighten the blood and Ferrand's medical manual will calm it: 'Thou, that from this Gay Title, look'st no high'r/Then some Don Errant, or his fullsome Squire'(sig. A1r).<sup>36</sup> *Erotomania* consists of thirty-nine detailed chapters discussing the treatment of love melancholy from surgical remedies to potions. A plethora of blood causes an inclination to love, argues Ferrand:

The Abundance of Blood, of a good temperature, and full of spirits, caused by the continuall Influence of the Heart; by reason that it is the Materiall cause of seed, is likewise a True Antecedent cause of Love, as it is a passion of the Mind. (p. 64)

The physician must devise remedies that are not just physical but moral.

Ferrand declares in his introduction:

My chiefest purpose is, to prescribe some remedies for the prevention of this disease of Love, which those men for the most part are subject unto, that have not the power to governe their desires, and subject them to Reasons Lawes: seeing that this unchast Love proves oftentimes the Author of the greatest Mischiefes that are in the world (p. 4).

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<sup>35</sup> Jacques Ferrand, *Erotomania, or a Treatise Discoursing of the Essence, Causes, Syptomes, Prognosticks, and Cure of Love or Erotique Melancholy* (Oxford: 1640) STC 10829. Further page references will be given in the text.

<sup>36</sup> William Towers was son of the Bishop of Peterborough; see James Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry in the English Civil Wars: The Drawn Sword* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), p. 22.

Therapeutic phlebotomy, the evacuation of a plethora of blood and heat, is therefore a means to control of a patient's desire and how he interacts with others.

The practice of bloodletting as a regulator of social as well as sexual behaviour is reflected in a series of striking episodes within *Parthenissa* in which decorum is imposed upon the heroes' bodies via the wound. The hero's public expression of desire surfaces early in the romance, during the chivalric joust in Parthia that has been discussed above. When Artabanes steps forward to take the challenge of the joust, he proclaims the beauty of the living Parthenissa is greater than that of the dead Mirzalinda, championed by his opponent Ambixules. However, in doing so, he declares himself in love without her permission. It is a rash and impertinent act that brings the gaze of Parthia upon her and which also requires acknowledgement of her own sexual power, which potentially defames her modesty. As discussed earlier in this chapter, at the end of the bloody combat Artabanes is grievously injured. Prone and near death, his blood means that his identity is revealed; wounds carry the transgressive revelation of passion and as a consequence become the hero's punishment. When Parthenissa later tells Artabanes: 'If by a loss of the greatest part of your Blood, you have discover'd that which was an offence, you have discover'd too that which is partly the reparation' (p.16), she engages in a circular reasoning where spilt blood is to repair the injury done to her modesty by the wounds incurred in fighting for her. Initially rejected by Parthenissa, Artabanes declares in a letter dictated from his sickbed:

If you chuse to put your Justice in practice, I am resolved to become its executioner by declining a recovery of those wounds Ambixules has given me, that the World may believe I dyed for the Fair Parthenissa, and not by her (p. 14)

In Artabanés's case the hero also seeks to be the agent of his own suffering by presenting his wounds as a punishment that is imposed upon him for unrequited passion.

*Parthenissa's* next episode of bloody justice visited upon the hero occurs after Artavasdes rescues the princess Altezeera from abduction by Tuminius, son of the rebel leader Celindus. Again, like Artabanés, Artavasdes's transgression lies in confessing his love. He admits to Altezeera that he understands why Tuminius wanted to kidnap her: "Though I thought Tuminius excusable in daring to adore you, knowing my self, how impossible it was to do otherwise (p. 39). The severity of Altezeera's virtue is such that she commands silence of him: "The first time you speak to me of your Passion, it must be the last, and if you desire the continuance of my esteem, you must neither sollicite my Love, nor acquaint me with yours' (p. 43). After the siege of Artaxata, Artavasdes's wounds are so great he believes himself to be dying, and says to Altezeera:

Your Disdain prepares me torments so great, that Death is a comparative happiness unto them. But Madam, I do beg your pardon, you commanded me not to trouble you any more with my Passion, and I'll obey you, onely let me beseech you to receive these importunities as my last Crimes, and upon that score to forgive them; for I vow never to offend you more. (p. 49)

In both the Parthian and Armenian plotlines, Artabanus and Artavasdes express sexual desire through the surfeit of blood and acknowledge that such bloodshed simultaneously functions as expiation for that desire.

The variety of uses of blood in *Parthenissa* locate it as a romance published when medico-theoretical discourses of the body were at a crossroads. As we saw earlier in the chapter, Broghill draws upon a post-Harveian understanding of blood circulation and the bounded body to represent the vulnerability of blood loss through the wound; at the same time, *Parthenissa* gains erotic and moral vigour from a still-influential Galenic conception of blood and purging that animate the text's drive for decorum.

We have read the disciplining of the desiring male body in the context of medical theory, but seen on a wider stage, both romances coincide with a change in the understanding of what Norbert Elias, in *The Civilizing Process*, terms increasing thresholds of shame and repugnance towards bodily functions, and Michel Foucault's identification of the middle of the seventeenth century as the moment when the body undergoes a shift to become one that is docile and subject to discipline by authority outside public spectacles.<sup>37</sup> The softened and sexualised male body is explicitly controlled by immobilisation and pain through the wound and the male body itself becomes a conduit of romance decorum.

This chapter has explored how *Gondibert* and *Parthenissa* have used the hero's body to emphasise plausibility and propriety. The following section

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<sup>37</sup> Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, trans. by E.F.N. Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978); Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), pp. 135-169. See also Mikhail Bakhtin's discussion of the post-medieval, bounded body in *Rabelais and His World*, trans. by Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1984) p. 29.

considers the contemporary theoretical context of these concepts, with particular reference to the neoclassical debates that formed the background to Scudéry's theory of romance in the preface to *Ibrahim*, in order to understand how the wounded body might be a surrogate for the imposition of narrative order.

### *Vraisemblance, bienséance and neoclassical order*

Chapter one discussed a striking moment in *Parthenissa* when Amazora and her women sacrificed themselves for the town of Petelia. In a letter to William Temple in February 1654 Dorothy Osborne assessed the episode:

She was in a besieged Towne, and perswaded all those of her Sexe to goe out with her to the Enemy (which were a barbarous People) and dye by their swords, that the provison of the Towne might last the longer for such as were able to doe service in deffending it. But how angry was I to see him spoile this againe, by bringing out a letter this woman left behind her for the Governour of the Towne, where she discovers a passion for him and makes that the reason why she did it. I confesse I have noe patience for our faiseurs de Romance, when they make women court. It will never enter into my head that tis posible any woman can Love where she is not first Loved, & much lesse that if they should doe that, they could have the face to owne it. My thinkes hee that writes L'illustre Bassa says well in his Epistle, That wee are not to imagin his Heroe to bee lesse taeking then those of Other Romances because the Ladys doe not fall in love with him whither hee will or not.<sup>38</sup>

For Osborne, Amazora has offended gender decorum by declaring her passion for Perolla. Aside from the courtship between Osborne and the recipient of her letters, in which we might read her engaging in a dialogue about the revelation

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<sup>38</sup> Dorothy Osborne, *The Letters of Dorothy Osborne to William Temple*, ed. by G.C. Moore Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), Letter 58, pp. 143-144.

of passion, what is evident from this passage is how much plausibility is framed in terms of normative behaviour, and particularly expectations around gender. Notably, Osborne appeals to the authority of the 'Epistle' in the 'L'illustre Bassa', or Scudéry's preface to *Ibrahim*, to shore up her argument. We return, then, to Scudéry's preface and the emerging theoretical framework in which contemporary romances were located.

In his discussion of the coexisting uses of the term 'novel' and 'romance' in the mid- to late-seventeenth century, James Grantham Turner uses the terms *vraisemblance* and *bienséance* to articulate the difference between 'new' romances of the period – including heroic romance – and the 'old', which included chivalric fiction.<sup>39</sup> While *vraisemblance* corresponds to plausibility and *bienséance* to decorum, the French terms have contemporary theoretical connotations that link fiction to the authoritarian Académie française via Scudéry. They can also help us think about how the control of the violence and passions of body can be seen as part of wider conceptions of order in 'new' romances.

*Vraisemblance* is the dominant topic of the 1641 preface to Scudéry's romance *Ibrahim*, translated into English in 1652. To understand its relationship to the material we have been discussing we need to first explore a debate familiar to Broghill and Davenant, and to at least part of their readership. As Hobbes would say a decade later in *Discourse Upon Gondibert*, Scudéry argues that the superhuman properties of the bodies of chivalric

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<sup>39</sup> James Grantham Turner, "'Romance' and the Novel in Restoration England', *RES*, 63 (2012), 58-85.

heroes are not plausible. The ideal hero in romance must be a courageous warrior, but only within the bounds of credibility:

And indeed they who have made one man alone defeat whole Armies, have forgotten the Proverb which saith, not one against two; and know not that antiquitie doth assure us, how Hercules would in that case be too weak. It is without all doubt, that to represent a true heroicall courage, one should make it execute something extraordinary, as it were by a transport of the Heros; but he must not continue in that sort, for so those incredible actions would degenerate into ridiculous fables, and never move the mind.<sup>40</sup>

Scudéry's remarks form part of a seven-page discussion that begins with a declaration that each artistic form obeys a set of agreed prescriptions:

Every art hath its certain rules, which by infallible meanes lead to the ends proposed; and provided that an Architect takes his measures right, he is assured of the beauty of his building [...] (sig. A3r.)

At the same time, the preface argues, romance verisimilitude should be anchored in history by accurate observations of particular historical or geographical customs. The hero's body, then, comes under the jurisdiction of a romance aesthetic that rejects the fantastic. Yet the construction of the plausible – that is to say, a fictional world that aligns to lived experience – is not a dispassionate act of observation, but a socio-political act. While the preface to *Ibrahim* has been cited in discussions of mid-century English fiction, it has not

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<sup>40</sup> Scudéry, Preface to *Ibrahim*, trans. by Henry Cogan (1652), S2160, sig. A4r. Further references are incorporated in the text.

been hitherto read in the context of the fraught debates in France around aesthetic order during the 1630s.<sup>41</sup>

In the preface to Giambattista Marino's poem *L'Adonis* (1623) Jean Chapelain outlined a theory of poetic plausibility that was the first overt statement of neoclassical literary theory in France.<sup>42</sup> Starting from Aristotle's dictum in *The Poetics* that the poet's function is not to report what has happened, but rather to describe those things that might happen either through necessity or probability, Chapelain argued that what is probable or plausible should be differentiated from the *vrai*, which is the subject of history.<sup>43</sup> Art, unlike history, can reorder the world and is therefore an agent of moral exemplarity:

L'histoire traite les choses come ells sont, et la poésie comme elle devraient etre [...] vraisemblance [...] et non la verité sert d'instrument au poète, pour acheminer l'homme à la vertu. (pp. 37-8)

[History deals with things that have happened; poetry deals with what should happen. [...] Plausibility, not historical truth, is the means by which a poet can lead man to a virtuous life.]<sup>44</sup>

*Vraisemblance* is not a documentary *vrai*, but it draws on socially-held opinions on what is probable and what ought to happen. Chapelain's theory offers an aesthetic ideal whose subscription to narrative order is rooted in the

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<sup>41</sup> See, *inter alia*, Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), p. 188; Lennard J. Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 31; Paul Salzman, *English Prose Fiction 1588-1700: A Critical History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 179.

<sup>42</sup> *La Préface de Chapelain à L'Adonis* ed. by Ernest Bovet (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1905). Further references to this work will be given in the main body of the text.

<sup>43</sup> Aristotle, 'Poetics', in *Aristotle: Poetics, Longinus: On the Sublime, Demetrius: On Style*, trans. by Stephen Halliwell, W. Hamilton Fyfe, Doreen C. Innes, W. Rhys Roberts. Revised by Donald A. Russell (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), Loeb Classical Library 199, p. 59.

<sup>44</sup> Translation my own.

Aristotelian unities of time, place and action. Chapelain's early articulation of the theory of verisimilitude would, a decade later, regulate artistic production under the auspices of the Académie française.<sup>45</sup>

As the role of the Académie and its architect Cardinal Richelieu might suggest, the neoclassical notion of plausibility is not a neutral one but an authoritarian manoeuvre. R.C. Knights has observed that the formula to describe *vraisemblance* is based in part on a slippage in translation. The Latin rendering of *Poetics* to which the neoclassicists referred used *debere*, which has then sense of obligation, rather than *posse*, which has a sense of open-ended possibility.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, as Gérard Genette points out, the verb *devoir* allows 'l'amalgame entre les notions de vraisemblance and bienséance' (an amalgam of the notions of plausibility and decorum).<sup>47</sup> The two notions are interlinked precisely because *vraisemblance* is required to depict the ideal; *bienséance* is the expression of a social and moral ideal and is a key driver of French heroic romance. Used in tandem with *vraisemblance*, *bienséance* foregrounds the act of moral idealising as central to cultural production.<sup>48</sup> It is, as Gérard Genette points out, an ideological process:

En fait, vraisemblance et bienséance se rejoignent sous un meme critère, à savoir, 'tout ce qui est conforme à l'opinion du public'.

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<sup>45</sup> For a discussion of French absolutist ideology, poetics and the politico-literary role of the Académie française, see Thomas DiPiero, *Dangerous Truths and Criminal Passions: The Evolution of the French Novel, 1569-1791* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp. 62-89.

<sup>46</sup> R.C. Knights, *Racine et la Grèce*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Paris: Nizet, 1974), pp. 66-67, quoted in Janet Morgan, 'The Meanings of *Vraisemblance* in French Classical Theory', *The Modern Language Review*, 81 (1986), 293-304, (p.302).

<sup>47</sup> Gérard Genette, 'Vraisemblable et motivation', *Communications*, 11 (1968), 5-21, (p. 5). Further references to this work will appear in the main body of the text. Translations are my own.

<sup>48</sup> For a further example of how *bienséance* was a mechanism to underpin authoritarian social conventions, see Jules de La Mesnardière's normative recommendations of the presentation of gender and social class in imaginative writing, *La Poétique* (Paris: 1639), p. 137.

Cette 'opinion', réelle ou supposé, c'est assez précisément ce que l'on nommerait aujourd'hui une idéologie, c'est-à-dire un corps de maximes et de préjugés qui constitue tout à la fois une vision du monde et un système de valeurs. (p. 6)

[Indeed, plausibility and decorum can be aligned under the same heading, 'that which conforms to public opinion'. This 'opinion', whether real or assumed, is exactly what we would nowadays term an ideology; that is, a body of maxims and received opinions that make up both a vision of the world and a value system.]

As Genette makes clear, plausibility, while claiming to be a transparent operation, is – as we have seen in Osborne's critique of *Parthenissa* - dependent upon normative criteria of behaviour.

The theories of *vraisemblance*, *bienséance* and the ideological expectations implicit within them have particular purchase in heroic romance and therefore its transmission into English fiction when we consider the 'Querelle du Cid' in 1637, a literary controversy that crystallised the debate around neoclassicism and theories of *bienséance*. In Corneille's play *Le Cid*, the hero Rodrigue, kills Chimène's father in a duel after the latter had insulted his own father. The crux of the plot revolves around Chimène's decision whether to marry or punish Rodrigue, who is now a national hero, having beaten the Moors; she loves him, but cannot betray the memory of her father. The impossible dilemma is only resolved by the king's intervention, which allows the two to marry. *Le Cid's* drama of family honour pitted against desire was strongly criticised by contemporaries: *Les Sentimens de l'Academie françoise svr la tragi-comedie dv Cid*, written by Chapelain, held that while Corneille's heroes were historically *vrai*, they were not *vraisemblable* because they did not cohere

with normative behaviour, since it was inconceivable that passion might trump filial duty.<sup>49</sup>

The direct link between the debates over the 'Querelle' and the theoretical underpinning of heroic romance comes in the person of Georges de Scudéry, in whose name his sister Madeleine's works were originally published. Along with Chapelain, he accused *Le Cid* of flouting decency and dramatic unities. In *Observations Sur Le Cid* (1637), Scudéry argued that the play failed the tests of both *vraisemblance* and *bienséance*: 'qu'il est vray que Chimene espousa le Cid, mais qu'il n'est point vray-semblable qu'une fille d'honneur, espouse le meurtrier [sic] de son Pere' [It is [historically] true that Chimène did marry the Cid, but it is not plausible that a virtuous girl would marry her father's killer'.<sup>50</sup> In marrying her father's killer, Chimène also transgresses *bienséance*; her act 'choque les bonnes moeurs' (p. 22) ['shocks propriety']. Scudéry follows Aristotle and Chapelain in arguing that historical truth must be supplanted by the ideal and that the *vrai* be purged for the moral good of the audience; the function of drama is to show the spectators not what has been but what should be. To return to the preface to *Ibrahim*, which was published just four years after the 'Querelle du Cid', we can see that Scudéry explicitly extends the jurisdiction of *vraisemblance* and *bienséance* debate and implicitly, the politically and morally authoritarian remit of the Académie française from theatre to romance.<sup>51</sup> The second chapter of this thesis discussed the preface to

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<sup>49</sup> Jean Chapelain, *Sentimens de l'Academie françoise svr la tragi-comedie dv Cid* (Paris: 1638).

<sup>50</sup> Georges de Scudéry, *Observations sur le Cid* (Paris: 1637), pp.12-13. Further references to this work will be incorporated within the text. Translations are my own.

<sup>51</sup> Madeleine de Scudéry, *Ibrahim or the Illustrious Bassa*, trans. by Henry Cogan (1652). While it has become accepted that Madeleine de Scudéry was the author of the vast body of the fiction that was published under her brother's name, the preface to *Ibrahim*, whose theoretical

*Ibrahim* in the context of using historical settings and the imagined motivations of real characters; we now consider how we might read the plausible and morally disciplined bodies of *Gondibert* and *Parthenissa* as part of a wider reform of the disorders of romance through the application of *vraisemblance* and *bienséance*.

Scudéry's advocacy of order and 'true resemblance' (sig. A3v) is echoed in the exchange between Davenant and Thomas Hobbes in *A Discourse Upon Gondibert* (1650). When the verse romance was published the following year, it not only included the Hobbes-Davenant preface but also a number of dedicatory poems from royalist writers that attacked extravagant fiction. Edmund Waller's verses praise him for choosing to omit 'bold tales of Gods and Monsters' (sig. E2v). Abraham Cowley's prefatory poem deftly utilises a chivalric trope to attack unreformed and ill-disciplined writing, characterising Davenant as a knightly hero vanquishing the 'Gods, Devils, Nymphs, Giant's' from the kingdom of poetry. The fevered brains that conjure up such fantastical bodies are the sources of the 'Zelots Spirit' that the new poetry is also combating (sig. E3r).<sup>52</sup> Unreformed romance, for so many Parliamentarians a royalist genre, is ascribed the same fanciful zealotry as itinerant or seditious Puritan preachers.

The *Discourse Upon Gondibert* presents a theoretical programme for a new writing based on wit and order, which Davenant opposes to 'extemporary fury, or rather inspiration, a dangerous word, which many have of late successfully us'd, and is a spiritual Fit' (sig. B5v). Poetic inspiration, the focus of

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precepts so strongly echo *Observations sur le Cid*, can arguably be assigned to Georges. Page references from the Preface are embedded within the text.

<sup>52</sup> Although Waller and Cowley were supportive of Davenant's arguments in favour of a rational literature, *Gondibert* also spawned some hostile and satirical responses from royalists. See Marcus Nevitt, 'The Insults of Defeat: Royalist Responses to Sir William Davenant's *Gondibert* (1651)', *The Seventeenth Century*, 24 (2009), 287-305.

Davenant's attack, is rooted in the disorder of physical passions, and underlines the importance of the control of the body to a wider programme of reform of imaginative narrative. Furthermore, Davenant argues that 'to make great actions credible is the principall Art of Poets' (sig. A7r). When he reviews his poetic predecessors he examines them almost entirely on the principles of *vraisemblance*, and finds them lacking. Homer 'doth too frequently intermixe such Fables, as are objects lifted above the Eyes of Nature.' (sig. A2v) Virgil imitates Homer in leading the reader on journeys into 'Heaven and Hell, till by conversation with Gods and Ghosts, he sometimes deprives us of those natural probabilities in Story, which are instructive to humane life' (sig. A2v). Tasso's 'Council assembled in Heaven, his Witches Expeditions through the Air, and enchanted Woods inhabited with Ghosts' are unnecessary for the Christian reader who should need little invention; such fables 'make a resemblance of Hell, out of the Dreams of frightened Women' (sig. A4r). Of English writers, Spenser is criticised for his use of allegory, which is 'a continuance of extraordinarie Dreams; such as excellent Poets, and Painters, by being over-studious, may have in the beginning of Feavers' (sig. A4v). While, as Nigel Smith and Steven Zwicker argue, the text can be situated as part of the immediate royalist opposition to inspiration in republican poetics, its concerns over plausibility and order can also be read as conterminous with the debates of the Académie in the 1630s and 1640s.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> For a detailed discussion of *A Discourse's* contribution to Restoration poetics and Davenant's politicised conception of literature, see Steven Zwicker, *Lines of Authority: Politics and English Literary Culture, 1649-1689* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 17-27; see also Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 239-241.

Like Scudéry and Chapelain, Davenant dismisses the fantastical and the marvellous. *Vraisemblance* will be achieved by the operation of wit, as opposed to the workings of the 'Feavers' of over-active imagination. A contention of *A Discourse Upon Gondibert* is that the fantastic is created by the bodily disorder of inspiration, which it is too rooted in chance to be trustworthy. Wit, on the other hand, is deemed a mental process that requires a controlling intelligence that will in turn create cleanly ordered structures; it is not the product of leisure but like the spider's web, of geometric labour:

Wit is the laborious, and the lucky resultances of thought, having towards its excellence (as we say of the strokes of Painting) as well a happinesse, as care. It is a Web consisting of the subtlest threads, and like that of the Spider, is considerably woven out of our selves; for a Spider may be said to consider, not onely respecting his solemnesse and tacite posture (like a grave scout in ambush for his Enemy) but because all things done, are either from consideration or chance; and the works of chance are accomplishments of an instant, having commonly a dissimilitude; but hers are the works of time, and have their contextures alike. (sig. B3r.)

In its privileging of textual order and the disciplining of bodily inspiration, this rational aesthetic has clear parallels with what Scudéry prescribes for romance and the ordered aesthetic of French neoclassicism.<sup>54</sup> In particular, Davenant's suspicion of chance can encompass not only the process of composition, but also the plot.

The preface to *Ibrahim* argues that shipwrecks have allowed irrational chance to play too dominant a role in romance narrative. 'I have not caused so

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<sup>54</sup> Traces of the Académie française's model of instrumentalist poetics can be seen three years later in *A Proposition for Advancement of Morality* (1654), Wing P3774. Davenant was identified as the author by James R. Jacob and Timothy Raylor in 'Opera and Obedience: Thomas Hobbes and *A Proposition for Advancement of Morality* by Sir William Davenant', *The Seventeenth Century*, 6 (1991), 205-50.

many Shipwrackes, as there are in some antient Romanzes', says Scudéry, adding: 'I have made use of it but moderately, for to conserve true resembling' (sig. A4r). Heroes' travels in Heliodoran romances were largely driven by storms at sea, and Renaissance texts – notably *Arcadia* – also adopted the shipwreck as randomising agent.<sup>55</sup> To minimise shipwrecks within romance has immediate implications for plot composition, since they propel the narrative through periodic geographic rupture. If the shipwreck is *invraisemblant*, then a substitute plot device is required. As we have discussed, the wound is central to the plotting of *Gondibert* because it maps the journey from glory to enlightenment by displacing the hero spatially, when the injured Gondibert is moved from battlefield to the enclosed place of Astragon's palace where he encounters love. The wound thereby functions as a plausible replacement for shipwreck while at the same time banishing the workings of contingency.

Like *Gondibert*, and in line with Scudéry's strictures, *Parthenissa* contains no shipwrecks. Even the threat of one is swiftly dismissed. When Perolla is sailing back to Italy to find Izadora after he has fought with Rome against Carthage at the battle of Zama, a storm begins:

[...] a furious Northern wind began to whistle so hollow, and so loud, that though it rais'd a storm of it self, yet we knew it was but the fore-runner of a greater, which soon follow'd, with such extremity, that the Mariners, and Slaves, were as much troubled as the Sea (p. 213)

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<sup>55</sup> See Steve Mentz, *Romance for Sale in Early Modern England: The Rise of Prose Fiction* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 6.

The ship is in danger of being blown off course towards Tunis but Perolla threatens the captain with death if he does not take a stand against the elements:

I ran to him, and presenting my Sword to his Breat. I vow'd by many horrid Oaths, that if he did not change his Course, whatever became of the Gally, he should immediately receive his Fate. (p. 213)

The storm is exacerbated by an eclipse of the moon, 'which those Superstitious ignorant Souls, attributed to a divine forewarning of their wrack, and not to a natural Cause' (p. 213). However, Perolla reveals that he has made a study of astronomy and thus has been forewarned of the eclipse, and assures his shipmates that it will be over in three hours. Disorder is momentary and given a defined duration. In the explicit avoidance of a shipwreck Broghill creates a romance micro-narrative that shows that chance and the elements can be mastered: Perolla becomes a man of science and rational author of his fate who literally overpowers the physical digression of the ship and hence quashes any potential narrative digression that will separate the lovers once more. In subjecting the trope of shipwreck to scrutiny, *Parthenissa* once more follows Scudarian precepts of plot *vraisemblance*.

Parthenissa's espousal of ordered narrative follows the preface to *Ibrahim* in its call for integrated plotting that privileges one teleological storyline, 'that by this ingenious concatenation, all the parts of them should make but one body' (sig. A3v.) Such an appeal for unity of action follows the Aristotelian precept of the three unities imposed by the Académie on French drama, and directly echoes a key argument in *Observations sur Le Cid*: 'La

Tragedie, composée selon les regles de l'Art, ne doit auoir qu'une action principale, à laquelle tendent, & viennent aboutir toutes les autres'. ('Tragedy composed according to the rules of art should have only one principal action to which all the others relate and return.') <sup>56</sup> While unity of action is relatively easily accomplished in narrative terms, the unities of time and place present fundamental challenges to the organisation of temporality within prose fiction. Romance is perennially regarded as a genre of supreme flexibility with no formal temporal structure. Northrop Frye categorises its narrative technique simply as one that laterally 'moves from one discontinuous episode to another'.<sup>57</sup> As Mikhail Bakhtin observed, Greek novels such as *Aethiopika* by Heliodorus, *Leucippe and Clitophon* by Tatius or *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus, are habitually governed by journeys across a variety of undefined spaces over the course of an undefined period – what Bakhtin terms 'adventure-time', where incidents are 'strung together in an extratemporal and in effect infinite series' that are controlled by chance.<sup>58</sup> Romance therefore poses a considerable challenge for advocates of neoclassical order.

Scudarian romance seeks to tame what Bakhtin terms the contingent through an ordered plot. Scudéry's starting point is the formal adoption of the epic technique of *in medias res*. Great writers, insists Scudéry,

begin their History in the middle, so to give some suspence to the Reader, even from the first opening of the book; and to confine themselves within reasonable bounds they have made the History

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<sup>56</sup> Scudéry, *Observations sur Le Cid*, p. 8. Translation my own.

<sup>57</sup> Northrop Frye, *The Secular Scripture: A Study in the Structure of Romance* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 47.

<sup>58</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin, 'Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel', in *The Dialogic Imagination*, trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 84-258 (p. 94). Further references are incorporated within the text.

(as I likewise have done after them) not to last above a year, the rest being delivered by narration. (sig. A3v.)

By centering the act of narration at a specific place and time, romance digressions can be disciplined into a series of intercalated *récits* that are plausibly delivered by characters in one place over a closed time period or by different characters within embedded narratives. The reader is made conscious of the text's management of temporalities; the present, from which the story is narrated *in medias res*, and the past, which is being narrated.

These precepts for an ordered romance are closely followed by *Parthenissa*, whose formal experimentation establishes an intricate balance of embedded tales that allows different temporalities and narratives to coexist. Scudéry's declaration in the preface to *Ibrahim* that the rest of the action should be 'delivered by narration' (sig. A3v) locates romance not as a narrative of events but as an overtly diegetic form, a narrative of narratives. Broghill appears to have followed Scudéry's structural recommendations. For example, in recounting the tale of Artabanes's escape from Parthia before he assumes the identity of Spartacus, Symander tells his listener Callimachus:

because I have so many essential things to relate, I will not load your patience by repeating all those accidents which happen'd in our crossing of Syria, and Mesopotamia, nor till our coming to Antioch.<sup>59</sup>

In similar vein, the Roman heroine Izadora tells Spartacus in book five that she will streamline her tale:

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<sup>59</sup> *Parthenissa*, p. 81.

But Sir (said Izadora, speaking to Spartacus) perhaps I make the relation only of these accidents as tedious and troublesom to you, as they themselves were to us: but I will repair that fault, by contracting the sequel of our Adventures. (p. 145)

*Parthenissa's* various narrators are consistently aware of their own editing decisions and present their tale as an already ordered narrative.

We discussed earlier how its three major narrative strands of the Parthian Artabanus, the Armenian Artavasdes and the Roman Perolla are densely interwoven and how they replicate episodes of pain and bleeding on the part of the heroes. These episodes are organised through temporal and spatial balance, its three levels of narrative being best described as following Genette's typology of narrative discourse: extradiegetic, diegetic and metadiegetic.<sup>60</sup> The extradiegetic level is set at the temple of Hierapolis, *in medias res*, where Artabanus reveals his tale to the priest Callimachus. The second-level diegetic narrative is the story of Artabanus/Spartacus. Within the second-level narrative are two third-level metadiegetic narratives that are recounted by second-level characters Artavasdes, Izadora and Perolla. Such narrative organisation is rare in English fiction of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; we might conclude that *Parthenissa* derives this narrative balance not from any English romance predecessors but from a close theoretical affinity with the neoclassical thinking on the three unities that is on display in Scudéry's preface.

In both *Gondibert* and *Parthenissa* the wound underlines the structure of the plot. Gondibert's changing understanding of blood from glorious scar to liquid vulnerability animates his retreat from the court to the contemplative

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<sup>60</sup> Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1980), pp. 227-234.

surroundings of Astragon's palace, while in *Parthenissa* the identical experiences of the heroes reinforce the romance's structural balance of three interwoven narratives in which Artabanes recounts his wounding and is the auditor of the two other heroes' traumas. As well as being a tool that is wielded against fantastic narratives of superhuman heroics, the wounded body in *Gondibert* and *Parthenissa* is therefore a tool to call the reader's attention to a renewed form of romance based on precepts of order in narrative.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter began by asking how the hero's body functions in interregnum romances and has discussed by reference to medical theories how the physical wound can be seen as a mechanism of aesthetic and moral control. This has opened out into a wider consideration of romance plotting. While romance is conventionally characterised as an genre of errancy and disorder, a study of the male body and its related discourses of violence and eroticism in *Gondibert* and *Parthenissa* has revealed a movement towards the imposition of discipline in the form of narrative structure, in the banishment of the fantastic and in the regulation of desire. In their renovation of chivalric romance, *Gondibert* and *Parthenissa* present a new form of aristocratic masculinity that derives its authority from the decorum and order within the wounded body.

Within the critical canon of interregnum romance *Gondibert* and *Parthenissa* have not been read together, despite their publication in the same year. Grouping them together has unearthed a common vein of thinking around regulating the violence and desire of the male body and a preoccupation with *vraisemblance* and *bienséance* that suggest a creative engagement with the

French literary debates of the 1630s and 1640s, a link that has been hitherto unexplored despite Georges de Scudéry's prominence within the Académie.

A consideration of *Parthenissa* and *Gondibert* together may also reposition interregnum romance's relationship with French culture. Where critics have seen the wave of translations of Scudéry and La Calprenède after 1652 marketed by Humphrey Moseley as a key moment in the transformation of romance publishing, English writers in 1651 were already directly responding to a distinct conceptual framework on offer from the French that allowed them to refashion the genre.

The discussion of the imposition of moral order upon romance takes us to our final chapter, a case study of the Boyle brothers' reinvention of romance as a vehicle for Christian conversion.

## Chapter Five: Virtue

This chapter asks how Christian writers might parlay romance into an agent of virtue when the pleasures of the genre were under attack from the godly. Virtue is a key topic in discussions of early modern fiction, embracing – to take just four examples – Blair Worden’s exploration of public good in Sidney’s *Arcadia*, Helen Hackett’s discussion of gendered virtue in English Renaissance romance, Amelia Zurcher’s analysis of ethics in seventeenth-century fiction and Michael McKeon’s articulation of how the novel departs from the aristocratic ideology in which virtue is tied to birth.<sup>1</sup> This chapter differs from the studies above, which largely examine romance as a secular genre, and discusses virtue with reference not just to its representation in romance plotting but also takes account of how Christian writers might deal with the problem of romance pleasure.

This approach of this chapter differs from the previous four in that it takes the form of a case study. It investigates the ways in which Roger, Lord Broghill and his younger brother Robert Boyle experimented with romance as a Christian venture and actively engaged with the presentation of virtue and the issue of pleasurable reading in their writings of 1648-9.<sup>2</sup> The Boyles yield a

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<sup>1</sup> Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996); Helen Hackett, *Women and Romance Fiction in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Amelia Zurcher, *Seventeenth-Century Romance: Allegory, Ethics and Politics* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel 1600-1740* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).

<sup>2</sup> The most important discussions of Boyle’s early romance reading and writing are Michael Hunter, *Scrupulosity and Science* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), Lawrence M. Principe,

rare archive of manuscript and print production that allow us to address the question of romance virtue within the context of the writings of a religious family.

Over the rainy summer of 1648, Robert was staying at the household of his newly-evangelised sister Mary, where he wrote the manuscript 'Amorous Controversies'.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, Broghill had broken off his military activities in Ireland and retired to his country home in England over the latter half of 1648 and 1649, where he began to write *Parthenissa*. According to Patrick Little, Broghill's biographer, Robert and his sister Lady Ranelagh may have been working as intermediaries with Cromwell to recruit Roger for the parliamentary forces in Ireland; certainly, Robert stayed with his older brother in the summer of 1649 for nearly a month.<sup>4</sup> In that period Robert wrote his romance 'The Martyrdom of Theodora' and by late 1649 Roger had returned to military action in Ireland and had produced a first draft of *Parthenissa*. In a letter to him dated 20 December, Robert praised his brother's work, comparing Broghill's military feats with his prowess as a writer:

I am not a little satisfied to find, that since you were reduced to leave your *Parthenissa*, your successes have so happily emulated

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'Style and Thought of the Early Boyle: Discovery of the 1648 Manuscript of Seraphic Love', *Isis*, 85 (1994), 247-60 and 'Virtuous Romance and Romantic Virtuoso: The Shaping of Robert Boyle's Literary Style', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 56 (1995), 377-397.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Boyle, 'Amorous Controversies' (British Library, Sloane MS 72), ff. 233r-258v. Further references are incorporated in the text. Boyle's reminiscences of the 'prodigiously Wet' summer of 1648 also appear in his collection, *Occasional Reflections* (1665), in *The Works of Robert Boyle*, ed. by Michael Hunter and Edward B. Davis, 14 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2000), V, pp. 86-7.

<sup>4</sup> *The Correspondence of Robert Boyle*, ed. by Michael Hunter, Antonio Clericuzio and Lawrence Principe, 6 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, six volumes, 2001), I, 80, quoted in Patrick Little, *Lord Broghill and the Cromwellian Union with Ireland and Scotland* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), p. 59.

or continued the story of Artabanus, and that you have now given romances as well credit as reputation.<sup>5</sup>

The drafts of 'Amorous Controversies', 'The Martyrdom of Theodora' and *Parthenissa* multiplied into texts that were circulated and printed in the 1650s and after. Parts of *Parthenissa* were copied out by Robert in his journal while Broghill republished the first volume in 1654 and further instalments in 1655, 1656 and 1669. Boyle expanded 'Amorous Controversies' into *Some Motives and Incentives to the Love of God (Seraphic Love)*, published in 1659, which ran to nine editions in Boyle's own lifetime. 'The Martyrdom of Theodora' was redrafted into *The Martyrdom of Theodora and Didymus*, published in 1687; and elements of Boyle's writings from 1648-9 resurfaced in his *Occasional Reflections* (1665).<sup>6</sup>

Roger and Robert's works have not hitherto been read together, despite the suggestions in Robert's published work of their creative relationship. In her study of seventeenth-century fiction, Amelia Zurcher states that Robert Boyle disapproved of his brother's romance, citing a 1649 letter in which Robert calls Broghill's military achievements 'much the difficulter conquest, and mor the usefuller' than *Parthenissa*.<sup>7</sup> However, such an assertion is difficult to maintain

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<sup>5</sup> Boyle, 'Letter to Lord Broghill dated 20<sup>th</sup> December 1649, from London', in *The Works of The Honourable Robert Boyle in Six Volumes*, ed. by Thomas Birch (London: 1771), VI, pp. 50-1.

<sup>6</sup> Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, *Parthenissa*, (Waterford, 1651), Wing O488. The 1651 publication has no location on its title page but has been identified as a private printing in Waterford, when Broghill was back in Ireland. See C. William Miller, 'A Bibliographical Study of "Parthenissa" by Roger Boyle Earl of Orrery', *Studies in Bibliography*, 2 (1949/50), 115-137. Quotations are taken from the collected volumes, *Parthenissa, that most fam'd romance* (1676), Wing O490 and are embedded within the body of the text. Robert Boyle, 'Amorous Controversies' (British Library, Sloane MS 72, ff. 233r-258v); *Some Motives and Incentives to the Love of God ('Seraphic Love')* (1659), in *The Works of Robert Boyle I*, pp. 51-134; 'The Martyrdom of Theodora' (1649) in *The Works of Robert Boyle*, XIII, pp. 3-41; *The Martyrdom of Theodora and Didymus* (1687), in *The Works of Robert Boyle*, XI, pp. 3-78.

<sup>7</sup> Boyle, *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle in Six Volumes*, ed. by Thomas Birch, 6.50, cited in Zurcher, p. 140, n.61. See also John Harwood's conclusion of Boyle's 'forceful rejection of

in the light of Robert's public pronouncements. Boyle's short treatise on Biblical rhetoric, *Some Considerations Touching the Style of The Holy Scriptures* (1661), is dedicated to his newly ennobled brother, and shows considerable deference to him as a prose stylist: 'such Readers, as having perus'd your Writings, shall cast their Eyes on mine, will I fear think it a bold Presumption in me to addressse Discourses concerning a Style to a Person so much and so justly applauded for His'.<sup>8</sup> Broghill's heroic romance is specifically referred to as a model to attract readers to more devotional works:

And certainly, your Pen having no Lesse serv'd your Fame, than either your Sword, or your Employments (how high soever;) it could not but bring the Scripture more than a Few of the most Witty and Illustrious Votaries, if that Eloquence were Employ'd to Enamor them of that Divine Book, that hath made them so generally in Love with your Celebrated Parthenissa (pp. 383-4)

The preface of *Some Considerations* suggests not only that Boyle approved of his brother's fiction, but also that Broghill is partly the basis of the character of Theophilus, the interlocutor in his related epistolary texts 'Amorous Controversies' and *Seraphic Love*. Boyle speaks of his brother's 'Resemblance in many particulars to Theophilus' (p. 382). A later remark by Robert further suggests that his contemporaries also bracketed the brothers as moral romancers. His foreword to the printed edition of *The Martyrdom of Theodora and Didymus* makes clear that the original 1649 manuscript had been widely circulated: 'it was lucky enough to be, by some indulgent Readers, attributed to

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the genre', in *The Early Essays and Ethics of Robert Boyle* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), liii, cited and contested by Principe in 'Virtuous Romance and Romantic Virtuoso: The Shaping of Robert Boyle's Literary Style'.

<sup>8</sup> Boyle, *Some Considerations Touching the Style of the Holy Scriptures* (1661), in *The Works of Robert Boyle*, II, p. 381. Further page references are given in the text.

One, and by some to Another, of the two Persons, that were at that time counted the best writers of disguis'd Histories'.<sup>9</sup> Robert's pleasure that his writing had been plausibly mistaken for his brother Broghill's is plain.

The chapter is structured chronologically, beginning first with the siblings' familial context and their literary consumption, before discussing the Boyles' texts in order of their composition.

### Religion and romance in the Boyle family

In assessing the brothers' creative project, an understanding of their familial background, religious upbringing and consumption of romances in the 1630s and 1640s is crucial. Roger was born in 1621 in Ireland, the third son of Richard Boyle, the Earl of Cork, and Catherine Fenton. Robert, the seventh son, was born six years later. The Earl of Cork was keen to foster Protestant fervour among his fourteen children. Patrick Little, Broghill's political biographer, notes that 'religious conviction [...] was the focus of [the Earl of Cork's] character' and that the Boyle household routine in the 1630s would include prayers twice a day, Sunday sermons and extended periods of reading religious texts.<sup>10</sup> When Broghill and his brother Robert were sent on tours of the Continent, the Earl ensured that they spent prolonged periods in Calvinist enclaves. Indeed, Broghill's tour of the Continent from 1636 to 1639 with his brother Lord Kinalmeaky was a firmly Protestant one. His tutor Isaac Marcombes was chosen not just for his pedagogical credentials but his piety, and following a short stay

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<sup>9</sup> *The Works of Robert Boyle*, XI, p.7. The second writer is identified by Boyle's editors as Sir Henry North, author of the manuscript romance *Eroclea or the Mayd of Honour* (British Library, Add. MS 32500). See *The Works of Robert Boyle*, XIII, p. xxi.

<sup>10</sup> Little, p. 12.

in Paris the brothers lodged in Geneva for a year at the house of Marcombes' uncle by marriage, the Protestant theologian Jean Diodati. In September 1637 they travelled to Zurich and for most of 1638 stayed in the Huguenot town of Saumur, moving to Paris in November before returning to London in March 1639.<sup>11</sup> Throughout this time, the Earl of Cork regularly exhorted his sons to study and to serve God while they were on the Continent, and to enrich their 'knowledge and understanding' so that the boys would be equipped to 'be an ornament and pillar in this commonwealth'.<sup>12</sup> For the godly, fiction was suspect; firstly, because of the disruptive connotations of leisure, idleness and pleasure, and secondly because of its narrative practices and emphasis on the fantastic, which could inflame the imagination.

The same year that Broghill returned to Britain, Robert Boyle left for the Continent under the tutelage of Marcombes, having already spent three years at Eton from the age of eight.<sup>13</sup> Despite the rigorous educational programme that was laid out for him, as a young adolescent Boyle had already immersed himself in romance reading. References to romance pepper his third-person manuscript memoir 'An Account of Philaretus during his Minority', which was written at the age of twenty-one in 1648.<sup>14</sup> He recalls of these travels abroad that he stayed in Geneva for nearly two years before visiting Florence and Genoa, where his recreation was 'above all the Reading of Romances' (p. 31). Unlike Broghill, he

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<sup>11</sup> Kathleen M. Lynch, *Roger Boyle, First Earl of Orrery*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1965), pp. 13-20.

<sup>12</sup> Cork to Kinalmeaky and Broghill, 6 Jan. 1637 (Chatsworth, Cork Letter Book 2, ff.142-3), quoted in Nicholas Canny, *The Upstart Earl: A study in the social and mental world of Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork 1566-1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 104.

<sup>13</sup> Michael Hunter, 'Boyle, Robert (1627-1691)', *ODNB*.

<sup>14</sup> Robert Boyle, 'An Account of Philaretus during his Minority' in *The Life of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, ed. by R. E.W. Maddison, (London: Taylor & Francis, 1969). Page references will be given in the text.

spent relatively little time in France, simply travelling through it on the way to Switzerland and Italy. Nevertheless, in his memoir he could not resist singling out the Forez region, the setting for the best-selling romance *Astrea*:

a part of the French Arcadia, the pleasant Pays de Forest; where the Maquis d'Urfé was pleas'd to lay the Scene of the Adventures & Amours of that Astrea, with whom so many Gallants are still in love so long after both his & her Decease (p. 28)

As this chapter will elaborate, *Astrea* would become one of the models upon which Robert based his Christian romances. While the reference to *Astrea* points to one of Robert's major literary influences, a further reference in his memoir underlines why romance might become incorporated into a moral project. At around the age of eleven, Robert's memoir recounts, he had fallen ill at his brother Lord Dungarvan's house and was prescribed romances to 'divert his Melancholy'. He recalls that his siblings:

made him read the stale Adventures Amadis de Gaule; & other Fabulous & wandring Storys; which much more preiudic'd him by unsettling his Thought, then they could have advantag'd him; had they effected his Recovery [...] (p. 17)

Unfortunately, the reading cure produced in Robert 'a restlesse Fancy' that 'accustom'd his Thoughts to such a Habitude of Raving, that he has scarce ever been their quiet Master since' (p. 17). This short passage, which acknowledges the disordering effects of romance-reading on the material subject, is cognate with wider thinking in the early modern era about the porosity of the relationship between reader and the book, which springs partly from the Galenic worldview of emotions embedded in the body.<sup>15</sup> Robert's linkage of

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<sup>15</sup> For a detailed discussion of reading, the material body and self-government, see Katharine A. Craik, *Reading Sensations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007). See also Gail

romance-reading with physical raving therefore also coheres with the disciplinary project undertaken by his brother, explored in the last chapter, to privilege moral and physical regulation within romance narrative.

Because of the connections between disorder and pleasurable reading, romances were seen in the Boyle family as a proxy for filial disobedience, a theme, as we will see, that recurs in Roger's writing. Cork continued to have such anxieties over his sons' reading that Broghill wrote to his father to assure him that at Saumur he had merely read romances 'to passe a few laesy houres' and to improve his French but that following his father's command, he has abandoned all 'Pamphlets Playbooks Commical and Tragedicall'.<sup>16</sup> As Broghill's biographer Kathleen Lynch observes with some understatement, 'it must be suspected that Roger watered down the version of his lazy hours at Saumur to soften parental strictures.' Certainly, Saumur students did not always spend their time in strict study; according to the Saumur municipal archives, in 1646 the students staged *Les Visionnaires*, a popular 1637 comedy of pastoral love entanglements by Jean Desmarets Saint Sorlain.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, while Broghill had access in Saumur to the library of the Huguenot thinker Philippe du Plessis Mornay, in the preface to the 1655 republication of the first volume of *Parthenissa* Broghill admitted that reading romances in the original French had formed the most influential part of his education abroad:

[...] makeing some Residence in France, I assotiated my selfe with Persons of my owne Age, where I soone found, that he who was

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Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993).

<sup>16</sup> Lismore, MSS 19, f.76, Public Record Office, Dublin; quoted in Lynch, p. 20.

<sup>17</sup> See Jean-Paul Pittion, 'Le rayonnement de Saumur, 1660-1671', 3. <http://archives.ville-saumur.fr/a/752/consulter-l-histoire-de-l-academie-par-jean-paul-pittion/>

Ignorant of the Romances of those Times, was as fitt an Object for Wonder, as a Phylosopher would be, who had never heard of Aristotle, or a Methematician of Euclyd.<sup>18</sup>

In both Broghill's and Boyle's accounts romance is retrospectively assigned a privileged position as agent of education, as if they are continuing to justify the pleasure of romance within a familial context. Robert's memoir reveals that the 'raving' produced by romances led to his finding a refuge in the abstract world of mathematics: 'Amongst all which the most effectuall Way he found to be, the Extractions of the Square & Cubits Rootes, & specially those more laborious Operations of Algebra.' (p. 17). He also excuses the reading of French fiction for the grounds of linguistic study. Consuming romances abroad 'did not only extreamely divert him; but (assisted by a Totall Discontinuance of the English tongue) in a short time taught him a Skill in French somewhat vunutall to Strangers' (p. 31). Meanwhile, for Broghill, reading romances allowed him to master history:

In the Perusall of those Bookes, I mett with the names, & some of the Actions, of those Hero's, whome I had heard off, in the Scoole; This gave me a passionate desire to seperate the Truth from the Fixion, in the effecting whereof, I became as much a Freind to readeing, as I had bin an Enemy to it.<sup>19</sup>

As we see, both brothers rhetorically shift the act of filially disobedient reading out of idleness and into a wider category of education, with its humanist corollary of moral formation. Both claim that romance helped fashion them into productive individuals, Broghill into a writer of fictionalised history and Robert

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<sup>18</sup> Preface to *Parthenissa, A Romance In Four Parts*, Part One, sig. A2 (1655). This preface is omitted from the 1676 collected volume.

<sup>19</sup> Preface to *Parthenissa* (1655), sig. A1v.

Boyle into a linguist and a scientist. The brothers retrospectively justify the idleness and pleasure of romance reading in terms that would have been familiar to humanist pedagogues. It tells us that for both men, reading transforms the subject.

Robert's frequent mentions of his literary consumption in his memoir and Broghill's references to French romance indicate an intense self-consciousness of how personal reading affects subsequent literary production. Robert's 1647 notebook shows that he was an avid reader of Continental fiction; it includes almost thirty pages of extracts copied out from French romances, primarily La Calprenède's *Cassandra*, published in France between 1642 and 1645.<sup>20</sup> Broghill's description in the foreword the 1655 volume of *Parthenissa* of his reading in France alludes to the way that the heroic romances of La Calprenède and Scudéry habitually remade the stories of the heroes of the eastern reaches of the Roman and Persian empires, such as Cyrus in Scudéry's *Artamenes* and Alexander the Great, Statira and Artaxerxes in La Calprenède's *Cassandra*.

Yet while Broghill's foreword positions French heroic fiction as a major influence on *Parthenissa*, such an account is an authorial conflation. La Calprenède and Scudéry's romances were not written at the time of his travels abroad. Their earliest publications were at the beginning of the following decade; the first volume of Scudéry's *Ibrahim* appeared in France in 1641 and La Calprenède's *Cassandra* in 1642. So in seeking to understand fully the brothers' creative project, this chapter looks both earlier and wider than the

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<sup>20</sup> Robert Boyle, 'Diurnall Observations, Thoughts & Collections. Begun at Stalbridge April 25<sup>th</sup> (1647), (Royal Society, BP 44, fols. 94-107).

grand historical romances that were beginning to be published in France during the 1640s, important as they were. We can therefore consider the brothers' work in the context of moral epistles, Christian epic, *histoires tragiques* and in particular French theatre of the 1630s, whose emphasis on *bienséance* (which was discussed in the previous chapter), helped shape the brothers' literary production and moral project.

A factor as significant as literary reading is, of course, the Boyle family's devout faith, which does not appear to engage with Laudian-Calvinist conflicts prior to the Civil War. The oldest brother Richard adhered to Anglican liturgy, while their sister Katherine was inclined towards Presbyterianism; Robert conformed to the Church of England upon the Restoration, but evinced tolerance towards both Catholics and Protestant 'enthusiasts'. Roger, meanwhile, whose Protestant piety was entwined with a ferociously anti-Catholic political policy, has been characterised by his political biographer as a low-church Episcopalian.<sup>21</sup> Their religious outlook is, then, aligned to the Church of Ireland which, argues Patrick Little, incorporated both Calvinism and Episcopacy, but also reflects the irenicist Protestantism of the Huguenots at Saumur, whose leaders Philippe Du Plessis Mornay and Moïse Amyraut had advocated union between the Protestant churches. We may therefore read the Boyle brothers' output as responding to Christian writing from a variety of traditions. We now move to an analysis of the siblings' interaction in 1648 and 1649, which yields a matrix of creative production and religious fervour among the Boyle siblings.

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<sup>21</sup> See Toby Barnard, 'Boyle, Richard, first earl of Burlington and second earl of Cork (1612-1698)', *ODNB*; Sarah Hutton, Jones [née Boyle], Katherine, Viscountess Ranelagh (1615-1691), *ODNB*; Michael Hunter, 'Boyle, Robert (1627-1691)', *ODNB*. For a detailed discussion of Broghill's faith position including the context of Saumur, see Little, pp. 221-235.

### 'Amorous Controversies' and *Parthenissa*

We now consider the representation of virtue in 'Amorous Controversies', the earliest of the texts under discussion, and how it makes use of Robert's youthful reading. Over the wet summer of 1648, Robert was staying at the household of his newly-evangelised sister Mary, where he wrote 'Amorous Controversies', the postscript to which plays on the association of idleness and romance reading.<sup>22</sup> The 'strange unseasonableness of the weather', Boyle recounts, confined

our Ladyes to mine, by an Imprisonment of all other companie, and this has kept me soe incessantly employ'd either in waiteing on those abroad, or readeing them at home, that I coulde here present you but an accompt of those few Minuts I stole from the serious Idlenes, of readeing playes & Romances to their Theames [...]<sup>23</sup>

The manuscript, which was discovered only in 1991, finds the narrator Theophilus counselling his friend, who is disappointed in love after his rejection by Hermione. The nominative choices instantly intertwine exemplary writing and romance fiction. Theophilus was a character in Pierre du Moulin's 1609 work *Théophile ou de l'amour divin*, a text that belonged to the flourishing genre of the Senecan moral letter and one to which Robert later refers to in the 'Advertisements to the reader' in *Seraphic Love*, his 1659 print reworking of 'Amorous Controversies'.<sup>24</sup> At the same time, romance is deliberately inscribed

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<sup>22</sup> Mary Rich's conversion is dated 1647 following the illness of her son Charles. See Sarah H. Mendelson, 'Rich [née Boyle], Mary, countess of Warwick (1624-1678)', *ODNB*.

<sup>23</sup> 'Amorous Controversies', f. 258v. Further page references are incorporated in the text.

<sup>24</sup> Pierre du Moulin, *Théophile, ou de l'amour divin* (La Rochelle: 1609); *Theophilus, or Loue diuine* trans. by Richard Goring (London: 1610), STC 7339; 'Advertisements to the Reader',

into this admonitory manuscript; as Lawrence Principe notes, the name of the disappointed lover who is counselled by Theophilus is amended in Boyle's hand from Pamphilus to Lindamor (f. 235r). It was, perhaps, a sage calculation; Lindamor is the name of a particularly upright romance hero whose tale forms a significant pre-story to the beginning of the first volume of *Astrea*.<sup>25</sup> In D'Urfé's romance we learn via flashback that the virtuous Lindamor has slowly fallen in love with the haughty Galathea, who is already loved by Polemas. Polemas spreads a rumour that Lindamor has spoken of his love for Galathea, a breach of decorum that could expose Galathea to shame. To avenge his own honour, Lindamor, who has been absent from the court for some time, reappears as a masked knight and demands a duel with his rival. The two fight and Polemas is defeated. Lindamor presses his suit but Polemas schemes in league with the magician Climantes who tells the superstitious Galathea she will meet her future husband on the banks of the river Lignon. Before Polemas can get to the riverbank, Galathea sees Celadon in the water and falls in love with him, which marks the beginning of the romance proper. Polemas's intrigue is foiled, but neither he nor his rival Lindamor is successful. In implanting the names of Lindamor from *Astrea* and Theophilus from Pierre du Moulin's work, Boyle stages a dialogue between the moral letter and romance and immediately highlights the hybridity of his project.

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*Seraphic Love*, p. 58. The moral epistle was attractive to secular writers too: see Honoré d'Urfé, *Epîtres Morales* (Lyon: 1598) The digressive technique of drawing out abstract or moral lessons from minor incidents is on show in Boyle's *Occasional Reflections* (1665), a considerable part of which was also composed in the late 1640s.

<sup>25</sup> Honoré d'Urfé, *Astrea a romance* trans. by John Davies (1657), Wing U132, pp.131-153.

The conceit at work in 'Amorous Controversies', then, is that Lindamor, the disappointed lover, receives consolation from Theophilus, who gives him the opportunity to open himself up to the divine:

The Taske of my last letter, was to unhood your soule; I shall make it the Businesse of this, to show her Game to fly att; I see that Love in Lindamor, is too noble and too predominant a passion to be either possible or fit to be Destroy'd. It will be now therefore my Desseine not to supresse your Love but to Adresse it. I would not have your Master Passion, like vulgar men, taste Death, the Comon fate; but meete a Destiny resembling that of Enocke & Elias, who after their Converse on Earth was endeth, Dy'd not, but were Translated into heaven. (f. 234r.)

'Amorous Controversies' becomes a continuation of *Astrea*, and uses romance for a higher purpose, aiming to convert both Lindamor and the imagined reader to the love of God.

The frontispiece of 'Amorous Controversies' presents the manuscript itself as the last of seven letters, initially redolent of the 'Table of Histories' in the paratext of the 1620 translation of *Astrea*, which indexes thirty-nine letters written by characters in the romance, nine of them to or from Lindamor.<sup>26</sup> Each gives detail on the putative subjects of each of the imagined prior letters. The first putative letter in the series is concerned with the 'directions in the prosecution of his Love, followed by the 'Art of Making Love according to the received Principles & practice'. In the third letter the author 'perswades his Friend to become a votary to Platonicke love; of which he writes the nature & apology'. The fourth letter, titled 'He perswades his Friend to inconcerndnesse and inconstancy in Love' playfully adopts the persona of Hylas, the tame

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<sup>26</sup> Honoré d'Urfé, *The History of Astrea the first part* (1620), STC 24525, sig. A4r-v.

libertine of D'Urfé's romance in 'Jeering the received Formes of making Love'. The last three letters concern themselves variously with cures for passion. The fifth in the series relates 'the Recoverie of a Lover by his Mistresses Disdaine', while the sixth presents the 'Potentest Cure of Love' (f. 234r). They lead up to the seventh, which forms the body of the manuscript, and in which the author reveals a moral and emotional solution for his pining friend: love for God. In incorporating all these elements of love debates, 'Amorous Controversies' effects a conscious transformation of salon conversation into the Christian moral letter.

'Amorous Controversies' therefore relies heavily on the paratext quoted above to do much of its romance work, staging the narrative of the disappointed lover through his epistolary conversations with his friends. At the beginning of the narrative, the strategy of the switch of love object is established early on. Theophilus insists to Lindamor 'your [...] passion for Hermione will hugely facilitate your Devotion' (f. 237v). The text thereafter is largely a condensed rhapsody on the God's love, which is contrasted with unsatisfactory mortal passion:

you that so highly value the opportunityes of Conversing with your Mistresse for some few Moments; shall here finde your priviledges improve'd to a permission (nay an Invitation) of entertaining the object of your Love att all times (f. 250r.)

Theophilus here contrasts the earthly joys of erotic love with the eternal rapture of knowing God. It is a devotional project that is re-emphasised in *Seraphic Love*, reworked from the 'Amorous Controversies' manuscript into print publication a decade later.

*Seraphic Love's* romance moorings are made clear in the foreword, in which the reader is encouraged to consume the text of part of a wider implied narrative project. Robert explains that the published letter is:

the Last of Divers; wherein Love in general was Confessed, Justifi'd, and Celebrated; wherein the received way of Making Love was Explicated, Defended, and Opposed; wherein Constancy and Inconstancy in Love were argued For and Against, wherein Platonick Love was Explicated, Celebrated, and wherein the Cure of Love was proposed and Prosecuted. (p. 57)

Robert's taxonomy covers different elements of romance in the style of the love debate that was so prominent in *Astrea*, from the art of courting to advocacy of platonic love.

The reader is regularly reminded of its continuation of *Astrea* by the repeated addresses to Lindamor studied throughout the text and the conscious references to romance reading. The pleasure of fiction, Theophilus says, cannot be denied, but the self-dramatisation of lovers who mimic the passions they read is excessive. Theophilus asks Lindamor to compare the joys of the love of the divine with the 'Disquiets and the Torments, that are wont to attend sensuall Love', and adds sardonically: 'I shall not lose time to enumerate, how many it is supposed to have sent to their Graves: because, though I find those Tragical stories rife enough in Romances, yet I find them rarities every where but in those Fabulous composures'. (p. 80). The narrator continues that although the pangs of erotic love

be in Romances so dexterously and delightfully describ'd, that not onely Sanguine Readers are transported, but even I my self have been surpris'd into Incinations to admire and envie their Felicity (p. 80)

The 'regrets, the jealousies, the fears, the absences, the despairs, and the rest of the afflicting disquiets' (p. 80) of earthly passion cannot satisfy the soul in comparison with divine love. Robert Boyle constructs a romance virtue that is inward, not bound to heroic action but to godly withdrawal from the erotic through an active engagement with divine love. In creating a new ending for a D'Urfé character, both texts aim to draw in an audience that would be initially averse to homiletic literature.

In 'Amorous Controversies' and thereafter in its amplified version *Seraphic Love*, romance creates a narrative gateway through which the idle reader can pass on his or her journey to the virtuous life. We turn now to an apparently secular text, Broghill's *Parthenissa*, to further trace the brothers' experiments in this hybrid fiction. Not long after Robert wrote 'Amorous Controversies' in the summer of 1648, Roger had begun work on his own romance, *Parthenissa*. We have seen with the use of Lindamor in *Amorous Controversies* how romance names can create a dialogue with and virtuous continuation of an earlier text. Given the Boyle brothers' immersion in French literature, a plausible reference point is *Parthénice, ou peinture d'une invincible chasteté*, written by the moralist fiction writer and Catholic cleric Jean-Pierre Camus in 1621, a 890-page religious romance centred on a heroine who in the best Heliodoran tradition is wooed and abducted, and whose virginity is central to her virtue, always 'gardant le lustre de son admirable intégrité'.<sup>27</sup> *Parthénice* uses romance to narrate a tale of saintly devotion: overcoming her trials, the

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<sup>27</sup> Jean-Pierre Camus, 'Instruction au Lecteur', *Parthénice, ou peinture d'une invincible chasteté* (Paris: 1621), p. 892.

heroine joins a convent in order to dedicate herself to God. Her example is such that other characters also vow to emulate her holiness and dedication to the religious life. Although it was never translated into English, it was popular enough in France for Gilbert Saulnier Du Verdier to capitalise on its success with his derivative *Parthénice de la Cour* (1624).<sup>28</sup> Camus's romance was reissued in 1637, when Roger was in France; it was also translated into Italian as *Partenissa* in 1640 and published in Venice by Tomasini, a year before Robert travelled to Italy as part of his European tour.<sup>29</sup> The text was therefore in wide circulation at a time when the brothers were travelling, and the title of Broghill's romance may be a further clue to a particular type of moral project that the brothers are incorporating into their fiction.

*Partenissa's* status as moral fiction is reflected in Robert's own journals. In March 1649 he began copying out large chunks of his brother's romance.<sup>30</sup> Over ten pages of close-written folio, in which he uses not just the length of the page but also the margins to record extracts from Roger's writing, he copies extended passages of dense text. The handfuls of crossings-out and the occasional fragments of quotations that appear in the journal are almost completely lacking in the notebooks in which he copies out extracts from La Calprenède's romances. The rapidity of Boyle's handwriting coupled with the density of horizontal and vertical notes crammed into his journal suggests considerable engagement in his transcription project.

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<sup>28</sup> See Maurice Magendie, *Le Roman français au XVIIIe siècle, de L'Astrée au Grand Cyrus* (Paris: 1932), p. 175.

<sup>29</sup> Daniela Camurri, 'Traductions et traducteurs italiens des romans de Jean-Pierre Camus, évêque du Belley et romancier du XVIIe siècle', *Histoire et civilisation du livre, revue internationale*, 1 (2005), 213-229.

<sup>30</sup> Robert Boyle, 'A Diurnall Miscellaneous Collection Begun March the 25<sup>th</sup>, 1648/9' (Royal Society, Boyle Papers: BP 8, fols. 118-22). Further references are given in the main body of the text.

Robert's reproduction of *Parthenissa* is a model of active reading. The extracts of *Parthenissa* that are transcribed in the journals combine to create a distinct shape that clearly exhibit Robert's romance preferences; they construct a version of Broghill's 1651 text that heightens specific themes relating to virtue and allow us to see the connections between the two brothers' creative production. Robert's transcriptions largely ignore the opening plot of *Parthenissa* that is set in Parthia and involves the primary hero Artabanus. Some action sequences do appear in Robert's journal, in two of his folio notepages. These are devoted to the romance's second plot in Armenia, which involves the hero Artavasdes and his exploits in saving the weak king Artabazus and his sister Altezeera from rebellion from within and invasion from the Roman forces. These sections of *Parthenissa* frame Artavasdes as a hero who is not only brave and loyal in battle, but who must take account of shifting political realities and others' changing loyalties.

Among the extracts of this section of Broghill's romance, Robert transcribes 'For Alexanders having been his foyle & not his Patterne' (f. 119v). The fragment comes from a passage where Broghill has the Roman general Ventidius praise Caesar at some length for his 'courage and virtue' and his aspirations to emulate Alexander the Great. It appears in *Parthenissa* thus:

[...] yet I have seen him at the reading of that Grecians life, weep that his own has not been so victorious and active, when indeed, if he ought to have shed any tears, they should have been rather of joy, than a contrary passion, for Alexanders having been his foyle, and not his pattern; by this you may fancy what Caesar is like to aspire unto, when though already he has attain'd unto such a height of glory, he yet esteems himself scarce ascending (p. 295)

The Boyles' romance notion of Caesar is not only a man of great virtue, but also of modesty, one who himself aspires to live a better and more noble existence on reading the life and exploits of his hero. Historical narrative, a category which romance inhabits, according to Broghill's 1655 foreword, can therefore be exemplary literature. In the very act of copying heroic passages from *Parthenissa*, Robert mirrors romance-reading as a serious, unfrivolous act in which the actions of great men could be scrutinised. Heidi Brayman Hackel reminds us that the commonplace book is 'deeply connected to the humanist pedagogical project' which entwined learning with virtue.<sup>31</sup> As Lois Potter observes, citing the annotations on a copy of a 1625 edition of John Barclay's *Argenis*, for some readers romance is not necessarily 'an escapist fantasy, but [...] a realistic genre from which much can be learned'.<sup>32</sup> Just as Broghill locates historical romance as a more pleasurable, if belated, form of schooling, Robert is re-enacting the transformation of romance into a sententious experience through his journals.

The rest of Robert's transcriptions centre on the lengthy and self-contained narrative of the romance between Izadora and Perolla. This plot takes up nearly half of the eight books published in the 1651 text, and it begins when the principal romance hero Artabanus, disguised as Spartacus, successfully storms the Italian city of Salapia and meets the city's valiant defender Perolla and the heroine Izadora, and hears their story. Izadora's father Blacius and Perolla's father Pacuvius have sworn enmity to each other following Pacuvius's decision to side with Hannibal against Rome. Perolla has rejected his

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<sup>31</sup> Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 144.

<sup>32</sup> Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature 1641-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 75.

father's support of Carthage and has vowed to fight for Rome against Hannibal's forces. Their love story had begun in the streets of Salapia, where Perolla rescues a man being attacked and in the process is badly wounded. He had unknowingly saved the life of Blacius, to whose house he is taken and is tended by his daughter Izadora, with whom he falls in love. Over the next several hundred pages, Hannibal falls in love with Izadora and unsuccessfully pursues her. Perolla distinguishes himself in battles for Rome against the Carthaginians but despite his valour, Blacius refuses to let Izadora marry the son of his enemy. The two lovers are finally united after a series of trials, separations and death vows and finally a confrontation with their fathers before Spartacus.

*Parthenissa's* concern with erotic and filial decorum shapes both the plotting and characterisation; Perolla is not a hero who violently displaces the heroine's father but a hero who obeys the patriarchal will and cannot bring himself to forcibly supplant the tyrannical Blacius. Virtue, in the Izadora and Perolla plot, encompasses a veneration for paternal authority that keeps the lovers apart and which hence becomes a driver of narrative deferral.

A comparison of Robert's 1649 notes with Broghill's 1651 publication has not until now been undertaken, but a study of the two texts together reveals that the brothers' romance production in 1648 and 1649 was more intense than has hitherto been thought. The extracts selected by Robert map closely onto the printed version, showing that Broghill did not make extensive amendments for the 1651 edition printed in Waterford and that what appeared in 1651 was rooted in his initial period of creativity in 1648 and early 1649, in the same way that the genesis of Robert's *Seraphic Love* (1659) is rooted in the late 1640s. An analysis of Robert's notes also reveals that Broghill had written more of the

romance in 1649 than found its way into the 1651 printing. The Armenian section – a subplot that includes the second hero Artavasdes and which deals with weak kingship and political rebellion - was noted by Robert over three folio pages of his journal. However, it was omitted from the 1651 printing of Part One. Had this extra Armenian section found its way from Roger's manuscript into the 1651 publication the three interwoven stories involving Artabanes/Parthenissa in Parthia, Izadora/Perolla in Rome and Artavasdes/Altezeera in Armenia would have been more equally weighted. Because of the omission of the Armenian section, the 1651 publication is instead much more skewed towards the Izadora and Perolla narrative. It suggests a deliberate choice on the part of Broghill to create for general circulation a romance that foregrounds private rather than political virtue. In the Izadora and Perolla narrative, the two lovers' fathers are political enemies and stand on opposing sides of the divide between Rome and Carthage, but these affiliations underscore the filial dilemma, which is core to the plot.

While Robert reshapes Roger's writing into his journals, close analysis of a subplot within the printed Izadora and Perolla narrative in 1651 also shows that Roger also responds to Robert. When Perolla defeats Hannibal at the battle of Zama in North Africa he makes his way back to Italy, only to discover that in his absence Izadora has been forcibly betrothed to a Roman nobleman, Flaminius. Flaminius is a highly unusual male character in the Roman section of *Parthenissa*, since he appears without a historical source. In the Roman section that takes up the central part of the romance Spartacus's story is lifted out of Plutarch, while the story of Hannibal and the enmity of Blacius and Pacuvius in Salapia are taken from Livy's chronicle of the second Punic war. Even Perolla's

story is based on a short reference in Livy about Pacuvius's son – unnamed – who rebels against his father's support of Hannibal and vows loyalty to Rome.<sup>33</sup> The manipulation of history creates a moral sub-romance in itself; Hannibal's passion for Izadora prevents him from taking Rome after she begs him not to. Hannibal's love for the heroine also effaces the unsavoury element of Livy's narrative when he states that Hannibal's forces in Italy are weakened by the attractions of food, wine, baths and prostitutes.<sup>34</sup> In writing out libertinism and writing in passion for a virtuous heroine, Broghill reshapes history and explicitly underlines the moral project of the romance.

The Flaminius episode stands apart from *Parthenissa's* otherwise highly dovetailed plotting. Unlike Hannibal, who is Perolla's chief erotic rival, Flaminius does not defer resolution of the romance narrative, nor does he seriously threaten Perolla's life. We can read Flaminius's insertion into the Izadora and Perolla plot as a response to Robert's 'Amorous Controversies' that forms part of the brothers' creative dialogue. Flaminius is an exact parallel of Lindamor; his passion unrequited, he decides to renounce earthly love for that of the divine as an active choice. Tellingly, Robert's transcriptions of the subplot involving Flaminius take up four of the ten pages of his notes on the romance and focus on its acutely declamatory moments, in which devotion on the part of the lovers and disinterested virtue on the part of Flaminius are highlighted.

When Perolla arrives in Capua, he makes his way to Izadora's chamber and overhears her vowing to her maid Callione that she is planning to commit suicide. Robert notes: 'I apprehend it may create in him, & that by this one

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<sup>33</sup> Plutarch, *The Lives of the noble Grecians and Romanes*, trans. by Thomas North (1579), p. 1148, STC 20066; Livy, trans. by Frank Gardner Moore, 14 vols (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1940), VI, Book 23, p. 25.

<sup>34</sup> Livy, VI, Book 23, p. 63.

Argument of my flame, I am render'd for ever incapable of giving him any other' (f. 118v), a reference to the passage in *Parthenissa* in which Izadora declares she will die rather than marry any other than Perolla:

I must dye (Callione) and beseech the gods to make me as unfortunate in the other World, as I have been in this, if I resent any trouble for my Death, but what I apprehend it may create in him [Perolla]; and that by this one argument of my Flame, I am render'd for ever incapable of giving him any other (p. 220)

Robert copies much of the section of *Parthenissa* in which Izadora proclaims both her love for Perolla and also acknowledges Flaminius's heroic status: 'Whose Gallantry she admir'd as much as – she esteem'd hir selfe unfortunate in being incapable of rewarding it (f. 120r)'. Flaminius's virtue is signalled by Broghill over several pages that present Flaminius's sacrifice of his love for Izadora's sake, passages that are also extensively transcribed by Robert in his notebook. Flaminius declares:

I perceive (fair Izadora) that your apprehensions I should destroy my life, when you do my hopes, hinders you from letting your words acknowledge, what your tears have done, but I beseech you believe, that I shall be more tormented in continuing your misery, than in knowing my own; that I shall consider my affliction as my joy, if it can build yours; and if by the learning my own misfortunes, I may put a period to Izadora's, she will more oblige me by building her Happiness on the ruine of mine, than if she continued my hopes, by her sufferings. (p. 227)

In seeing the lovers' mutual passion, Flaminius compassionately decides that despite his deep love for Izadora, he will give her up. He tells her: 'I shall consider my affliction as my joy, if it can build yours' (p. 227) and through the exercise of his will sacrifices his own sexual happiness:

Fair Izadora, you have not only taught me what to practise, but given me the power to act it: Yes, I am now ready to lose my hopes, without my life, and the joyes of having served you in a way that you can no more hereafter doubt of, than reward my passion, will recompence my loss, and preserve a life which must be my contentment, since it has establish'd yours, and is esteem'd by you. But why do I lengthen my discourse? 'Tis sufficient you learn (generous Spartacus) that the great Flaminius made a resignation of all his passions for Izadora, but those of being serviceable to her, and became as perfect a Friend, as he had been a Lover. (p. 227)

Flaminius's renunciation of Izadora reaches the heights of generosity when he actively supports the lovers. To fool Blacius, he feigns courtship of Izadora and two days before the rescheduled wedding he helps her escape to a nunnery as a temporary refuge. Flaminius then takes holy orders, thereby embedding his spiritual destiny ('flamen', or priest) within his name. Flaminius's religious journey heeds the advice given by Theophilus to Lindamor in 'Amorous Controversies'. His first earthly love is framed as a precursor to a greater, spiritual love: 'He was more fitted for [the gods'] service, by having practise under their perfectest resembler' (p. 229) in the same way that Lindamor is counselled to turn his love for Hermione towards God. Izadora becomes a figure of intercession with the divine.

The bleeding suitor beatifically exits the narrative for the priesthood of Apollo, having attained the seraphic love valorised by Robert Boyle: 'When this great man had spent about an hour with us, he took his eternal leave, with a look as serene as his thought, and with words as heavenly as his profession.' (p. 229) Flaminius's willed abandonment of his passion is not a simple plot device that allows the lovers to be reunited: it points to the Boyle brothers' joint project of writing virtuous romance. It is evidence of the brothers' textual

responses to each other, first of Roger creating another version of 'Amorous Controversies' within *Parthenissa*, and then of Robert acknowledging it in return through his notebooks.

Furthermore, there is evidence that Robert worked through his reading of *Parthenissa* to help expand 'Amorous Controversies' into *Seraphic Love* ten years on. In the later version, Robert borrows language from *Parthenissa* in describing love that has not been annihilated, but transfigured into divine serenity. 'Nor is God's Compassion like a Mistresses, a grieving only, and an useless Pity [...] but God's is a compassion, though Active, yet Serene' (p 77).

Robert amplifies this further in a passage that details the meaning of this serenity:

For, the Repulses, the Regrets, the Jealousies, the Fears, the Absences, the Despairs, and the rest of the afflicting Disquiets of Lovers; though in handsome Romances they are soon read over by the diverted peruser; yet they are not so soon weather'd out, nor so easily supported by the disconsolate Lover, whose infelicities, though they may be perhaps so handsomely deplored, as to delight the Reader; yet trust me, Lindamor, 'Tis a much happier condition to be free from misfortunes, than to be able to complain eloquently of them. [...] So the condition of a Lover, though, drawn by a smooth Pen, it is wont strangely to affect and please us; yet when Men are really engaged in it, they find it full of hardships and disquiet. (pp. 80-1)

The tumult of romance passion can mutate into a sublime tranquillity. By reading 'Amorous Controversies', *Parthenissa* and *Seraphic Love* together we can see there is a dialogue around erotic renunciation and the love of God, in which the brothers are transforming their texts in fluid response to each. As we will see, *Parthenissa* develops further this experimentation with virtuous romance narrative.

### Devotional and filial virtue in *Parthenissa*

We have seen so far how both brothers have created a form of romance virtue by narrating the passage from physical passions to the love of God. We now develop the findings of the previous chapter, in which we saw how eroticism was regulated through the wound, and read *Parthenissa's* use of blood in the context of piety. Broghill offers two models of love and blood in the Izadora and Perolla subplot that signify virtue. The first is devotional and the second is filial, which we will discuss in turn.

For the Christian, blood and tears are not just symptoms of desire, or emotional or physical trauma but organising categories of religious experience. Wounds are freighted with centuries of devotional significance; in the Gospel narrative of the Crucifixion, the very few details of Christ's broken body involve blood and water as outward signs to the witnesses of his sacrifice: 'But one of the soldiers with a speare pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water' (John: 19: 34). Blood and water represent baptism and the Eucharist, the twin sacraments of Protestant Christianity that allowed the believer access to grace.

In partaking of the bread and wine, the Christian calls to mind the broken body and blood of Christ and marks his wounds through a formal act of memory or anamnesis. Jeremy Taylor's prayer in *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living* for 'all that lye under the rod of war, famine, pestilence' specifically invokes the physicality of the wounds of Christ as refuge for the believer:

Let thy hand cover thy servants and hide us in the clefts of the rock, in the wounds of the holy Jesus, from the present anger that is gone out against us: that though we walk thorough the valley of the shadow of death we may fear no evil, and suffer none.’<sup>35</sup>

In *Parthenissa*, the reader engages with the bleeding body of the hero through the tears of the heroine. Izadora falls to her knees ‘with a throng of sighs and tears’ (p. 119); Parthenissa, confronted with Artabanes’s wounds tries to ‘wipe away two springs of tears which ran from her fair Eyes’ (p. 11). Altezeera, on seeing Artavasdes’s apparently lifeless body ‘accompany’d my loss with a flood of Tears, and having fetch’t two or three deep Sighes fell into a swound’ (pp. 46-47).

The tears shed by the romance heroines when presented with the heroes’ bleeding bodies are not simply an example of feminine lack of control or an erotic response. They also mimic the believer’s compassionate devotion to the suffering Christ. A number of Christian manuals in the 1640s and 1650s explicitly recommend tears as an emotional pathway to God. The Church of England clergyman John Featley’s *A Fountaine of Teares* suggests a series of prayers for different personae: ‘Teares of a Married Woman’, ‘Teares of a barren Woman’, ‘Teares of a Wife for the sicknesse of her husband’, ‘Teares of a Mother for the death of her child’ and ‘Teares of a dying Woman, wherein is set downe her Religious exercises’ among others.<sup>36</sup> Pain, through sympathy or imaginative projection on the part of the heroine-witnesses Parthenissa, Izadora and Altezeera, becomes transferable, enabling an equivalence between blood and tears. The insistence, therefore, on blood and tears at the bedside of the

<sup>35</sup> Jeremy Taylor, *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living* (1650), Wing T371, pp. 399-400.

<sup>36</sup> John Featley, *A Fountaine of Teares* (1646), Wing F598; Stephen Wright, ‘Featley, Jon (1604/5-1667)’, *ODNB*. See also Thomas Fettiplace, *The sinner’s tears, in mediation and prayers* (1653), Wing F830), John Beadle, *A Journal or Diary of a Thankfvl Christian* (1656), Wing B1557.

suffering and amorous heroes of *Parthenissa* shifts the terms of the erotic encounter towards the sacramental.

While wounds are not dominant in a Protestant culture that was suspicious of the visual image, affective Anglican writing nevertheless touches on the weight of the broken body of Christ. Taylor emphasised the physicality of the reception of the eucharist, the symbol of Christ's death and resurrection:

if thou art a worthy Communicant thou doest as verily receive Christs body and blood to all effects and purposes of the spirit, as thou doest receive the blessed elements into thy mouth; that thou putttest thy finger to his hand, and thy hand into his side, and thy lips to his fontinel of blood, sucking life from his heart [..]<sup>37</sup>

The trope of blood as sacrifice was powerfully mined by royalists in the same year of *Parthenissa's* composition, who mourned the bleeding and martyred king. As James Loxley has discussed, high-church devotion and royalist defeat converged to create sacrificial kingship in the body of Charles, which found its apotheosis in *Eikon Basilike* and suffused loyalist elegy.<sup>38</sup> Walter Montagu's poem to the dead king begins with a conflation of the blood of Christ with the sacrificial blood of the regicide: 'Were not my Faith boy'd up by sacred blood,/It might be drown'd in this prodigious floud'. John Quarles's *Fons Lachrymarum* declaims: 'Convert my tydes of blood to streams of tears/ My lyes to truths, my horrid oaths to prayers.'<sup>39</sup> The blood of anger and the tears of penitence are thereby presented as the sanctifying prerequisite to prayer and grace.

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<sup>37</sup> Taylor, p. 355.

<sup>38</sup> James Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry in the English Civil Wars: The Drawn Sword* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 179-184.

<sup>39</sup> Walter Montagu, *Jeremias Reivivus, or, an Elegiacall Lamentation* (1649) Wing M2472A, p. 1; John Quarles, *Fons lachrymarum, or, A fountain of tears* (1649), Wing Q128, p. 27. See also Anon., *An elegie upon the death of our Dread Sovereign Lord King Charles the Martyr* (1649), Wing

Furthermore, there is a strand of devotional writing that subverts the gendered paradigm in which masculine dryness is privileged over feminine moisture. Disintegrating boundaries are recuperated and sanctified within the love of God. Contained within Donne's circular meditation *La Corona* is a repeated petition to Christ: "Moyst with one drop of thy blood my dry soul". In a eucharistic rewriting of Psalm 42, 'As the deer pants for water', the stanzas on the crucifixion and resurrection not only merge the grace-giving fluids of blood and water but also intermingle feminine and masculine, aridity and moisture.<sup>40</sup> In the same vein, the expanded *Seraphic Love* also leans on Psalm 42 in figuring the desire for God as parched, and spiritual regeneration as the abundance of moisture:

The man after God's own heart is not afear'd to own even to his Maker an ardency of love for Him, which must be exprest by the significant Metaphor of Thirst (p. 71)

The presence of blood and tears enable us to read *Parthenissa* as an affective text through which the reader identifies with the character and thereby a sacramental discourse.

A second way that Broghill puts blood to work in narrating exemplarity is in filial deference. The blood relationship between Izadora and Blacius is privileged over the blood of desire of the lovers, despite her father's tyranny. Throughout the romance Perolla flamboyantly defers to Blacius, constantly trying to show that he is not trying to displace him. An extreme example occurs

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G1890A; Anon., *The Life and Death of King Charles the Martyr, parallel'd with our Saviour in all his Sufferings* (1649) Wing L20001; John Arnway, *The Tablet or moderation of Charles the First Martyr* (1649) Wing A3736.

<sup>40</sup> John Donne, 'La Corona' in *Poems* (1633), STC 7045, p. 31.

during the defence of Salapia against Hannibal, when Perolla's exploits in battle make him the clear choice to lead the defence of the main gate against the Carthaginian forces. However, Izadora says, 'he bore so great a respect to Blacius, that he declin'd it, and rather elected to hazard the ruine of Salapia, by not stopping them, than prevent it by intrenching on the seeming right my Father had.' (p. 178). Broghill's romancing of filial duty amplifies the dilemmas in dramas of love and honour by having blood connote family (dis)obedience and the anxiety of marrying out, of a daughter being put into sexual circulation. When Izadora learns that Blacius has been condemned to death by Hannibal, she hallucinates that she sees her father's ghost:

I fancy'd the unfortunate Blacius all pale and bloody coming to my Bed-side, and after he had view'd me, with a look which had almost reduc'd me to the condition he was in, he told me, Behold Izadora, behold these several wounds (which he open'd so wide, that his soul, had it yet inhabited his Body, might have come entire out of the least of them) [...] by the joy I have left, and the pain I shall suffer till thou grantest my request: now thou art at thy own dispose, never shew thou hast that power by giving thy self to Perolla; but as thou art Heir to our Blood, be so also to our generous resentments, and let him find that revenge in thy beauty and disdain which he thought he had avoided by the extinction of our Family [...] (p. 133)

This nightmarish vision evokes a key moment in Corneille's *Le Cid*, first performed in 1636 when Broghill was in France, and translated into English in 1637 and reprinted by Humphrey Moseley in 1650.<sup>41</sup> Chimène, the heroine, has an impossible dilemma, since the man she loves has killed her father for reasons

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<sup>41</sup> Pierre Corneille, *The Cid a tragicomedy* (1637), STC 5770. See also *The Cid* (1650), Wing C6307.

of honour. She gives an anguished speech where she relives her father's death and the conflict between desire and dutiful attachment to her father:

Ma passion s'oppose à mon ressentiment,  
 Dedans mon ennemy je trouue mon amant,  
 Et je sens qu'en dépit de toute ma colere  
 Rodrigue dans mon coeur combat encor mon père.  
 Il l'attaque, il le presse, il cède, il se défend,  
 Tantost fort, tantost faible, & tantost triomphant:  
 Mais en ce dur combat de colère et de flame  
 Il déchire mon coeur sans partager mon ame.<sup>42</sup>

My love stands up against the sense, I should have  
 Of a slaine father, and would quite o're-beare it.  
 I find my lover in mineemie  
 And spight of all my anger, in my heart  
 Roderigo makes his part good 'gainst my father  
 Yet though my love has these advantages  
 I'le not advise with it about my duty.<sup>43</sup>

Exogamous desire creates fevered agonies that are presented as wounds. It is ambiguous in Chimène's speech whether Rodrigue is attacking and pressing her father or her heart; this is mirrored within Izadora's narration when she imagines herself being the inflictor of wounds upon her father. In both instances the daughter becomes the physical mediator within the bloody struggle between lover and father.

In hallucinating that she is seeing her father's bleeding wounds, Izadora bodily incorporates her own prohibition against marrying her lover, the son of her father's enemy, without her father's permission. The death of the father might on one level allow the exogamous and potentially traitorous act to go

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<sup>42</sup> *Le Cid*, in *Oeuvres de Corneille*, 2 vols. (Rouen: 1644), II; III. 3. 20-27.

<sup>43</sup> *The Cid* (1637), III. 3. 17-24. This 1637 translation downplays the profound physicality in the original of the heroine's emotional struggle.

ahead, but both Chimène and Izadora are tied by family honour. Initially Izadora rails at her family ties, declaiming:

Oh, How I did also inwardly exclaim against my Fathers  
Tyranny who pretended a power over me after that by death  
the Bond was cancel'd, that he would be so much an Enemy to  
my felicity, as to deprive me of mine (p. 133)

However, the text never allows her to proceed to actual rebellion, since Izadora is interrupted by Perolla carrying the injured Blacius, whom he has rescued from prison. *Parthenissa* can only imagine the death of the father, not enact it.

*Parthenissa* resorts to an external authority in the form of Spartacus in order to resolve the conflict between the two constructions of blood as desire and as duty, a solution also used by Corneille in *Le Cid* when the king proclaims that the lovers marry. He rules in favour of the virtuous lovers, but it is suddenly revealed that Blacius and Pacuvius, despite their previous enmity, have together tried to procure the secret assassination of Spartacus, thus transgressing all rules of martial honour. Spartacus is about to have the two fathers executed when Izadora and Perolla

cast themselves at Spartacus Feet, which having a while wash'd  
with their Tears, they begg'd him either to alter his sentence, or  
permit them to participate in it; that if the death of their Fathers  
must be the only way to their union; they would be content with  
the being eternally deny'd it, rather than purchase it at that rate;  
that they should be more miserable in the loss of their Parents,  
than in their cruelty: and lastly, they protested by inviolable  
Oaths, if they suffer'd; they would perpetually banish themselves  
from each others company, and either by grief or resolution,  
suddenly follow them. (p. 238)

*Parthenissa* can only propose a resolution of desire with the fathers' acceptance. It subordinates the eros of Perolla's wound in favour of the blood of Blacius, and closure is achieved by a sudden volte-face on the part of the fathers, who 'acknowledg'd their repentance, and conversion' (p. 238). The use of the recognisably godly terms of repentance and conversion for the fathers' decision to allow the lovers to marry restates *Parthenissa's* Christian underpinnings and alerts us to a further set of connections between Roger's romance and Robert's next fictional text, 'The Martyrdom of Theodora'.

### **The martyr narrative in *Parthenissa* and 'Theodora'**

The ultimate model of Christian virtue in the form of the martyr is played out covertly within *Parthenissa* and overtly in Robert's 'The Martyrdom of Theodora'. When we first encounter Perolla and Izadora, Perolla has been defeated by Spartacus in the defence of Salapia. He offers himself up to be killed and asks that Izadora be spared. However, Izadora flings herself to Perolla's feet and insists that she too should die:

Then (reply'd Izadora) my condition will as much require death as yours, for 'tis as impossible for me not to augment your sufferings whilst I live, as 'tis for to survive you, which since my sorrow will not permit, let my Love anticipate the effects of it: this will be more proportionate to my vowes, and cut off the tortures of a lingering life, so Death the enemy to other passions, may prove the friend of ours, and conferr that union on us in the other Life which our Fates and cruell Parents have deny'd us in this. (p. 98)

Denied marriage in life by their cruel fathers Blacius and Pacuvius, the couple then debate whether they will see each other in heaven in a fortissimo scene

that dramatises both faith in the afterlife and doubt that they might still be separated by the gods. Perolla, in despair, fears that eventual union will be denied to them, despite their virtue:

Izadora (said Perolla) flatter not my hopes with an union in the other World, the Gods which hel'd me unworthy of you here, will have much more cause to continue that beliefe, when instead of your mortality they shall cloath you with the reward of virtue, alas, then you wilbe fitter for their adoration then myne. (p. 98)

However, Izadora is confident that the gods will allow them to be together in the afterlife:

Can there be (shee reply'd) a felicity in the other World for Izadora if shee be divided from Perolla? Doe not by such suggestions fright me into a hatred of Elizium, which, if what you say be true will lose its quality, and fancy not the Gods unjust only to make us miserable, no Perolla, wee have walk'd too exactly in the Path's of virtue to feare Death (p. 98)

*Parthenissa* inflects romance declarations of passion with Christian sacrifice.

The end of the lovers' story strongly recalls the second canto of Tasso's

Christian epic *The Recouerie of Hierusalem*, a reference that, as we will see, will

have some purchase in Robert Boyle's martyr romance 'Theodora'. Aladin, the

Saracen king of Jerusalem, decides to place an icon of the Virgin Mary within the

mosque, but the picture disappears before this can be done. Suspecting the

Christians, the king vows to kill them all, but Sofronia claims to be the culprit,

thereby offering herself up as a sacrifice to save the community. Olindo, who is

in love with her, then tells the king that he is the thief. The two are then tied to

the stake. The narrator comments: 'O rare example where contention

growes/Twixt noble virtue, and a loue as kinde/Where winners onely price is

life to lose'.<sup>44</sup> While the pair are saved by the intervention of the Amazon Clorinda, Tasso's object is to present a hero and heroine as martyrs who are prepared to die for their faith. The short episode mingles the divine with the erotic, entailing a sacrificial devotion to God and the Christian community in Sofronia's case and to the beloved in the case of Olindo.

*Parthenissa* follows *The Recouerie of Hierusalem* in creating a devotional rivalry between the characters. Tasso clearly differentiates between Sofronia and Olindo in that while both are Christians, Sofronia's decision to offer herself up first is what prompts Olindo's decision to follow her to an apparently certain death. Similarly, Perolla wants to die for the principle of honour, while Izadora wants to die with him. Perolla declares: 'No Izadora my death shall shew that nothing but the desire of your safety could have induc'd me so long to survive my honor' (p. 99), and tries to run upon the sword of Spartacus's man Symander. Izadora, like Olindo, then displays a rival valour:

Izadora on the other side thinking Perolla had bin his owne Executioner, resolv'd to beare him company, and with a Courage which disdain'd exclaimeing against Fate, drew out a Ponyard which shee had conceal'd for some such desperate exigency, and cry'd out, this stroake Perolla shall prove more kind than you, and give us that union you would so cruelly deprive me of [...] (p. 99)

Throughout this passage, Izadora and Perolla speak of the afterlife in strikingly martyrological terms. Vindicated by their projected union in the afterlife, the lovers have become romance martyrs, competing for a death that is transfigured by the ideals of honour and passion.

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<sup>44</sup> Torquato Tasso, *Godfrey of Bulloigne, or The recouerie of Hierusalem*, trans. by R.C. (1594), STC 23697a, II. 34, sig. Ir.

In drawing upon the foremost Renaissance Christian epic, Broghill transmutes romance into something in which erotic love can coexist with extreme virtue and sacrifice and one that significantly privileges the moral dimension of the text. This use of Tasso has implications for Broghill's closest reader Robert and, as we will argue, contributed to his next work of fiction, 'The Martyrdom of Theodora', composed in 1649.<sup>45</sup> 'The Martyrdom of Theodora' tells the story of the Christian saint Theodora of Antioch, who refuses to deny her religion and is punished by the governor of the city by being sent to the city's brothels. She is rescued by her former suitor and recent Christian convert Didymus, who persuades her to exchange clothes with him so she can escape. Didymus is arrested and sentenced to death, but Theodora returns to claim a martyr's death in his stead. The two eventually die together in faith.

A martyr story, in which the Christian defies authority to proclaim his or her adherence to the faith, inevitably engenders questions of temporal power. A martyr romance written in the England of 1649, a time of extreme political volatility, might be assumed to contain an oblique response to the execution of Charles I and the textural outpourings of posthumous veneration by his supporters. However, poetic choice does not always correlate with political allegiance; as we have seen, the emotional power of *Parthenissa* mines the poetic possibilities of blood and tears that were used by regicide elegists, but it cannot be classed as a covert royalist text given Broghill's military service for

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<sup>45</sup> The original MS, 'The Martyrdom of Theodora' (St John's College, Oxford MS 66A), was discovered in 1994. Quotations are taken from its reprint in *The Works of Robert Boyle*, XIII, pp. 3-41. Believing he had lost his 1649 manuscript, Boyle rewrote part of it for later publication as *The Martyrdom of Theodora and Didymus* in 1687. The later version extends the manuscript narrative by beginning with Didymus planning to rescue Theodora from the brothel and adding the character of Irene in whom Theodora confides, but omits the first part of the story in which Theodora asserts her faith.

Cromwell in Ireland. In both the 1649 and the later 1687 versions, 'Theodora' avoids political partisanship in presenting martyrdom. Rather, it harks back to the sixteenth-century martyrologies so popular among early modern Christians, in which the hero or heroine is, as Susannah Brietz Monta observes, a 'figure without political intent, one who neither procures the deaths of others nor acts seditiously'.<sup>46</sup> Such an association was explicitly evoked nearly three decades later in the frontispiece to the printed version of *The Martyrdom of Theodora and Didymus* in 1687. Unlike the rest of the title, which is printed in Roman type, the word 'Martyrdom' appears in black letter, evoking sixteenth-century exemplary writing.

'Theodora' presents itself as a personal statement of faith and love of God rather than a consideration of political power. In the foreword to the 1687 version of *The Martyrdom of Theodora and Didymus* Boyle declares that he wanted to convey 'Sentiments of true Piety and Vertue. And these I thought would not so happily gain admittance and entertainment, if they were presented in a Scholar-like Discourse, or a profess'd Book of devotion'.<sup>47</sup> He insists a few pages later that a romance version of a martyrology can widen the potential pool of readers for his evangelising mission. The work

might do some good, by rendring Vertue Amiable, and recommending Piety to a sort of Readers, that are much more affected by shining Examples, and pathetical Expressions, than by dry Precepts, and grave Discourses (p. 12)

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<sup>46</sup> Susannah Brietz Monta, 'Rendering unto Caesar: The Rhetorics of Divided Loyalties in Tudor England', in *Martyrdom and Terrorism: Pre-Modern and Contemporary Perspectives* ed. by Dominic James and Alex Houen, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 59-85 (p. 61).

<sup>47</sup> *The Martyrdom of Theodora and Didymus* (1687) in *The Works of Robert Boyle*, XI, p. 11. Further references are given within the text.

Boyle explicitly acknowledges the affective pleasure of romance in presenting characters with whom the reader can identify. To return to the first five chapters of the manuscript version, we see that the narrative is largely taken up with establishing Theodora's virtue. As in Camus's *Parthénice*, the threat to the heroine's chastity powers the plot. Both are united with God at the end of the romance; Parthénice within her longed-for convent and Theodora in heaven. However, in order to create this hybrid form of romance, generic and stylistic conventions need to be carefully negotiated, as Robert explains in the introduction to the later, printed version:

I found my self tempted so to enlarge this Story, as that it might be contriv'd into a somewhat voluminous Romance: But upon second thoughts, it appeared incongruous to turn a Martyr into a Nymph or an Amazon (p. 5)

Boyle wrestles here with the application of pastoral or heroic romance to a religious fiction. This is not simply a problem of verisimilitude; such 'voluminous' romances are also highly digressive and the very length of them requires hours of reading, and by extension, idleness. So in fashioning his tale, Boyle turned to a related style of fiction, the pious *histoire tragique*, a shorter form of narrative with an emphasis on the violent or shocking to frame clearly articulated moral lessons.

It is clear from Robert's notebooks that he was an enthusiastic reader of such tales. His journal contains his copy of an English translation of a French text, *The true history of the tragicke loves of Hipolito and Isabella Neapolitans*, in which the eponymous characters, who are presumed uncle and niece, embark on an adulterous affair following the secret revelation that Isabella's mother

had not been faithful to her father, so the pair are not in fact blood relations.<sup>48</sup>

The most successful exponent of the *histoire tragique* was the author of *Parthénice*, Jean-Pierre Camus, many of whose tales were translated into English from the 1630s to the 1650s. In the epistle to the reader in *Admirable Events*, translated in 1639, he rails against:

the falshood of these Romants, Adventures, Chivalries, and other such trash, which confesse themselves fabulous in their Prefaces, and whose reading full of fantastick conceits of faynings, of impossibilities, of absurdities, of inchantments, of extravagancies, and such like trumpery, sufficiently sheweth their impertinency [...] <sup>49</sup>

For Camus, form determines evangelical effect; shorter and simpler narratives allow fiction to function as a moral agent.

The argument that ‘inchantments’ can only lead to a disordered mind parallels Robert’s recollection of the ‘raving’ induced by romance-reading when he was younger. Camus’s polemic against the ‘fantastickal’ is not based on the neoclassical subscription to order that was detailed in the previous chapter, but to the moral disruption to the soul that is entailed by the marvellous and the supernatural. Fiction must subordinate itself to its moral function, and this has implications for the ordering of the narrative. For moral reasons, Camus argues, his tales are made short and clear, and he has taken away anything that might ‘enlarge or embellish’ so that nothing remains but ‘the Bones of each event, stript of the ornaments which might have set forth their bodies in a fairer hew’.

He rejects the textual disorder of ‘Apostrophes, dialogismes, complaints,

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<sup>48</sup> Meslier, *The true history of the tragicke loves of Hipolito and Isabella Neapolitans* (1628), STC 13516; Royal Society, Boyle Papers BP 42, ff. 118-53.

<sup>49</sup> Jean-Pierre Camus, *Admirable Events: Selected out of foure books*, trans. by S. Du Verger (1639), STC 4549, sig. A7r.

speeches, conferences, letters, orations, in briefe, all that might enlarge or embellish'.<sup>50</sup> Narration must be a transparent mediator of godly truth; it must not seduce through profusion. Both form and subject matter must not involve the extravagant. Once given the right texts and the right signposts within the texts, the reader can decode the correct moral path.

The 'Theodora' of 1649, a fast-paced linear narrative with none of the intricate plotting of the expansive texts of Scudéry and La Calprenède, shifts between heroic romance register in the declamatory exchanges between hero and heroine, and the *histoire tragique* in its concise narration of events. In his examination of Camus's short stories Peter Shoemaker observes that there is a 'certain journalistic dimension [...] as if he had set out to document the violence of the world in which he lived' and that his frequently brutal narratives underline his hostility to contemporary romance.<sup>51</sup> Nowhere is this more evident in 'Theodora' than the key scene when the heroine is thrown into the brothel. Alone and vulnerable, Theodora appears to have no way of escape. Outside her room a 'rude throng' is 'thundring at the doore with an impatience not inferior to their lust'.<sup>52</sup> There is a terrifying immediacy to the scene, which presents the dual horror of a gang rape and of extreme public shame. When Didimus arrives Theodora is eventually persuaded to exchange clothes with him so that she can escape.

The episode of clothes-swapping inverts the romance norm of cross-dressing. As chapter three discussed, transvestism in romance is often a tool of

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<sup>50</sup> *Admirable Events*, sig. a5v.

<sup>51</sup> Peter Shoemaker, 'Violence and Piety in Jean-Pierre Camus's "histoires tragiques"', *The French Review* 79 (2006), 549-560 (p. 550).

<sup>52</sup> 'The Martyrdom of Theodora', *The Works of Robert Boyle*, XIII, p. 25. Further references are given in the text.

penetration, allowing a hero to dress as an Amazon in order to enter either a vestal temple of a female court. Here, rather than a cloistered place, the scene is a brothel and the hero is donning female clothing to allow the heroine to escape a scene of degradation and lust. Theodora's own disguise is presented as a potentially undecorous act: 'Tis not that her modesty did not often put her to the blush to see her selfe in a disguise so misbecoming her sexe, and so unsuitable to her humour' (p. 27). The problematic swap of gendered clothing is therefore acknowledged within the romance's moral patterning, but is almost immediately defused. After Theodora escapes, one of the brothel customers breaks into the room and sees Didimus. Immediately thrown into confusion upon seeing a man instead of Theodora, the 'ruffian' undergoes a crisis:

I have often (cryes he) that the crucify'd divinity these Christians worship had turn'd water into wine; but now it seems he can transforme virgins into men; and alter sexes too as well as natures [...] If I am not chang'd already at least I will be so. I will returne whilst (as to fact) I still retayne the innocence I brought with me; and will leave this abhorr'd place with as firme resolutions of chastity; as with desseins of lust I entered it' (p. 30)

The terrifying violence inherent in the scene where the would-be rapist enters is commuted to a dramatic conversion. Romance cross-dressing sponsors a moral transformation.

Boyle would later claim, in the foreword to the 1687 version, that the work was inspired by 'a Martyrology, and some other Books, that related to the Sufferings of the Primitive Christians' (p. 5). The clearest source is Pierre Corneille's 1646 play *Théodore, vierge et martyre*, but Robert's mention of 'some

other books' makes it clear that he was responding to a number of texts.<sup>53</sup>

Corneille's *Théodore* is not an isolated example of a play with Christian sacrifice as its theme, but one of a number of a flourishing genre of French religious drama in the 1640s, which included La Calprenède's *Hermenigilde tragedie* (1641) and Nicolas Mary Desfontaines' *Le Martyre de Saint Eustache* (1643).<sup>54</sup> These plays took as their subjects the lives of the early saints and fused martyrologies with neoclassical tragedy. Boyle, who considered himself to speak French like a native and who was immersed in contemporary French literature, was not simply responding to a single text but was positioning *Theodora* at the intersection of several contemporary genres: romance, *histoire tragique* and the martyr play.

However, experimentation entails a series of challenges. While seventeenth-century martyr drama provides the contemporary thematic impetus for 'Theodora', it is a formally unpromising genre for transformation into prose romance form. A relationship of passion between hero and heroine would disrupt the main thrust of a religious play, which is to focus the audience's attention upon a sacrifice for God, and thereby to channel the audience's thoughts and intentions towards inward reflection and moral improvement. Notably, in Corneille's *Polyeucte* and La Calprenède's *Hermenigilde* both Christian heroes are already married. In Corneille's *Théodore*, the eponymous heroine is loved by Placide, the pagan son of the Roman governor, but Didyme only appears on stage in the fourth act, after

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<sup>53</sup> *Théodore, vierge et martyre*, in Pierre Corneille, *Oeuvres de Corneille*, II (Rouen: 1644).

<sup>54</sup> See Kosta Loukovitch, *L'évolution de la tragédie religieuse classique en France* (Paris: Éditions Droz, 1933) and Katherine Ibbett, *The Style of the State in French Theatre, 1630-1660: Neoclassicism and Government* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009). Robert Boyle copied into his journals d'Aubignac's other play of heroic sacrifice, *Zénobie* (Boyle Papers 36, fol. 196).

having saved her from the brothel. Théodore and Didyme are both set on martyrdom and are emotionally in parallel but their relationship with each other is not the central one of the drama.

Yet romance generically requires some element of heterosexual passion. How, then, to write a Christian romance that does not involve the implication of sexual consummation? Boyle would acknowledge this problem in the 1687 preface, when he discusses his compositional difficulties in balancing the demands of romance and of Christian martyr story:

Besides, my task was not near so easie as it would have been, if I had been only to recite the Intrigues of an Amour, with the liberty to feig (sic) surprizing adventures, to adorn he Historical part of the account and to make a Love speak as Passionately as I could, and his Mistress as Kindly as the indulgentest laws of decency would permit. But I was to introduce a Christian and pious Lover, who was to contain the expressions of his Flame within the narrow bounds of his Religion; and a Virgin, who, being as modest and discreet as handsom, and as devout as either, was to own an high Esteem for an excellent Lover, and an uncommon Gratitude to a transcendent Benefactor without intrenching either upon her Vertue, or her Reservedness. (p. 6)

In this context the choice to elevate passion itself as a central driver of the religious narrative and to weave the characters of Theodora and Didymus together is fundamental to Boyle's romance reimagining of the story.

'Theodora' effects a crucial transformation of his primary source. In the Corneille play the moral spotlight may be on Théodore, but it is offset dramatically by unequal patterns of passion. The stepdaughter of the governor of Antioch, Flavie, loves Placide, who loves Théodore, while the love relationship between the heroine and Didyme is never more than tentatively

displayed. In 'Theodora' however, Didimus is given equal weight within the narrative. Boyle here draws on the use of Didymus by religious writers as an example of masculine virtue, such as *The Holy Court*, a religious conduct manual by the French Jesuit writer Nicolas Caussin that was circulated in various translations in England from 1626 onwards. In urging chastity to his readers, Caussin cites the example of the 'brave' Didymus:

[...] a young beardless Gentleman, who beholding a poor Christian maid, named Theodora, thrown into a brothel, caused her to escape by giving her the habit of a man, and himself remained for pledge in the attires of a woman, expecting the fury of executioners who gave him the crown of Martyrdom. Saint Ambrose makes him speak to the maid to this effect: Sister, I am come hither as an adulterer, and if it please you I will go out a Martyr: Let us change habits, I pray you: we are as I perceive both of one stature: My apparrel very well fitteth you, but yours will set much better upon me, and both will agree in the service of Christ Jesus. My attire shall make you a virgin, and yours me a Martyr. You shall be most fortunately clothed, and I more happily despoiled. It was so done. Didymus was apprehended, and Theodora understanding it, run back like a lyoness amidst the swords to die with him.<sup>55</sup>

Caussin's version of the Didimus story is a radical repentance narrative. He has come to the brothel as an 'adulterer', but attains virtue through his heroic and sacrificial act. By contrast, Boyle creates two figures that are consistently chaste from the beginning of the story, from which they gain their moral equality.

The religious and narrative weight of 'Theodora' is placed not upon conversion, but upon the joint sacrifice of the pair's lives for God and the chaste love between the couple, which Boyle expands from Corneille. In the play,

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<sup>55</sup> Nicolas Caussin, *The holy court, or the Christian institution of men of quality with examples of those, who in court have flourished in sanctity*, trans. by T.H and others (Paris, St-Omer: 1626), STC 4872. See also the commendation by Joseph Bentham in *The saints societie, Delivered in XIV sermons* (1636), STC 1890, p. 12: 'Thus Didymus to save the chastity of Theodora condemned to the stewes changed apparel: safely dismissed her, died for her, and with her'.

Théodore concedes to Cléobule that she is attracted to Didyme, and her later declaration to him that 'Nous sortirons tous deux avecque la couronne' hints at their chaste union within heaven.<sup>56</sup> In his foreword to the 1687 printing of the romance, Boyle develops this notion, referring to the 'chast effects of a Passion, that had not only been incident to Heroes, but perhaps help'd to make them such'.<sup>57</sup> Boyle's reappropriation of passion for virtuous purposes chimes with contemporary currents in French heroic romance, which rejected the Stoic view that passion was a dangerous distortion of human nature.<sup>58</sup> Attached to a story of martyrdom, this account of passion performing all for the glory of God therefore solves Boyle's compositional difficulties of fusing romance with martyrology to create a Christian fiction.

Furthermore, through each lover's willingness to give their life to save the other, we can see that 'Theodora' is part of a creative continuum that encompasses Broghill's Izadora and Perolla and Tasso's *The Recouerie of Hiersualem*. Heroism resides not in an absence of romantic love but in all behaviour that is devoid of self-interest. Indeed, we might surmise the centrality of Tasso to Robert Boyle's fiction as indicated by the fact that another sister, Lady Ranelagh, is addressed as Sophronia throughout the text as his auditor and in the dedication to *Occasional Reflections*.<sup>59</sup>

In the 1649 'Theodora', Boyle's economical narrative is interspersed with three emotional setpieces in which the meaning of virtue and the problem of self-interest is discussed: Theodora's own deliberations following her

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<sup>56</sup> *Théodore*, V. 6. l.65.

<sup>57</sup> *The Works of Robert Boyle*, XI, p. 9.

<sup>58</sup> Mark Bannister, *Privileged Mortals: The French Heroic Novel 1630-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 68.

<sup>59</sup> *The Works of Robert Boyle*, V, p. 5.

condemnation to the brothel, a first lengthy exchange with Didimus as he arrives to rescue her, and a second when Theodora reappears to try to take Didimus's place on the scaffold. Following her condemnation to the stews and distraught at her punishment, Theodora conducts a long internal disquisition. Her first reaction is of horror: 'Shall that Theodora whose virginity has ever been unquestioned as her beauty be now as notorious for her prostitution, as she was famous for her chastity?' (p. 16). She then shifts her stance to one of acceptance. Boyle accomplishes this surprising turn of reasoning through a long interior monologue in which Theodora tests herself on whether her wish for sexual self-preservation is motivated by a self-interested fear for her external reputation rather than and whether a Christian should accept the fate that God has reserved for her: 'Thus irresolved in her distracted thoughts betwixt the feare of injuring her Chastity and the apprehensions of dishonouring God, at length the Christian in her [...] thus overcome the mayd.' (p. 17).

Boyle is partly heeding a call for the demonstration of motivation within fiction advocated by Scudéry in the preface to *Ibrahim*, which called on romance to represent the 'motions of his [the hero's] soul' and which was discussed at length in chapter two.<sup>60</sup> In order to judge the virtue of the hero or heroine, romance must let the reader into his or her inner thoughts. Boyle therefore draws on contemporary romance precedent, but in representing Theodora's self-examination at length, he also borrows from the popular genre of the spiritual journal, whose authority leans on the Pauline injunction in 1 Corinthians 11:28, 'But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of the

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<sup>60</sup> Preface to *Ibrahim or The illustrious Bassa* trans. by Henry Cogan (1652), Wing S2160, sig. A4v.

bread and drink of the cup'. Theodora evaluates her own motivations from various angles, reproaching herself as she does so ('Ah! Silence quickly this unchristian dispute, degenerate Theodora!' (p. 17); 'What doubt'st thou foolish Girle!' (p. 17)). In the absence of a Catholic confessor, Protestant believers were encouraged to test out personal motivations in what Effie Botonaki terms a process of self-surveillance in order to commune with Christ.<sup>61</sup> This practice led to the proliferation of diaries in the seventeenth century, a practice fervently followed by Boyle's sister Mary Rich following her conversion.<sup>62</sup>

Theodora concludes her inner examination not by taking refuge in her reputation, but by deciding to submit to her fate as a form of living martyrdom.

Rape is reconstructed as a Christian trial:

Virginitie is so farre from constituting the essence of Chastity, that 'tis (at best) but a conteingent effect and incertain signe on't: a lustfull heart defiles an untoucht body, but Chastity, that (since a vertu) is seated in the mind, can never be unthron'd by any violence offered to the body, whilst that will that cannot be constrained'd is unconsenting to the enforc't act: its Repugnancy will make it not an adultery but a Rape (p. 18)

The state no longer has control over Theodora's body and she is able to transcend her own punishment and maintain her inner purity by freely entering into abasement: 'A virgin chuses them (the stews) out of piety and goes a virgin out of them by Providence. This sinke of uncleanness is now become the

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<sup>61</sup> Effie Botonaki, 'Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Spiritual Diaries: Self-Examination, Covenanting, and Account Keeping', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 30 (1999), 3-21.

<sup>62</sup> See, *inter alia*, Isaac Ambrose, *Media: the middle things, in reference to the first and last things* (1649), Wing A2958; Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick, *The Memoir of Lady Warwick: Also her Diary, from A.D. 1666-1672* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1847); Avra Kouffman, "'Why feignest thou thyself to be another woman?': Constraints on the Construction of Subjectivity in Mary Rich's Diary", in Linda S. Coleman (ed.), *Women's Life-Writing: Finding Voice/Building Community* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1997), pp. 11-21.

glorious scene of virtue (30). Through the process of self-examination, Theodora is able to redefine chastity as a state that resides in the will, not the body of the believer; the heroine can therefore remain virtuous even in brothel.

In this emotional encounter between Theodora and Didimus the register moves from one of spiritual examination to a romance dialogue. It is here that the relationship between 'Theodora', *The Recouerie of Hierusalem* and *Parthenissa* becomes most apparent. Like Sophronia, Theodora wishes only to die a Christian martyr; like Olindo, Didimus wishes to die in order to save her. The scene unfolds over several pages of fraught dialogue of competitive altruism. Didimus insists taking her place within the room while letting her flee; Theodora refuses on the grounds that it is against God's will to avoid her punishment and also to cause his death. The scene draws strongly on the dramatic dialogue between Izadora and Perolla, in its melding of romance protestation and martyrological declamation: 'Cruell Theodora (answers the afflicted Didimus) force me not to derive from the greatest goodness that ever was exprest, the greatest misery that can be resented' (p. 23). Throughout the scene, Boyle is careful to frame Didimus' passion for Theodora as wholly rational and disinterested, inspired by her own extraordinary qualities ('long had he cherished for his vertuous Mistresse, a passion, that onely her perfections could justify from the guilt of being excessive' (p. 21)). It is a marked echo of the description of Izadora by Spartacus on her first appearance in *Parthenissa*: 'an affection for her could not so properly be called Passion, as Reason'.<sup>63</sup> In 'Theodora' Boyle is asking romance to accommodate a new type of love, one in which self-interest is rejected. It coheres first with the Christian

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<sup>63</sup> *Parthenissa*, p. 97.

ethic of self-abnegation, and second with the idealised moral universe of mid-seventeenth century French romance, which, as Mark Bannister observes, rehabilitated passion 'as the source of energy necessary for heroic actions'.<sup>64</sup> Didimus does not impose his love upon Theodora; his love for her is inspired by her own virtue, and that love in turn inspires heroism.

Theodora is adamant that she should not be saved from her fate, since in doing so Didimus will himself face certain death, and she is determined not to 'scape a Martyrdom which will very much loose of its accustomed Glory by my endeavours to have avoided it' (p. 25). Finally, as Perolla does with Izadora, Didimus falls to his knees in a 'flood of tears'. He declaims: 'both my inclination and your merits have made me so entirely yours that I shall count it as much my happines to perish for you, as 'twould be my misery to live without you' (p. 27). Tears, which as we have discussed earlier, are a signifier of a believer's openness to the divine, align religious fervour with a passionate and virtuous attachment to the beloved. It is only then at this pitch of devotion to a higher purpose of saving Theodora, that she is persuaded to accede to Didimus's plan of rescue:

I am resolv'd that if the gallant Didimus (which heaven forbid) should perish for my safety that I will dye with him that dyes for me; and sacrifice my life with as much readiness to redeeme yourse, as you have hazarded it for my safety [...] (p. 28)

Didimus replies in rapture that he is happy to lay down his life: 'I never seriously thought life a blessing till now that by parting with it I can save Theodora's.' (p. 29). The romance relationship is founded upon the Christian

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<sup>64</sup> Bannister, p. 70.

paradox of death for life. By dying for God and for each other, their love for God can be demonstrated, heaven attained and altruistic sacrifice confirmed. The romance concludes: 'These words being ended with a storme of sighs after the two Platonique lovers had embrac't each other with all the tenderness that seemed due to so sad a separation' (p. 29). The passionate encounter ends on a markedly romantic note.

The last emotional encounter between Theodora and Didimus takes place as Didimus is brought before the magistrate and sentenced to death for having helped Theodora to escape. Theodora appears and bids to save Didimus's life by offering up her own, inhabiting the role of Olindo in *The Recouerie of Hierusalem*:

noble Duell, where the generous rivals dispute not for the victory, but for death! ... How true it is that love is stronger then death, since these miracles of friendship are by the one made rivals for the other and oblig'd to contend for it in a duell, where death must be the punishment of the victor and preservation the reward of the vanquisht? (p. 35)

The lovers will unite in heaven, as is made clear in the last page: 'when the glad soule [...] had abandon'd the fayre mansion it resided in: and waited on by the freed spirit of her loved Didimus had taken it's [sic] flight to the possession of those joys [...] (p. 40). 'Theodora', replaces marriage with death and heaven and takes the protestations of *Parthenissa's* lovers Izadora and Perolla onto an explicitly Christian level.

In reading 'The Martyrdom of Theodora' as a culmination of a creative process that starts with 'Amorous Controversies', the text emerges as a fiction

that echoes *Parthenissa* and blends romance, the French martyr play and the *histoire tragique* and proposes an interiority of romance characterisation that aligns it with religious texts of self-examination. With the latter in mind, we now turn to a third member of the Boyle family, Mary Rich.

### The romance reading of Mary Rich

Our case study has tracked the Boyle brothers' writing in 1649 as a dialogic project whose purpose is to guide the reader towards God. In a coda to this study, we consider a close reader of their work: Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick, to whom Robert dedicated *Seraphic Love*. In the preface to the text, he reveals her involvement in the creative process:

It was at that delicious Leeze, where you are now the Mistress, that this Letter was written, and it was of You that I borrow'd those hours I spent in writing it. 'Twas to You that I show'd it almost Sheet by Sheet, before resolv'd to send it away. 'Tis You that can best Excuse the Imprefections of it, as knowing not onely the more Obvious, but the more Private Avocations, and other Disadvantages, among which it was penn'd. 'Tis You that have ever since Sollicated me to divulge it, and have given me the greatest Encouragements to do so, not onely by those by those Sollicitations, which imply'd Your own favourable Opinion of it, but by procuring me (by Concealing or Disguising my name) the unsuspected Approbation of divers competent Judges.<sup>65</sup>

Rich converted at the same time as her brother Robert was composing 'Amorous Controversies', so we might surmise that she was intended as the primary reader of the text. She recorded that conversion in a piece of life-writing dated around 1671, in which the year 1648 marks the formative

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<sup>65</sup> *The Works of Robert Boyle*, I, pp. 54-5.

moment of her journey towards God, providing a break with her life before and after.<sup>66</sup> Notably, as part of her journey to 'the holy life' (p. 21) she puts behind her romance reading, which she associates with her sister-in-law, who 'brought me to be very vain and foolish, inticing me to spend (as she did) her time in seeing and reading plays and romances, and in exquisite and curious dressing' (p. 4). The notion that romance is emblematic of moral waywardness recurs; Rich emphasises that she had spent much of her

precious time in nothing else but reading romances, and in reading and seeing plays, and in going to court and Hide Park and Spring Garden; and I was so fond of the court, that I had taken a secret resolution, that if my father died, and I was mistress of myself, I would become a courtier (p. 21)

Like Robert, Rich notes the tension between romance-reading and religion. Her spiritual memoir clearly underlines how the consumption of romance in the Boyle family was freighted with moral danger, and that such frivolity prevented a true knowledge of God:

I had, only to please my father, a form of godliness; but for the inward and spiritual part of it, I was not only ignorant of it, but resolved against it, having stedfastly set against being a Puritan (p. 21)

And yet her memoir relates her early life and courtship in recognisably heroic romance terms. Her love for her future husband is initially proscribed ('my ditu

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<sup>66</sup> T. Crofton Croker (ed.), *Autobiography of Mary Countess of Warwick* (London: Richards, 1848). Page references are given within the body of the text. See also Mary Rich, *The Memoir of Lady Warwick: Also her Diary, from A.D. 1666-1672* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1847).

and my reason having frequent combats within me with my passion', p. 8) and she relives her wooing in considerable detail:

he had with me about two hours discourse, upon his knees, by my bed-side, wherein he did so handsomely express his passion (he was pleased to say he had for me), and his fear of being my father's command separated from me, that together with as many promises as any person in the world could make, of his endeavouring to make up to me the smallness of his fortune by the kindness he would have still to me, if I consented to be his wife; that though I can truly say, that when he kneeled down by me was far from having resolved to own I would have him, yet his discourse so far prevailed that I consented to give him, as he desired, leave to let his father mention it to mine; and promised him that, let him make his father say what he please, I would own it. Thus we parted, this evening, after I had given away myself to him, and if I had not done so that night, I had been, by my father's separating us, kept from doing it, at least for a long time (pp, 10-11)

The high emotional pitch of this scene, including Mary's prone position, is a clear relation to heroic romance episodes studied in the previous chapter, in which *Parthenissa's* virtuous heroes are immobilised, a position that underlines both passion and decorum.

In an echo of the Izadora-Blacius relationship in *Parthenissa*, Mary Rich tells us that her relationship with her future husband was initially prohibited by her father. The earl enlisted the brothers (including Broghill) to Mary, who was nevertheless 'unmoveable in my resolution'. Within her memoir, her love for her husband and for her father are at odds. While she notes that her marrying into the religiously observant Rich family was the first step towards a life of faith, she records distress at her own filial disobedience, and that 'by marrying my husband [I] flatly disobeyed [God's] command, which was given me in His sacred oracles, of obeying my father' (p. 15).

Rich's memoir charts the fatherly prohibition against her suitor, intrigues with and passion for her lover and her clandestine marriage, followed by her relationship with God that allowed her to bear the blows of her children's deaths. It is clear that romance, which in hindsight she associates with a life without faith, was nevertheless the default narrative model. As Julie Eckerle argues, romance was a major component of female autobiographical writing since it offered a method of 'recount[ing] their own personal disappointments'.<sup>67</sup> But as Rich's memoir demonstrates, romance can also be utilised and tamed for a higher purpose, allowing women to fashion virtuous versions of themselves and to provide models for their readers.

There has been some critical disagreement about Rich's writing. To compare her memoir with her regular diary entries, argues Ramona Wray, is to see a complete re-presentation of her miserable daily married life in which her husband was an abusive tyrant, and an implicit critique of romance's 'delusive' qualities.<sup>68</sup> Raymond Anselment, however, rejects this analysis, citing entries that show her attention to the spiritual health of her husband and thus her attempts to fuse the role of a good Christian and good wife.<sup>69</sup> Whatever the truth of the couple's relationship, both Wray and Anselment acknowledge that romance was a narrative model to which Rich adhered. If we place Rich's writings and self-examination in proximity to the fiction of Broghill and Boyle, we can see that the brothers' joint narrative framework of heroic romance

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<sup>67</sup> Julie Eckerle, *Romancing the Self in Early Modern Englishwomen's Life Writing* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), p. 19.

<sup>68</sup> Ramona Wray, '[Re]constructing the Past: The Diametric Lives of Mary Rich', in *Betraying Our Selves: Forms of Self-Representation in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. by Henk Dragstra, Sheila Ottway and Helen Wilcox (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 148-165.

<sup>69</sup> Raymond A. Anselment, 'The Conversion of Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick', *Christianity and Literature* 66 (2017), 591-608.

mediating devotion to God was available close to home; and indeed, was beginning to be produced by her siblings during the early years of her conversion, and perhaps even as a response to it.

The transitive experience of romance whereby the reader is affected by the text she or he consumes and which was presented by godly critics of the genre as a problem, is turned by the Boyle siblings to spiritual advantage. In doing this, the Boyles' writings do not just narrate virtue but also resituate religious romance itself as morally authoritative. Furthermore, it allows us to expand the model of romance sociability, in which the identificatory pleasures of romance are shared by its readers through conversation and discussion, to one in which readers are also writers.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the Boyle brothers' writings and interaction in the late 1640s as a determinant of their print romance production in the 1650s and beyond. Close reading has brought to light the lateral connections embedded within 'Amorous Controversies', 'The Martyrdom of Theodora' and *Parthenissa*, and in reading these texts together, this study resituates some of the findings made by scholars of Robert Boyle into a wider discussion of developments of fiction. While Michael Hunter and Lawrence Principe have concluded that romance was the single most important influence on Robert Boyle's writing in the 1640s, his early works have not been examined in the light of his brother's output. At the same time, Robert Boyle's foray into romance rarely appears in general accounts of early modern fiction. An exception is Amelia Zurcher's

detailed study of how seventeenth-century romances discuss the ethical problems of interest, which situates Boyle's *Theodora* as a standalone text, but within a secular context. In contrast, this chapter has put religion at the centre of the brothers' romances. In reading their writings as constructing romance virtue within Christian co-ordinates, it places them outside the tradition of Protestant militancy that was shaped by chivalric romance. Rather, it studies how the brothers conceived romance valour in terms of renunciation and sacrifice.

In bringing together these texts for the first time, this chapter also suggests that they can be approached as part of a familial discourse of Protestant virtue. Marion Wynne-Jones's study of women writers in the More, Cary, Sidney/Wroth and Cavendish families and how they developed authorial strategies within a kinship network suggests a way of developing a reading of these texts along similar lines, as 'distinct and 'individualised' discursive formations or familial discourses [...] a set of self-presentation skills that project a defined identity across an array of cultural, social and political domains'.<sup>70</sup> Unlike Wynne-Jones, this study has not put a female writer at the centre but nevertheless grounds the Boyles' work as a sibling production that is part-private and part-public. Further investigation of this group of works, which include companion texts Robert Boyle's third-person 'An Account of Philaretus during his Minority', written in 1648, and Mary Rich's personal writings, in which her conversion in 1648 and later personal trials are recorded, could add to the scholarship on familial discourse and Protestant fiction.

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<sup>70</sup> Marion Wynne-Jones, *Women Writers and Familial Discourse in the Renaissance: Relative Values* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007), p. 1.

The case study has also allowed us to situate these familial texts within a wider framework of generic flux during the interregnum. Following a chronological chain of development, the chapter has mapped a series of conscious transformations: adaptations from manuscript into print, a remodelling of literary and religious sources and dialogic modification within the siblings' writings. In doing so, this study applies the model of textual hybridity of the interregnum, itself a production of social and political transformation, to the brothers' experiments in meshing Christian writing and the pleasurable affect of heroic romance. We may, then, see their work as another example of the argument laid out in the introduction to this thesis that English romance is not just an exercise in mimicry of French models but actively reshapes them.

## Conclusion

John Davies's essay on fiction that prefaces his translation of parody romance *The Extravagant Shepherd* sets narrative tradition as the key problem within romance. The act of imitation can only be a degraded creative process:

I consider that the Generality of mankinde are wholly led away with their first thoughts, and are guided by Authority and Tradition, rather then satisfied with the scrutiny of their own reason; and for that of painting him vomiting, and the others licking it up, as the humor is nasty enough, so had it been as false, had not that great disease of imitation so pestered Poetry since she was first known among men, and her own dazzling greatness made men willing to look upon her by reflection; besides that, there is a kinde of laziness in the mindes of most men, that make them sit down with things formerly thought on by others, and never to look after any enlargements or discoveries of their own.<sup>1</sup>

We might expect a translator of parody to foreground the tension between tradition and authority on the one hand and lived experience on the other, but Davies's attack in 1653 on narrative convention has had particular resonance for this study's exploration of interregnum fiction. From 1645 to 1665, romances were being produced in a period of unprecedented social and political transformation that encompassed war and several regime changes and radical new politics and philosophies; Civil War and post-war textual culture was hence marked by unprecedented fragmentation of social authority and of genre. In this context, this thesis has studied how English romance renovates

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Sorel, *The Extravagant Shepherd*, trans. by John Davies, (1653), Wing S4703, sig. A1v.

narrative conventions hitherto based on chivalric, political or pastoral romance traditions. It has tracked how interregnum romance refashions plausible narratives in response not just to parody, its traditional antagonist, but to an enormous variety of textual pressures.

This thesis began with asking how we might relate generic transformation in mid-seventeenth century English romance to the political and cultural contestation of the period, and has accordingly read romance conventions in a wider discursive context than is habitual. Moving from the inside of the texts outwards, it has traced how fiction was helping to construct and embed new forms of thinking about warfare, kingship, desire and marriage, the body and virtue, the topics covered in the five chapters of this thesis, and how the authority and tradition of which John Davies complains was being actively challenged. Making connections across a wide variety of texts through their reworking of familiar, transhistorical plot features has allowed us to pinpoint generic transformation within a defined historical moment in the mid-seventeenth century; or as Ralph Cohen terms it, 'a point of intersection between past and present'.<sup>2</sup> In other words, it has attended to genre as process as well as product.

The thesis has taken note of the past uses of these plot elements in Elizabethan or Stuart fiction, and then read their renovation in interregnum romance in tandem with a variety of fictional and non-fictional texts. These have ranged from news books, engineering manuals and political tracts to drama, secret histories and medical theory. Chivalric versions of combat, as we

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<sup>2</sup> Ralph Cohen, 'Afterword: The Problems of Generic Transformation', in *Romance: Generic Transformation from Chrétien de Troyes to Cervantes*, ed. by Kevin Brownlee and Marina Scordilis Brownlee (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1985), p. 269.

saw in chapter one, are supplanted in *Parthenissa* and *The Princess Cloria* by siege narratives that foreground technology and a civilian experience, and thereby contest the notion of aristocratic honour and a warrior caste. We saw in chapter two that in addressing kingship, the romans à clef *Theophania*, *The Princess Cloria* and *Panthalia* use a new style of historical narrative borrowed from heroic romance which imagines the inner motivations of Tudor and Stuart sovereigns. They thereby diverge from political romance predecessors by recasting those monarchs as flawed individuals in whom political trust is wanting. Chapter three discussed the disappearance of the Arcadian plot sequence of gender disguise ending in matrimony. It read the representations of marriage and cross-dressed desire in five texts in tandem with parody and emerging theories of political contract that articulate a challenge to the literary and political uses of Caroline romance.

Chapter four identified a new form of decorous romance eroticism in the bleeding body of the hero and read *Gondibert* and *Parthenissa* in parallel with medical theories of blood and the neoclassical programme of *bienséance* to present the disciplining of the desiring body and the texts' emphasis on narrative order. Chapter five examined the articulation of virtue, putting Lord Broghill's heroic romance together with Robert Boyle's conversion texts and alongside the brothers' own reading of French drama and *histoires tragiques*. Taken together we saw how interiority in romance characterisation can be aligned it with religious texts of self-examination and how romance can articulate virtue not statically through the social status of the individual but as something that can be attained by their sacrifice.

In studying what Helen Cooper has described as romance memes and their transformations, this thesis has inverted Barbara Fuchs' characterisation of romance as an invasive form that contaminates other cultural genres such as the masque, tragicomedy and the tilt.<sup>3</sup> The study has characterised such pliability less in terms of Fuchs' exogamous movement wherein romance 'infects' other forms, but has presented an absorptive model whereby romance actively imports a variety of external discourses in order to authenticate the generic contract within the reader's changed horizon of expectations.

This thesis contributes to work on seventeenth-century textual culture in a number of other ways. Rather than studying interregnum fiction as a series of discrete subgenres, it has proposed an approach that works for a variety of romances within this period, and that can include those texts that are understudied because they do not fit the categories of heroic romance and roman à clef, such as *Eliana, Pandion and Amphigenia* and *Seraphic Love* among others.

Although this thesis has not been formally structured around heroic romance and roman à clef, it nevertheless has a contribution to make about these critically dominant categories. While not the primary focus of this project, the traffic between English and French literature has become a shadow study in a number of ways, and has suggested that while English fiction adopted elements from the French, it put them in dialogue with other genres. Chapter four considered *Parthenissa* and *Gondibert* in the context both of medical texts and neoclassical theories of *vraisemblance* and *bienséance*, while chapter five explored the writings of the Boyle brothers in the context of their reading of devotional texts, French theatre and *Astrea*. There is scope for further study of

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<sup>3</sup> Barbara Fuchs, *Romance* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.72.

English romance's relationship with French literature that could widen out from *Parthenissa* and rearticulate what we might consider to be heroic romance in the 1650s and 1660s; such a study would certainly incorporate *Gondibert* and Robert Boyle's writing, but also *Eliana* (1661) and John Bulteel's *Birinthea* (1664) which positions itself as a narrative offshoot of Scudery's *Artamenes*. As the discussion in chapter two of how the Elizabeth-Essex ring story moves from a La Calprenède play to *Theophania* to a French secret history shows, such traffic might also extend to roman à clef.

This thesis has responded to critical constructions of political romance. Disguised retellings of history through romance have been characterised by some scholars either as compensatory royalist narratives or inferior history-writing with little literary merit. In reading *Panthalia*, *The Princess Cloria* and *Theophania* with heroic romance's insistence on the fictionalised inner lives of historical figures, this thesis has suggested a more complex genealogy than the absolutist political romances *Argenis* and *Dodona's Grove*. The thesis has repositioned romans à clef as texts of pleasure, which cultivate the strand of textual revelation that began with *The King's Cabinet Opened*, and anticipate an emerging genre of secret histories that two decades later would create a body of texts hostile to absolutism. Although they endorse royalism, interregnum romans à clef differentiate themselves from *Argenis* and *Dodona's Grove* by their scepticism about the virtue and motivations of rulers and their resistance of royalist hagiography.

By exploring how romance has absorbed a variety of genres, the project has illuminated the extent to which romance became an experimental form in the mid-seventeenth century. In eschewing the strict high-political

periodisation suggested by the start and end dates of the republic, and by reading pre- and post-1660 romances together as a corpus, the thesis has suggested that mid-century fiction contains seeds of later secret histories and Restoration neoclassicism and that romance can help backdate the creative renewal assigned to the Restoration to a period that encompasses the years of the republic.

Above all, this thesis has been interested in the flexibility and hybridity of mid-century romance. There is a moment in the preface to *Eliana* (1661) that captures the working of interregnum fiction perfectly. It makes claims for romance to engage not just with 'Love-stories and toys, though those are intertexted for delight', but with 'things Oeconomical, Ethetical [sic], Physical, Metaphysical, Philosophical, Political and Theological as well as Amatory'.<sup>4</sup> *Eliana's* characterisation of romance capaciousness is reflected throughout this thesis, which through its parallel readings of romance and non-romance texts has aimed to convey the richness and polyphony of fiction in this period and its acute responses to social and political change. A reading of fiction from this period and an understanding of its responsiveness to socio-political change therefore makes it central to any discussion of genre and textual culture in the middle years of the seventeenth century.

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<sup>4</sup> *Eliana* (1661), Wing E499, sig. A3v.

## Appendix

### Chronological list of romance narratives in English, 1645-1665

#### <1> Manuscripts

Robert Boyle, 'Amorous Controversies' (1648), British Library, Sloane MS 72, ff. 233r-258v)

----- 'The Martyrdom of Theodora' (c. 1648-9), St John's College, Oxford MS 66A

Lady Hester Pulter, *The Unfortunate Florinda* (c. 1655-61), Leeds University Library, Brotherton MS Lt q. 32

Sir Henry North, *Eroclea or the Mayd of Honour* (c. 1650), British Library, Add. MS 32500

#### <2> Printed texts

Robert Baron, *Erotopageion or the Cyprian Academy* (1647) Wing B889

Robert Baron, *An Apologie for Paris* (1649) Wing B888

John Reynolds, *The Flower of Fidelitie* (1650, reprinted 1654, 1655, 1660) Wing R1304

Samuel Sheppard, *The Loves of Amandus and Sophronia*, (1650), Wing S3167

Thomas Bayly, *Herba Parietis, or the Wallflower* (1650), Wing B1511

James Howell, *Dendrologia Dodona's Grove* (1650)

Anna Weamys, *A Continuation of Sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia* (1651), Wing W1189

John Harington, *The History of Polindor and Flostella, with other poems* (1651, reprinted 1657), Wing H772

Sir William Davenant, *Gondibert, An Heroic Poem* (1651), Wing D326

William Bosworth, *The Chast and Lost Lovers*, (1651), Wing B3799 (reprinted 1653)

Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, *Parthenissa* (Waterford: 1651), Wing O488

Sir Percy Herbert, *Cloria and Narcissus* (1653), Wing C4725

Samuel Rowlands, *The Famous History of Guy Earle of Warwick* (1654) Wing R2084A

Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, *Parthenissa A Romance In Four Parts The First Part* (1654) Wing O491A

----- *Parthenissa A Romance In Four Parts, the Second Part* (1655), O492A

----- *Parthenissa The Third Part* (1655), Wing O491

Sir William Sales, *Theophania, or severall Modern Histories Represented by way of Romance* (1655), Wing S371

Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, *Parthenissa A Romance The Last Part* (1656), Wing O493

Margaret Cavendish, 'Assaulted and Pursued Chastity', and 'The Contract' in *Natures Pictures Drawn By Fancies Pencil to the Life* (1656), Wing N855

James Harrington, *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656), Wing H809

Samuel Holland, *Don Zara del Fogo A Mock Romance* (1656) Wing H2437

Sir Percy Herbert, *The fourth part of Cloria and Narcissus* (1658)

William Chamberlayne, *Pharonnida, An Heroic Poem* (1659), Wing C1866

Richard Brathwait, *Panthalia or the Royal Romance* (1659), Wing B4273

Robert Boyle, *Some Motives or Incentives to the Love of God (Seraphic Love)*

(1659; reprinted 1661, 1663, 1665, 1667, 1670, 1678, 1692), Wing  
B4032

Sir George Mackenzie, *Aretina, or the Serious Romance* (Edinburgh: 1660), Wing  
M151

Nathaniel Ingelo, *Bentivolio and Urania* (1660, reprinted 1664, 1669, 1673,  
1682), Wing I175

Sir Percy Herbert, *The Princess Cloria*, (1661, reprinted 1665), Wing P3492

John Burton, *The History of Eriander* (1661), Wing B6180

Thomas Flatman (attrib.), *Don Juan Lamberto, or a Comical History of the Late  
Times* (1661), Wing M2492

Samuel Pordage, *Eliana A New Romance* (1661), Wing E499

John Dauncey, *The English Lovers, or a Girle Worth Gold* (1662), Wing D289A

Samuel Butler, *Hudibras the first part/Hudibras the second part* (1663, reprinted  
1664, 1671, 1672, 1674)

John Bulteel, *Birinthea A Romance* (1664), Wing B5454

John Crowne, *Pandion and Amphigenia, or, The History of the Coy Lady of  
Thessalia* (1665), Wing C7396

### <3> Romance translations published in English, 1645-65

Marin Le Roy Gomberville, *The History of Polexander*, trans. by William Browne  
(1647, reprinted 1648), Wing G1025

Juan Perez de Mantalvan, *Aurora Ismenia and the Prince* trans. by Thomas  
Stanley (1650), Wing P1468

Jeronimo Fernandez, *The Honour of Chivalry, or the famous and delectable  
History of Don Bellianis of Greece* (1650), Wing F781

- Francisco de Quintana, *The History of Don Fenise* (1651), Wing Q220
- Anon., *The Famous and Renowned History of Amadis de Gaule* trans. by Francis Kirkman (1652) Wing F358
- Francesco Carmeni, *Nissena An Excellent new Romance written originally in Italian* (1652), Wing C599
- Antoine du Prier, *The Loves and Adventures of Clerio and Lozia A Romance* trans. by Francis Kirkman (1652), Wing L3260
- Anon., *Choice novels and amorous tales* (1652), Wing C3917
- Madeleine de Scudéry, *The History of Philoxypes and Polycrite* (1652), Wing S2159A
- Scudéry, *Ibrahim, or the Illustrious Bassa* trans. by Henry Cogan (1652, reprinted 1674, 1694) Wing S2160
- Gauthier de Costes de la Calprenède, *Cassandra, the fam'd romance, the whole work in five parts* trans. by Sir Charles Cotterell (1652, reprinted 1661, 1667, 1676, 1703, 1725, 1737), Wing L106
- *Cleopatra, a new romance, parts 1 and 2* (1652) Wing L110A
- *Hymen's Praeludia, or Love's Masterpiece, part 1 (Cleopatra)*, trans. by R. Loveday (1652, reprinted 1657, 1663, 1665), Part 1, Wing L111
- Charles Sorel, *The Extravagant Shepherd, the Anti-Romance or the History of the Shepherd Lysis* trans. by John Davies (1653, reprinted 1654, 1660) Wing S4703
- Scudéry, *Artamenes or the Grand Cyrus*, trans. by F.G (1653, reprinted 1691), Wing S2144
- Giovanni Francisco Loredano, *Dianea an Excellent New Romance* trans. by Sir Aston Cokaine (1654), Wing L3066

Scudéry, *Artamenes or the Grand Cyrus*, vols. 2 and 3, trans. by F.G (1654), Wing

S2162

La Calprenède, *Hymen's Praeludia*, part 2, trans. by R. Loveday (1654), Wing

L113

Scudéry, *Artamenes or the Grand Cyrus* vols. 4 and 5, trans. by F.G. (1655), Wing

S2144

----- *Clelia the first part* trans. by John Davies (1655, reprinted 1656), Wing

S2151

La Calprenède, *Hymen's Praeludia* part 3, trans. by R. Loveday (1655), Wing

L114

Giovanni Francesco Biondi, *Coralbo a new Romance*, trans. by Robert Gentili

(1655), Wing B2935

La Calprenède, *Hymen's Praeludia* part 4, trans. by J.C. (1656), Wing L115

----- *Hymen's Praeludia* parts 4 and 5, trans. by J.C. (1656), Wing L116

Scudéry, *Clelia the second part*, trans. by John Davies (1656), Wing S2152

François de Métel Boisrobert, *The Indian history of Anaxander and Orazia* trans.

by W.G. (1657), Wing B3468

Honoré d'Urfé, *Astrea*, trans. by John Davies (1657), Wing U132

----- *Astrea The Third and Last Volume*, trans. by John Davies (1658) U132

La Calprenède, *Hymen's Praeludia* part 6 trans, by J.C. (1658), Wing L116A

----- *Hymen's Praeludia* part 7, trans. by J.C (1658), Wing L117A

Scudéry, *Clelia the third part*, trans. by John Davies (1658), Wing 2153

La Calprenède, *Hymen's Praeludia* parts 9 and 10, trans. by John Davies (1659),

Wing L119

La Calprenède, *Hymen's Praeludia* parts 11-12, trans. by John Coles, James

Webb, John Davies (1659), Wing L120

Scudéry, *Clelia the fourth part* trans. by George Havers (1660), Wing S2154

Pierre Ortigue de Vaumorière, *The Grand Scipio*, trans. by G. H (1660), Wing  
V162

----- *The second volume of The Grand Scipio, an excellent romance*, trans. by G.H  
(1661), Wing V162A

Scudéry, *Clelia the fifth and last volume* trans. by George Havers (1661), S2155

La Calprenede, *Pharamond, or the History of France* (1662, reprinted 1677),  
Wing L125

----- *Hymen's Praeludia* parts 7-8 trans. by John Coles (part 7) and James  
Webb (part 8), (1663), Wing L122B

Paul Scarron, *The Comical Romance* trans. by J.B. (1665) Wing S830A

#### <4> Selected later printings

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Wing L122C

----- *Hymen's Praeludia* parts 1-12 (1687, reprinted 1698), Wing L124

Orrery, Roger Boyle, Earl of, *Parthenissa A Romance The Last Part The Sixth  
Tome* (1669), Wing O494

Scudéry, *Almahide or, the captive queen* (1677, reprinted 1702), Wing S2142

----- *Clelia the whole work in five parts* trans. John Davies (1-3) and George  
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- *A narration of the siege and taking of the town of Leicester* (1645), Wing N162
- *A true & Exact Relation of the several passages at the Siege of Manchester* (1642) Wing T2462
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- *Articles for the Surrender of Colchester* (1648), Wing A3826
- *Cabala, Mysteries of State, in Letters of the great Ministers of K James and K. Charles* (1653), Wing C183
- *Hic Mulier* (1620), STC 13375
- *King Charls his tryal at the high court of justice* (1650), Wing K556
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- *The arraignment and conviction of Sir VValter Rawleigh* (1648), Wing A3744
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