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**BEING AND SEEMING:
THE SHAPING OF THE WOMAN
WRITER IN LATE SIXTEENTH- AND
EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY
PRINT**

by

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Ph.D. Thesis

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School of English

Faculty of Humanities

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2012



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**TEXT CUT OFF IN THE
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For my mother, Ellen
and in memory of my father, Frank,
and my Uncle Tom

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ABSTRACT

This work explores ways in which early modern women writers were presented in their printed books within the literary landscape of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It consists of a survey of the typographical presentation of title pages and front matter in printed texts, identifying rhetorically feminine self-constructions which allow the writers to negotiate their way to publication. This survey also provides a historical context for the close reading of two case studies: Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611) and Elizabeth Cary's *The Tragedie of Mariam, The Faire Queene of Jewry* (1613), together with examination of some extant copies.

Early modern women writers *seem* to present themselves as stereotypically ideal and modest in order to *be* writers who are able to reach readers of the printed word. They are able to use the idea of femininity as a source of strength and as part of a wilful strategy in a fictive self-construction to fulfil readers' expectations of an ideal woman's writings. The survey suggests that the physical presentations of their books are constructed in the full awareness of these strategies.

Textual analysis of Lanyer's work suggests that she adopts a rhetorically gendered self-presentation to her fictive group of elite women. Similarly, Cary's main protagonist is a woman who also negotiates with social and cultural forces to produce a fictive application of the feminine voice in much the same way as that exhibited by early modern women writers. Nonetheless, Lanyer's distinctive voice is constrained by cultural factors acting upon the physical presentation of her book. The thesis explores understandings of possible strategies of *being and seeming* in early modern women's texts and how members of the book trade responded to ensure sales of their books.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Background

It is well known that ‘access to literary forms and formal play has a profoundly gendered history (shaped not least by inequalities of education)’ (S Roberts, ‘Literary Capital’ 247). More generally, socioeconomic and religious affiliations had major effects on any early modern woman’s access to possibilities of agency as a writer (S Roberts ‘Literary Capital’ 264). In addition, there were social anxieties that ‘the press offered to make the precarious boundary between the aristocracy and the lower gentry more fluid’ (Wall *Imprint* 12). As a consequence, the early modern male writer had to contend with the fact that ‘authorship[’s] incompatibility with a gentlemanly amateurism’ made having one’s work in print ‘socially problematic’ (Wall *Imprint* 14). In fact, some writers (male and female) claimed that they did not wish to have their texts printed for the general public and preferred to keep their work in manuscript and in private circulation. By this means they avoided the ‘social stigma’ which is thought to have been attached to a text appearing in print (Saunders 509; North ‘Anonymity’s’ 1-18). Nonetheless, the printed artefact of the early seventeenth century often functioned as a mimicking of the tradition of manuscript circulation within an exclusive literary coterie in order to appeal to the book-buying public (Wall ‘Circulating’ 39). On the other hand, it may be that a ‘social stigma’ was attached not to the idea of having one’s text in print but instead to engaging in commercial transactions with the book trade, which may have been an inappropriate social interaction for the elite in society.¹ Therefore, it is plausible that early modern women writers had to not only contend with this kind of tension through social expectations but also gendered demands on their behaviour in a society that inevitably influenced their access to the world of the printed word:

Although a few women below the rank of gentry used the new technology of print to earn their living ... many well-born women were inhibited

¹ Information from a private discussion with David Shaw.

from publishing their writing not only by ideologies of gender ... but also by aristocratic codes that defined the press as 'vulgar'.
(M W Ferguson 'Renaissance' 156)

Previous scholars have claimed that the Renaissance concept of author and writer was gendered as male thus rendering the notion of a 'woman writer' as an anomaly who struggled to find an authentic voice (M W Ferguson 'Renaissance' 145; Wall *Imprint* 282):

Repression, as such, is not only located in social systems but very specifically in language, which provided the women poets only gaps, silences and the role of the other, within male discourse. (Waller 'Discourse' 246)

Hannay recognizes that this assumed isolation imposes 'the anxiety of absence' (Hannay 'Introduction' 1) on the author rather than a Bloomian 'anxiety of influence'.² In other words, rather than experiencing the anxiety of negotiating the presence of a strong predecessor whilst announcing their independent entry into the literary culture, Hannay asserts that early modern women writers struggled to find any female literary tradition out of which to write (Hannay 'City' 76; Hannay 'Introduction' 1). As a consequence of this supposed exclusivity, Hannay suggests that these writers sought out communities, akin to Christine de Pisan's *City of Ladies* (1405), which empowered them to write amidst opposition from a male-centred literary culture (Hannay 'City' 77). Benson has also argued that 'the notion of the woman writer as a member of a single-sex canon that began with Sappho had become a commonplace, regularly invoked by male promoters' (Benson, Kirkham 4).

A prime example of the celebration of women writers in early modern England is Thomas Bentley's *Monument of Matrones: Containing Seven Several Lamps of Virginitie* (1582) which is regarded as the earliest extant printed anthology of English women's writings, comprising a

² See Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*. See also Gilbert, Gubar, 48-9. Gilbert and Gubar revised Bloom's ahistorical theory, which ignored gender and sexuality, in terms of feminist criticism of nineteenth-century women writers and their anxieties working within their contemporary patriarchal literary culture to suggest an idea of united community of women writers in opposition to male writers. I would like to thank Paul March-Russell for his invaluable advice in a private communication.

compilation of prayers and meditations written by Elizabeth I and contemporary female writers. However, this volume is not simply a celebration of women's writing; instead, it has been suggested that it was constructed as part of a complex celebration of Elizabeth I herself, forming 'a canon of female authors by treating their writings as contemporary fulfilments of writings about or deeds and speeches by notable women in the Bible' (King 'Bentley' 216, 235).

The celebration of women was often ambiguous and complex; for example, Thomas Heywood's *Gynaikeion or, Nine Bookes of Various History* (1624)³ has been described as 'an "encyclopaedia of women" which claims to speak for women, to preserve their memories and their histories' (Crook, Rhodes 135). Heywood celebrates typical female stereotypes throughout history in chapters on goddesses, queens, adulteresses, amazons, chaste women and pious family women. However, he also has a section labelled ambiguously, 'The Contents of the eight Booke, inscribed Vrania: Entreating of Women every way Learned: Of Poetresses and Witches' (A6^v). This chapter's title suggests both a favourable commentary on individual women and also a general castigation of women of learning. Nonetheless, in the section itself Heywood praises poets in general and women poets in particular:

Poets, they were the first teachers and instructors;
the people held them to bee inspired from above,
and to speake as from the mouthes of the
gods ... Of the Poets there were many sorts, and
such as writ in diverse kinds, yet all these
imitated at least (if not equalled) by women.
(Heywood *Gynaikeion* 384, ll.17-9, 22-24)

But Heywood's text also expresses anxiety concerning a male or female poet's textual self-presentation, which suggests cultural tension in expectations of the early modern writer:

Poets in that which outwardly appears
fabulous, colour and shaddow golden truths, to
their owne painefull studies and labour, and to
the pleasure and profit of others: But many
Orators, under seeming truths, apparell

³ This edition was reissued as *The Generall Historie of Women*. (1657). Heywood also wrote *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine The Most Worthy Women of the World* (1640).

scandalous fictions, aymed onely to their owne
benefit, to the impoverishing of others
(Heywood *Gynaikeion* 384, 11-5)

Trill *et al* posit that the few women who were able to express themselves in print were likely to provoke comments about their lack of propriety and feminine virtue (Trill, Chedgzoy, Osborne 4), although women are thought to have had easier access to manuscript writings (Clarke, Gibson 1). The concept of privacy is also thought to be very important in the construction of texts written by women because the idea of a woman writer emerging into a public arena was seen as particularly scandalous (Wilcox 'Fruits' 208). Peters clearly shows that there was much debate on ideas of perfect wifely behaviour (Peters 314-42). It has been said that early modern women's behaviour in public was heavily restricted by conduct books (Wayne 'Sentence' 15-29). The most popular was Juan Luis Vives' *A Very Fruitfull and Pleasant Booke called the Instruction of a Christian Woman* (1529), which prescribed women's conduct in all aspects of their lives, advocating that it must be virtuous (Wayne 'Sentence' 18). Vives' book was revised in 1555 when he adjusted his misogynist views on excluding women from the possibility of being educated to present more sympathetic propositions (Patton 111-2). Nevertheless, since this edition was not available in English, scholars have quoted only from the previous translated version, which expresses more negative views on women's education (Patton 112). Hull notes in her study of such educational and conduct books that women had to be 'chaste, silent and obedient' (Hull 174), concluding that a woman's chasteness was equated with the idea of feminine silence. Ferguson agrees, observing that Hull's adage was a social expectation (M W Ferguson 'Renaissance' 145), whilst Jones comments that throughout the sixteenth century the perfect wife was not expected to be seen, let alone heard, in public: 'As her body is locked within the walls of the house, her tongue is locked in her mouth' (Jones 'Nets' 52). Although women in early modern society were legally inferior to men, no evidence of any pleas for female suffrage has yet been noted (Bell, Parfitt, Shepherd 246).

Although contemporary researchers are cognisant of the immense worth of feminist criticism in bringing early modern women's writing into prominence, it is now acknowledged that this previous scholarship has been at risk of interpreting texts only with reference to its own times and without proper recourse to the historical times in which the texts were written. It has tended to project twenty-first century feminist concepts onto the gender politics of men and women of the past.⁴ Of course, as literary scholars in the twenty-first century we can never escape the influence of our times; however, if we fail to fully historicize early modern writings we do so at our peril, resorting to generalizations more typical of today's world of publishing. We need to avoid burdening early modern women writers with subjectivities that are more at home in self-presentations of the twenty-first century.⁵ Instead, we should aim to acknowledge the complexity of seventeenth-century literary culture; anachronistic generalizations cannot, and ought not, be assumed. Consequently, my thesis uses gendered notions of exclusivity as a point of departure, in line with current thinking in the study of early modern women's writing. Whilst acknowledging these gendered demands, I am particularly interested in studying women's texts to position them within the broader literary landscape of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Contemporary scholarship does not recognize early modern women writers as working in a separate literary sphere from male writers. Indeed, it is now thought that there is no evidence of marginalized women writers searching for 'a distinctive interpretive community' (S Roberts 'Literary Capital' 262), experiencing 'the anxiety of absence' (Hannay 'City' 76; Hannay 'Introduction' 1):

[W]omen's literary capital was not always, or even primarily, articulated as distinctive from men's. Indeed the strategic value of the *discrete* interpretive community is necessarily proscribed. More far-reaching, both in the period and for our own critical assumptions, is the articulation of early modern women's literary capital through

⁴ For an assessment see S Roberts 'New Formalism' 70.

⁵ This approach has also been taken by more recent scholars; for example, Longfellow *Women* 123-4 and S Roberts 'New Formalism' 71.

engagement with literary men and dominant literary practices.
(S Roberts 'Literary Capital' 263)

As argued by Jones, there was an expectation that early modern writers (male and female) would enter 'the literary realm through imitation ... participating in some recognizable way in pre-established literary modes ... by invoking the texts of a magisterial predecessor' (Jones *Eros* 1) because '[t]radition provides legitimacy; legitimacy provides literary capital' (S Roberts 'Literary Capital' 263). Therefore, neither Bloom's concept of the 'anxiety of influence' nor Hannay's idea of 'the anxiety of absence' are applicable to early modern women writers (Hannay 'City' 76). If early modern writers (female and male) did experience any tension in shaping themselves as writers, it was probably an anxiety to ensure that they could be seen to derive legitimacy from their most erudite predecessors, and to shape themselves in accordance with social and cultural expectations (gendered and ungendered).

Chedgzoy suggests that scholarship in early modern women's writing should now work towards identifying how male and women writers influenced each other as opposed to attempting to build a 'City of Ladies', united in some kind of solidarity by searching for a female voice in opposition to contemporary male writers (Chedgzoy 'Aemilia Lanyer'). Moreover, with regard to the printed word, McKenzie warns us that '[t]o say that a public community of writers could evolve only where technology could give it a voice ... would imply a far too determinative role for printing' (McKenzie 'Printing' 553). As Malcolmson and Suzuki also note, the study of literary influences between female and male writers needs to acknowledge that men were highly influential on women writers, while women were not always supportive to each other, especially if from different classes, thus problematizing the concept of a fictive female community of united women writers (Malcolmson, Suzuki 3). Most importantly, Scott-Baumann's maxim, that 'reading for form is reading for influence', highlights the significance of attending to the literary form in the study of early modern women's text in order to elucidate meanings (Scott-Baumann "'New" Formalism').

It is clear that previous work is now being reassessed to achieve a more nuanced understanding of early modern expectations of the female voice in public through what Callaghan labels a ‘post-revisionist-phase in feminist scholarship’ (Callaghan ‘Introduction’ 1-29). Consequently, we can refine our understanding of the ways in which early modern women were able to exercise agency ‘in the contradictions, gaps, and “wiggle-room” of patriarchal order’ (Callaghan ‘Introduction’ 10) and ‘manoeuvres within the shared textuality of the time’ (Jones *Eros* 2), in order to ensure that their texts could be published (Wall *Imprint* 282-3). It has also been thought that strategies were adopted ‘whereby [women writers] assumed perceived marginalised locations in a text which signified and enabled political stances from which to dismantle prevailing discourses’ (Harvey 57). However, I am wary of closing down options through speculating only about rebellious gendered motivations and analysing early modern women’s works by labelling them and their texts as either simply compliant with the dominant patriarchal discourse or else subverting it. If we accept that women writers engaged in negotiation with the patriarchal order, then to view these writers as essentially working in a separate literary sphere from their male counterparts offers a false impression. Moreover, we need to acknowledge that the subjection of early modern women as writers was probably far more complex and possibly less negative than some modern-day readings have previously allowed for (Peters 314-42). In particular, scholars are now very wary of clichés that essentialize the complexities of early modern women’s experiences. For instance, Luckyj concludes in her study of the variety of cultural meanings of silence in early modern times that ‘the traditional gendering of speech as male and active, silence as female and passive, is merely one formulation among many’ (Luckyj *Gender* 48-9), although this binarism was ‘firmly entrenched in early modern culture by a combination of classical, biblical and physiological discourses’ (Luckyj *Gender* 43). As a consequence, Hull’s concept of ‘chaste silent and obedient’ can be read as problematic. Indeed, Clarke says that Hull’s *sententia* has no real historical basis (D Clarke ‘Speaking’ 75). Nonetheless, being described as having a virtuous

reputation was of the utmost importance for a woman writer (S Roberts 'Literary Capital' 264).

The Focus

This thesis will show how early modern women writers were presented in their printed texts. Some past close readings have assumed that these women tended to present their real selves in the printed book. Indeed, Wilcox offers an exploration of '[t]he impact of genres as framing devices for identity and their potential as metaphors for selfhood' in the writing of some early modern Englishwomen (Wilcox 'Free' 29). It has also been thought that early modern women writers offer an 'extraordinary amount of personal information ... to ... justify their violation of social codes'; a writer thus 'makes her very person into a text, symbolically offering her body for public perusal' (Eckerle 105).

Greenblatt has greatly influenced early modern studies by initially perceiving early modern fashioning of distinct selves in relation to but also somewhat complicit with dominant social powers which ultimately hold sway (Greenblatt *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*). By contrast, cultural materialism emphasized that selves were moulded by strategies to attain agency against dominant social powers.⁶ However, one should be cautious in classifying textual self-presentations as accurate expressions of an authentic essential inner-self. Foucault sees the "author" as a function of discourse [and] all discourse that supports this "author-function" is characterised by [a] plurality of egos', although he implies that the 'I' in a preface is essentially the real self as writer (Foucault 124, 130). Nevertheless, the early modern front matter is well known to be a performance and performative:

The preface of the early modern book is never merely the writerly 'I'; it is first and foremost the essence of the authorial claim ... it is always a rhetorical figure ... an attempt at self-authorization. (K Dunn 11)

⁶ For example, Dollimore *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*.

Seelig argues that ‘strategies of self-presentation’ and ‘motifs of fiction’ are used in early modern women’s autobiographies and diaries rather than in historically precise narratives (Seelig 156-7). For these reasons, early modern front matter using the pronoun ‘I’ (written by women or men) can never be taken at face value as a completely accurate account of real historical life but needs to be read in context of the historical times in which it was written. The ‘I’ is, therefore, more likely to be a fictively constructed *persona*. Masten’s study of Beaumont and Fletcher’s prefaces to their plays also warns against reading such texts as ‘recording ... biographical facts and political beliefs’, suggesting that they should be read as ‘registering and re/forming the contingencies of politics’ (Masten *Textual* 147).

I am interested in identifying self-consciously constructed *personae* in early modern women’s printed texts. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word ‘*persona*’ is derived from the Latin for ‘mask’ or ‘character’ or ‘role’. I am keen to explore the use of such ‘masks’ appropriated by women writers by drawing on Maus’s idea of ‘a theatricalized exterior’ (Maus 2), which was often in opposition to ‘inwardness’ (‘unexpressed interior’ feelings) in early modern society. I shall explore the possibilities of early modern fictive self-constructions of ‘theatricalized exterior[s]’ (Maus 2), what I refer to as ‘outwardness’, in these women’s texts. Thus, subjectivity as the expression of the self and identity within early modern society is not the issue in my thesis. Consequently, in my reading of early modern women’s texts I do not intend to replicate the important work that has previously been done on possibilities of fashioning the self and creating identity.

If we accept that early modern women were not writing in an isolated female literary sphere, then the construction and content of their texts are likely to have been influenced by literary precedents and cultural conventions of the day. Consequently, women’s front matter would have been influenced by the same literary conventions that influenced male

writers.⁷ This acknowledgement supports Clarke's comment that searching for evidence of an exclusively feminine voice is a flawed enterprise (D Clarke 'Speaking' 70). Prefatory rhetoric in early modern books involved a 'strategy for oratorical authority ... to win authority for [the writer] through the appearance of spontaneous eloquence and affected modesty' and thus gain goodwill from the reader (K Dunn 4). It is now recognized that women used rhetoric in their writing (Richards, Thorne 14). Clarke asserts that the aesthetic quality of early modern women's work can only be properly assessed if their use of rhetoric is fully appreciated (D Clarke 'Form'). For example, 'the intrinsic eloquence of much female speech which seems troublingly self-negating' can be reasonably read as rhetorical rather than as an expressed apology, in the form of a self-eradication, for straying into the male reserve of the printed word (Richards, Thorne 10). These acts are aimed at persuading the reader of the worth of the text and social acceptability of the writer, with the use of language being linked to ideas of gendered roles 'within the social order' available to early modern women (Richards, Thorne 14). Nonetheless, rhetorical expressions of modesty and an unwillingness to be self-promotional can be read in the work of both male and female writers. Consequently, one may agree with Pender who, in her study of Anne Bradstreet's preface, has identified a 'rhetorical performance in a desire for authorship' and has therefore questioned the validity of reading early modern women's front matter differently from that written by men (Pender 'Reluctance'). Moreover, although some socially ambitious writers did choose to circulate their work only in manuscript, it is difficult to imagine that a disclaimer of having one's work in print was other than a conventional modesty trope intended to give the appearance of avoiding some 'social stigma' attached to having work in print or engaging in commercial transactions with the book trade.

By the early part of the seventeenth century, sales of the printed book to the general public were becoming increasingly important in the maintenance of a publisher's business interests and a writer's prestige but for the writer access to patronage from the elite was still necessary (Lamb

⁷ I am grateful to Patricia Pender for helping me to clarify my thoughts on this issue in a private conversation.

'Patronage' 43). The early modern system of gift exchange was an important part of English social life within which participants 'forged alliances', often by offering poems as gifts (Donawerth 3, 9, 18). However, the study of letters written by early modern women has demonstrated the use of the written word in nurturing 'political "friendship" with its attendant reciprocal benefits' (Daybell 173-90), where the term 'friend' was adaptable and indeterminable (Daybell 180). Moreover, Scott suggests that 'the patron-client relationship relies on a mutuality of interest between the two parties'; the poet offers fame for the dedicatee and is rewarded by patronage (Scott 138). Given the cultural importance of gift exchange and writing conventions, it is reasonable to anticipate that this tradition was emulated in printed books to increase sales of those books because '[book] buyers and sellers were not yet numerous enough to support writers' of printed books (Lamb 'Patronage' 43). Drawing on this early modern concept of 'friendship' one can suggest that poems and dedications, addressed to individuals in manuscript or printed books written by women and men, might employ rhetorical constructions to describe a concept of intimacy rather than real relationships.

My close readings of women's texts cannot alone offer insights into the presentation of these writers to their readers. It is also imperative to study the textual content of the original typographical presentation of these texts and the physicality of original material books in order to reach an understanding of the historical context of early modern women's writing in print. Hence, my approach differs from that of some previous scholars because it blends close reading of texts with elements of studying the history of the book, which has been shown to be an effective means of literary inquiry (Clegg 'Book'). Consequently, in an endeavour to reach a fuller understanding of women writers' printed texts, in their cultural moment, my study is influenced by the work of McKenzie. He has identified '[t]he idea of a text as a complex structure of meanings which embraces every detail of its formal and physical presentation in a specific historical context' (McKenzie 'Typography' 206). His famous dictum states that physical 'forms effect meaning' and he identified 'the role of typography in forming meaning' (McKenzie *Bibliography* 15, 21). It surely

follows that in order to identify possible different meanings of a text it is incumbent on the literary scholar to perform a close reading together with a study of the textual content of the typographical presentation and the different physical ‘embodiments of the text’ (M Bell ‘Introduction’ 3). This approach to studying early modern texts is particularly important as there is now a ‘critical awareness of the book as an inherently unstable form’ (M Bell ‘Introduction’ 3) and it was the material object that mediated writers in their communication with, and facilitated their presentation to, their original readers.

Critical theory has taught us that there is no definitive meaning to any text and readers bestow meaning on texts (Dobranski 10-11).⁸ Moreover, evidence in early modern front matter often demonstrates how writers expected their readers ‘to participate in their books [and] sometimes attempted to guide readers’ responses’ (Dobranski 10, 33). Attention to McKenzie’s approach helps me to go some way to ‘recover the past’ (McKenzie *Bibliography* 55).

[B]ibliography is the discipline that studies texts as recorded forms, and the processes of their transmission, including their production and reception. ... In the ubiquity and variety of its evidence, bibliography as a sociology of texts has an unrivalled power to resurrect authors in their own time, and their readers at any time. (McKenzie *Bibliography* 12, 28-9)

Neither I nor any other twenty-first century researcher can ever capture the original reader’s response to a woman’s printed text with any certainty or recover the woman’s authorial voice. Nonetheless, as a result of McKenzie’s valuable scholarship, I will endeavour to distinguish rhetorical acts by the book trade as well as the woman writer, both of which contribute to presenting a constructed *persona* of the writer in the printed text. I aim to identify whether the influence of the textual content of the typography in original presentations of a book or text parallels, or is resistant to, the accomplishment of the writer as the creative force behind the text. Consequently, my exploration of women’s texts incorporates

⁸ Dobranski discusses reader reception theory as defined by Wolfgang Iser, Stanley Fish and John T Shawcross.

elements of McKenzie's approach in identifying the 'sociology' of these texts, complementing my use of influential contemporary scholarship as a starting point.

My Approach

Crawford has previously reviewed women's texts printed from 1600 to 1700 (Crawford 'Writings' 212). Drawing on the approaches used in this work and Bell's further contextualizing of Crawford's data (M Bell 'Writing' 431-51), I have conducted a survey to provide evidence of how women writers and their texts were presented in printed title pages and front matter from the late sixteenth century (a time period immediately preceding that studied in previous work) until the early years of the seventeenth century in England. McKenzie notes the value of measuring printed output by numbers of titles and editions so that 'we have some measure of intellectual production, the contribution made by the [book] trade (though not by the still highly productive manuscript trade) to the dissemination of information and ideas' (McKenzie 'Printing' 558).

Building on this, my survey aims to provide a historical context for textual constructions in the typography of title pages and front matter of these women's texts. It is not my intention to study the typographical layout that printers used; instead I intend to explore the textual content of original title pages. In addition, I do not seek to shape some kind of fictive community of early modern women writers. Moreover, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to create an exhaustive listing of all women who had texts printed in comparison with contemporary printed texts by male writers, or indeed other women writers who participated in scribal publication of the same period. In any case, it is not possible to produce a definitive list of all printed texts for any particular writers or time frame at the end of the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries because it is known that titles have been lost throughout history (McKenzie 'Printing' 558).

In addition, I shall position two case studies within the historical context provided by the survey. The two case studies are Aemilia Lanyer's

Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum (1611)⁹ and Elizabeth Cary's original drama, *The Tragedie of Mariam, The Faire Queene of Jewry* (1613).¹⁰ These two writers were chosen because they represent extraordinary examples of women writers of the period. Lanyer is believed to be 'the first woman writing in English who clearly sought professional standing as a poet' (Woods *Lanyer* vii); her book has interesting front matter with an unusually large number of dedications, ostensibly to earn patronage by using the literary convention of apparent gift exchange. With regard to Cary, previous scholarship has considered her play-text to be the first original drama written by an English woman to be published and printed in England (M W Ferguson 'Introductory Note' ix). With this in mind I shall conduct a brief survey of contemporary play-books to help in further contextualizing Cary's drama in print. Although these case studies cannot prove the existence of any possible trends emerging from my survey, they can help to increase our understanding of the complexity of societal attitudes towards women writers and 'can disrupt a generalisation, forcing us to rethink and refine our assumptions about how ... early modern literary culture works' (S Roberts *Reading Shakespeare's Poems* 18). Since Lanyer and Cary are apparently pioneers as women writers in the world of print, their works deserve close examination as literary texts and as physical objects in order to develop possible understandings of women's use of the early printed word. Using McKenzie's dictum that physical 'forms effect meaning', I shall also examine the material form of some of the extant copies of each woman's book to determine what possible meanings may be contained in the physical construction. I shall also explore the portfolio of extant publications associated with their publishers and printers with the intention of deciphering possible aesthetic and marketable values attributed by the early modern book trade to Lanyer's and Cary's texts in print.

Consideration of the early printed book as a marketable product is needed as a starting point in studying it as a material object. Some scholars believe that early modern writers had a major input into deciding how they

⁹ Afterwards referred to as 'the *Salve* book'.

¹⁰ Afterwards referred to as *Mariam*, 'the *Mariam* play-book' or 'the *Mariam* play-text'.

were presented in their printed books.¹¹ This may be so in some cases; for example, Ben Jonson manipulated his printed texts to ensure that he could derive some authorial authority: ‘The 1616 folio includes a frontispiece portrait of Jonson himself, a common means in print culture for elevating the sociocultural status of authorship’ (Marotti *Manuscript* 239-40). However, I shall suggest that too much centrality and agency has been afforded by scholars to the majority of writers, especially women, in their self-presentation in their printed texts. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a member of the Stationers’ Company ‘who obtained a text by any means could secure legal ownership by publishing it in print or entering it in the Stationers’ Register – with or without the author’s approval’ (Dobranski 6). It is thought that by the late sixteenth century some writers were being paid a fee for their manuscripts (Dobranski 7); however, it seems more likely that they would receive income ‘derived from patrons, not from the trade’ (Gaskell 183). Before 1710, there was no such thing as a writer’s copyright and a writer had to sell a manuscript ‘for whatever a publisher chose to pay in cash or in printed copies’ (Gaskell 183). Copies had to be turned into money by ‘whatever means presented themselves’ (Love 59), by using the literary convention of apparent gift exchange. At this point a writer relinquished ownership of the text to publishers who ‘paid for several hundred copies of it to be manufactured, and sold them wholesale’ (Blayney ‘Playbooks’ 391) retaining copyright to print it (Gaskell 183). Publishers were usually booksellers or printers by trade as there was no recognized trade of ‘a publisher’ (Blayney ‘Playbooks’ 391). Blayney defines ‘the bookseller’ as ‘someone who owned or worked in a bookshop’ and sold books either wholesale or retail and so, for convenience, I will refer to ‘a publisher’ as ‘a bookseller/publisher’ (Blayney ‘Playbooks’ 390-1). A few writers, or husbands working on behalf of women writers, may have acted as publishers. However, it seems that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, certainly with regard to the London book trade, a writer probably needed a separate bookseller/publisher, although Jonson is

¹¹ For example; Benson, ‘To Play the Man: Aemilia Lanyer and the Acquisition of Patronage’.

an exception to the rule and was particularly involved in the production of his texts.¹² Nonetheless, Jones suggests that ‘[f]or a woman writer, negotiations with a bookseller/publisher were likely to go forward under an even greater power imbalance’ compared with male writers (Jones *Eros* 36). Later in the seventeenth century, as much as fifteen per cent of printed articles have been found to explicitly state that they were printed for the author (McKenzie ‘Printing’ 564). Gaskell comments that ‘[a]uthors who could not find publishers to take their work by way of trade collected private subscriptions to finance their books in the mid sixteenth century’ but ‘[p]rinting for the author’ was more prevalent in the eighteenth century (Gaskell 181). It may be that ‘the modesty *topos* of many early modern prefaces could very well obscure self-financed publications’.¹³ But it is thought unlikely that writers entered titles in the Stationers’ Register as most would not be members of the Company, even though members of the book trade who were not Company members could enter titles.¹⁴

Blayney defines ‘the printer’ as ‘the person who owned the type and the press and whose workmen set the text and impressed its inked image onto the paper’ (Blayney ‘Playbooks’ 89-90). Stallybrass states that ‘printers do not print books’; they only print sheets for a bookseller/publisher who then would ensure that these sheets were bound into a book with bespoke binding for the customer (Stallybrass 315). The bookseller/publisher would decide on the print-run and supply the paper for the printer, employing a highly skilled printer for his most important books.¹⁵ Consequently, the bookseller/publisher was ‘the dominant partner in the transaction’ and would ‘exercise some editorial supervision of the copy’;¹⁶ for example, ‘omitting something which the author wished to include or adding something for which the author was not responsible in order to enhance the attractiveness of the book’ (Shaaber 121: fn3). Previous scholars have studied the religious and political affiliations of printers and bookseller/publishers as part of assessing possible reasons for

¹² Information from a private communication from John Jowett.

¹³ Information from a private communication from Cyndia Susan Clegg and Ian Gadd.

¹⁴ Information from a private communication from Ian Gadd.

¹⁵ Information from a private communication with John Jowett.

¹⁶ Information from a private communication from Ian Gadd.

the publication of some texts.¹⁷ However, printers produced printed sheets under contract to bookseller/publishers and so it is likely that little can be confidently said about either the religious beliefs or personal politics of printers. Similarly, a bookseller/publisher's personal belief system cannot be definitively assumed from his portfolio of publications. According to Lesser, '[p]ublishers must read not only for themselves but for others. A publisher's job [was] not just to read texts but to predict how others will read them' (Lesser *Renaissance* 8). It is important to remember that market forces in the world of print would have been of paramount importance to the legal owners of manuscripts which were to be printed as books. The printer would be keen to advertise a book as an example of his handiwork and to satisfy, mainly, the stationer's needs in advertising it and its writer to attract anticipated readers.¹⁸ By ensuring that a book was appropriately constructed, the bookseller/publisher could enhance sales and, consequently, protect his investment in its printing. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that consideration of writers' anxieties about how they were presented as individual writers in print form to their readers would not necessarily have been of prime importance in the construction of the imaginary writerly *persona* constructed on title pages.

Farmer and Lesser comment that '[b]ecause books were generally sold unbound, a potential purchaser would have been confronted with the title page' and 'not until the 1650s did stationers begin to print catalogues of their stock' (Farmer, Lesser 78). Title pages were printed separately and used as the 'major mode of book advertising' to appeal to the book-buying public and 'hung on the posts of the city' (Stern 'Wall' 78). It has been suggested that booksellers/publishers and printers had a tendency to use eye-catching titles to reach potential readers (Green, Peters 70), although 'the word "advertisement" to promote products did not become standard practice until the nineteenth century' (Voss 734: n5). Consequently, it is reasonable to suggest that printers and their commissioning

¹⁷ See later discussion of activities of Lanyer's and Cary's publishers and printers, in *Physical Presentation of Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611) and *Physical Presentation of The Tragedie of Mariam, The Faire Queene of Jewry* (1613) respectively.

¹⁸ A stationer is a generic term for a member of the Stationer's Company. Information given in a private communication from John Jowett.

bookseller/publishers ensured that their books, particularly their title pages, were printed to present the writer and the texts in accordance with market needs, in order to secure sales of the book. Bruster comments that readers in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were as interested in the identity of the writer as they were in the contents of a book (Bruster 59). Hence, printers displayed the status of the writer conspicuously on the title pages of their books in order to attract a readership. The purpose of the imprint was to advertise and to 'declare responsibility' (Shaaber 120), and also to 'inform *retailers* where a book could be purchased *wholesale*' (Blayney 'Playbooks' 390). Egan points out that 'this information would presumably not interest most potential buyers' (Egan 95). However, Blayney also comments that 'a potential customer who knew about the imprint might correctly deduce that the distributor's shop would be the one most likely to have copies in stock' (Blayney 'Playbooks' 390). For this reason the imprint might also have acted as an advertisement to the book-buying public, helping them to locate the bookshop which was most likely to stock a particular book.

Consequently, despite previous scholarly efforts to position writers as having a major influence on how their books would be constructed it cannot be realistically inferred that writers would routinely have unequivocal and unchallenged input into the physical presentation of their printed books. Tension between writers and the book trade has been noted, illustrating the complexity of relations between not only members of the book trade and writers but also the 'two textual economies – commercial and patronage – and the proximity which those systems of exchange and circulation have on one another' (Thomas 287).¹⁹ And so, the study of the textual content of the original typography of title pages in the presentation of woman writers will show how these writers and their texts may have been perceived as marketable by the book trade.

¹⁹ Thomas comments that Heywood expressed concern that some of his poems printed in *Troia Britanica* by William Jaggard in 1609 were reprinted by him in *The Passionate Pilgrim* in 1612 but attributed to Shakespeare. Thomas suggests that Heywood's concern was that Jaggard's actions threatened to disrupt the writer's relationship with his patron, the Earl of Worcester, rather than anxiety that his poems had been misappropriated (285).

My close reading of title pages and book contents draws on Judith Butler's important work on Austin's speech act theory to acknowledge language as 'an extended doing, a performance with effects' (Butler *Speech* 7). Austin's concepts are: 'locutionary acts', which give a description; 'illocutionary acts', which perform an act *in* saying something; and 'perlocutionary acts', which have an effect *by* saying something (Austin 98-9, 116-7). These concepts can be applied to literature which 'uses language within certain conventions in order to bring about certain effects in a reader. It achieves something *in* the saying' (Eagleton 103) where 'literature' is a loose definition of writing that is valued (Eagleton 2). Although Austin did not recognize literature as a speech act, it has been concluded that 'language in society invariably enacts collective life and that literature is invariably language in society' (Petrey 165). But, of course, there is still much to be discovered or inferred from the recognition of what is understood by the term 'literature'.²⁰ Butler uses Austin's ideas to assert that gender is an intentional act 'requir[ing] a performance that is repeated and public' (Butler *Gender* 140). Her insistence that gender should be seen as performative, with 'dramatic and contingent construction of meaning' (Butler *Gender* 139), is immensely helpful in understanding that the choice of appropriate gender performances, expressed on the printed page by the early modern woman writer and her printer and/or bookseller, was culturally determined. However, gender as performances that were available culturally to both early modern men and women have been seen as more 'repetitious and restrictive' than Butler's idea of gender as 'a corporeal style' (S Roberts 'New Formalism' 70). In my exploration of title pages of women's writing I shall consider the illocutionary force of the words (the locutionary form) printed on title pages to identify 'conventions invoked by their uses and their users' (Petrey 12); gendered, societal and cultural expectations of the woman writer and her text.

I shall also consider the illocutionary force of the words contained in the front matter to identify conventions which may reflect similarly

²⁰ An example of current scholarship in this area is Catherine Richardson. 'Household Writing.' Writing Women's Literary History: Problems and Possibilities Workshop. University of Kent. 6 November 2009.

gendered, societal and cultural expectations of the woman writer and her text. Moreover as Anderson observes that without ‘paratextual vestibules’, which include front matter, ‘we cannot “read” a text to its full profit’ (Anderson 637). Therefore, it is reasonable to assess whether front matter adds to, or detracts from, the illocutionary force created on the title page. Of course, some women wrote their own front matter and had agency in the textual presentation of themselves. Exploration of these instances affords the woman writer agency in creating her own illocutionary force. On the other hand, some women are represented in front matter by sympathetic male writers.

In my close reading of texts I have applied the useful concept of gender as performance as found in Maus’s idea of ‘a theatricalized exterior’ (Maus 2). A prime example of the possibility for a gendered textual performance is Elizabeth Cary, as represented in an account of Cary’s life in an extant manuscript written by either Ann or Lucy Cary, daughters of Elizabeth,²¹ during 1643-1650 (Weller, Ferguson ‘Introduction’ 1):

[Elizabeth Cary] did always much disapprove <a> the practice <with> of satisfying oneself with their conscience being free from fault, not forbearing all that might have the least show, <of unfit> or suspicion, of uncomeliness, or unfitness; what she thought to be required in this she expressed in this motto (which she caused [to be inscribed] in her daughter’s wedding ring): *be and seem*. (my emphasis, ‘Her Life’, 195)

Cary’s daughter shapes her mother as a stereotypically modest woman who ensures that her ‘inwardness’ is fully expressed in her ‘outwardness’, suggesting that Cary’s motto *be and seem* means ‘Be only what you seem to be.’ Nonetheless, McGrath argues that it can also be interpreted as ‘Be anything you want to be and at the same time seem anything you want to seem’ (McGrath *Subjectivity* 208: n36). Although textual commentary should not be blindly advanced as evidence of real lives, Cary’s motto still

²¹ Cary?, Ann/Lucy. ‘The Lady Falkland: Her Life.’ *Elizabeth Cary, The Lady Falkland: The Tragedy of Mariam The Fair Queen of Jewry with, The Lady Falkland: Her Life by one of her Daughters*. Eds. Weller and Ferguson. 183-275. Afterwards referred to as ‘Her Life’.

offers a seductive indication of an early modern woman's sensibilities in the matter of how she might have built strategies to present herself in her printed work. McGrath's reading of the motto is striking when one bears in mind that there was a 'universal suspicion of appearances' in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Maus 210), often explored in the drama of the day. Although Greenblatt has pointed out that 'through the power of language men construct deceptions in which and for which they live' (Greenblatt 216), his comment does not simply belong to 'a particular historical moment' (Maus 12). Maus also claims that such a conflict was a 'very familiar rhetorical tactic' (Maus 20), and dramatists explored these cultural anxieties in the 'shortcomings of their art' in order to overcome them (Maus 32). This deficiency is evinced when Othello demands of Iago, 'show me thy thought' (*Othello*: 3, 3, 1.120).²² No character can demonstrate that 'inwardness' and 'outwardness' are direct counterparts, as seen at the end of the play when Iago refuses to divulge his motives: 'Demand me nothing. What you know, you know. / From this time I never will speak word' (*Othello*: 5, 2, 309-10).

This thesis then offers an opportunity to reach a new understanding of how women and their writing were presented in print in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. My use of McKenzie's concept of the 'sociology' of printed books will help to illustrate any points of tension between the influence of 'the book as a product ... instrumental in construction of gender identities, not only by the development of a female market for books but also by its representation of "woman" as subject-matter and marketable commodity' (M Bell 'Writing' 451) and the writer's textual self-presentation responding to societal and cultural influences.

²² *The Norton Shakespeare: Based on the Oxford Edition*. All references to Shakespeare's plays are to this edition.

METHODOLOGY

Survey of Printed Texts by Early Modern Women Writers

As previously noted, it is not possible to produce a definitive list of all printed texts for any particular writer or time frame at the end of the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries because of the loss of titles throughout history as well as difficulties with the attribution of texts (McKenzie 'Printing' 558). In this study I will survey title pages and associated front matter which contains text proper written by women between 1551 and 1630. I define my exploration of the 'textual analysis of the typography' of original title pages in terms of a close reading of the words presented on printed title pages which shape (or avoid shaping) both the woman writer and her text for the original reader. I shall suggest that the text on title pages is chosen by the printer and/or the bookseller/publisher, with or without input from the writer. I consider the 'the bookseller/publisher' of a book to be the member of the Stationers' Company who contracts 'the printer', who produces sheets of printed text. In addition, I shall perform a 'textual analysis' of front matter texts. This analysis is in the form of a close reading of front matter, to identify how the woman writer and her text proper are being presented to the reader in prefaces, either by the woman writer herself or by another writer. I shall also review how this textual content of front matter might interact with the textual presentation of the woman and her text on the title page.

As it is beyond the scope of this thesis for me to personally examine all extant copies of printed texts that were written by women in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, I have relied on the digital imaging of texts on Early English Books Online (EEBO). Digital resources such as EEBO have been identified as being invaluable for literary research in the twenty-first century and a 'much needed pragmatic function, making early printed texts accessible' (Crowther, Jordan, Wernimont, Nunn pt 1), so long as researchers do not 'lose the option of the book as codex' (Ziegler pt 7). It is recognized that there are inherent difficulties in drawing firm conclusions using data from EEBO as it is an incomplete repository of

extant volumes.¹ Moreover, it must be acknowledged that there may have been a loss of titles associated with any particular writer (McKenzie 'Printing' 558). However, since it is my intention to consider only how women writers and their texts were presented in printed title pages and front matter during this period in English rather than aiming at extracting definitive figures for women writers and texts by them that were printed, EEBO remains a valuable tool.

EEBO provides digital views of the original typographical presentation of books from which I distinguish the types of rhetorical acts carried out by printers, stationers and the women writers themselves, which present constructed *personae* of women writers and their work intended to appeal to an anticipated readership, and to identify the 'sociology' of these texts. In addition, textual analysis of the typography of original title pages and front matter of volumes containing women's texts may determine whether or not this material enhanced or detracted from women writers' self-presentations within those texts. The choice of the time frame of 1551-1630 follows, in part, the approach taken by Bell, Parfitt and Shepherd, meaning that I will also be 'able to suggest, by inclusion, continuities across the limits' (Bell, Parfitt, Shepherd xiii) of not only two centuries but also six monarchical reigns (Edward VI, Mary I, Elizabeth I, James I and Charles I) and their consequential religious and political transformations. It also gives me an opportunity to review printed texts produced before the sudden increase in the number of printed works produced by women during the period covered by the reign of Charles I and the English Civil Wars.

I use a specific definition of the term 'woman writer' in order to include as great a variety of works as possible. The writer of a publication is defined as a woman if the name indicates that she is likely to have been a biological female or if previous scholars' assessments indicate that the writer is likely to have been a woman. Any printed publications with writers' names given only with initials or 'Anon', which have not

¹ I would like to thank Cyndia Susan Clegg for her invaluable advice in confirming that EEBO is a satisfactory tool for showing me what an actual text is, but is incomplete as a repository of all editions of that text.

unequivocally been previously identified as women writers by previous scholarship, are excluded. In addition, the numerous legal and parliamentary texts allegedly written by Queen Elizabeth I are excluded as they would give an exaggerated impression of the number of women's texts in print for the period. Obvious pseudonyms and books with doubtful attribution have also been excluded.

As a starting point for my research, I use the lists of identified women writers made available by previous scholarship, taking into account the judgements of as many previous scholars as possible.² However, the immense amount of research into the work of early modern women writers has shown that it is not always possible to definitively assign a particular woman writer to a particular printed text. The identification of writings by Lady Jane Grey illustrates the difficulty of applying hard and fast rules about inclusion or exclusion of texts written by a woman. Although there seems to be some agreement that one edition of Otto Werdmüller's *A Moste Fruitefull, Pithie* (1595) contains writings by Lady Jane,³ I prefer to exclude all editions of this text as it seems likely that only a small part of the work would have included her own words.⁴

In compiling figures for texts proper written by women I identify as writers of specific texts printed from 1551 to 1630, I use the *Short Title Catalogue Volumes I and II*⁵ because they are still preferred by scholars and are acknowledged as the 'gold standard' for establishing totals of extant printed publications rather than the incomplete EEBO or the English

²These include: Bell, Parfitt, Shepherd 3-242; Crawford 'Writings' 211-82; Travitsky *Paradise; A Celebration of Women Writers; Writers living between 1501 and 1600*, Ed. Ockerbloom; *A Celebration of Women Writers; Writers living between 1601 and 1700*, Ed. Ockerbloom, and Orlando: *Women's Writing in the British Isles from the Beginnings to the Present*. For inclusions in and exclusions from the survey see Appendix II: Listing of Women Writers and Texts Included in, or Excluded from, the Survey of Printed Texts by Early Modern Women Writers.

³Pollard, Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books [...] Volume III*. Afterwards referred to as *STC Volume III*. *STC Volume III* states: 'With the author's preface omitted, and a dedication by Blackwell added, attributing authorship of the whole to Lady Jane Dudley'.

⁴For further reasoning for exclusion of these and other texts see Appendix II: Listing of Women Writers and Texts Included in, or Excluded from, the Survey of Printed Texts by Early Modern Women Writers.

⁵Pollard, Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books [...] Volume I*. Afterwards referred to as *STC Volume I*. Pollard & Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books [...] Volume II*. Afterwards referred to as *STC Volume II*.

Short Title Catalogue (ESTC),⁶ even though Tabor has commented that the ESTC ‘is now the chief single source of bibliographic information on English printing before 1801’ (Tabor 385). However, any extant printed publications entered in the *STC Volumes I and II* but not available on EEBO will be noted as exclusions from the survey because I have been unable to view their typographical presentation. Similarly, extant printed publications previously identified by other scholars as the product of women’s writing but not found on either EEBO or in the *STC Volumes I and II* will also be noted as exclusions from the survey.

The roles of women writers will be described as follows: identifiable creative forces behind a text(s); partaking in the collective authorship of a book, or; work mediated/appropriated in some respect by a male writer. My definitions of printed publications will follow those supplied by Gaskell (315-6). Different impressions and separate issues, for example indicating alteration in the title page, in form (separate issue) or with regard to time (reissue) are included in the survey as distinct editions. Other variant states of an impression from the basic form of the ‘ideal copy’, leading to relatively minor alteration to the title page or text and produced in the same year as the ‘ideal copy’, will not be included. The location of printing is not restricted; however, all texts to be included were printed in the English language, either totally or in part, indicating that they were most likely sold to readers in England.

A single printed text proper is noted as follows:

- a. A text is written by the woman writer and is the complete contents of a printed book in its original form or in translated form.
- b. A text is written by the woman writer but not originally found in a printed book; for example, a letter or Parliamentary petition.
- c. A text is translated by a woman and is the complete contents of a printed book.

⁶ This advice was offered in private communications from Cyndia Susan Clegg and Ian Gadd. I would like to thank Cyndia Susan Clegg, Ian Gadd and David Shaw for their invaluable advice in confirming my suspicions that ESTC has too many bibliographical difficulties in its compilation of library and catalogue holdings of titles and, hence, should be considered as still a work-in-progress.

- d. A text is written or translated by a woman and contained in a printed book written by another writer(s); the woman's text is part of a compilation of other writers' works. I call these 'hidden' texts if the title of the text or the name of the woman writer is not explicitly stated on the title page of the published compilation. In this instance, this text can include a front matter text by a woman.
- e. A text is written or translated by a woman and used as the basis of another writer's text in a printed book. I call these 'embedded' texts where the text or the woman writer tends not to be explicitly stated on the title page of the publication.
- f. A text is written by a woman, translated by a man and contained in a printed book attributed to the woman writer.
- g. A text is written by a woman, translated by a man and contained in a printed book attributed to him.
- h. Two pieces of original work included in a printed book, thus indicating one writerly role performed by the woman; for example, a poem and a piece of prose by the same woman writer.

Two printed texts are noted as follows:

- a. Two pieces of work by a woman writer in a printed book indicating that she performed two writerly roles. For example:
 - i. A translation from another language and an originally written poem, both penned by the same woman writer.
 - ii. A translation from another writer's prose into poetry and an originally written poem, both penned by the same woman writer
- b. Two pieces of work by a woman writer included in a printed book if each piece can be categorized in different genres.

I will account for front matter texts by women and men separately from the figures for text proper to give a discrete indication of front matter writing by women. There are probably more 'hidden' or 'embedded' printed texts by women than I will be able to identify and it is highly likely that future scholarship in this area will reveal further texts and more women writers.

The genres of publications or texts within printed volumes will be identified by reference to details on the title page or any other associated information gathered, such as titles and/or content of constituent text. Publications or texts within printed volumes will be assigned to a genre if they are explicitly and/or predominantly linked to that particular genre. This information will then be assessed with reference to the categories of genre used by Crawford ('Writings' 269).⁷ Thus my data can be directly compared with previous scholarship. Of course, there is much to be learned about or inferred from genre recognition in early modern times and in our own.⁸ For example, it must be acknowledged that religion, in early modern times, 'permeated much, if not all, of what is now secularized' (Collinson, Hunt, Walsham 29). Therefore, religion as a genre will be assigned only to texts that were explicitly and/or predominantly linked to subjects which are recognized nowadays as being specifically religious, illustrating the difficulties in applying hard and fast rules to identifying the genre of writings in the early modern period.

No formal statistics will be compiled nor detailed analyses performed on women's printed work as a percentage of the total number of printed texts per decade because the number of women's texts published found will be so small. Instead, general trends have been identified from graphs drawn from the data. The information gained from this survey will then be used to contextualize the more detailed exploration of the two case studies; Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611) and Elizabeth Cary's *The Tragedie of Mariam, The Faire Queene of Jewry* (1613).

⁷ See Appendix I: Categories of Genre Employed in Survey of Women's Printed Texts 1551-1630, Table 1.

⁸ Examples of contemporary scholarship on the topic of assignment of genre include: Gillian Wright. 'How We Read Genre: Early Modern Women's Poetry in Manuscript and Print.' and, Catherine Richardson. 'Household Writing.' *Writing Women's Literary History: Problems and Possibilities Workshop*. University of Kent. 6 November 2009.

Case Studies

Examination of Bookseller/Publisher and Printer Portfolios

As previously discussed, I have speculated that the previous emphasis placed on input by early modern women writers into the presentation of their printed books may be overstated. As a consequence, I hope to suggest realistic roles for the bookseller/publisher, printer and early owners of extant copies of my case studies, to explain the ‘sociology’ of these books. I shall identify the portfolio of extant publications which bear the names of Richard Bonian, Valentine Simmes, (bookseller/publisher and printer of Lanyer’s volume) and Richard Hawkins and Thomas Creede (bookseller/publisher and printer of Cary’s volume). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to comment in much detail on the business activities of these printers and booksellers/publishers; however, my review of their output, together with textual analysis of the typography of original printed leaves, will help to clarify how the Lanyer and Cary case studies fit in with the rest of the relevant portfolio. Brief biographies and trade details of these members of the book trade have been derived from the second edition of the *STC Volume III*. These details will be double-checked with details given by the *British Book Trade Index* (BBTI). With regard to identifying the extant portfolios of these printers and stationers I will use the relatively comprehensive *STC Volume III*, which provides a printers’ and bookseller/publishers’ index of STC numbers per member of the book trade, which I will check against full titles per publication in *STC Volumes I and II* so that genre may be assigned. Following the methodology of the title page and front matter survey, the same repositories will be. Again, it is acknowledged that there may have been a loss of titles associated with any particular member of the Stationers’ Company (McKenzie ‘Printing’ 558). Although the business activities of these printers and bookseller/publishers are not my main concern, caution will be exercised with regard to the potential meaning of the total number of printed volumes that can be attributed in any capacity to any particular printer and bookseller/publisher. A low total of books does not necessarily mean that a printer did not

engage in any printing/publishing at any particular time: ‘he may have been a jobbing printer printing material which does not bear his name at all.’⁹

The following conventions will be applied when extracting data from the *STC Volume III*:

- a. All publications per printer and bookseller/publisher will be included in the extracted data if they are also present in *STC Volumes I and II*. Exceptions are those items with a counterfeit imprint derived from an imprint in a previous edition; that is, ‘forged’. However, in the case of Simmes, items with imprints indicated as ‘false’ will be included to ensure that possible recusant printing is accounted for
- b. If a publication is included in the *STC Volumes I and II*, but not in the *STC Volume III*, it will be included in the extracted data
- c. Where the *STC Volumes I, II or III* interpret a date; for example, ‘1615’ as ‘1615/6’ (i.e. using the modern New Year reckoning), to ensure consistency in the tables, the publication date (i.e. ‘1615’) will be used so that duplication is avoided
- d. All data extracted from the *STC Volume III*, regarding Thomas Creede (printer of the Cary volume) will be checked against extensive previous scholarship (Yamada)
- e. The genre of a publication will be identified by details on the title page or other associated information, such as titles of pieces of constituent text. This information will be assessed with regard to the genre categories used by Crawford in order to assign a genre to each publication (‘Writings’ 390).¹⁰

Personal Examination of Extant Copies

It is beyond the scope of this thesis for me to personally examine all extant copies of Lanyer’s and Cary’s volumes, which are held in libraries across the world; however, I will examine extant copies of Lanyer’s 1611 volume and Cary’s 1613 volume held at the British Library (three copies of Cary’s

⁹ Quoted from a private communication with Carlo Dumontet.

¹⁰ See Appendix I, Categories of Genre Employed in Graphs of the Portfolio of Printed Publications by Lanyer’s and Cary’s Printer and Bookseller, Table 2.

volume and one copy of Lanyer's volume) and the Victoria and Albert Museum (one copy of each volume). Physical descriptions and information will be recorded as a result of examination of the textual content of original typographical presentations of these copies. The data obtained will be compared with previous scholarship and, where appropriate, with valuable information offered by librarians holding other extant copies of these women's volumes which I was unable to examine.

I will apply McKerrow's test to both Lanyer's and Cary's extant volumes, to assess whether the copies I examined are from the same original edition (McKerrow *Introduction* 183). McKerrow recommends that two points should be chosen on a certain leaf and a line drawn between them. Notes should be made of the words and letters which are crossed. The same two points should be chosen on the same leaves from other copies. If leaves from different copies were printed from the same setting of type the same words and letters will be crossed by the drawn line in exactly the same position. If the copies are from different editions irregularity would be introduced into the spacing between words by application of a different setting of type. This test will be applied not only to the copies which I personally examine, but also to photographs, microfilm or EEBO images of other copies for comparison purposes, to assess which copies were likely to have been produced using essentially the same setting of type as the volumes that were personally examined (Gaskell 5).¹¹

Textual Analysis of the Case Studies

As described earlier, the textual analysis of the texts in these case studies has been influenced by previous contemporary scholarship concerning current thinking on the close reading of early modern women's writing. All quotations have retained old spellings, including i/j and u/v. My analysis, together with my review of the output of the relevant members of the book

¹¹ Gaskell clarifies that to print text by hand, a master printer employed a compositor to assemble the type for a book. The type was composed of lead alloy letters of the alphabet and set up into a pair of iron frames (chases): '[T]his process was known as imposition, and the two chases with their pages of type locked in and ready for printing were called formes.'

trade and textual analysis of the typography of original printed leaves, will historicize these case studies as literary artefacts that were read in their cultural moment.

Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Public Theatre Play-Books Printed by Thomas Creede or Published by Richard Hawkins (1550-1650)

This brief survey of play-books will be conducted to further contextualize Cary's play-text as the first original drama in print, written by an English woman, and possibly one of only two closet dramas printed in England at that time that are associated with women writers. This survey aims to establish whether Cary and/or her play-text were presented any differently from other contemporary printed play-texts. As mentioned earlier, it is not my intention to study the typographical configurations that printers used to present women writers; instead I study the textual content of the original typography of front matter and play-texts as shown on EEBO. The expanded time frame of 1550 to 1650 was chosen for this survey so that a sufficient number of appropriate closet drama play-books could be explored, numbers of such printed play-texts being very small.

Typographical presentations will be inspected on EEBO to compare twelve public theatre play-books either printed by Creede or published by Hawkins and two texts of masque drama texts against fourteen closet drama play-texts. Two masque texts are chosen because they contain dramas that were performed in quasi-private environments which may have also been applicable to closet dramas.¹² Comparisons will be made between constructions of front matter contents, typeface, and the presence of Acts/Scenes, stage directions and Choruses. Again, a statistical analysis cannot be performed with such small numbers but trends can be easily observed.

¹² Details of texts included in this brief survey can be found in Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650).

PART I: SURVEY OF PRINTED TEXTS BY EARLY MODERN WOMEN WRITERS

Introduction

This thesis grew out of my interest in the printed marginalia on the front matter in Margaret Tyler's 1578 printed book of her translation of *The Mirrour of Princely deedes and Knighthood* by Diego Ortunez de Calahorra (Askey). These marginalia seem to suggest possible roles for printers and bookseller/publishers in the production of third-party intrusions between the reader and a constructed *persona* of the woman writer, adding to the complexity of the textual authority of the printed word and highlighting the impact of market pressures on how an early modern book and its female writer is typographically presented.¹ The focus of this present survey of printed texts by early modern women writers is the constructed *persona* of the woman writer as presented on the printed title pages of publications that contain women's writings and in the textual content of the associated front matter texts. It is important to remember that the printed book is an imaginary construct, made by the printer and bookseller/publisher. Since title pages are advertisements of texts to entice potential readers and show the gravitas of a book, it is reasonable to assume that title pages will also provide evidence of a bookseller/publisher's and/or printer's endorsement of the writer. In the case of women writers one might expect this endorsement to include some kind of negotiation with societal expectations of women as writers. Women writers, as with their male counterparts, are likely to become constructed *personae* on their title pages, deliberately shaped to fulfil a potential reader's expectation of a writer for a particular book: i.e., 'print, then as now, was instrumental in the construction of gender identit[y]' (M Bell 'Writing' 451). However, as discussed previously, negotiation with social expectations, by either the book trade or the woman writer, should not always be assumed to be derived from rebellious motivations in opposition

¹ For details of Tyler's text, along with all other texts included in the survey see Appendix II: Listing of Women Writers and Texts Included in, or Excluded from, the Survey of Printed Texts by Early Modern Women Writers.

to gendered social restrictions. My study of front matter written by or about the woman writer is focused on textual evidence of constructed *personae* rather than on the real woman herself. It is also beyond the scope of this thesis to textually analyse front matter that is not focused on presenting specific women writers, such as is found in some religious compendia. In addition, recognition of form as well as content in title pages and front matter is essential in order to reach an understanding of how writers were presented in early modern printed works. Drawing on Cary's motto of *be and seem*, I shall focus on evidence for early modern women's own awareness of how they might use certain strategies to present themselves as writers in print given the social prescriptions concerning the behaviour of early modern women in the public arena and the notion of a 'social stigma' in having direct communication with the book trade.²

Accordingly, with regard to the title page, it becomes problematic to assess the presentation of a woman writer without recourse to the 'sociology' of the book, in terms both of conventions in the presentation of the printed word and the societal pressures placed on early modern women as writers. My work has been influenced by previous studies of title pages which have focused on how a writer's identity and the general appearance of early modern title pages are constructed rhetorically. It is thought that '[a]nonymity was a familiar signature to late Elizabethan readers ... it appears to have served a unique self-defining and, ironically, identifying function in elite coterie and courts circles' (North 'Anonymity's' 1):

Identity was not imagined exclusively as a signature marking the end of a poem but was just as often figured as a quality within the poem – a clue, a style, a reference, or a mystical presence – that revealed itself for the right reader.
(North 'Anonymity's' 11)

A prime example of this convention is the title page of Edmund Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579) where a prominent dedication is given to Philip Sidney but no mention is made of Spenser. This construction may have been a rhetorical act to gain support from Sidney (Pask 88-9). Although

² Information gained from a private discussion with David Shaw.

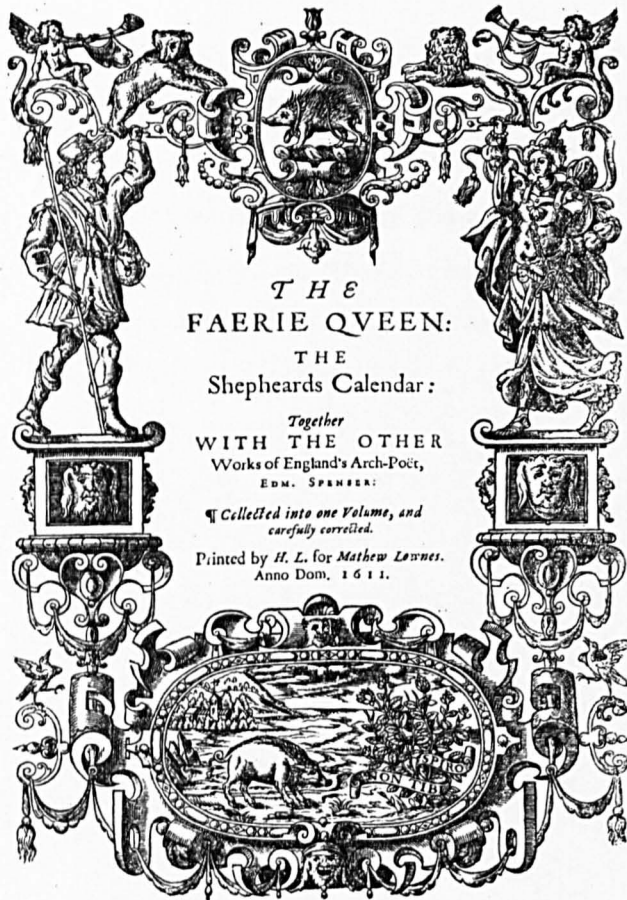


Figure 1: Title Page of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queen* (1611)



Figure 2: Title Page of 1593 edition of *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*

Spenser's title page is relatively unusual, it nonetheless indicates that it can be problematic to suggest absolute reasons for the absence of the name of a writer (male or female) from a title page.

Previous scholarship has also focused on information encoded in the imagery on selected early modern title pages, and has concluded that such features cannot always be taken at face value but form part of 'the rhetoric of the book' (Orgel 60). Observations of identical imagery presented on the title pages of the 1611 posthumous edition of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*³ (fig.1) and *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1593)⁴ (fig.2) are of particular interest in understanding possible rhetorical acts in constructing title pages. The imagery, used on the title pages of many editions of *The Arcadia*, has generally been thought to be specific to the Sidney family. As an example, the porcupine present at the top of the page is also present on the Sidney crest (Robertson xlvi), but the pig and marjoram device at the bottom of the title page is believed to be a more general device (Skretkowicz 'Introduction' lx). The use of this Sidney-related imagery on Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* has been explained as a reference to Spenser's narrative of his self-presentation as a poet; it seems that '[b]ecause his reputation derived exclusively from his poetry, Spenser was accorded little real power or social status by his contemporaries' (Pask 86). Therefore, in an effort to amass some cultural momentum, Spenser is thought to have constructed a narrative of 'literary "kinship"' with Philip Sidney (Pask 82). This narrative has, according to later accounts, 'transformed Renaissance patron-client relations into narratives of interpoetic influence and quasi-aristocratic national "patrimony"' (Pask 88). Marotti comments that subsequent editions of Philip Sidney's collected works, many of which employed the same title page imagery, 'both memorialized [Sidney] and helped establish the authority of printed literature, especially of collected editions in the prestigious folio format' (Marotti *Manuscript* 236). Marotti suggests that Spenser and other writers were commemorated in a similar manner to Sidney via the printing of

³ The same imagery is also present on the 1613 edition. These editions are afterwards referred to as *Faerie Queene* editions.

⁴ The same imagery is also present on the title pages of folio editions of Philip Sidney's works printed between 1551 and 1630. These editions are afterwards referred to as *The Arcadia* editions.

folio volumes of collected works (Marotti *Manuscript* 236). It is possible that the illocutionary force of Spenser's narrative of literary kinship with Sidney might have been reinforced, even after Spenser's death, by using *The Arcadia* title page imagery on *The Faerie Queene* title page. However, as this same imagery was also used on other disparate editions, it leads Orgel to problematize the idea that its use on *The Faerie Queene* and *The Arcadia* editions can only be explained as a way to associate Spenser with Sidney (Orgel 62-3).⁵ Since these earlier scholars have shown that the 'rhetoric of the book' is illustrated on the title pages of printed books written by male writers I have focused on identifying a similar possible use of rhetoric on the title pages of books by women writers.

Similarly, textual analysis of front matter and text proper is problematized if conducted without recourse to the 'sociology' and possible 'rhetoric of the book'. Previous scholarship has suggested that for women writers the 'rhetoric of self-presentation takes on a broader aspect than the conventional language of authorial modesty' with the expression of apologies for their 'transgression against social and religious ideology as well as literary convention' for having their writing published (Wilcox 'Fruits' 213). Moreover, it has been thought that, as a primary consequence of their gender, women writers were 'forced to find ways in which they could justify their participation' (Appelt xiii), requiring them to offer an inordinate amount of personal biography (Eckerle 105). It cannot be denied that some women writers might have internalized gendered expectations of them as writers or, at the very least, been 'highly aware of the workings of their socio-cultural context and its impact on their lives' (Eckerle xi). However, to conclude that women writers were deliberately passive in the face of hostile patriarchy, for example, when appearing to apologise for intruding into the male arena of the printed word, is surely an oversimplification of some women's writing. A concept of generalized female passivity does not account for the possibility of calculated invocation of gendered societal expectations being used to undermine hostile readers as

⁵ Orgel notes that the same imagery is used on the following volumes: Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Florentine Historie* (1595) and Giovanni Francesco Biondi, *Donzella Desterrada*, (1635).

part of a complex political commentary and elaborate non-gendered use of rhetoric; that is, use of the concept of *being and seeming*.

Women Writers in Print: 1551-1630

General Trends

I have found only fifty-two different women who wrote or translated texts printed between 1551 and 1630, and which are now extant and accessible on EEBO.⁶ However, the total number of women writers who produced texts that are included in the survey is fifty-two plus three women (Elizabeth Cary, Rachel Speght and Lady Jane Grey) who contributed texts to more than one genre, giving a total of fifty-five women writers in the survey (Table 1). One other woman writer produced a text which was published in translation during this period: Marguerite de Navarre, who wrote *A Godly Meditation*. This text was translated into English by Elizabeth I before she ascended the throne. However, to avoid duplication in accounting for the number of publications of texts, only Princess Elizabeth's contribution has been included in the figures used in the survey. Previously, it was noted that nine women had texts printed between 1580 and 1599, with another twenty-six having work printed between 1600 and 1639.⁷ Within the parameters of my survey, and taking into account more recently discovered 'embedded' and 'hidden' texts,⁸ I have identified twenty-three different women who had texts printed between 1551 and 1599 (twelve women between 1580 and 1599), with twenty-nine different women having works printed between 1600 and 1630. This increase in the number of extant women's texts is an indication of how scholarship over the past two decades has developed and how it continues to uncover extant texts by women.

Most of the women who had work published during this time period are known to have had either royal or gentry status, for example, Princess Elizabeth and Anne Bacon (Bell, Parfitt, Shepherd 247). There are also

⁶ Full details of women writers included or excluded from the survey are given in Appendix II: Listing of Women Writers and Texts Included in, or Excluded from, the Survey of Printed Texts by Early Modern Women Writers.

⁷ Bell, Parfitt, Shepherd 3-242.

⁸ See definitions of 'hidden' and 'embedded' texts in the Methodology: Survey of Printed Texts by Early Modern Women Writers, p.32.

publications from women during the later years of the sixteenth century and into the early years of the seventeenth, who have been thought of as being possibly middle class, such as Aemilia Lanyer and Margaret Tyler. However, given that hardly anything is known about the lives of many other women writers, such as Anne Wheathill, we cannot be entirely sure that publication was the prerogative of royalty or those with gentry status.

I found one hundred and forty-two printed publications, extant and accessible on EEBO, which between them contained one hundred and sixty-three texts proper written or translated by women (Table 1).⁹ Just over half of the women writers (58%, ³⁰/₅₂) had only one complete publication or had only one text attributed to them and printed in a compilation of another writer's (or other writers') work, which is comparable with previous findings (Crawford 'Writings' 214). Fewer women (33%, ¹⁷/₅₂) had texts reprinted (as a single text or in a compilation) within the time frame of the survey. Only five women who were authors of more than one kind of text (as a single text or in a compilation) had texts reprinted.¹⁰ Women generally produced texts from one particular genre, the only exceptions being Rachel Speght (two political texts and one religious text), Lady Jane Grey (twelve religious texts and one political text) and Elizabeth Cary (one literary and one religious text) (Table 1).

⁹ The definitions for text are given in the Methodology section. Quotations from texts are taken from the first edition of texts listed in Appendix II: Listing of Women Writers and Texts Included in, or Excluded from, the Survey of Printed Texts by Early Modern Women Writers, unless otherwise stated.

¹⁰ The Countess of Pembroke, Katherine Parr, Anne Bacon, Lady Jane Grey and Anne Lok Prowse.

Table 1: Total Numbers of Extant Printed Publications/Texts and Women Writers, given by genre, 1551-1630

	Total Number of Extant Printed Publications containing Women's Texts	Total Number of Extant Women's Texts	Total Number of Women Writers
Religious	87	104	31
Literary	31	34	12
Miscellaneous	17	17	5
Political	7	8	7
Total	142	163	55*

*This figure for women writers contributing includes: total number of 52 women with 3 women (Elizabeth Cary, Rachel Speght and Lady Jane Grey) who contributed texts to more than one genre, giving a total of 55 women contributors to texts included in the survey

Crawford has previously reviewed women's texts printed during 1600-1700 (Crawford 'Writings' 212). Although I have noted thirty-one first editions of publications containing texts by women from 1601-1630 (Table 2), the same as Crawford, I have noted more extant editions: seventy publications compared with fifty-three texts noted by Crawford ('Writings' 265).¹¹ This may be explained by my inclusion of all editions of publications that were first printed prior to 1600, which may not have been included in Crawford's data, together with 'hidden' or 'embedded' texts in other writers' publications, which Crawford may not have noted, leading her to underestimate the number of women's texts in print in the period as previously described.¹²

¹¹ See also M Bell 'Writing', 434, Figure 20.2: 'Women's published writing/all publications' for a graphical presentation of Crawford's data and further contextualizing of Crawford's data.

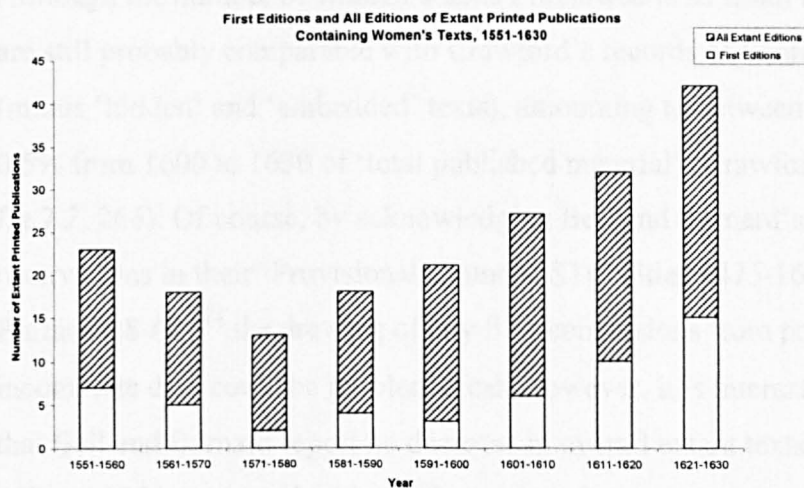
¹² Crawford's underestimation and lack of acknowledging 'hidden' texts has been previously noted in M Bell 'Writing', 433.

Table 2: First Editions and All Editions of Extant Printed Publications Containing Women’s Texts, 1551-1630

	First Editions	All Extant Editions
1551-1560	7	16
1561-1570	5	13
1571-1580	2	11
1581-1590	4	14
1591-1600	3	18
1601-1610	6	21
1611-1620	10	22
1621-1630	15	27
Total	52	142

Although totals are small, my data (fig.A) mirrors the overall trend in an increase in publication of women’s texts from 1600 to 1630, as previously shown.¹³

Figure A:



Using Crawford’s data for 1600 to 1700, Bell has noted that ‘6.5 per cent of first editions by women (and 9.1 per cent of all editions by women) were published before 1640’ (M Bell ‘Writing’ 433), indicating that the vast majority of women’s texts were printed after 1640. My assessment of the preceding period (1551-1630) shows that the publication of first editions

¹³ M Bell ‘Writing’, 434, Figure 20.2 and Crawford ‘Writings’ 212, Figure 7.1.

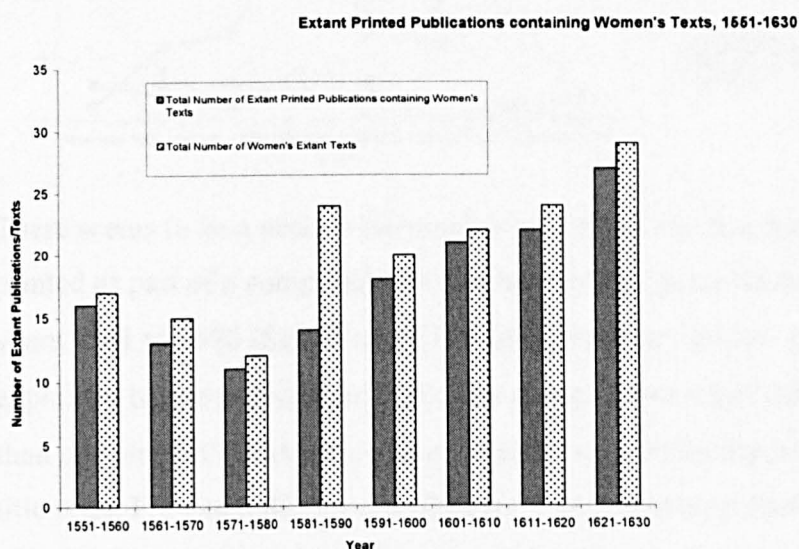
containing women's texts when compared with all editions was relatively stable. At the end of the sixteenth century (1551-1600) 40% ($\frac{21}{52}$) of first editions were by women writers compared with 51% ($\frac{72}{142}$) of all editions (Table 2). On the other hand, 60% ($\frac{31}{52}$) of first editions being printed in the early years of the seventeenth century (1601-1630) were by women writers, compared with 49% ($\frac{70}{142}$) of all editions. This seems to indicate the beginning of an increase in first editions printed in the seventeenth century. However, looking at each decade this increase does not seem to be entirely steady. Women writers contributed 13% ($\frac{7}{52}$) of first editions printed between 1551-1560 compared with 11% ($\frac{16}{142}$) of all editions. In contrast, between 1571 and 1580 there seems to be a dip in the number of extant publications by women writers, only 4% ($\frac{2}{52}$) of which are to be found in first editions, with 8% ($\frac{11}{142}$) in all editions, increasing to 29% ($\frac{15}{52}$) in first editions and 19% ($\frac{27}{142}$) in all editions by 1621-1630 (Table 2). Using Bell and Barnard's STC Provisional Count of all printed materials I found that women's texts accounted for only 0.57% to 1.13% of all extant printed texts from 1551 to 1600, compared with 0.51% to 0.56% during 1601-1630. Although the number of women's texts I reviewed is so small my findings are still probably comparable with Crawford's records of 'women's writing' (minus 'hidden' and 'embedded' texts), amounting to between 0.2% and 0.5% from 1600 to 1630 of 'total published material' (Crawford 'Writings', fig.7.2, 266). Of course, by acknowledging Bell and Barnard's own reservations in their 'Provisional Count of STC Titles 1475-1640' (Bell, Barnard 48-64),¹⁴ the drawing of any firm conclusions from possibly incomplete data could be problematical. However, it is interesting to note that Bell and Barnard report no decrease in overall extant texts for the years 1571 to 1580 compared with previous years. Instead, their data shows a steady increase in available titles from 1551 to 1630. Consequently, it might be that my data shows an anomalous increase in production of women's texts in the years 1551 to 1570, disrupting a steady increase in women's texts (in

¹⁴ Blayney has criticised subsequent use of Bell and Barnard's data in drawing firm conclusions without reference to Bell and Barnard's stated caveats on their data (Blayney 'STC Publication' 387-97). I have used their data as shown in Barnard and Bell ('Appendix 1: Statistical Tables' 779-84) for convenient impressionistic comparisons with my data.

line with overall published work) rather than a dip in production between 1571 and 1590. However, these figures for extant copies might also have been affected by a loss of titles over time.

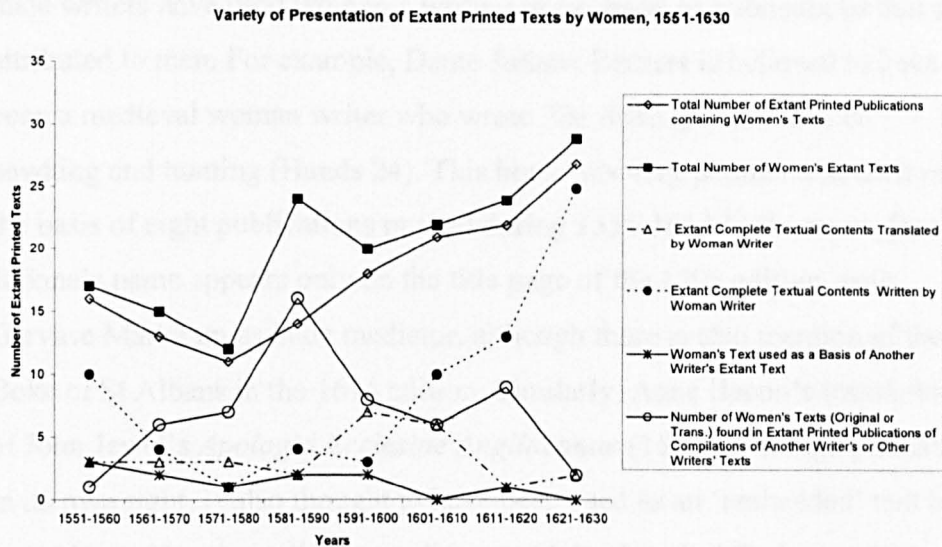
For each decade I also noted a greater number of texts written or translated by women than books published which contained texts by women (fig.B).

Figure B:



These increased numbers can possibly be explained by the number of women's texts that were presented as part of compilations rather than as the sole contents of specific printed books (fig.C).

Figure C:



There seems to be a peak in the number of women's extant texts that were printed as part of a compilation of another writer's publication between the years 1561 to 1590 (figs. B and C). This increase in 'hidden' texts is explained by the publication of popular compilations which contained more than one woman's text, although no women were explicitly mentioned on the title page. For example, Thomas Bentley's *Monuments of Matrones* (1582) contains texts written or translated by eight women who are not mentioned on the title page.¹⁵ Some compilations contained only one text by a woman among work from male writers. For example; Mary Sidney's poem, 'The Dolefull Lay of Clorinda', is presented in Spenser's *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* (1595). Notwithstanding the possible importance of compilations in the sixteenth century as a means of presentation of women's (as well as men's) printed writings, it seems there may have been a decline in production, as evidenced by a decrease in extant compilation publications between 1581-1630. This is indicated by a concomitant increase of extant printed 'original compositions' produced by women writers between 1591-1630, a text where the woman is the only creative force behind the text (fig.C). This increase is mostly due to multiple reprintings of very popular books such as *Mother's Advice* books during these years.

¹⁵ See Appendix II: Listing of Women Writers and Texts Included in, or Excluded from, the Survey of Printed Texts by Early Modern Women Writers.

Interestingly, women's texts that are 'embedded' are found where male writers have used women's writing as the basis of publications that are attributed to men. For example, Dame Juliana Berners is believed to have been a medieval woman writer who wrote *The Boke of St Albans*, on hawking and hunting (Hands 24). This book was very popular and used as the basis of eight publications printed during 1556-1614.¹⁶ However, Dame Juliana's name appears only on the title page of the 1595 edition, with Gervase Markham as male mediator, although there is also mention of the Boke of St Albans in the 1614 edition. Similarly, Anne Bacon's translation of John Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1562), although published in its own right, is also thought to have been used as an 'embedded' text by Jewel himself in three different editions of John Jewel, *A Defence of the Apologie of the Church of Englande, an answer to a certaine booke by M. Hardinge* (Wayne 'Introductory Note' xii-xiii).¹⁷ Although Bacon's translation was not officially recognized as an 'embedded' text on the title page, it was sufficiently respected to be considered as 'the official English version' (Wayne 'Introductory Note' xiii).

Some women had examples of their own work in other forms (i.e. poetry as well as prose) appended to the textual content of their volumes but not mentioned on the title pages. However, I have found only four extant instances, suggesting it may have been a relatively unusual activity in the print world, although including different forms of text by writers was common practice in manuscript culture. Two women appended other forms of work to their main printed texts: 'Pamphilia to Amphilanthus' thought to be 'the first Petrarchan sequence in English by a woman' (Waller *Romance* 19) was appended to Mary Wroth's *Urania* (1624), while Anne Lok Prowse's sonnets, 'A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner', are included in her translation of *Sermons of John Calvin* (1560). In addition, Anne Dowriche had two poems, a prefatory poem addressed to her brother, Pearse

¹⁶ For full details see Appendix II: Listing of Women Writers and Texts Included in, or Excluded from, the Survey of Printed Texts by Early Modern Women Writers.

¹⁷ Two issues were published in 1567 and second and third editions in 1570 and 1571. See Appendix II: Listing of Women Writers and Texts Included in, or Excluded from, the Survey of Printed Texts by Early Modern Women Writers.

Edgecombe, and an 'afterword' poem, 'Veritie purtraied by the French', in *The French Historie* (1589), which is itself a narrative poem partly 'translated' from prose by Thomas Tymme, *The Three Partes of Commentaries ... of the Civill Warres of Fraunce*, (also a translation from French) (Cullen 'Anne Dowriche' xii). Elizabeth Cary wrote a dedicatory poem addressed to her sister-in-law which was included in the printed book of the *Mariam* play-book.¹⁸

Many of the texts written by women were published posthumously; for example, Mother's Advice books and *ars moriendi* texts. However, with little or no biographical data available for some women writers it is difficult to gain any tangible impression of the incidence of their posthumous publication. Having said that, it does seem that from the extant texts I reviewed 65% (¹¹/₁₆) were posthumously printed between 1551-1560, with the possibility of a decrease to 44% (¹²/₂₇) in posthumous publication between 1621-1630. However, fewer definite biographical details are available for this latter decade. Wall comments that posthumously printed texts were a 'cultural script for empowerment' because 'the horizon of death offered the Renaissance woman writer a chance to undertake what was considered, as their justifications make clear, an exceptional feat: to assume control of a threatening situation' (Wall 'Isabella Whitney' 44). Nonetheless, it seems flawed logic to suggest that the writers of texts that are printed posthumously exercise any real agency in publishing their work, even though the textual content might, at face value, suggest otherwise.

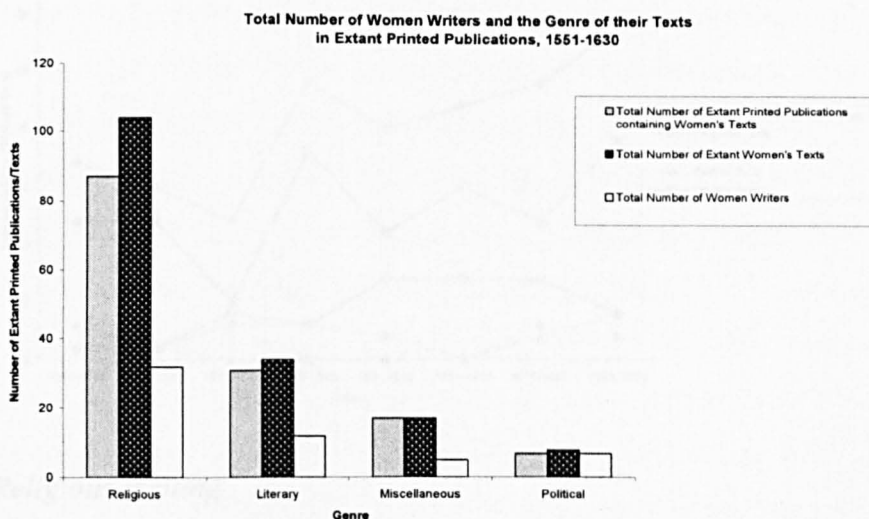
Genre

It has been said that women 'tended to write primarily religious translations and devotional works, under the impact of Protestant teaching', in contrast to famous secular women writers in France, Italy and Spain (Fitzmaurice *et al* 2). Unsurprisingly then, my findings support the notion that extant printed texts by women writers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were mostly religious works. However, women also wrote in many other genres

¹⁸ See later discussion of Cary's dedicatory poem, p.247 and pp.299-303.

and on a variety of subjects (M Bell 'Writing' 434).¹⁹ The extant texts that I reviewed may be divided into four main genres (Table 1, fig.D).²⁰

Figure D:



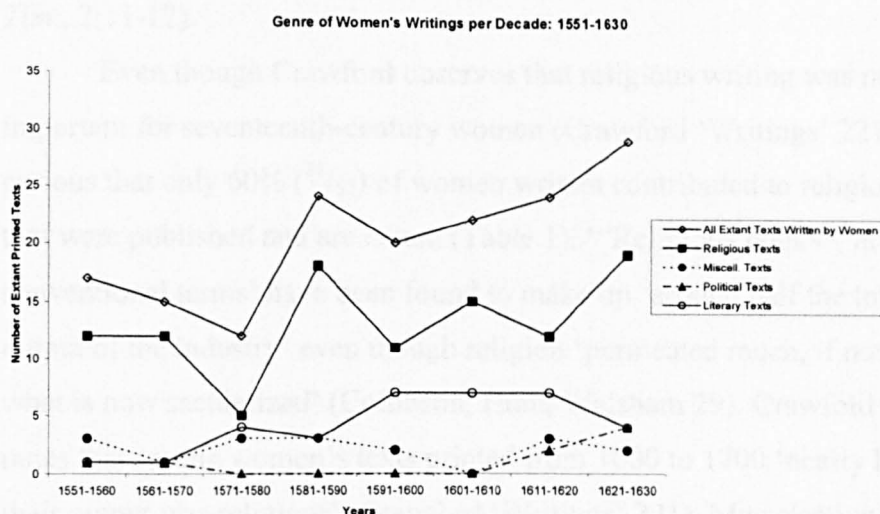
Overall, religious texts formed the single most dominant genre to which women contributed, as seen in extant texts. However, there was not a consistent proportion of religious texts printed per decade. The number of religious texts per decade ranges from 80% (1561-1570) to 42% (1571-1580), when fewer religious works were produced relative to the number of works included in other genres combined (fig.E) but again numbers are so small that definite conclusions cannot be safely drawn.

¹⁹ See also Wilcox 'Free' 16 and Lewalski *Jacobean* 309.

²⁰ Appendix I: Table I, Categories of Genre Employed in Survey of Women's Printed Texts, 1551-1630.



Figure E:



Religious Writing

Much previous scholarship has been dedicated to identifying expressions of female religious spirituality as shown in early modern women's writing. Hannay has speculated that although the Reformation was a 'liberating force for women, the Protestant emphasis on the Word of God encouraged education for women so that they could read the Bible ... not so that they could speak or write their own ideas' (Hannay 'Introduction' 7). Nonetheless, other scholars have suggested that religion empowered women to speak: 'in the name of the word of God, women could and did claim their right to speak independently from men' (Krontiris 10). Crawford comments that some women found in God a friend to whom they could tell their private concerns (Crawford *Religion* 82). It may be that as a consequence of private religious experience being easily located in a feminine space (E Clarke 'Ejaculation' 223) women were able to offer a public expression of religious belief (Crawford 'Public Duty' 67) and persuade others to increase their religiosity (Trill 'Femininity' 32). Trill asserts that societal assumptions of the construction of the stereotypical female were 'constant' in religious texts and 'mediated by church doctrine [revealing] some contradictory attitudes to the legitimacy of women's expression, [although the women writers'] exemplary status is not contested' (Trill 'Femininity' 36). Nonetheless, it was risky for

a woman to present herself as a preacher in a text to the reading public. Pauline texts forbade women to engage in religious teaching and debates (I *Tim.*, 2:11-12).

Even though Crawford observes that religious writing was most important for seventeenth-century women (Crawford 'Writings' 221), it is curious that only 60% ($^{31}/_{52}$) of women writers contributed to religious works that were published and are extant (Table 1). "'Religious books", in conventional terms' have been found to make up 'around half the total output of the industry' even though religion 'permeated much, if not all, of what is now secularized' (Collinson, Hunt, Walsham 29). Crawford also notes that among women's texts printed from 1600 to 1700 'nearly half of their output was religious' (Crawford 'Writings' 221). My selection seems to follow a similar pattern: 61% ($^{87}/_{142}$) of printed publications containing women's texts and 64% ($^{104}/_{163}$) of the total number of women's extant texts were religious in genre according to my definitions (Table 1).²¹

Travitsky suggests that women produced mostly 'translations of religious materials rather than original compositions' (Travitsky 'Compositions' 18), whilst Ferguson notes that translating (secular and religious) was 'often devalued and gendered feminine' (M W Ferguson 'Renaissance' 149). However, my findings do not completely support these previous conclusions. The extant complete textual contents of publications (religious and secular) translated by women writers amounted to only 16% ($^{27}/_{163}$) of texts that I reviewed. Complete original compositions totalled 43% ($^{70}/_{163}$). Lanyer's *Salve* book is an original religious narrative poetry, while Elizabeth Melville Colville's *Ane Godie Dreame*, a dramatic dream-vision, is an original religious exhortation as it seems that it had been read in performances at prayer meetings (Travitsky 'Elizabeth Melville' xiv). Approximately one third of women's original compositions were presented in compilations of other writers' work (34%, $^{55}/_{163}$), with a small number of women's texts used as a basis for another writers' work (7%, $^{11}/_{163}$) (Table 3). Religious translations as complete contents of volumes by individual women writers

²¹ Appendix: Table I, Categories of Genre Employed in Survey of Women's Printed Texts, 1551-1630.

accounted for only 17% of religious texts ($^{18}/_{104}$) but most of the translations that made up the complete contents of volumes were of a religious nature (67%, $^{18}/_{27}$) (Table 3). Of the 27% ($^{28}/_{104}$) of texts that were either religious translations or original texts in compilations of other writers' works, only 11% ($^3/_{28}$) were translations (translations by Mary Roper Bassett, Princess Elizabeth and Dorcas Martin) while 89% ($^{25}/_{28}$) were original texts. By contrast, just over a half of women's texts (53%, $^{55}/_{104}$) formed the complete textual contents of extant volumes (Table 3).

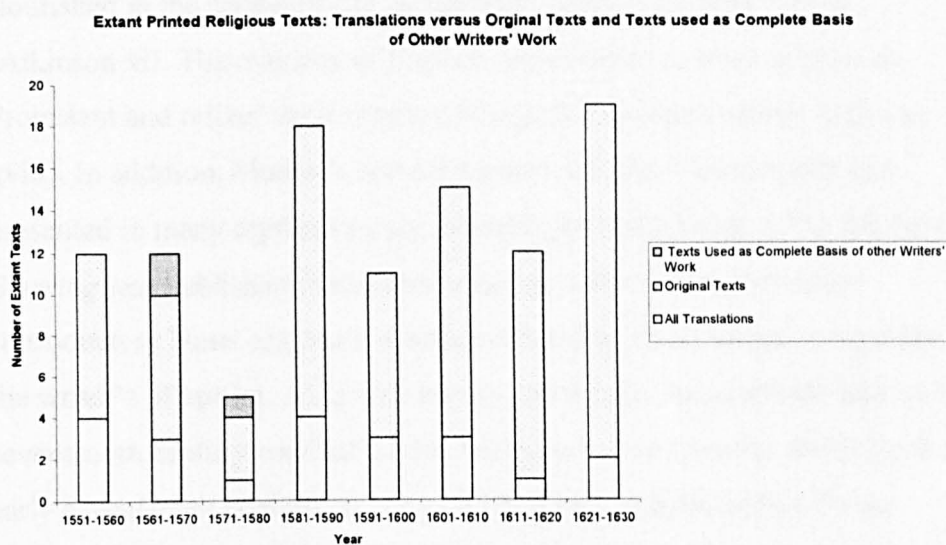
Table 3: Presentation of Total Number of Extant Texts (all Genres and Religious)

	Total Number of Women's Extant Texts (All Genres)	Total Number of Women's Extant Texts (Religious)
Extant Complete Textual Contents Written by Woman Writer	70 (43%)	55 (53%)
Extant Complete Textual Contents Translated by Woman Writer	27 (16%)	18 (17%)
Woman's Text used as a Complete Basis of Another Writer's Extant Text	11 (7%)	3 (3%)
Number of Women's Texts (Original or Trans.) found in Extant Printed Publications of Compilations of Another Writer's or Other Writers' Texts	55 (34%)	28 (27%)
Total	163	104

Irrespective of the presentation of women's writing in these extant texts (that is, either complete texts or within compilations), the majority of religious texts were still original compositions 77% ($^{80}/_{104}$, 55 complete texts plus 25 within compilations), with only 20% ($^{21}/_{104}$, 18 complete texts plus 3 within compilations) of the texts being translations from another language, together with three publications which were 'embedded', seemingly attributed to

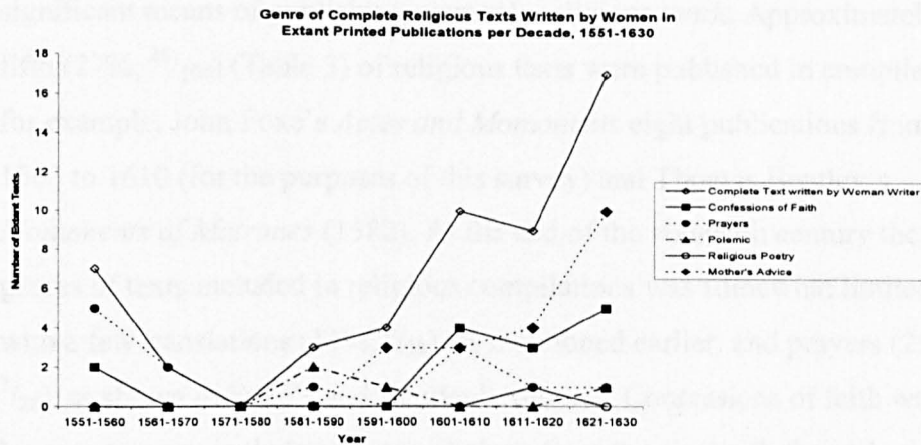
another writer's work. These embedded texts were Anne Bacon's translations in John Jewel's translation *A Defence of the Apologie of the Church of Englande, an Answer to a Certain Booke by M. Hardinge*, published in 1567, 1570 and 1571 (Table 3). My decade-by-decade review indicates that there was possibly a decrease in the production of religious translations from another language in proportion to original compositions by women, from 33% ($\frac{4}{12}$) of religious texts between 1551-1560 to 8% ($\frac{1}{12}$) of religious texts between 1611-1620 and 11% of texts ($\frac{2}{19}$) between 1621-1630 (fig.F).

Figure F:



Again the numbers are small, but this potential trend, showing a decrease in the proportion of religious translations, is probably the result of the increased extant reprints of complete texts written by women and contained in publications rather than from additions to compilations: for example, there was an increase in confessions of faith books such as the *ars moriendi* text in Katherine Stubbes' confessional volume, *A Christall Glasse for Christian Women*, which was a publishing phenomenon, with a total of thirty-five editions printed from 1591 to 1695 (fig.G) (Lamb 'Note' xiii).

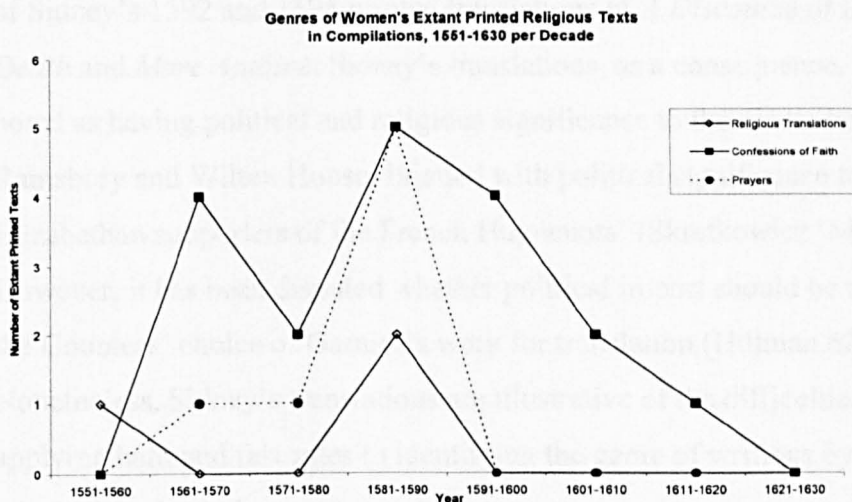
Figure G:



Works in the *ars moriendi* tradition, instructing the reader on how to die well, flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries across Europe (Atkinson xi). The majority of English texts written in this tradition are Protestant and reflect the diversity of English Protestant belief (Atkinson xviii). In addition, Mother's Advice books were also very popular and presented in many reprintings: for example, Dorothy Leigh's *The Mothers Blessing* was published in nineteen editions before 1640 (Travitsky 'Introductory Note' xi). Such volumes offered spiritual advice, ostensibly to the writer's offspring. As is well known, during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century conduct advice books were very popular and from the early seventeenth century, women also began to publish advice books (Urban 35), despite apparent cultural ambiguities linked with metaphors of maternal power in the years of James' rule. According to Olchowy, James 'did not find the power associated with mothers in the inherited ideologies amenable to his patriarchal view of monarchical rule', instead, ideas of masculine supremacy as a 'new motherhood' were disseminated (Olchowy 201-2). In addition, the idea of the 'nuclear family' where children had two loving parents, was not emphasized in the early part of the seventeenth century (Belsey *Eden* 90). As a result, one might imagine that representations of loving, caring mothers would be limited in the printed publications of the day; however, this is not borne out by the numbers of Mother's Advice books in circulation (fig.G).

Presenting women's religious texts in compilations was a particularly significant means of publishing women's religious work. Approximately one fifth (27%, $\frac{28}{104}$) (Table 3) of religious texts were published in compilations: for example, John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* eight publications from 1563 to 1610 (for the purposes of this survey) and Thomas Bentley's *Monuments of Matrones* (1582). At the end of the sixteenth century the genres of texts included in religious compilations was somewhat limited, with a few translations (11%, $\frac{3}{28}$), as mentioned earlier, and prayers (25%, $\frac{7}{28}$), as shown in Foxe's and Bentley's volumes. Confessions of faith written by women were included in compilations from the sixteenth through to the seventeenth century (64%, $\frac{18}{28}$) although appearances of this genre in compilations had tailed off by 1630 (fig.H), as opposed to the increase in complete texts during the same time period (fig.G).

Figure H:



Other Genres

Relatively few texts could be categorized in other genres. Literary texts formed 21% ($\frac{34}{163}$) of the total number of texts (Table 1):²² for example, Margaret Tyler's translation of Diego Ortunez de Calahorra's *The Mirrour of Princely deedes and Knighthood* (1578). Moreover, within this categorization the only closet dramas in print associated with women writers

²² For explanation of genre see Appendix I: Table I, Categories of Genre Employed in Survey of Women's Printed Texts 1551-1630.

were Elizabeth Cary's *Mariam* play-text and the two editions of the Countess of Pembroke translation of Garnier's *Marc Antoine*. Although numbers are again small, there seems to be a suggestion of a slight increase in production of literary texts from 1591 to 1620 (fig.E). However, the reasons for this possible increase are difficult to decipher because some texts might be termed secular and literary while others might be recognized as religious texts because religion 'permeated much' (Collinson, Hunt, Walsham 29) of early modern society. It is interesting that the Countess of Pembroke's translation of Garnier's *A Discourse of Life and Death*, which can be seen as secular and literary has also been viewed as a 'support for the Protestant cause on the Continent ... part of an international effort to aid the Huguenot cause' and, therefore, motivated by religious fervour (Hannay, Kinnamon, Brennan 'Introduction' 24). This conclusion has been drawn from references to Wilton House (the main residence of Mary Sidney's husband) and Ramsbury (one of Pembroke's hunting lodges) made at the end of Sidney's 1592 and 1595 printed translations of *A Discourse of Life and Death* and *Marc Antoine*. Sidney's translations, as a consequence, have been noted as having political and religious significance to the reader because Ramsbury and Wilton House 'bristled with political significance to Elizabethan supporters of the French Huguenots' (Skretkowicz 'Mary' 8). However, it has been disputed whether political import should be attached to the Countess' choice of Garnier's work for translation (Hillman 62-4). Nonetheless, Sidney's translations are illustrative of the difficulties in applying hard and fast rules to identifying the genre of writings by women (or men) in the early modern period.

Only 10% ($\frac{17}{163}$) of texts reviewed could be categorized as miscellaneous (Table 1).²³ These texts include A.H.'s *Another Godly Letter* (1625) which is a seemingly private letter from A.H. to her brother H.H. and typical of a printed letter. It is known that early modern letters often seemed 'intimate when actually anticipating multiple readers [and hence] deceptive and ambiguous' (Wilcox 'Free' 19-20). However, the reasons for publishing

²³ For explanation of genre see Appendix I: Table I, Categories of Genre Employed in Survey of Women's Printed Texts 1551-1630.

an apparently private letter, thus transforming it 'from private object of use into public commodity' are not entirely clear (Bell, Parfitt, Shepherd 271).

As already mentioned, issues of politics can be read as being closely aligned with debates in religious belief in early modern society; however, only 5% ($\frac{8}{163}$) of texts (Table 1) could be categorized as containing political content within the narrow confines of domestic or foreign politics and political theory.²⁴ For example, Elizabeth Dale's *A Brief of the Lady Dales Petition to the Parliament* (1624) is a parliamentary petition requesting her husband's estate, 'confiscated by the East India Company after his death, to be restored to her' (Bell, Parfitt, Shepherd 61). This is a typical petition by a woman at this time; most petitions in the pre-1640 era relate to disputes over property (Bell, Parfitt, Shepherd 265). However, the small number of political texts that were published probably does not give a faithful indication of the extent to which women, certainly elite women, involved themselves in politics, although it is known that women were 'politically active' (Bell, Parfitt, Shepherd 246). But this small number of printed petitions does not seem to represent any prologue to the massive increase in such publications by the 1650s (Bell, Parfitt, Shepherd 265; M Bell 'Writing' 439). Loss of titles might be responsible for the small number of petitions found; however, it may be that my data indicates that women just did not engage to any great extent in having such petitions published during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as opposed to later on, in the different publishing atmosphere of the mid-seventeenth century.

As mentioned previously, printed texts contributing to the *querelle des femmes* were very popular in the debate of gender politics in late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Benson comments that increased interest in such texts began with the introduction of humanism in England in the early years of the sixteenth century (Benson 'Note' ix). However, I have included in my survey only one woman who contributed to the *querelle des femmes* during the survey's time frame because she is the only contributor to

²⁴ For explanation of genre see Appendix I: Table I, Categories of Genre Employed in Survey of Women's Printed Texts 1551-1630.

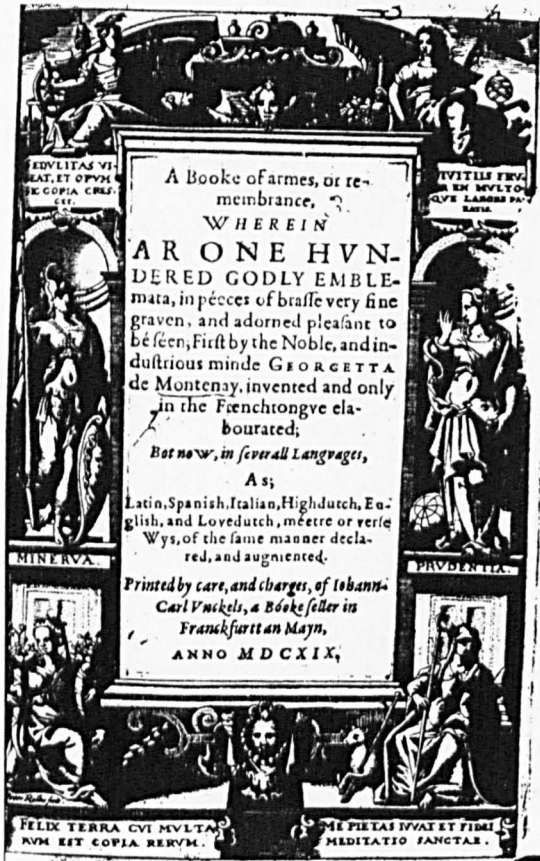


Figure 3: Georgette de Montenay's *A Booke of Armes or Remembrances* (1619)

Figure 4: Title Page of 1621 edition of Mary Wroth's *The Countesse of Mountgomerie's Urania*



the discussion who is specifically known to be female (Benson ‘Note’ xv).²⁵ Rachel Speght is thought to be the first woman to be documented as the contributor of an entire work to the *querelle* and her text, *A Movzell for Melastomvs* (1617), is a response to Swetnam’s misogynist text *Arraignement*, published in 1615 and 1617 (Benson ‘Note’ x, xxv). It is also thought that Speght makes overt proto-feminist comment in her *A Dreame*, alongside her religious text, *Mortalities Memorandum* (Lewalski *Jacobean* 170, 171; Munkoff). As previous scholars have noted, sections of Lanyer’s narrative religious poetry and one of her dedications (‘To the Vertuous Reader’) contribute to the *querelle des femmes* debate within a religious framework, thus showing another example of involvement by a genuine woman (Benson ‘Note’ xv).²⁶

Textual Analysis of the Typography of Original Title Pages

General Trends

The overall appearances of the images of title pages of publications that I have reviewed seem to reflect previous findings about illustrations of title pages printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is known that in the sixteenth century woodcuts were used to illustrate printed books and as time progressed were used in cheap books (M Bell ‘*Mise-en page*’ 633). Most title pages I reviewed had relatively simple woodcut images placed centrally and/or textual description of the contents. I found only two publications, containing complete texts by women writers, which had elaborate title pages: the 1619 translated volume of Georgetta de Montenay’s *A Booke of Armes, or Remembrance Wherein ar One Hundered Godly Emblemata* (fig.3) and Mary Wroth’s *The Countesse of Mountgomerie Urania* (fig.4). Two issues of Thomas Tuke’s 1616 conduct book, which contains Elizabeth Arnold’s translation of ‘The Inuestiue of Docter Andreas

²⁵ For exclusions of texts contributing to the *querelle des femmes* debate see Appendix II: Listing of Women Writers and Texts Included in, or Excluded from, the Survey of Printed Texts by Early Modern Women Writers.

²⁶ Although Lanyer’s work could be categorized across more than one genre, I have categorized Lanyer’s *Salve* as a ‘Narrative Religious Poem’ as the majority of her text can be categorized thus, and to avoid duplication. See Appendix I: Table 1, Categories of Genre Employed in Survey of Women’s Printed Texts, 1551-1630. Also see later discussion of how Lanyer positions herself as a contributor to the *querelle des femmes* debate in her poetry and prose, pp.170, 219-20.

de Laguna' in its preface, present interesting title pages. *A Discourse against Paintng [sic] and Tincturing of Men and Women* (STC 24316) was issued with a plain title page alluding to the sinfulness of women: 'Wherevnto is added The picture of a picture, or, the Character of a Painted Woman' reinforced with biblical embellishments: 'Rom. 6. The wages of sinne is death ... A deceitful heart hath deceiued them: they consider not that a lie is in their face'. However, this volume is also presented in another issue with a different title: *A Discourse against Painting and Tincturing of Women* (STC 24316a), and an image of a well-dressed woman on the title page, with no mention of Thomas Tuke. This elaborate title page is placed in front of the plain title page (according to the images on EEBO)²⁷ emphasising a different focus in this issue, on women's rather than men's conduct. It might be reasonable to suggest that such a title page would have a greater impact on shaping the readers' anticipation of the contents than the plain title page alone. On the other hand, the decision to include Arnold's translation in the preface has been explained as a rhetorical use of a woman's work 'to avoid potential charges of misogyny'.²⁸ However, instead of ameliorating the misogyny of the title page, the inclusion of Arnold's work can equally be seen justifying anti-women sentiment by the implication of a female consensus with the volume's contents.

Other elaborately decorated publications containing women's texts were produced by male writers: Bentley's and Foxe's volumes and Thomas More's *The Workes of Thomas More* (1557). Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to compare these elaborately decorated or plainer publications which contain women's texts with similar books which contain only work by male writers, it seems that the title pages I reviewed were not particularly different from typical examples of early modern printed title pages. This seems to suggest that books written by women were probably not presented in any vastly different way to those written by male authors.

²⁷ According to the *STC Volume II* the work (STC 24316) is also recorded with an alternative title page which omits the author's name (STC 24316a) and the title pages in both issues appear to be cancels.

²⁸ Aughterson. 'Elizabeth Arnold.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. June 2009. <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68018>.

A detailed study of the imprints on the title pages of these publications as a means of assessing the business interests of the stated bookseller/publishers and printers is not the primary concern of this thesis. Nonetheless, since I am interested in assessing the presentation of the woman writer and her book my review of title pages provides an indication of those members of the book trade who were responsible for bringing women's texts into the public arena of the print world. As mentioned earlier, the bookseller/publisher was 'the dominant partner in the transaction' and would 'exercise some editorial supervision of the copy'.²⁹ As a consequence, I have concentrated on using imprints to identify the individual likely to be the bookseller/publisher. With only a small number of publications in my survey it is difficult to offer definite conclusions. It does seem, however, that no bookseller/publisher had any particular gendered interest in regularly producing publications containing women writer's texts. Nonetheless, Henry Denham printed Thomas Bentley's significant *Monuments of Matrones* in 1582, and in 1584 printed a small devotional book, *A Handfull of Holesome (though Homelie) Hearbs* written by the now unknown Anne Wheathill. Denham had 'the patent for printing the Psalter, the primer for little children and all books of private prayer' (Cullen 'Introductory Note' xi),³⁰ and so Wheathill's book enjoyed significant advertising through Denham's name and his association with prayer books. It may be that some bookseller/publishers had particular interests in producing books by writers possessing a certain status, or else particular types of books. Consequently, the bookseller/publisher's name mentioned in an imprint can also be read as an advertisement of the status of a writer and/or the likely prestige of the book as a consequence of the bookseller's/publisher's involvement with its printing, along with the writer's prestige and, of course, also giving the location of the bookshop which was most likely to stock it. The bookseller, William Ponsonby, was thought of as 'the most important publisher of the

²⁹ Information from a private communication from Ian Gadd.

³⁰ See also the BBTI. Denham's trading dates as a printer were 1556 (app)-1590. See also *STC Volume III* 53. From 1578 Denham was contracted to W. Seres to print 'books of private prayer'.

Elizabethan period',³¹ and this accolade might be the reason why someone of the social status of the Countess of Pembroke was able to have her work published by him. It is reasonable to assume that the social standing of any writer, rather than his/her gender, determined whether or not an eminent bookseller/publisher such as Ponsonby would be interested in publishing a particular work.

I have seen no evidence as part of this survey to indicate that women working in the book trade took any particular interest in publishing women's texts during the time frame of my survey. Bearing in mind that bookseller/publishers and printers are not always named on a publication, the only women bookseller/publisher explicitly named on a text in my survey was Hannah Barrett.³² William Barrett published Elizabeth Jocelin's book, *The Mothers Legacie to her Unborn Child*, in 1624 and his widow and successor, Hannah, republished it in 1625 probably only because she was the successor to her husband's business.

Presentation of the Woman Writer

A woman's initials were often seen as 'modest markers of identity' in crediting her as the writer of a work. Therefore, if one speculates that any title page may have been constructed to present the woman writer as a stereotypically modest woman one might expect fewer women writers to be identified by full details of her name. However, only 8% ($^{11}/_{140}$)³³ of title pages used initials to identify women writers while 52% ($^{73}/_{140}$) of title pages used the full name of the woman writer and 40% ($^{56}/_{140}$) of title pages provided no identification of the woman writer (Table 4).

³¹ See BBTI: Ponsonby's trading dates as a London bookseller are 1564-1613. See also, *STC Volume III* 136: Ponsonby rarely noted an address on his publications. See also McKerrow *A Dictionary* 217.

³² See BBTI: Hannah Barrett's trading dates as a London bookseller were 1624-1626. See also *STC Volume III* 14.

³³ Note: only 140 title pages could be reviewed. Two title pages were missing from the EEBO images and hence not available for review.

Table 4: Presentation of Title Pages in Total Number of Extant Publications containing Women Writers' Texts (all Genres and Religious)

	All Extant Publications containing Women's Texts	All Extant Religious Publications containing Women's Texts
Title Page – Full Name of Woman Writer	73 (52%)	56 (65%)
Title Page – Initials only of Woman Writer	11 (8%)	5 (6%)
Title Page – Woman Writer's Name not Acknowledged	56 (40%)	25 (29%)
Title Page – Stereotypical Female Role Description	40 (48%)[^]	37 (61%)[^]
Title Page – Stereotypical Female/Social Attribute Description	26 (31%)[^]	24 (39%)[^]
Total number of Extant Publications	140[“]	86 [*]

“ Only 140 out of 142 title pages could be reviewed as two volumes had missing title pages (one religious: Princess Elizabeth's translation of *A Godly Meditacion*, STC 17320.5 (1568) and one non-religious volume, Isabella Whitney's *A Sweet Nosegay*, STC 25440, (1573).

* Only 86 out of 87 title pages could be reviewed as Princess Elizabeth's translation of *A Godly Meditacion* had a missing title page.

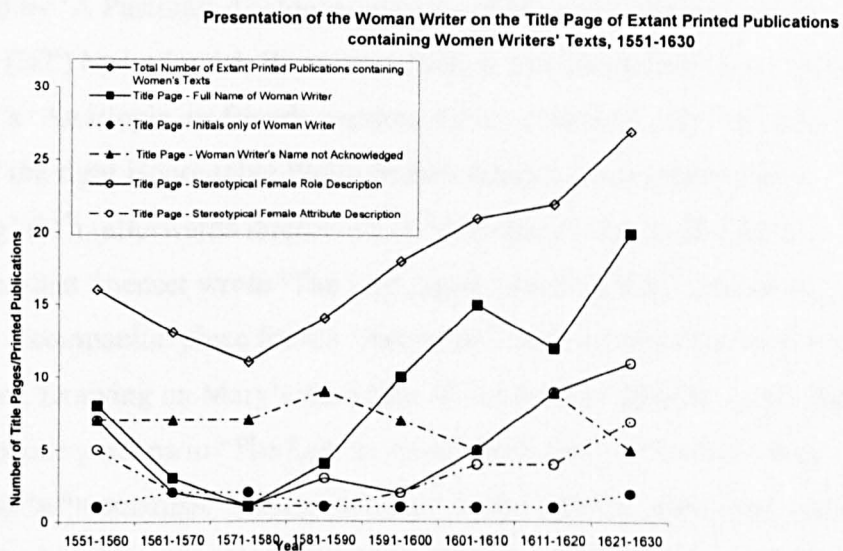
[^] The presence or absence of female role and/or attribute descriptions were not mutually exclusive of each other and are represented as a percentage of title pages with full names or initials only.

Moreover, only 27% (¹⁵/₅₆) of title pages with no identification of the woman writer were for books where the woman was the creative force behind the book's complete contents. The rest of those title pages were in publications where a woman contributed to a compilation and so one might not necessarily expect to see her name mentioned on the title page. Consequently, this survey suggests that there was no particular tendency to present a woman's printed text in a publication with a title page without her name or with just her initials.

Absence of Women's Names

In general, it seems that an actual lack of credit on extant title pages is relatively steady throughout the period, along with the use of initials, whereas there is a steady increase in occurrences of a woman's full name being shown on the title page (fig.I).

Figure I:



The absence of a woman writer's initials or full name on a title page of a publication containing her writing might be thought of as a rhetorical construction of the woman as having a lack of enthusiasm for self-advancement, an ideal feminine quality. Conversely, absence might support Crawford's notion of lack of respect for the woman's writing by those who constructed the title pages; the printer and/or the bookseller/publisher (Crawford 'Writings' 218). On the other hand, it might also indicate a supposed absence as part of a mimicking of the peculiar 'signature' of literary circulation within elite coteries (North 'Anonymity's' 1). Equally, the absence of credit can also provide some evidence of respectful male mediation of a woman's writing. A possible example of such respect is the lack of credit given to Mary Sidney, the Countess of Pembroke, for her poem included in printings of Edmund Spenser's *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*. This presentation of Sidney's work raises another interesting counterpoint to the idea of gendered prohibition against women writers and instead can be explained as a covert means of building literary fame for both Sidney and Spenser.

Spenser's *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, first printed in 1595, contains the untitled poem subsequently called 'The Dolefull Lay of Clorinda' (G1¹) (afterwards referred to as 'The Lay') which has been attributed to Mary Sidney, although she is not credited. Although the poem

has no title, it is placed on a separate gathering with no running title and followed by 'A Pastorall Aeglogue upon the death of Sir Philip Sidney Knight' (H2') by Lodowick Bryskett, which in turn immediately precedes Spenser's 'An Elegie, or friends passion, for his Astrophil. Written upon the death of the right Honourable Philip Sidney Knight, Lord gouvernour of Flushing' (I1') (afterwards referred to as 'Astrophel'). It has also been suggested that Spenser wrote 'The Lay', appropriating Mary's voice to produce a companion piece for his 'Astrophel', with no intention to deceive the reader. Drawing on Mary's adulation of her brother after his death, the female poetic persona in 'The Lay' is Astrophel's sister, Clorinda, who expresses 'a "womanish" burst of feeling' for her brother, Astrophel, and even 'if authorship cannot be claimed exclusively for Mary, her voice is implicitly present in such a text' (Coren 'Spenser' 39).³⁴ Clarke suggests that Spenser uses the female voice 'to retain control of the image of Philip Sidney'³⁵ which seems to indicate that Spenser was not just appropriating Mary's voice but also her emotional attachment to the memory of her brother. It is well known that after Philip's death his sister completed, published, and promoted his *Psalmes*; consequently, many poets positioned her in her brother's role as literary patron (Hannay, Kinnamon, Brennan 'Introduction' 9), whereby she became a central figure in the Sidney circle which 'provid[ed] something of an Anglicized version of a Continental literary circle' (Campbell 17). Trill comments that Sidneian poetics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw Mary and Philip as equal partners in building the mythic status of the Sidney family, and only in recent years has Philip been privileged in literary criticism (Trill 'The Sydnean Psalms').

On the other hand even though, or perhaps because, Mary was a powerful literary figure it seems that the notion of appropriation of her voice by Spenser is possible. Spenser's authorship of 'The Lay' is supported by its physical presentation in, for example, the 1617 reprinting. The opening of

³⁴ As it is beyond the scope of this thesis to fully evaluate previous scholars' conclusions regarding Sidney's and Spenser's writings I have noted this poem as having been authored by Mary Sidney. For full discussion of Mary Sidney's possible authorship of 'The Lay' see, Hannay, Kinnamon and Brennan 'Clorinda' 119-132.

³⁵ Commentary by D Clarke in a discussion at Early Modern Women and Poetry Conference, 17-18th July 2009, Birkbeck College.

'Astrophel' (B^f) has an elaborate woodcut image above the title. However, the following poem, 'The Lay' (B2^v) has the same appearance of double columns of printing as the preceding pages of 'Astrophel'. As a consequence 'The Lay' appears to be a continuation of 'Astrophel'. Appropriation of a female voice by a male writer was a common technique in early modern poetry and offers no evidence of a lack of respect for female authorship. John Southern's *Pandora* (1595) includes a poem which is clearly attributed to Anne de Vere, along with 'Four Epitaphes made by the Countes of Oxenford', but this is considered to be a blatant example of prosopopoeia.³⁶ Some poetic examples of appropriation of the female voice are more subtle, 'maneuvering within the shifting discourse of contemporary gender politics' (Coren 'Womankind' 226). For example, analysis of Donne's songs and sonnets has indicated that 'the presumption of maleness' of the poetic *persona* cannot always be taken for granted (Blair 230-49).

Convinced of Mary's authorship of 'The Lay', Hannay comments that Spenser forges literary links with Mary by including her poem in his *Colin Clout* as a consequence of which, 'she may have found her own poetic voice' (Hannay, Kinnamon, Brennan 'Clorinda' 132). But even if Spenser had appropriated Mary's voice, he presents it as contributing to the development of the Sidney myth and to what Hannay describes as 'a sense of poetic community and continuity to those who celebrated [Philip] Sidney as a poet' (Hannay, Kinnamon, Brennan 'Clorinda' 132). It is, therefore, ironic that even the appropriation of a woman's voice covertly presents the concept of the woman writer as part of a literary and cultural moment.

Interestingly, given her prominence in the world of literary achievement, Mary Sidney's name was never given in full on the title pages of her translations. Instead, where her name is given, she is described as 'the Countess of Pembroke'; for example, on the title page of her translation of Garnier's *A Discourse of Life and Death* (1592) and at the end of her poem 'A Dialogue between Two Shepherds', in Francis Davison's *A Poetical*

³⁶ May. 'Anne de Vere.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. May 2009. <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2654>. See also Appendix II: Listing of Women Writers and Texts Included in, or Excluded from, the Survey of Printed Texts by Early Modern Women Writers.

Rhapsodie. This policy of predominantly using the family name Pembroke might have been designed to attract the reader's attention to the family and its reputation in literary patronage, thereby imbuing the Countess with cultural prestige.

The absence of a woman writer's name on a title page of a publication containing her text may not suggest an expression of gendered modesty or prohibition of self-promotion. Instead, it may possibly show how early print imitated traditions of manuscript culture in defining and promoting a writer's work or may even simply be a pragmatic use of space on the page. Some examples of the absence of the woman writer on title pages are not necessarily explained by male mediation. For example, Margaret Ascham, Elizabeth Arnold and Dorothy Berry, all of whom had written front matter for texts by other writers, are quite reasonably not mentioned on the title pages. Furthermore, not being mentioned on a title page may not necessarily discredit a woman and her work. Anne Downam is one of the contributors to *The Pathway to Prayer and Pietie* (1617) with 'A Confession of Faith'. The title page highlights that the book is by a spiritually worthy writer, 'Robert Hill, Doctor in Diuinitie', but there is no mention of Anne Downam. Presumably that her text is included in the 'divers Consolations, Prayers and Thankgivings fit for this treatise' is sufficient statement to tempt the reader to read the works which have been credited with such gravitas. The title page positions such a publication as an imitation of a compilation from within manuscript culture, whereby a number of writers contribute to a collection of writings.

Title Page Evidence of Male Mediation

Previous scholarship has focused extensively on the title pages of religious compilations and I do not intend to replicate this work. Such compilations have been read as presenting quite deliberately manipulated female constructs; for example, Foxe's and Bentley's volumes do not specifically mention on their title pages the women whose works are included in the compilation (King 'Monument' 216, 235; Snook 24). However, it would be simplistic to suggest that works by these women were not respected. It is

more reasonable to suggest that neither of these publications have details on their title pages of the women whose writings they include because these editors and their book trade collaborators chose not to focus on promotion of the women as individual writers, seeking instead to promote their own message within the texts. Nonetheless, full credit is generally given to the women in the titles of their texts within the volumes. The images on the title page of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* clearly project the contents as a polemic to distinguish between Catholics and Protestants. Although Foxe includes writing by Protestant women (Askew and Lady Jane Grey) and reports narratives about others (for example, Katherine Parr), Snook has recognised that one of the images on the title page underlines the importance of the *reading* woman to Protestantism (Snook 24), not the writing woman. Consequently, one might speculate that the title page advertises a volume that encourages the female reader to be instructed by exemplary women rather than promoting a woman's ability to write. Conversely, Snook reads the women writers' texts in Thomas Bentley's *Monuments of Matrones* as 'a version of Protestant nationhood that includes elite women as writers and all the rest as readers' (Snook 54). Bentley's volume was a compendium of seven sections and, as mentioned before, it is well known that it was constructed as part of a complex celebration of Elizabeth I, bringing together a collection of female authors (King 'Monument' 216, 235), rather than as a general promotion of women and their writings. Consequently, it is not surprising that in Bentley's volume this purpose is highlighted in the highly elaborate title pages of each section, associating Elizabeth with other godly women and various examples of biblical iconography.

Similarly, the publication of editions of Princess Elizabeth's translation of Marguerite de Navarre's *A Godly Medytacyon* are thought to have been the result of religious and political motivations rather than a promotion of women's writing. This translation was first printed in 1548 and was originally given by Elizabeth to her stepmother, Katherine Parr, as a gift. This first publication, edited by Bale, is thought of as a political act by him as he wanted to influence 'the religious direction of the realm' (Prescott 'Introductory Note' x). The agenda in publishing this work by Princess

Elizabeth is thought to be linked to ‘keeping England on a Reformed path’ (Prescott ‘Introductory Note’ x) rather than any specific presentation of the woman writer or translator. However, it can be seen that the title pages of the printed editions of this translation, and the title of its inclusion in Bentley’s compendium, typically position Elizabeth as a virtuous Queen: for example, the 1580 edition refers to her as *the right highe, and most virtuous Princesse Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, Fraunce and Ireland, Queene.&c. Wher-vnto is added godlye Meditations....* This shaping of the Queen as the rightful monarch is reinforced by a biblical embellishment which directs the reader to see her as a monarch who will keep the realm safe and protected by God: *Proverbes.14. A wyse Woman vpholdeth hir housholde, and who so feareth the Lord, walketh in the right path.*

Another particular example of the male mediation of a woman’s volume occurs in Katherine Parr’s *Lamentation of a Sinner* (1563). However, it seems that Parr is utilized to advertise the religious message of the book rather than to promote her as a worthy writer. The title page of this posthumous book states that it was printed at the request of William Parr and it has front matter written by William Cecil. It presents Parr as ‘the most virtuous Lady Queen Katherin, bewailing the ignorance of her blinde life’, which is presumably a reference to her virtuous state after she had forsaken her previous Catholic affiliations (Mueller ‘Introductory Note’ X). Although this title page credits Parr as inspired by a ‘notable Protestant patron’ (Beilin ‘Introductory Note’ x), Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, it also indicates that the volume is clearly orchestrated by a man:

*set foorth and put into print at the instaunt desire
of the right gracious Lady Katherin Duches of
Suffolke and the ernest request of the right
honorable Lord William Parr (Title Page)*

Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, was in religious exile during the reign of Parr’s Catholic step-daughter, Mary I.³⁷ As a consequence of its being published after the duchess’s return to England in 1558, on the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth, Parr’s book possesses a particularly

³⁷ Wabuda. ‘Katherine Bertie, Duchess of Suffolk (1519-1580).’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Sept.2009. <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2273>.

charged Protestant cachet through mention of the Duchess. It is also interesting to note that on her return to England, the Duchess of Suffolk resumed her religious patronage which ‘rapidly assumed a puritan cast that set her apart from Cecil and Elizabeth who had to make accommodations to Mary’s regime’.³⁸ Consequently, the printing of the book during the early years of Elizabeth’s reign may have been driven more by political than religious motivations, to undermine or even disguise the duchess’s alienation from the Elizabethan Church. Opposing political motivations might have influenced Lok Prowse to dedicate her translations of *Sermons of Iohn Caluin* (1560) to the Duchess. With possible motivations in mind, it is not clear that Parr’s title page offers a particularly gendered advertisement to women readers by positioning the duchess as requesting the printing of Parr’s text. Instead, the title page emphasizes that the publication would not have taken place without the intervention of her brother, William Parr, with a consequential maintenance of Parr’s modesty by avoiding censure of self-promotion. But although named in the title page, she seems to be strangely relegated in importance on the title page. Similarly, Thomas Bentley adapts the title of Parr’s work in his mediation of her work in his *Monuments of Matrones*, influencing the reader to concentrate on anti-Catholic undertones in Parr’s words because she is labelled as ‘*bewailing the ignorance of hir blinde life, led in superstition: verie profitable to the amendment of our liues.*’ (37). Again, Parr’s importance as the creator of the text seems to be downgraded in comparison to the other messages within. Bentley retains the original title of previous publications of Parr’s *Prayers and Meditacions*, but again the primary emphasis of this title is directed to readers, giving them an indication of how they can expect to benefit from reading the book: ‘wherein the mind is stirred, patientlie to suffer all affliction heere’ (81). In his reportage of Parr in his *Actes and Monuments*, Foxe specifically shapes Katherine as subservient after her husband, Henry VIII, challenged her for engaging in theological debate: ‘You are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us ... and not to be instructed or directed by us’ (559).

³⁸ Wabuda, ‘Katherine Bertie’ (unpaginated).

John Bale's editing of Anne Askew's text, *The First Examination...* also provides interesting examples of how the woman writer is presented on the title page. The text on the title page of the 1560 edition is spatially positioned in the shape of an anchor, which was the emblematic symbol of Christian hope and so an unsurprising choice of imagery for the advertising of a text by a Protestant martyr. Anne is described not only by her martyrdom at the hands of Catholics but also by her status in society: *Anne Askew, ye yonger daughter of Sir William Askew Knight of Lincolnshyre, lately martyred in Smithfeelds by the Romish vpholders*. Snook comments that Askew's social status and court connection were probably important factors in her being targeted for her religious beliefs (Snook 27), and so it is reasonable to suggest that the title page emphasizes this point. One of the biblical embellishments further positions Anne's worthiness as martyr and derives a God-given justification for her female voice: *Pro. xxxi. Fauoure is deceitful, and bewty is a vaine thing: But a woman that feareth the Lorde is worthy to be prayseed, she openeth her mouth to wisdome, and her language is the law of grace*. This justification of a female voice is made problematic since many scholars have concluded that Askew's voice 'only exists as it has been constructed by Bale and Foxe, male editors with their own agendas' (Freeman, Wall 1194). Although investigation of this scholarship is beyond the scope of this thesis, a comment by Coles is interesting in comparison to the effect of the biblical embellishments on the 1560 edition. Coles notes, with regard to Anne Askew's martyrdom in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, that through imagery and appropriation of Askew's voice, Foxe ensures that 'Askew's corporeality – her voice and body – are oddly decentred in her narrative' (Coles 'Death' 516-7). Therefore, it seems reasonable to suggest that there was no attempt by Foxe to allow Askew to be read as an empowered individual in comparison to the apparent converse attempt of Bale's 1560 title page through biblical embellishment. In contrast to the earlier edition, the title page of Bale's 1585 edition is elaborately decorated with typical woodcut imagery. Although Anne's description is almost the same and equally as prominent, this edition shows detailed woodcut imagery indicating that this may have been a more expensive volume. The less

extensive biblical quotation of *God is my helper Psal II.*, positioned vertically, was probably only as a result of less space being available because of the detailed images supplied. No justification of her female voice is supplied on the title page. By this time Foxe's volume had been printed (the first in 1563) and so a justification of Askew's voice may not have seemed necessary.

Another woman writer who was shaped as a Protestant martyr in editions of her works is Lady Jane Grey. Although she presents a 'clear exposition of Protestant theology' in her writing (Levin 98), scholars consider that she was the victim of intrigue and this is evidenced on the title pages of her writings. She became a 'symbol of Protestant heroism and martyrdom' through the appropriation of her writings in printed form by Foxe, Bentley and through separately published editions (Levin 97). During her imprisonment in the Tower, prior to her execution, it is thought that Lady Jane became a figurehead of Protestant unhappiness. Her Catholic cousin, Mary I, sent John Feckenham, the dean of St Paul's, to convert Lady Jane in order to avoid executing her;³⁹ however, she could not be persuaded. Lady Jane's writings were published abroad by Protestants immediately after her death although most readers had easier access to the later published Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (Levin 97). The title page of her separately published 'Epistle', printed in the year of her death (1554) and, in part, recounting her meeting with Feckenham, positions her quite clearly as a virtuous woman who can offer spiritual guidance through the example through her martyrdom: *Here in this Booke ye haue a Godly Epistle made by a Faithful Christian A communication between Feckna and the Lady Iane Dudley. A Letter that she wrote to her Sister Lady Katherin. The Ende of the Ladye Iane vpon the Scaffolde.* One can easily speculate that the location of Lady Jane's writings as spiritually valuable texts was emphasized by the inclusion of *a Godley Praye made by Maister Iohn Knoles* in the publication and would have encouraged its purchase by Protestants during Mary I's reign.

³⁹ Plowden. 'Lady Jane Grey.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. March 2009. <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8154>.

Even though Princess Elizabeth, Anne Askew, Katherine Parr and Lady Jane Grey were credited either on title pages or within compendia, given their circumstances it cannot be reasonably argued that they exercised agency in their self-presentation. Nonetheless, some previous scholarship has claimed that women writers such as Anne Askew were indeed agents in their self-portraits.⁴⁰

Male mediation of religious texts by women was quite usual throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Translations of women's texts were also mediated by male writers in this period. I found extant texts written by eight women, which were translated into English and printed during the years 1551-1630.⁴¹ Although this is a minuscule number in comparison to the vast number of women on mainland Europe known to have had their works published in their native languages at this time, these translations seem to indicate that these women's works were respected as texts worth reading. One example is Georgetta de Montenay, the first women writer to produce an emblem book, and credited as 'the creator of a new literary and artistic genre: the religious emblem' (Grieco 793). Her work, *A Booke of Armes, or Remembrance Wherein ar One Hundered Godly Emblemata* (1619), is thought 'to convey a didactic Calvinist message in palatable form' (Grieco 795), which could be put to use in the religious debates in England in the seventeenth century. Her work was very popular and translated into bilingual and polyglot forms throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. De Montenay is given full credit for her work on the title page: *A Booke of Armes, or Remembrance Wherein ar One Hundered Godly Emblemata, in pièces of brasse very fine graven... First by the Noble, and industrious minde Georgetta de Montenay, invented and only in the French tongve...'*

On closer inspection it might be inferred that for some of these translated texts, the male writers or editors who controlled the publication

⁴⁰ For example, King 'Introductory Note' ix-xi; Beillin 'Self-Portrait' 77-91.

⁴¹ These eight women are: Georgetta de Montenay (1540-1607); Louise Labé (1520/22-1566); Marguerite de Navarre (1492-1549); St Elizabeth of Schonau (1129-1165); Mother Theresa of Avila (1515-1582); Charlotte Brabantina, Duchess of Tremoille (1580-1631); Margaret Duchess of Parma (1522-1586), and; Marie de Medici (1573-1642).

and translation of these texts, like compilers of religious texts, had their own agendas in promoting the text rather than the woman writer herself. A complex appropriation of a woman's voice by a male writer can be seen in the English translation of Louise Labé's poem, *Debat de Folie et D'Amour*, which was printed in Robert Greene's *Greenes Carde of Fancie*. Labé's poem is not credited to her on either the title page of the book or in the title of the poem. The poem is entitled 'The Debate betweene Follie and Loue, translated out of the French by Robert Greene, *Maister of Artes*' (K3^f), thus acknowledging that it has been translated from another writer's work. However, Prescott's close reading of Greene's translation has shown a subtle appropriation of Labé's text whereby 'inadvertently or intentionally, Greene shifts the gender of the author ... the masculinity of authorship was the default' (Prescott 'Chunnel' 135). This shift is the result of the physical presentation of Labé's poem in Greene's book as well as its translation. Greene's book is prefaced with an address, 'To the Gentlemen Readers, health' (A3^f), who were likely to assume gentlemen authors for all parts of the text. Prescott also comments that the placing of Labé's poem in front of a courtly romance, where Greene is imitating John Lyly, shifts the original context of Labé's poem which had previously been positioned in front of erotic sonnets in other publications (Prescott 'Chunnel' 145). Most importantly, the resultant disruption in tone means that the poem was translated 'not just into English but into 1584 London' (Prescott 'Chunnel' 146) although Greene, by the standards of sixteenth-century translations had, followed Labé's words 'fairly closely' (Prescott 'Chunnel' 136). Consequently, it would be unreasonable to presuppose that Greene assumed a gendered lack of respect for Labé's right to be credited with her own work. The lack of credit for Labé, on the title page or in the title of the poem, probably indicates that her name did not have any celebrity value for Greene to exploit in attracting readers and so it was not used. On the other hand, as Prescott points out, translations of texts by Marguerite de Navarre, a far more illustrious figure than Labé, usually gave credit to the original author (Prescott 'Chunnel' 135) with the exception of the 1590 translation of Marguerite's text by Princess Elizabeth. It might be that the identity of the

translator, Princess Elizabeth, was of more marketable importance than the original writer. Similarly, Marie de Medici's *Newes out of France* (1619) and *The Remonstrance made by the Queen-Mother of France* (1619) were both translated and published in English. Marie de Medici was the consort to Henry IV, King of France and mother-in-law of Charles (later to be Charles I), the second son of James I. She was credited on the title pages as 'Queen-Mother of France'. These texts were probably translated for political reasons rather than because of any celebration of her as a writer. Therefore, one might conclude, unsurprisingly, that the social and/or political status of a woman writer was of more importance rather than her gender in a printer's decision to ensure that she was given full credit on the title page of a book containing her text. Similarly, the motivation behind the publications of English translations of works by women, such as St Elizabeth of Schonau's *Liber Varium Dei* (1557) and Mother Theresa of Avila's *The Lyf of The Mother Teresa of Iesvs* (1611) can be easily understood to have been inspired by recusant religious/political fervour. Conversely, translation of Charlotte Brabantina's *The Conversion of a Most Noble Lady of Fraunce* (1608) from French into English was most likely a message to English Catholics to convert to Protestantism. The title is explicit in its aim of converting Brabantina's countrywomen: 'A most Christian epistle, written by her, to the Ladyes of *Fraunce*, to resoue them in *the cause of her Conuersion from Popery, to the profession of Gods Gospell*'.

Use of Women's Initials

As previously discussed, some scholars have suggested that women writers were able to influence how they were presented on the title pages of their books. Benson comments that 'Some – Margaret Tyler, Anne Lok Prowse and Elizabeth Cary – did not even reveal their identity on the title page; they used only their initials' (Benson 'Play' 243).⁴² This commentary seems to imply that these women writers specifically decided on their typographical

⁴² Despite Benson's comment I found that Anne Lok's (as Anne Prowse) name is in full on the title pages as translator of editions of Jean Taffin's *Of the Markes of the Children of God* although her front matter is signed with 'AP'. However, her front matter in editions of her translation of *Sermons of Jean Calvin* is signed with 'AL'.

presentation on their title pages as a means of self-presentation. A high social status might have enabled Cary to influence the construction of her book, but such a possibility would not have been available for the middle-class Tyler. The use of a writer's initials or an absence of a writer's name might indicate 'gestures toward both print and coterie anonymity' (North *Renaissance* 69). This might explain only Cary's initials appearing on her printed closet drama (*Mariam*), which might have appealed to elite coterie. Similar 'gestures toward both print and coterie anonymity' may also be seen in the publications thought to contain Isabella Whitney's work.⁴³ Whitney is identified only as 'Is.W' on two volumes of miscellanies published by Richard Jones;⁴⁴ on the title page of *A Copy of the Letter* (1567) and in the title of the preface of *A Sweet Nosgay* (1573). In addition, she may also be the writer of 'Another by I.W.' in Thomas Morley's *A Plaine and easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (A^v). Fehrenbach has further suggested that Whitney may be the unnamed writer who contributed some poems to verse miscellanies which were also published by Jones: 'The Lady beloued exclaymeth of the great vntruth of her loue' (D2^v-D3^r) and 'The lamentacion of a Gentilwoman' (P2^v-P4^v) in Thomas Proctor's *A Gorgious Gallery* (1578) and 'The Complaint of a Woman Louer' (D^v-D2^r) in Clement Robinson's *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites* (1584) (Fehrenbach 85-7). It is also thought that she contributed 'Dido to Aeneas' and 'Aeneas to Dido' (E4^r-H3^v) in Ovid's *Ouidius Naso His Remedie of Love* (1600) (Lyne). However, these assertions of Whitney's authorship have been disputed (Travitsky 'Isabella Whitney' x). However, a writer's initials might also have been used to save space on the title page whilst still designating a writer's or book trade member's 'responsibility for a text' (North *Renaissance* 70).

⁴³ For full details of Whitney's work included in my survey see Appendix II: Listing of Women Writers and Texts Included in, or Excluded from, the Survey of Printed Texts by Early Modern Women Writers.

⁴⁴ See BBTI. Richard Jones was a London printer and bookseller with trading dates 1564 to 1613. See also *STC Volume III* 92-3. Jones was only intermittently a printer.

Crediting of Women Writers by Use of Women's Full Names

It is unsurprising that the full names of royal writers were mostly given during the time period covered by my survey. This was probably because of social deference to the writer and a lack of need for rhetorical modesty. It is also likely that the presence of a royal writer's name would be an effective marketing device for book. Nonetheless, it seems that as time progressed, with more women's complete texts being available in printed form, these writers were increasingly acknowledged with their full names (fig.1). Crawford has offered the explanation that 'women wrote with increasing self-confidence and in growing numbers during the seventeenth century' (Crawford 'Writings' 214). However, other factors, as well as a possible increase in female agency, may be at play, resulting in more women's names appearing in full on title pages. It is thought that it became more difficult to identify writers and members of the book trade on title pages by initials alone as a consequence of the increase in the total numbers of books printed, with the associated increase in numbers of writers and book trade members, as the seventeenth century progressed (North *Anonymous* 70). Therefore, this increase in instances of the presentation of a woman writer's full name on a printed publication containing her text may arise from the practical workings of the book trade in the presentation of its books rather than from any increase in confidence among women writers in their self-expression or an increase in the book trade's willingness to allow women to unequivocally disclose their full identity. Moreover, as Bell has indicated, there is evidence of 'a rhetorical strategy in which the subject matter "'woman"' became a marketing device', exploiting an anticipated interest among readers in printed texts about and for women (M Bell 'Writing' 431). Consequently, there was probably an increase in interest and/or confidence experienced by the book trade in the profitability of presenting a woman's name in full on a title page. Striking examples supporting this idea are the popular Mother's Advice books, all of which show the full name of the writer.

Mother's Advice books represent the woman writer as the creator of a text imbued with advice about constructing a devout life, with authority located within the stereotypical feminine realm of the domestic. Mary Beth

Rose reads these texts as mimicking the dominant sexual discourse's 'conceptions of the feminine, attempting to parody and so deconstruct, but also to transvalue, the boundaries of misogyny' (Rose 311). On the other hand, Urban reads these texts as being unlikely to challenge patriarchal dominance but instead they 'reinforce the platitude of the ideal woman' (Urban 39). However, suggesting that the self-presentation of these women in the maternal role either strictly as an expression of deviance against or compliance with the patriarchal order becomes complicated when the purpose of these books is considered: i.e. engagement with religious and political debates of the day. Moreover, the popularity of Mother's Advice books may be a reflection of the 'Protestant (largely Puritan)' concept of authority within the family. This authority was compared with that of the church and state whereby there were attempts to 'equate spiritual, public and private realms by analogizing the husband to God and the king, the wife to the church and the kingdom' (Rose 296-7). With this idea in mind one can read the Mother's Advice books as offering spiritual guidance to offspring in much the same way as the church offers advice to the laity, as a subtle subversion of the Pauline edict against women preaching the Scriptures. However, the act of public writing by these mothers should not be read as being 'deviant' (Rose 311). Any suggestion that the adoption of the maternal role shows these women exercising agency 'in the contradictions, gaps, and "wiggle-room" of patriarchal order' (Callaghan 'Introduction' 10) is complicated by the fact that these are apparently posthumous texts. Furthermore, the formulaic presentation of the concept of a nurturing mother suggests that the title page is constructed rhetorically rather than offering a description of a real mother wishing to relay advice to her offspring and, as a consequence of her text's printing, to the reading public. It can be suggested that the maternal role as a self-presentation by the writer complies with readers' expectations and contemporary religious convention to legitimize a woman's engagement in religious and societal debates in the public arena. Consequently, it seems possible that the bookseller/publishers and printers of these books used their own agency to complement the self-presentation of

these women in accordance with current societal and religious perceptions, to ensure that the books were marketable to potential readers.

The earliest example of a Mother's Advice book is Elizabeth Grymeston's *Miscellanea. Prayers. Meditations. Memoratives* (1604). The title page does not specifically shape the writer as a mother. Instead it locates the text within a religious and meditative genre, a suitable subject matter for a woman writer. However, this is a recusant text and much of Grymeston's work is selected from Catholic sources (Travitsky 'Introductory Note' x) and has been viewed as sharing 'both purpose and method with the practice of commonplacing' which was evident in manuscript culture (Snook 99). Unsurprisingly, there is nothing on the title page that might indicate the writer's religious allegiance. On the other hand, Ez.W.'s *The Answer of a Mother unto hir Seduced Sonnes Letter* (1627) clearly shapes the writer as a mother advising her son on specific religious matters. As a consequence of embellishment of the title page with biblical quotations the illocutionary force of the text on the title page offers the reader a clearly forceful religious and political message that can be seen as subsidiary to an immediate mother-son relationship. Luckyj reads this title page as evidence of the text's Puritan allegiances through the use of quotations from Revelations and Corinthians 'invoking the Papist threat in the whore of Babylon [... with an] incendiary allusion to Charles's recent marriage to the Catholic princess Henrietta Maria' (Luckyj 'Disciplining' 104). As a consequence, the textual content of the printer's title page, with or without input from the bookseller/publisher and/or woman writer, not only helps to legitimize the woman writer's participation in religious polemic but complements the maternal shaping as 'an arresting representation of the power of the Mother in Reformation culture, when the bare metaphor of the Church as Mother could be fully animated to license female agency' (Luckyj 'Disciplining' 106). The mother is able to assume 'the voice of God' because, although a woman, she is a 'woman serving God's purpose' (Luckyj 'Disciplining' 106). *A Mother's Teares over hir Seduced Son* was also published in 1627 and seems to be a revised version of Ez.W.'s *The Answer* which 'waters down oppositional politics ... to offer a staunch defense of English Puritanism' (Luckyj

'Disciplining' 109-10). Nonetheless, the identification of a real mother with an authorized voice is restricted and appears subsidiary to the polemic as evidenced by absence of a full name on the title page by comparison with *The Answere*.

Dorothy Leigh's and Elizabeth Jocelin's title pages advertise these writers of these texts as the product of 'an act of heroism – a mother's ultimate sacrifice for her child' (Urban 49). The subtitle of Dorothy Leigh's *The Mother's Blessing* legitimises Leigh's assumption of the dominant role of advisor to her offspring. It positions Leigh unequivocally as a stereotypically pious and heroic mother who has bequeathed her text to her children and fulfilled a public duty to advise all parents to do the same: *The godly counsaile of a gentle-woman not long since deceased, left behind her for her children containing many good exhortations, and godly admonitions, profitable for all parents to leaue as a legacy to their children*. Consequently, Leigh's title page shapes her as worthy of relaying her religious message. An emotional manipulation of the reader is particularly evident on the title of Elizabeth Jocelin's *The Mothers Legacie to her Unborn Child*, first published in 1624. The title indicates, poignantly, that Jocelin is a mother-to-be who has decided to provide a written 'legacie', presenting the writer as vulnerable and afraid that she will not survive the pregnancy. This shaping of the writer is likely to invoke sympathy from a prospective reader and, hence, increased interest in the book.

Katherine Stubbes' confessional volume, *A Christall Glasse for Christian Women*, presents an interesting title page which shapes Katherine as the creative force behind the contents of the volume, written in the *ars moriendi* tradition by her amanuensis, her husband, the pamphleteer, Philip Stubbes. Previous commentary suggests that this volume contains the voice of a female *persona* that is male-mediated but one is not convinced that there is any real evidence of agency by Katherine.⁴⁵ Lamb comments that the complexity of the textual content suggests that Philip Stubbes at least edited

⁴⁵ Nonetheless, I have included this text in my survey as it specifically states on the title page that the words originated with Katherine. In addition, there is much to be discovered or inferred from the recognition of what is understood by the term 'author'.

it (Lamb 'Note' xiii). Nonetheless, Philip Stubbes is said to have presented his wife 'in a text heavily conditioned by generic convention'.⁴⁶ One might argue that if Katherine was indeed dying of a 'burning quotidian Ague' (A3^v) it would be very difficult for her to dictate a coherent confession of her faith as indicated on the title page: *Set downe word for word as shee spake it, as neere as could be gathered: by Philip Stubbes, Gent.* Consequently, the tone set by the title page of Stubbes' presentation of his wife makes it difficult to decipher the real Katherine as she might have been. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse Katherine's text to make comparisons with her husband's various publications and explore textual evidence for his voice as opposed to his appropriation of a female voice, it is reasonable to suspect that Stubbes would be likely to at least embellish her alleged dying words with his own interpretations and creative input.

As one might expect, the title page acts as an advertisement for the text, shaping Katherine as a stereotypical Christian exemplar for a female readership to emulate: *A Christall Glasse for Christian Women containing a most excellent discourse, of the godly life and Christian death of Mistresse Katherine Stubbes.* The book constructs Katherine's life as a mirror for readers, in which they are invited to see a model or reflection of their own real or aspirational piety. The conventional concept of reflections in a mirror was often used in writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and was an elaboration of 'an earlier notion of the mirror as the soul, as God's reflection within the self' (Kinney 2). As a result Katherine's book is presented to her readers in accordance with literary and religious convention and, consequently, Katherine herself as a woman worthy to communicate an important *ars moriendi* message. The fact that the volume was reprinted many times after Philip Stubbes' death suggests that the book took on a self-perpetuating success, divorced from the reputation of either Katherine or her husband as projected by the title page. In other words, the book was

⁴⁶ Walsham. 'Philip Stubbes [Stubbs].' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. June 2009. <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26737>.

promoted by its own previous success rather than through any promotion of the originator of the words or her amanuensis.

A similar promotion of a book divorced from the promotion of the woman writer can be read in the presentation of Mary Wroth's *The Countesse of Mountgomerie Urania*. The mythical literary status of the Sidney family is reflected on its title page, where Wroth is primarily constructed as a relation to the Sidney family rather than as an individual in her own right: *Written by the right honourable the Lady Mary Wroath. Daughter to the right noble Robert Earle of Leicester. And neece to the ever famous, and renowned Sr. Philips Sidney knight. And to ye most excele[n]t Lady Mary Countesse of Pembroke late deceased.* Wroth was relatively unconnected and impoverished at the time of her text's publication (Waller *Romance* 247) and so her family connections may have been emphasised to rhetorically construct her with a literary status emanating from her aunt and uncle, thus leaving Wroth with little individuality and distinction as the writer. The effect of relegating Wroth's importance on the title page is further emphasized by the full title of the book (*The Countesse of Mountgomerie Urania*) which gives Wroth's friend, Susan Herbert, wife of Philip Earl of Montgomery, more direct prominence than Wroth herself (fig.4). Advertising Wroth's family connections on the title page would probably have been an astute course of action by the printer and bookseller/publisher, borrowing the prestige of Wroth's family for the book, in order to increase interest from the book-buying public. Wroth herself claimed that the book was printed without her permission (Waller *Romance* 129). If so, she would not have had any input into the presentation of herself in any part of the book. The typographical appearance of a book's contents can lend support to the idea that extant editions were printed without authorization. It has been thought that the absence of a preface in Wroth's book, and the last line finishing mid-sentence, suggest that printing was rushed and that the book may have been withdrawn (Waller *Romance* 247). However, accusations of unauthorized printing were a common rhetorical act as part of a strategy of self-construction (Pender) connected with the maintenance of the rhetoric of avoiding the 'social stigma' thought to be

attached to a text appearing in print (Saunders 509) and in engaging in commercial transactions with the book trade. Wroth had been criticized for not emulating her aunt; (Waller *Romance* 129-30; Campbell 143) thus, claiming that the manuscript had been stolen and printed without her knowledge could be explained as a rhetorical act to counterbalance censure and present her as stereotypically modest. Similarly, the unfinished nature of Wroth's text might have been a deliberate rhetorical strategy to emulate Sidney's incomplete *Arcadia* (Dobranski 4: fn13). Dobranski suggests that 'unfinished works paradoxically helped to make writers more visible' (Dobranski 8). The textual content of the title page in fact points towards a rhetorical construction intended to primarily promote the book rather than the writer herself. This positioning of the book is further enhanced by the imagery on the title page.

A detailed woodcut image of a scene in *Urania*, 'designed by Simon Van der Passe – the designer of surviving engravings of both [William Herbert] Pembroke and his mother [Mary Sidney]' dominates the title page (Waller *Romance* 247). The designer's links with the Sidney family might problematize the idea that the book was pirated without input of any kind from Wroth. Moreover, the title page's decoration is reminiscent of the intricate ornamentation of the title page of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1593) (fig.2). Such an elaborate image suggests that Wroth's book, like *Arcadia*, was expensive and constructed to appeal to the wealthy book-buying public. Thus 'the rhetoric of the book' suggests that the printer and/or bookseller/publisher wished to promote the book as part of the Sidney myth, with or without Wroth's input, advertising that the book has the same worth as texts from her celebrated relatives. Of course, one can only speculate that the original readers might have made links, other than the obvious description on the title page, between Wroth and her famous relatives but it does seem that the book may have been constructed rhetorically to take on a life of its own, with a reputation derived from the Sidney myth as opposed to promoting Wroth herself or the concept of a worthy book written by a woman. This reading of the Stubbes and Wroth title pages places these books firmly in the arena of publishing whereby title pages are primarily

advertisements of the books as entities to be sold rather than announcements of the women writers as producers of worthy texts. Nonetheless, the presentation of the woman writer was important in promotion of her book. If social probity was an issue for women writers in having their work published, it might be expected that stereotypical descriptions of the ideal woman would be employed to present a woman writer.

Presentation of Female Roles and Attributes

Descriptions relating to public and private roles such as 'wife' and 'mother' and female attributes such as 'virtuous' or 'noble lady', to take an example of a social feature, might be anticipated on title pages of this period. One might speculate that such a description would be added by the bookseller/publisher or printer in constructing the title page, to counterbalance the effect of any possible hostile readership on sales or exploit the prestige of any book written by a woman. Surprisingly, such stereotypical female roles attached to the writer's name or initials were present on fewer than half of the title pages which noted the woman writer's name in full or used initials (48%, ⁴⁰/₇₃₊₁₁) (Table 4). Similarly, typical female or social attributes were indicated on 31% (²⁶/₇₃₊₁₁) of title pages attached to a woman's name or initials. This relatively low instance of stereotypical female roles and attributes noted on title pages was similar throughout the period of the survey of all extant publications viewed (fig.1).

One might suggest that a certain shaping of women writers on title pages would be dependent on the type or genre of book being advertised. As religious works were the most popular genre for women writers and translators one might speculate that the title pages of religious publications would express the virtue, and therefore the merit of the woman writer in producing such work. Wilcox sees '[t]he impact of genres as framing devices for identity and their potential as metaphors for selfhood' in the writing of some early modern Englishwomen (Wilcox 'Free' 29). Most religious publications indicating the woman writer's full name or initials also designated a female role (61%, ³⁷/₅₆₊₅), a higher proportion than on the title pages of publications across all genres (48%, ⁴⁰/₇₃₊₁₁). Nonetheless, it seems

that female/social attributes were noted with similar frequency in both the religious genre (39%, ²⁴/₅₆₊₅) and all genres combined (31%, ²⁶/₇₃₊₁₁) (Table 4). On the other hand, most of the publications that noted roles (93%, ³⁷/₄₀) and attributes (92%, ²⁴/₂₆) were of a religious nature (Table 4). Nonetheless, stereotypical roles and attributes were presented with the writer's full name, with the one exception of the title page of Cary's *Mariam* play-book. Cary is presented with her initials but also with stereotypical female attributes, a presentation style not seen on the title pages of other publications I reviewed. Cary is probably presented with her initials and stereotypical attributes in some kind of rhetorical construction which draws on 'identifying function in elite coterie' (North 'Anonymity's' 1) for her closet drama whilst also indicating an ideal feminine quality.⁴⁷ The presentation of Lanyer on her title page positions her in relation to her husband's social connections rather than any of her female or social attributes.⁴⁸ Although Lanyer's description is relatively uncommon in my survey it is not unique. A similar shaping is given to Anne Downam on the title page of her 'A Confession of Faith', in the compilation volume, *The Pathway to Prayer and Pietie* (1617). Downam is named as: 'Wife to George Downam Doctor of Diuinitie and now Bishop of Derrie' (238). It seems that it was thought necessary to position Downam socially as well as borrowing her husband's perceived spirituality in order to advertise her text as worthy. This spiritual value is reinforced by the description that it was 'penned at the time of her sicknesse; in which Faith she ended this life' (238).

Throughout the period reviewed the full name of a woman writer of a religious publication was usually given on the title page (fig.J) with the exception of women writers who contributed to compilations. The latter accounts for the increased figures of non-acknowledgement of women writers in the late sixteenth century (fig.J).

⁴⁷ See later discussion, pp.267-9.

⁴⁸ See later commentary on the *Salve* book's title page, p.133.

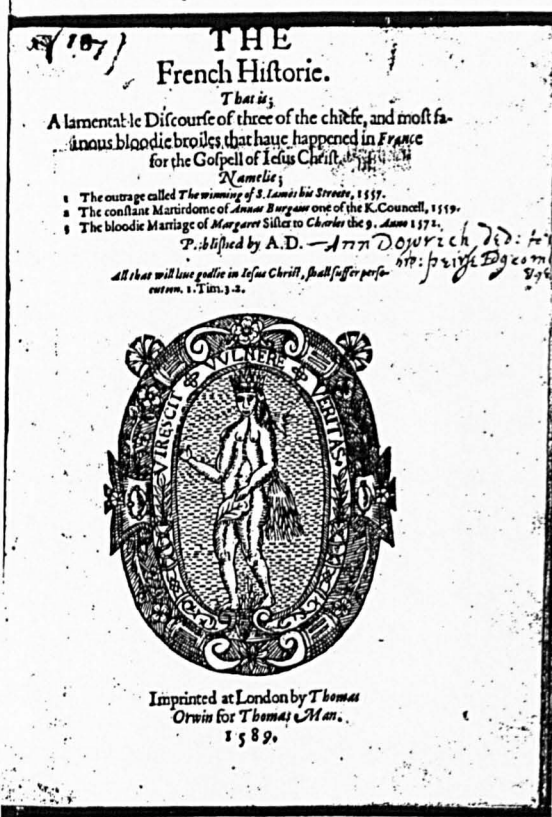


Figure 5: Title Page of Anne Dowriche's *The French Historie* (1589)

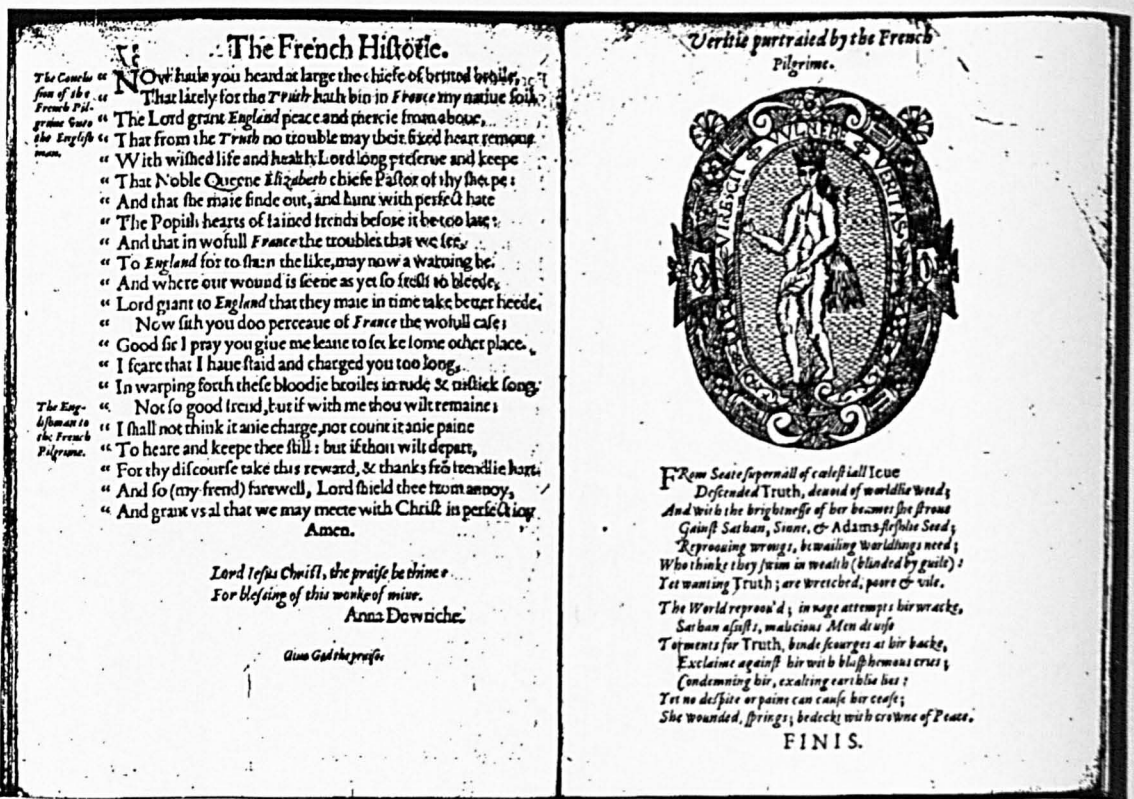
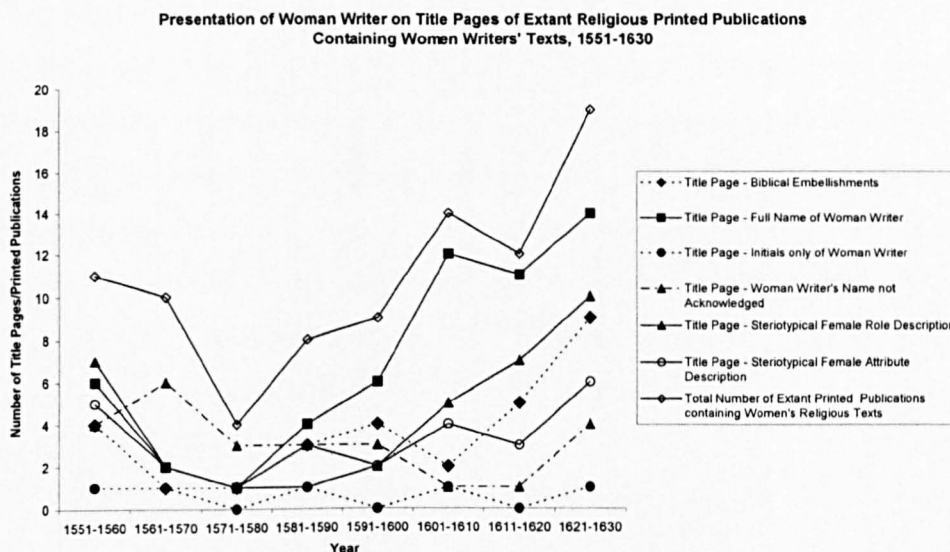


Figure 6: Last Pages of Anne Dowriche's *The French Historie* (1589)

Figure J:



Biblical embellishments were, predictably, added to the title pages of religious publications to clarify and legitimize their contents. However, surprisingly, relatively few religious publications carried such embellishments on their title pages (fig.J).

In conclusion, a study of title pages of books that display names of women writers helps us to understand that it is more likely that a bookseller/publisher's concern, and possibly that of the printer too, lie with the marketing and selling of a book rather than with any gendered animosity. Consequently, careful presentation of a writer, female or male, will take place only if it is likely to have an impact on the appeal of the book through its title page. Most importantly, the idea that any writer had a major input into how he or she was presented to the reading public on the title page is probably fanciful unless that writer was also the bookseller/publisher or an exceptional character like Jonson who took matters into his own hands to assert his authorial authority (*Marotti Manuscript 238*).

However, there is an interesting example suggesting the possible intervention of a woman writer in the construction of her title page: Anne Dowriche's *The French Historie* (1589). A device of an emblem illustrating a naked woman as a figure of Truth with a crown and a scourge at her back is prominently placed on Dowriche's title page (fig.5). The figure of Truth is surrounded by the motto: 'Virescit Vulnere Veritas' ('Truth flourishes

THE
TRAGEDIE
OF MARIAM,
THE FAIRE
Queene of Iewry.

Written by that learned,
vertuous, and truly noble Ladie,
E. C.



LONDON.
Printed by Thomas Crede, for Richard
Hawkins, and are to be sold at his shoppe
in Chancery Lane, neere vnto
Sargeants Inne.

1613.

Figure 7: Title Page of Elizabeth Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam, The Faire Queene of Iewry* (1613)

through wounding’). Anne Dowriche’s narrative poem is described as ‘a Puritan defense of religious freedom’ (Matchinske ‘Moral’ 176) and one might interpret the use of this device on the title page as a means of advertising her discussion of the persecution of Protestants in Catholic France. This link between image and prose is reinforced by further use of the device at the end of her prose text as well as on the title page (fig.6). At the end of the book the image is given a title, ‘Veritie purtraied by the French Pilgrime’ (L2^r), and is accompanied by a poem which makes specific reference to the device, linking it with the Dowriche’s narrative poem of persecution of Truth’s followers:

...Descended Truth, deuoid of wordlie weed;
 And with the brightnesse of her beames she stroue
 Gainst Sathan ... malicious Men deuise
 Torments for Truth, binde scourges at hir backe,
 Exclaime against hir with blasphemous cries;
 Condemning hir, exalting earthlie lies:
 Yet no despite or paine can cause hir cease;
 She wounded, springs; bedeckt with crowne of Peace.
 FINIS. (ll.2-4, 9-14)

These unequivocal connections between image and textual content imply that Dowriche, the assumed author of this poem, was clearly aware that the device would be used on her book and may even have requested its use. Presumably, the printer, Thomas Orwin, owned the device and it may have had specific significance with regard to the Dowriche text as he only used it on the extant two variant issues of Dowriche’s text in 1589: STC 7159, printed for Thomas Man, and STC 7159.3, printed for William Russell. However, another similar device was used by Thomas Creede on the title page of Cary’s closet drama. Creede’s Truth emblem is surrounded by the same Latin motto as on the Dowriche emblem but it also has the initials ‘TC’ placed at the feet of the figure indicating that this device belonged to, and was unique, to Creede. In addition, Creede’s device has a spelling mistake and ‘Viressit’ is given on the motto instead of ‘Virescit’ as on Dowriche’s book (fig.7).⁴⁹ Since Creede used this device to decorate the title pages of various books that he printed throughout his career, caution should be taken

⁴⁹ See later discussion on Creede’s use of his device, pp.271-3.

in over-interpreting his use of it here. It may be that it was an illustrated 'trademark' on his printed works but it is curious that, although emblems were an important aspect of Renaissance cultural decorative arts and literature,⁵⁰ neither of these Truth emblems is shown in the popular Renaissance emblem book by Andrea Alciati or appears in Georgetta de Montenay's *A Booke of Armes, or Remembrance Wherein ar One Hundered Godly Emblemata*.

Textual Analysis of Front matter

General Trends

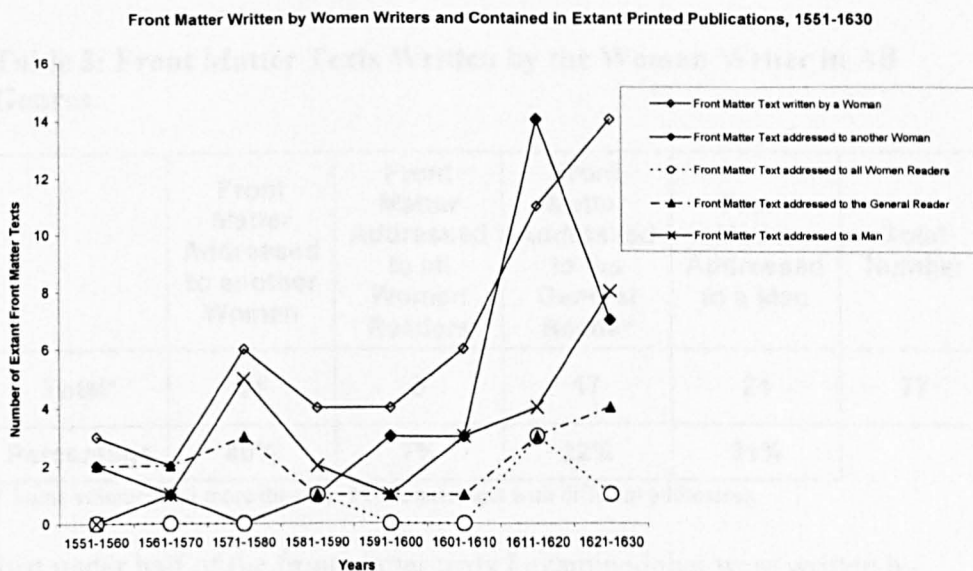
Although I have considered that a title page was predominantly designed by the producers of a book, I have assumed that a woman writer produced front matter if her name is given at the end of that text. Consequently, textual analyses of these texts help to reveal any possible means by which a woman may present herself. Nonetheless, it must also be remembered that a number of front matter texts and text proper written by women were published posthumously. The vast majority of such publications were of a religious nature. The only posthumous secular texts were the reprintings of texts using work attributed to the medieval writer, Dame Juliana Berners. My finding of an increase in extant publications which contain complete texts authored or translated by women and front matter texts also written by them lends some support to Crawford's assertion that 'women wrote with increasing self-confidence and in growing numbers during the seventeenth century' (Crawford 'Writings' 214). From the sixteenth century into the seventeenth there may be an increase in front matter texts written by women in which they present themselves as less reliant on sympathetic males to mediate their access to their readers (fig.K).

It is curious to note that across the time frame a majority, albeit not a vast majority, of 59% (⁶¹/₁₀₄) of extant religious texts were posthumously printed. This figure renders problematic the conclusion that more women wrote with increasing confidence by the seventeenth century and suggests in

⁵⁰ For more information see Bath 1994.

turn that front matter might have been written by an amanuensis or the bookseller/publisher, even though it may appear to have been written by the woman writer. Nonetheless, we can never be sure who wrote the prefaces to these books: for example, Stern has suggested that prologues to public theatre play-books were routinely written by the printer, not the playwright, ‘put[ting] an interesting light on the whole notion of authorship and the theater at the time’ (Stern ‘Small-beer’ 183). There was no particular time-based trend in the numbers of posthumous religious texts, ranging from 50% in 1581-1590 to 67% in 1561-1570. These percentages are composed primarily of *ars moriendi* texts as these texts are, by definition, written on the writer’s death bed. Examples of such texts include Katherine Stubbes’s volume and most of the Mother’s Advice books. Consequently, my data suggests that it is very difficult to form some kind of narrative of women’s progressive confidence in their presentation of themselves as writers and the quality of their work.

Figure K:



As noted earlier, in this survey I have accounted for front matter texts written by women and men separately from text proper. Of publications containing text proper written by women 78% ($^{111}/_{142}$) had front matter to some degree. In total, I reviewed 165 front matter texts across these 111 publications. Most publications had several front matter texts. Some publications had

more than one address to different groups of addressees; Lanyer's front matter in her *Salve* book is a striking example of this.⁵¹ Approximately half (77/165) of front matter texts reviewed were written by women (Table 5) compared with 88/165 of front matter texts written by male writers (Table 6). Editions of only four women's works were presented in publications that contained prefaces written by men as well as by the woman herself: Mother's Advice books by Elizabeth Jocelin, Elizabeth Grymeston and Elizabeth Clinton, together with Georgetta de Montenay's *A Booke of Armes, or Remembrance Wherein ar One Hundered Godly Emblemata*. Margaret Ascham, Elizabeth Arnold and Dorothy Berry contributed prefaces to other writers' works: Roger Ascham's *The Scolemaster*, Thomas Tuke's *A Discourse against Painting and Tincturing of Men and Women* and Diana Primrose's *A Chaine of Pearle* respectively.

Wilcox has commented that women did not tend to address the general reader but instead hoped to gain some kind of kinship with readers of their own sex (Wilcox 'Fruits' 205). My data does not completely support this conclusion (Table 5).

Table 5: Front Matter Texts Written by the Woman Writer in All Genres

	Front Matter Addressed to another Woman	Front Matter Addressed to all Women Readers	Front Matter Addressed to the General Reader	Front Matter Addressed to a Man	Total Number
Total*	31	5	17	24	77
Percentage	40%	7%	22%	31%	

* Some volumes had more than one front matter text with different addressees.

Just under half of the front matter texts I examined that were written by women were addressed to a named woman (40%, 31/77) but very few texts addressed all women as a select readership (7%, 5/77) (Table 5). On the other hand, it seems more texts by male writers addressed the general reader (45%,

⁵¹ See later discussion of Lanyer's dedications and her text, pp.169-242.

⁴⁰/₈₈) (Table 6) in comparison with front matter texts by women writers (22%, ¹⁷/₇₇) (Table 6). However, only 14% (¹²/₈₈) (Table 6) of male writers address a named man by comparison with nearly one third (31%, ²⁴/₇₇) of women writers (Table 5).

Table 6: Front Matter Texts Written by a Male Writer in All Genres

	Front Matter Addressed to Another Woman	Front Matter Addressed to the Woman Writer	Front Matter Addressed to all Women Readers	Front Matter Addressed to the General Reader	Front Matter Addressed to a Man	Total Number
Total*	16	7	13	40	12	88
Percentage	18%	8%	15%	45%	14%	

* Some volumes had more than one front matter text with different addressees.

With regard to religious texts male and female writers tended to address named women and/or general readers (Tables 7 & 8). But again, just under half of the texts written by women addressed other named women (49%, ²⁹/₅₉) (Table 7). Curiously, it seems that texts by male religious writers addressed far fewer named males (4%, ²/₄₉) (Table 8) than front matter by male contributors in publications across the genres (14%, ¹²/₈₈) (Table 6). Similarly, more texts by women religious writers addressed named men (27%, ¹⁶/₅₉) (Table 7) than those by male religious writers. Nonetheless, most of the male addressees named by women writers were relatives, such as sons in the case of Mother's Advice books.

Table 7: Front Matter Texts Written by the Woman Writer in Religious Books

	Front Matter Addressed to another Woman	Front Matter Addressed to all Women Readers	Front Matter Addressed to the General Reader	Front Matter Addressed to a Man	Total Number
Number of Texts	29	3	11	16	59
Percentage*	49%	5%	19%	27%	

* Some volumes had more than one front matter text with different addressees.

Table 8: Front Matter Texts Written by a Male Writer in Religious Books

	Front Matter Addressed to Another Woman	Front Matter Addressed to the Woman Writer	Front Matter Addressed to all Women Readers	Front Matter Addressed to the General Reader	Front Matter Addressed to a Man	Total Number
Number of Texts	15	7	12	13	2	49
Percentage*	31%	14%	24%	27%	4%	

* Some volumes had more than one front matter text with different addressees.

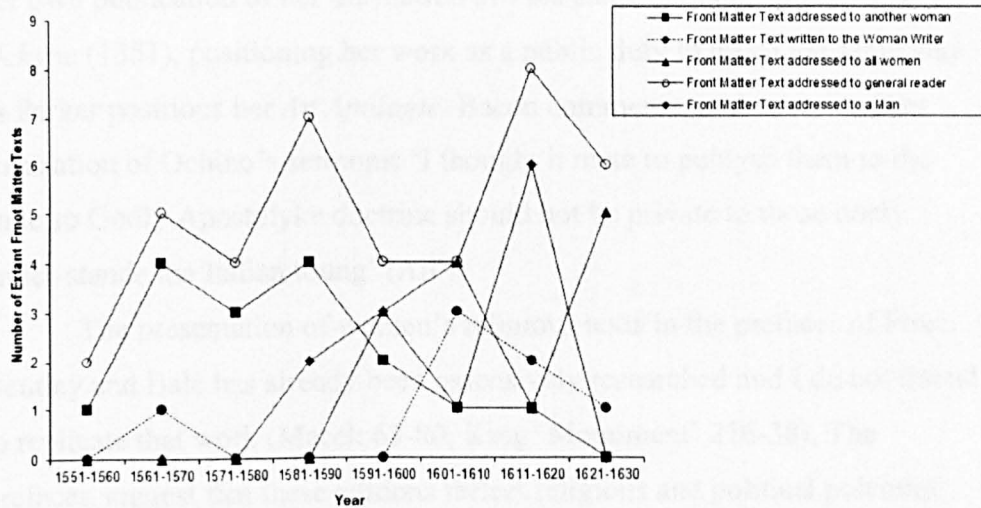
Textual Content of Front Matter

The Woman Writer Presented by a Sympathetic Male

As previously discussed with regard to religious compilations, the publication of the work of some women writers was often reliant on other writers. Mediation by other sympathetic male writers seems to have the illocutionary force of labelling the women writers with ideal feminine qualities. Male writers providing front matter tended to address the general reader but did not explicitly address women in general, in these publications, implying that they did not envisage their publications as being aimed specifically at a female readership (fig.L), although some male writers wrote directly to the woman writer herself in praise of her work.

Figure L:

Front Matter Written by a Man in Extant Printed Publications containing Women Writers' Texts, 1551-1630



One address to the reader is provided by Richard Jones, thought to be one of the few book trade members who wrote prefaces to champion his own publications (Melnikoff 257). He provides a preface for Isabella Whitney’s *The Copy of a Letter*, indicating that he treated a book written by a woman just the same as any other book that he published:

Therefore bye this same Booke,
Of him that hare doth dwell:
And you (I know) wyll say you haue
Bestowed your mony well. (A1^v)

Similarly, Mathew Parker wrote a preface addressed to Anne Bacon in her translation of *An Apologie* (1564), using the rhetorical act to preserve her modesty in conventional terms. He positions her as submitting to his judgement (male authority) in assessing the quality of her work and implies that she wanted to remain private:

Madame, According to your request I haue perused
your studious labour ... And now to thende bothe to
acknowledge my good approbation[n], and to spread
the benefit more largely, where your Ladishippe hath
sent me your boke written, I haue with most hearty
thanks returned it to you (as you see) printed:
knowing that I haue therin done the beste ... to
preuent suche excuses as your modestie woulde haue
made in staye of publishing it. (A^r-A2^v)

One should be wary of stating that a women writer always needed a male mediator to position her work as justifiably published. Anne Bacon defends her own publication of her translation of *Fouretene Sermons of Barnardine Ochyne* (1551), positioning her work as a public duty in much the same way as Parker positions her *An Apologie*. Bacon comments on the merit of her translation of Ochino's sermons: 'I thought it mete to publysh them to the ende so Godly Apostolyke doctrine should not be private to those onely vnder-stande the Italian toung' (Aii^r).

The presentation of women's religious texts in the prefaces of Foxe, Bentley and Bale has already been extensively researched and I do not intend to replicate that work (Macek 63-80; King 'Monument' 216-38). The prefaces suggest that these editions reflect religious and political polemics rather than adding anything to the study of the presentation of women writers, thus placing them outside the scope of this thesis. However, two Mother's Advice books present interesting examples of front matter written by sympathetic males who appear to present a rhetorical shaping of the value of the woman's work by ensuring the reader of her virtue, and help us to reach a nuanced understanding of this genre. Thomas Goad wrote 'The Approbation' to Elizabeth Jocelin's book reinforcing the idea of her fear of death: 'She secretly tooke order for the buying a new winding-sheet: thus preparing and consecrating her selfe to him' (a5^r). Rose comments that Goad also excuses Jocelin's legacy of her book to her children which would have been deemed unlawful (Rose 311: fn52): 'no law prohibiteth any possessor of morall and spirituall riches, to impart them vnto others' (A3^r). Goad's words also legitimize Jocelin's 'legacie' to her general readers, consequently locating the text as a legitimate spiritual message to the reader. Similarly, Grymeston's right to reach her reading public is reinforced by Simon Graham's commendatory poem. It is addressed to the writer, stating that, although she is dead, her words will live on: 'Though th'authors selfe triumph in heauenly glore, / Thou sacred worke giu'st mortall life againe' (B1^v). Interestingly, both Goad and Graham negate the idea that Jocelin and Grymeston were deviant in having their work printed. Instead, they

time of whose Iudgement is at hand; and
 O Lord remember thy servants Abra-
 ham, Isaac, & Iacob, & looke not to the
 stubbornnes, nor to the wickednes of this
 People, turne their harts, preserue thy
 Church, and his victorious Ma^{tie}. to tread
 downe the power of his enemies, our Sove-
 raigne gracious Lord and the Queene, an-
 noint them with thy holy Spirit, Crowne
 them with Grace; and forren Princes, e-
 specially the Kings excellent Sister, with
 a happie life here, and eternall life here-
 after. Be gracious to the remnant of IO-
 SEPH, heare & beseech thee the Prayer of
 thy servant.

The Servant of Iesus Christ :

O A SVRE DANIEL.

DANIEL, — I END AL.

Postscript *To make my name with boldnesse to vnto make Error & craue
 no Pardon, the manner let none dispise, Dreames in times
 past haue bene interpreted, our Fathers in diuers manners
 haue bene spoken vnto, the Winde bloweth where it listeth.*

YELEVA ROVALE



REVALE O DANIEL,

TO
 THE GREAT PRINCE,
 the King of Great BRITAINE,
 FRANCE, and IRELAND,
 Defender of the Faith.

THE INTERPRETATION OF
 THE VISIONS OF THE PROPHET
 DANIEL, revealing the *Man of Sinne*; And the
Morning Starre, before the coming of the Day.



IN the Visions of this
 Prophet are revealed the
 same things contained
 in the Revelatiō, which
 GOD gaue to Iesus
 Christ, to shew vnto his
 Servants things which
 must shortly come to passe;
 things that are not, to bring
 to nought things that are:
 And as he signified to his
 beloved Servant IOHN,

Figure 8: Lady Eleanor's Signing off on her Front Matter and Backward Spelling of her Name in *A Warning to the Dragon* (1624)

rhetorically position these women within religious and literary convention with respect to reader expectations.

Women's Use of Prefatory Rhetoric

The literary convention of describing a book as a child produced by the mother/father (writer) was used by writers of both sexes later in the seventeenth century: for example, An Collins' *Divine Songs and Meditations* (1653). In the sixteenth century, Spenser advises his book to position itself as his child in his prefatory 'To His Booke' in *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579): 'Goe little booke: Thy selfe present / As child whose parent is vnkent' (¶1^v). However, none of the extant texts that I reviewed for this survey offer any textual evidence to show that this metaphor was used by women, even though one might anticipate that such a metaphor would be useful to a woman writer in shaping herself in the stereotypical role of mother and nurturer. Of course, this does not mean that it was not used in texts printed between 1551 and 1630 that are now lost.

Lady Eleanor Davies is an outstanding example of a woman who had a sophisticated approach to her self-presentation. Crawford reads Davies's unusual manner of signing her front matter in *A Warning to the Dragon* (1624) as being typical of women writers who 'responded to negative attitudes to their writing by showing anxiety about their sexual identity' (Crawford 'Writings' 219). However, other scholars read Davies's front matter, not as an example of a woman writer's anxiety but as a confident, rhetorical act to claim self-authorization (Feroi x). Davies states that she hides her name but there is no sense of fear:

Though I shut the Door or Shadow my name, I feare
no faces, smiles nor frownes for the hope of Israel, to
me no chaines are heavie.
(aij^f)

In fact, in a postscript she states: 'To maske my name With boldnesse to vnmaske Error I craue no Pardon' (aij^v) (fig.8) which cannot easily be read as expressing anxiety or conforming to a modesty *topos*. Davies uses an anagram of the Audley name rather than her maiden name of Touchet or her then married name of Davies to recall her father, the eleventh Baron of

Audley.⁵² She writes ‘Reveale O Daniel’ in the title of the first page of her text (B), derived from her name (spelt as Eleanor Avdulei); an act which can be read as a means of self-authorization, by linking her to the prophet Daniel (fig.8). This intention of asserting literary authority has already been set up by the preceding front matter where she sidesteps any possible criticism that she could be accused of defying the Pauline edict not to preach, positioning herself instead as a mediator of God’s words: ‘He powreth out his Spi-rit upon his hand-maidens’ (Aiv’). However, previous scholars do not seem to have wondered why ‘Eleanor Audeley’ is spelt backwards above ‘Reveale O Daniel’ (B). Drawing on Patricia Parker’s work on spelling backwards and reversal of letters in early modern texts, this spelling might be part of Davies’ assertion of literary authority (Parker 25-50).

Parker has commented that spelling backwards was seen to represent a variety of concepts, from spells of witchcraft to ‘preposterous amor’, as well as being associated with Hebrew which is ‘read or written in a “left” or “sinister” direction’; as such ‘the backward spelling of Hebrew’ (Parker 40). This latter rationalisation might have been utilized by Davies in her book, in which she ‘interpreted political developments in Europe as a fulfilment of the books of Daniel and Revelation’.⁵³ By spelling out the Old Testament prophet Daniel’s name from left to right (in English), deriving it from her own name spelt backwards, Davies can be read as ensuring that the reader understands that she has ‘combined the backward spelling of Hebrew with the inverse of “right writing” ... extended to the larger cultural stakes of reading the Hebrew Scriptures themselves in the “right” direction from left to right’ (Parker 40). In this sense, Davies may be advocating that she is reading the Scriptures in the ‘right’ direction; from a Protestant perspective as opposed to a Catholic or even a Hebrew viewpoint. Consequently, she is rhetorically advertising the worth of her text rather than indicating any lack of self-confidence in herself as a woman who writes.

⁵² Watt, ‘Lady Eleanor Davies (1590-1652).’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. June 2009. <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7233>.

⁵³ Watt, ‘Lady Eleanor’ (unpaginated).

Previous scholarship has identified the idea that learned women were seen as a threat to early modern society since '[e]ducation was power' (Lamb 'Cooke' 113-4). Therefore, unsurprisingly, it is thought that '[m]ost pre-1640 women writers were aristocratic or had connections with the nobility and the work they published represented the accomplishments peculiar to the "learned women" ' (Bell, Parfitt, Shepherd 247). Nonetheless, the claims of a lack of learning made by some noble women writers have been read as self-effacing, an internalization of societal prohibitions on a woman's learning or a literal apology for having the temerity to show off their skills (Lamb 'Cooke' 114-5). Anne Bacon excuses her knowledge of the Italian tongue in the front matter of her translation of *Fouretene Sermons of Barnardine Ochyne* (1551). But as her status might suggest, Bacon had no real need to justify her work or to apologize for her learnedness and so her excuses seem more like rhetorical acts than actual apologies. In addressing her mother, Bacon comments that her mother had appropriately discouraged her learning: 'it hath pleased you, often, to reprove my vaine studie in the Italian tongue' (Aiii^f). Bacon's comments have been explained as a literal means of self-defence of her learning, excusing it because it was put to use in producing a religious work (Lamb 'Cooke' 114-5). However, I read Bacon's address to her mother as a defence of her family in allowing her to learn languages and excusing her knowledge of Italian. At that time Italian could be connected with Catholicism and so, as Wayne points out, a condemnation of the language might be a politically astute act in the febrile religious atmosphere of Protestant England of the late-sixteenth century (Wayne 'Introductory Note' xi-xii). Thus, the reader is assured that Bacon only learnt her skill in order to conduct a 'godly labour' (Aii^f) and not to show off her learning. Bacon's comments can equally be read as a rhetorical act whereby any possible objections to a learned woman having her work printed are aired in order to dispel them. Similarly, by 1564, when Bacon's translation of Jewel's *An Apologie* is printed, the preface by Matthew Parker praises Bacon's 'studious labour of translation profitably imploied in a right commendable work' (A') (Wayne 'Introductory Note' xii).

On the other hand, Jocelin seems to express anxiety concerning the education of a daughter: 'my sisters doe, good housewifery, writing, and good works: other learning a woman needs not' (B5^v) in her dedication to her husband in *The Mothers Legacie to her Unborn Child* (1624). Lamb reads these comments as evidence that Jocelin internalizes stereotypical ideas that women should not be educated (Lamb 'Cooke' 114-5). However, Jocelin's commentary can equally be read as the promotion of a woman's modesty as evinced by the judicious use of her learning rather than a condemnation of learning in a women: 'If thou desirest a learned daughter, I pray God giue her a wise and religious heart, that she may vse it to his glory, thy comfort, and her owne saluation' (B6^v). Jocelin can also be read as encouraging a woman to use her voice judiciously: 'remember thou art a Maid, and such ought thy modesty to bee, that thou shouldst scarce speak, but when thou answerest' (69) and not an advocate of female silence as thought previously (Crawford 'Writings' 214). Consequently, Jocelin encourages controlled speech in women rather than silence where women's silence is defined as 'an *absence* of uncontrolled speech' (Luckyj *Gender* 44).

In her *A Handfull of Holesome (though Homelie) Hearbs* (1584), Anne Wheathill offers an example of a woman writer who seems to present herself as self-effacing, commenting in her preface that the learned amongst her readers may judge her to be 'grose and vnwise'(aij^v). However, her diffidence about her own ability to write is short-lived and, consequently, can be read rhetorically, as she goes on to apparently censure any hostile learned reader, claiming ultimate approval from God for her writing:

[N]euertheles, As GOD dooth know, I haue done it with a good zeale, according to the weakness of my knowledge and capacitie ... yet doo I trust, this small handfull of grose hearbs, holesome in operation and workeing, shall be no lesse acceptable before the maiestie of almightie God than the fragrant floures of others, gathered with more vnderstanding.
(aij^v-aiij^r)

Her very confident rebuke suggests that her apology for writing can also be read as a rhetorical plea to be read as a worthy person, citing God's approval and encouragement as her motivation in promoting herself and her work, and *seeming* to exhibit stereotypically feminine modesty in order to *be* a writer. Lanyer performs a similar role in her self-presentation as a writer by placing the ultimate authorship of her book with God in her address to 'The doubtfull Reader'.⁵⁴

Some women's printed writings use the typical trope of describing a friend who asked the writer to publish her work. This action has been thought as a form of justification by women for having their work printed. For example, the title pages of Elizabeth Melvill Colville's *Ane Godlie Dreame* and Mother Theresa of Avila's *The Lyf of The Mother Teresa of Iesvs* offer prosaic comments on their modesty by claiming their lack of motivation in self-advancement through writing. Colville is said to have written 'at the request of her friends' while Mother Theresa only wrote at the 'commandement of her ghostly father'. Wilcox comments that the 'familiar trope of the "friend" who encourages the author to publish' was infrequently used because women expressed their purpose in writing 'to sidestep secular authorization [by a friend] and claim their justification directly from God or to anticipate the support of their (often female) readers' (Wilcox 'Fruits' 219: fn12). Wilcox's comment seems to imply that women could not rely on secular friends in the same way as male writers could and, instead, had to resort to divine authority or other women friends. However, women's references to friends should not necessarily be read as literal. A lack of reference to friends may just indicate that women writers simply tended not to choose this particular trope in their self-presentation, considering that it was more effective to claim justification from God and thereby call attention to the most important attribute that a woman could have; her virtue. Nonetheless, some women did use this trope. Daybell has shown in his study of early modern women's letters that women adopted a 'classical language of political "friendship"' and that their letters 'clearly conform to traditional

⁵⁴ See later discussion of Lanyer's self-presentation as a writer in 'The doubtfull Reader', pp.180-1.

rhetorical models demonstrating female conversance with the formal conventions of the epistolary genre' (Daybell 173). Consequently, it is reasonable to expect the rhetorical use of friendship in some women's front matter. Anne Lok Prowse's front matter in her 'Meditation of a Penitent Sinner', attached to her 1560 translation of John Calvin's sermons, is such an example. She offers a rhetorical flourish in claiming modesty: 'I haue added this meditation followyng vnto the ende of this boke [...it] was deliuered me by my friend with whom I knew I might be so bolde to vse & publishe it as pleased me' (Bi^f). On the other hand, similar rhetorical strategies were openly criticized by Cary in her translation of Jacques Davy du Perron's *The Reply of the Most Illustrious Cardinall of Perron* (1630), where she disapproves such tropes, labelling them as a 'worne-out forme of saying, I printed it against my will, moved by the importunitie of Friends' and she confidently adds her reason for having her work printed: 'I was moved to it by my beleefe... '(a2^v). However, it would be simplistic to suggest that Cary's rejection of rhetorical form is evidence that women writing later in the seventeenth century showed greater self-confidence compared with women writing in earlier years.

The content of Margaret Tyler's address to her reader in her translation of the romance, *The Mirrour of Princely deedes and Knighthood* (1578), can be read as an overtly political and confident act, expressing a woman's need to be allowed to express herself in writing. As such, it is a rejection of rhetorical reference to friends as motivators for women to write:

...then may we wome[n] read such of their works
as they dedicate vnto us, and if we may read them,
why not farther wade in the[m] to y[e] serch of a
truth. (Aiiii^f)

Her commentary has been called 'the boldest criticism of patriarchal ideology by a woman writer up to that time' (Krontiris 45). Nonetheless, Tyler also uses typical rhetorical constructions in gendered terms and presents a self-consciously constructed *persona* of the reluctant speaker in her dedication to Lord Thomas Haward. She claims that she was persuaded by friends to write her work: 'the consideration of my insufficiency droue me to thinke it better for my ease ... but the opinion of my friends judgement



preuailed about mine owne reason' (Aii'). Moreover, her 'criticism of patriarchal ideology' is further complicated by the presence of printed marginalia which may have been added by the printer, Thomas East (Askey). Some of these printed comments in the margins seem to highlight gendered rhetorical self-presentations by Tyler which appear to be in line with 'patriarchal ideology'. For example, the marginal comment, 'That you meant to make a com[m]on be-nefit of your paines', when read in conjunction with Tyler's associated text: 'they could well allow the storie in Spanish, but they may not afford it so cheape ... my meaning hath bene to make other partners of my liking' (Aiiii^v), highlights Tyler's self-presentation as a stereotypically nurturing woman who wishes to write for the benefit of as many readers as possible. Therefore, even in the presence of an apparently bold critique of the dominant discourse, rhetorical self-presentations are still made available by the writer herself and reinforced by the typographical presentation of the text.

The idea of a woman writer emerging from a private realm of the coterie tradition into the public arena of the print world is thought to have been seen as scandalous (Wilcox 'Fruits' 208). Consequently, it might not be surprising to see that women shaped their writing as the result of some kind of pastime presenting themselves as modest without ambition for self-promotion. An early example of such a presentation comes from Mary Roper Clarke Bassett who translated her grandfather, Thomas More's, *De Tristitia* ('An exposition of a parte of the passion of our saviour Jesus Christe...') in *The Workes of Thomas More* (1557). In 'the printer to the gentle reader' she is called 'a gentlewoman (who for her pastime translated it)' (1350). Such rhetorical constructions of women writers in compliance with stereotypical feminine ideals may be designed to offset any potential censure by a hostile readership. A prime example is Katherine Parr's presentation of herself in the volume of her *Lamentation of a Sinner*.

Parr's volume has been read as rhetorical and gendered: '[f]or the most part, Parr's narrative neatly obliterates all signs of her education, wealth, and class' (Snook 48). Parr comments that when God 'hadde thus opened mine eyes ... al pleasures, vanities, honor, ryches, welth & aydes of

the worlde began to ware bitter vnto me' (Bvii^r). However, Parr most likely has a political motive uppermost in mind when shaping herself in such stereotypically modest and virtuous terms. It is known that Katherine and her associates had supported extensive religious reform and faced opposition after her husband's (Henry VIII) death (King 'Patronage' 45-6; Mueller 'Introductory Note' x-xi). Consequently, it is reasonable to suppose that Parr, despite her high social status, would still need to shape herself as non-confrontational and virtuous in her writing. The posthumous printing of her text with a male mediator's front matter emphasized her self-presentation in her text. The illocutionary force of the title page, positioning the book as a valuable Protestant text and Parr as repentant, is in turn reinforced by William Cecil's preface in the 1563 edition:

If the findynge of one loste sheep, be more ioyful,
 then the hauing of nientie and nyne: want ioye is
 it to consider the returne if a stray chile of al-
 mighty God ... Here mayest thou see one if the
 kinde may moue a woman, if degree may prouoke
 thee a woman of high estate, by byrth made noble,
 by marriage moste no-ble, by wisdom godly by
 a mightie kinge ... refusing the world wher in
 shee was loste ... (Aiiii^{r-v})

As well as shaping themselves as being stereotypically ideal, women often used seemingly derogatory terms to describe their literary efforts. Speght shapes herself as 'yong, and the vnworthiest of thousands' (A3^r) in her address 'To all Vertuous Ladies' in her *A Mouzell for Melastomvs* (1617). The bizarre incongruity of this shaping of a writer in an enthusiastic pro-woman contribution to the *querelle des femmes* debate can only be read as a rhetorical act to specifically offset censure from hostile readers. Speght goes on to develop this rhetoric in *Certaine Qvaeres to the Bayter of Women* (enclosed in the same volume) by even negating her learning as 'on-ly the fruit of such vacant houres, as I could spare from affaires befitting my Sex' (F^r). The rhetoric of this comment is even clearer when Speght's *A Dreame* is considered. This poem advocates women's knowledge and seems to be a proto-feminist commentary alongside her religious text in *Mortalities Memorandum* (1621). Speght is quite clear in her address to her godmother

in this volume that her work is the result of a God-given talent and hence worthy of being read by the public: ‘None but vnprofitable seruants knit vp Gods talent in a Napkin’ (A2^r). Choosing to address her godmother can be read as indicating that Speght chose a close supporter and woman friend as dedicatee through a lack of confidence in dedicating her book to any socially elite individual. Nonetheless, Lewalski reads *A Dreame* as Speght’s ‘emotional engagement with ... the fictional representation of a woman’s obstacle-laden path to education’ (Lewalski *Jacobean* 170-1). Munkoff has a slightly different reading of Speght’s apparent ‘fictional representation’ of her ignorance as an illness with education as its cure. Munkoff suggests that *A Dreame* is ‘immersed in the contemporary contentious issues of women’s roles in medicine’ noting that Speght’s godmother was also the wife of the president of the College of Physicians and this fact may have had a great bearing on Speght’s choice of dedicatee (Munkoff ‘Polemic Medicine’). Munkoff asserts that Speght is suggesting that medically-trained men should recognize that although within the family women often deal with health matters, this should not be regarded as a challenge but they should instead take notice of the knowledge held by women within the domestic sphere (Munkoff ‘Polemic Medicine’). If Munkoff’s reading is reasonable, then Speight’s choice of her godmother as dedicatee, whilst *seeming* to be a modestly restrained choice of an individual from within her own domestic sphere, can also *be* read as a covertly self-assured message to her godmother’s husband who represents the patriarchal world of medicine. And Speght’s poem makes it clear that she advocates women’s thirst for and right to develop knowledge; equal to and not as a challenge to men:

Both man and woman of three parts consist,
Which Paul doth bodie, soule, and spirit call:
And from the soule three faculties arise,
The mind, the will, the power; then wherefore shall
A woman haue her intellect in vaine,
Or not endeuour Knowledge to attaine.

The talent, God doth giue, must be employ’d...
(*A Dreame*, B^v-B2^r, ll.127-133)

Employment of rhetorical strategies by women writers in their self-presentation deserves to be further defined culturally. We need to be wary of simply gendering many of these deliberate self-presentations when it is likely that these women were probably writing in much the same way as their male counterparts. Texts by male writers also reflect responses to the societal and non-gendered pressures experienced by both male and female writers in the early sixteenth and late seventeenth centuries, as previously discussed. As a consequence, acknowledging these non-gendered issues problematizes seemingly apologetic disclaimers by women to justify their work in print. A prime example of a male writer employing rhetorical strategies in his self-presentation is Francis Davison, who compiled *A Poetical Rapsodie*. Davison included poems by himself, his brother Walter and an anonymous writer or group of writers, as well as poems by Phillip and Mary Sidney and Edmund Spenser. Davison was not aristocratic⁵⁵ but clearly aspired to literary renown, according to his dedication to William Earl of Pembroke, the son of Mary Sidney, presumably written in order to attach some Sidneian fame to his work (*Marotti Manuscript* 317):

Thou Worthy Sonne, vnto a peerelesse MOTHER,
 Thou Nephew to great SIDNEY of renowne ...
 I consecrate these Rimes to thy great NAME,
 Which if thou like, they seeke no other fame'
 (A3^r)

Nonetheless, Davison also employs rhetorical strategies which seem to be aimed at justifying his writing. In his address to the reader, Davison alludes to the concept of anonymity as 'a familiar signature' in poetry writing in 'elite coterie and courts circles' (North 'Anonymity's' 1). He comments that he and his brothers and friends wish to be anonymous and blames the printer for having published their names without his consent. He modestly claims that he does not want fame: 'Our hearts does seeke another estimation' (A3^v). Moreover, he also offers disparaging commentary on his and his brother's work. Davison positions himself as being unworthy of having his work in the same volume as poems written by the Sidneys and Spenser, blaming the

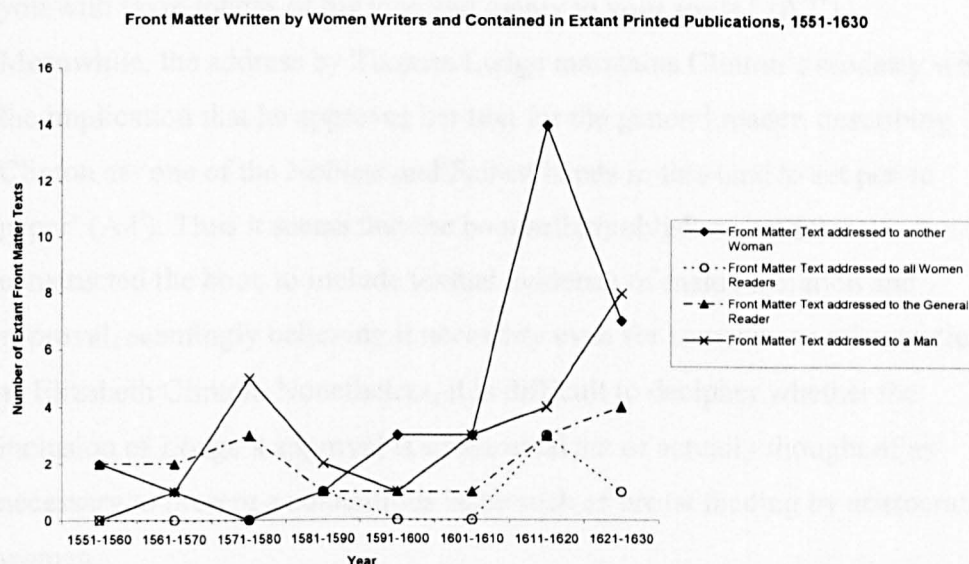
⁵⁵ Considine. 'Francis Davison (1573/4-1613x19).' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. June 2009. <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7300>.

printer for including 'diuerse thinges written by great and learned Personages, with [his and others'] meane and worthless Scriblings' (A4^r). He also denigrates his brother's efforts as those of a poet who 'by profession a Souldier, and was not 18. yeeres olde when he writt these Toyes' and even states that his own work was the result of 'idle times'(A4^v). Nonetheless, the illocutionary act of instigating a compilation of texts written by him set alongside eminent literary figures locates Davison centrally and fictively within a private literary circle, thereby *seeming* to elevating his social status. Like Spenser before him, the inclusion of poems by Philip and Mary locates Davison within this Sidneian milieu. This overt indication of societal association with the Sidney family (even if fictive) by Spenser and Davison lends some support to Wall's comment that 'poetry [was] imagined as the product of an aristocratic social ethos' (Wall *Imprint* 13). As a consequence, readers who might have a similar social standing to Davison's are flattered into imagining themselves as part of this literary circle when they read the book.

The Woman Writer Addressing her Reader(s)

Extant texts show that there is an increase in front matter which is also written by the woman writer (fig.M), compared with the relatively enduring number of prefaces written by sympathetic male writers (fig.L).

Figure M:



The spike in 1611-1620 results from the extraordinarily large number of texts in Lanyer's front matter dedications to individually named women by comparison with the works of other women writers works I have reviewed (fig.M). Elizabeth Cary's volume is more typical since she prefaces her *Mariam* play-text with just one dedication, possibly to her sister-in-law.⁵⁶ Moreover, my data shows that women did not seem to address the general reader to the same extent as male writers of books containing women's texts (figs. L and M) which might negate any generalized idea that women developed an increase in confidence in addressing the book-buying public directly as time passed. For example, Elizabeth Clinton, in *The Covntesse of Lincolnes Nvrserie*, addresses her daughter-in-law, 'Bridget Covntesse of Lincolne' (A2^r-A3^r), but it is Thomas Lodge who addresses the general reader in 'To the Covrteovs, chiefly most Christian Reader' (A4^r-A4^v). Nonetheless, these two prefaces seem to work together to position Clinton as a worthy writer and to advertise her book, in which she advocates that women should nurse their own children. In her address, Clinton praises her daughter-in-law for breast-feeding her children instead of employing a wet-nurse like most other aristocratic women. Clinton encourages other women to do likewise by offering Bridget as a commendable model of this practice

⁵⁶ See later discussion of Cary's dedicatory poem, p.299.

since she says: 'I reioyce, that I can beare witnesse, that God hath adorned you with fayre tokens of his loue and mercy to your soule.' (A2^v). Meanwhile, the address by Thomas Lodge maintains Clinton's modesty with the implication that he approves her text for the general reader, describing Clinton as 'one of the Noblest and Fairest hands in this land to set pen to paper' (A4^r). Thus it seems that the bookseller/publisher or printer constructed the book to include textual evidence of male mediation and approval, seemingly believing it necessary even for someone as aristocratic as Elizabeth Clinton. Nonetheless, it is difficult to decipher whether the inclusion of Lodge's approval is a rhetorical act or actually thought of as necessary to present a contentious issue such as breast feeding by aristocratic women.

Nevertheless, there is the outstanding example of Tyler's 1578 explicit plea for women to be allowed to express themselves in her address to the reader. Unsurprisingly, the self-assured Lady Eleanor Davies constructs an overt address to the general Christian reader in *A Warning to the Dragon* (1625) entitled: 'A General Epistle to The fold and Flocke of Christ, and to them that are gone astray, that say they are Apostles and Catholiques and are not &c.' (Aiiij). In her *Mortalities Memorandvm*, Speght confidently admonishes her uneducated readers who can only 'read a,b,c' ('To the Reader', A3^v) by claiming: 'But help of such Readers at no time I craue, / Their silence, than censure, I rather would haue: / For ignorant Dunces does soonest deprave' (A3^v). Anderson recognises a comparable tone in an address to a critical reader by a male writer: for example, Thomas Jordan's address 'To the Critical Reader' in his *Poeticall Varieties: Or, Varietie Of Fancies* (1637) (Anderson 639). Jordan confidently addresses his critical reader with 'Sowre Sir, a word with you' ('To the Critical Reader', A3^r), challenging his reader to examine his reading strategy: 'Either resolve to reade me honestly ... or fairely leave mee to my Candid Reader' (A3^r). Jordan's address is positioned at the front of the book on A3^r immediately preceding an address to the sympathetic reader. Similarly, Speght also anticipates sympathetic readers and asks them to improve her *Mortalities Memorandvm*, which is in accordance with the literary tradition of her day:

early modern writers expected their readers 'to participate in their books [and] sometimes attempted to guide readers' responses' (Pask 10, 33). Speght asks her reader to 'take in good part, / Correcting with iugement the faults thou do'st finde' (ll.9-10). Lanyer also uses this tradition when addressing her women readers in 'To the Vertuous Reader'.⁵⁷ Therefore, from this data it is difficult to suggest a definite narrative of women writers' increased self-confidence in presenting themselves in their prefaces in the early years of the seventeenth century. It seems that from 1640 onwards the picture is not as clear as might be suggested. It seems that printers or bookseller/publishers still placed some level of reliance on male writers as mediators. However, it may be that the book trade became aware, as time progressed, that front matter written by women writers was becoming more palatable to the book-buying public.

On the other hand, Benson comments that women writers 'dedicated their works to members of their family circle or, in a few cases, to people whose patronage they had already received, if they dedicated at all' (Benson 'Play' 243). However, my data from extant texts does not support Benson's claims that women writers as a gendered group restricted themselves to addressing particular categories of dedicatees (Tables 5 and 7). The data derived from extant publications indicates that women wrote their front matter to a variety of addressees, who are presented as possible protectors of the work, but with the exception of Lanyer most women limited the number of front matter texts. Crawford has asserted that 'hostility to their writing encouraged ... women to escape criticism by writing specifically for their own sex' and observes that this is reflected by more of their work being dedicated to women than to men (Crawford 'Writings' 22). However, the increase, during the time period covered by the survey, in front matter text written by the woman writer cannot just be explained by a need to escape criticism from hostile male readers. Addressing their front matter to other named women or to all women does not necessarily suggest that they felt a gendered need for solidarity amongst other women in order to be able to

⁵⁷ See later discussion of Lanyer's address 'To the Vertuous Reader', p.217.

endorse their writing successfully. There is likely to be a myriad of possible reasons why a woman writer might address her front matter to another woman.

It is unsurprising that there are many dedications to female members of royal families. In an effort to elicit royal patronage along with protection for a book Dorothy Leigh dedicates her text to the ‘high and excellent Princesse, the Lady Elizabeth Grace’, which Urban suggests was a ‘marketing ploy that signifies the breadth of Leigh’s intended audience’, giving the book a ‘certain legitimacy’ (Urban 44), but Travitsky also suggests that Elizabeth was ‘a hopeful symbol of Protestant militancy’ (Travitsky ‘Introductory Note’ xi). This latter suggestion is further complicated because the book was published posthumously and it seems that, according to the title page, Leigh was ‘*not long since deceased*’ (title page) and so implies that the bookseller/publisher might have chosen the addressee without Leigh’s knowledge. Therefore, one might then suggest that the dedicatee was chosen with a view to ensuring that the reader would understand from the title page that Leigh is sufficiently worthy to relay a religious message, together with the preface which highlights the specific religious standpoint of the text. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse Leigh’s text proper in comparison to her front matter, it would be interesting to determine whether the address was written by the same hand or possibly added by another writer after Leigh’s death. Similarly, by addressing the Countess of Warwick in her translation of Taffin’s *Of the Markes of the Children of God* (1597), Anne Lok Prowse expresses her empowerment as a writer by being a member of a religious community which provides her with a means of circumventing gendered limits on her ability to communicate her faith:

...but because great things by reason of my
sex I may not doe, and that which I may, I
ought to doe, I have according to my duetie,
brought my poore basket of stones to the
strengthening of the walles of that Ierusalem,
whereof (by grace) we are all both Citizens
and members. (A4’)

One could also say that Lok Prowse is positioning herself from within a religious community which happens to be shared with a religious, elite woman.⁵⁸ This preface reinforces the sense of religious community engendered by the biblical embellishment on the title page which quotes Rom. 8.16: ... *so that we suffer together that we also may be glorified together*. Consequently, Thomas Man, who employed various printers to produce editions of this book with the same quotation on each title page, ensures that his title page and Lok Prowse's preface work together to protect her book from political and religious hostility and also elevate its importance. In her translations of *Sermons of Iohn Caluin* (1560), Lok Prowse addresses another woman, Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk who, as discussed earlier, is also mentioned on the title page of Katherine Parr's *The Lamentation of a Sinner* (1563).⁵⁹ By implication, the front matter of Lok Prowse's book, addressed to such an important Protestant figure as the duchess, indicates that the contents are spiritually valuable for devout Protestants. However, it is important to note that Lok Prowse had gone into exile in Geneva in 1557 to translate these sermons and dedicated them to the duchess who was, at the time, a fellow exile.⁶⁰ It is known that Lok Prowse was the 'first documented Protestant separatist from the Elizabethan Church'⁶¹ and seems to have located the duchess as a like-minded aristocrat with increasing puritan sympathies and a similar alienation from the established Protestant church of Elizabeth.⁶² Recognition of this contemporary religious and political atmosphere offers a nuanced reading of the possible effect of Lok Prowse's front matter on her original readers. As mentioned with regard to the naming of the duchess on Parr's title page, it is not clear that by positioning the duchess as a potential protector of the text Lok Prowse's front matter would offer a gendered advertisement of the text for women readers. Instead the book is positioned and advertised as a valuable text with regard to a specific belief system within Protestantism. It seems likely that by addressing the

⁵⁸ The Duchesse of Warwick is referred to as a 'religious diarist' at the *Orlando* Project.

⁵⁹ See earlier discussion, p.70.

⁶⁰ Wabuda, 'Katherine Bertie' (unpaginated).

⁶¹ Collinson. 'Anne Lock Prowse.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Sept. 2009. <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2273>.

⁶² Wabuda, 'Katherine Bertie' (unpaginated).

Countess of Warwick and the Duchess of Suffolk in her books, Lok Prowse is seeking religious and political allegiances with powerful patrons who happen to be women rather than giving a definite indication of some kind of gendered camaraderie.

It is thought that there are far more addresses (from male and female writers) to individual women than to women generally between 1475 and 1640 (J Pearson 'Women' 89). My review shows that addresses to women, as a gendered group, were not regularly included in publications containing women writer's texts (Table 5). The possibility of a lack of prefatory focus on women as a separate reading group by women writers suggests that women were not particularly motivated to address their own sex. It also lends support to Lewalski's comment that 'Jacobean women did not see themselves as a cohesive group defined by gender' (Lewalski *Jacobean* 3). On the other hand, it can be suggested that the few dedications written by women addressing women readers might have been isolated attempts to develop the idea of the confident woman writer specifically writing texts for a female-only audience (Wilcox 'Fruits' 214). After all, it is known that 'private reading was regarded as a characteristically feminine activity', particularly the reading of religious texts (Collinson, Hunt, Walsham 64); although not all books that women read were addressed to them specifically (Hull 127). However, a 'female book market had been well-established by the year 1640' (Hull 127). Nonetheless, the only women writers I found who had front matter that addressed women as a specified gendered readership were Anne Wheathill, Rachel Speght in *A Movzell for Melastomvs* (1617); Aemilia Lanyer in her addresses 'To the Vertuous Reader' and 'To all vertuous Ladies in generall',⁶³ and Diana Primrose, with Katherine Stubbes as an interesting anomaly since her words are presented by her husband. Analysis of their front matter texts offers nuanced understandings of the purposes of their books, suggesting that the address to a female readership can also be read as a rhetorical act to covertly position their books rather than specifically writing for a female readership.

⁶³ See later discussion of the textual content 'To the Vertuous Reader' pp.213-4, 217-8 and 'To all vertuous Ladies in generall', pp.177, 181-2.

Ostensibly, Anne Wheathill addresses an imagined religious community of female readers in her front matter: ‘To all Ladies, Gentlewomen, and others, which loue true religion and vertue, and be deuoutlie disposed Grace mercie and peace in Christ Iesus’ (a.ij^f) in her 1584 *A Handfull of Holesome (though Homelie) Hearbs*. Her address has led Cullen to suggest that a male readership is reduced to the category of ‘others’ although, considering the contents of the book, he questions whether Wheathill really is primarily addressing a female readership as might be suggested by the title of the address (Cullen ‘Introductory Note’ x). If the idea of a female audience is reasonable, then it can be suggested that ‘others’ could equally refer to women with a lower status than gentry, which is implied by the label: ‘Ladies, Gentlewomen’. However, ‘others’ may not necessarily be a gendered category. Instead, Wheathill’s address offers the possibility that ‘others’ can be read to include non-partisan Christians or even Catholic readers. Since it is known that ‘Catholic’ books were not always written for Catholics but often addressed to ‘the devout or impartial Christian reader’ (Collinson, Hunt, Walsham 53), it may not be unreasonable to suggest that Wheathill was likewise addressing a wide range of Christian believers along with a female readership under the term ‘others’. Wheathill generously addresses ‘others’ who do not necessarily share the same faith as her and who ‘haue not reached therevnto’ (aiiij^v) in an effort to convert them:

I praie the holie Ghost to inspire their hearts
 from aboue, that they and we may be worthie to
 meete to-gether, in the blessed kingdome of our
 heauenlie father,....(aiiij^v-av^f)

The addressing of a female readership with the vague term ‘others’ may be a clandestine act to help in disguising Wheathill’s addressing of different religious groupings of readers in the form of a preacher, a forbidden act under Pauline edict. Wheathill has been read as another example of a typical Protestant woman writer with a ‘key role in forging the idea of the English as a Protestant nation of readers’, called ‘the elect’ in her Preface (Snook 55). Wheathill addresses her imagined Protestant community of readers and positions her writing as having ‘gained those, whom I know not, as well as strangers to me, as my acquaintance, to be my friends, that shall taste the

grose herbes with me' (aiij^v). Cullen notes that although Wheathill's book is not a polemic she refers to 'enimies' who are specifically Catholics (Cullen 'Introductory Note' x). She acknowledges 'those that are vertuouslie bent' (Protestants), in her readership and hopes that she can increase their devotion. Of course, without been able to identify Wheathill it is difficult to assess any possible motivations expressed in her book (Bell, Parfitt, Shepherd 213).⁶⁴

Speght's address 'To all Vertuous Ladies ...' (A3^r-A4^v) in *A Movzell for Melastomvs* (1617) can be read as taking a similar approach to Wheathill's preface in attempting to attract a wide audience for the book. However, Speght is far more specific in her address to an imagined female readership across social divides: 'all virtuous Ladies Honourable or Worshipfull, and to all other of Heuahs sex' (A3^r). She specifies that these women are united in their virtue as evinced by their 'fearing God, and louing their iust reputation, grace and peace through Christ, to eternall glory' (A3^r). This shaping of females is in line with typical pro-woman contributions to the *querelle des femmes* debate in opposition to the offensive depictions conjured up by misogynist contributions (Benson 'Note' xiv). Moreover, Speght positions the writing of this text as a public duty to help all women: 'I have aduentured to fling this stone at vaunting *Goliath* is, to comfort the mindes of all Heuahs sex both rich and poore, learned and vnlearned, with this Antidote' (A3^r). On the other hand, Speght also seems to respect the social divides of the time and only addresses women of higher social status to justify her book: 'This my briefe Apologie (Right Hionourable and Worshipfull) did I enterprise, not as thinking my selfe more fit then others to vnderstake such a taske' (A4^r).

Diana Primrose addresses her front matter in *A Chaine of Pearle* (1630) to: 'To All Noble Ladies and Gentle-Women' (A2^r), praising them as 'the Honour of our Noble Sex' (A2^r); however, developing a community of women readers does not seem to be the only purpose of this address in advertising the book. Instead, Primrose's address emphasizes distinct praise for an individual woman, Elizabeth I, from whom all women can derive

⁶⁴ Bell *et al* offer a possible identification of Anne Wheathill as the daughter of Thomas Wheathill of Leicestershire.

feminine authority to 'crowne' themselves 'with neuer-fading Fame' (A2^f). Conversely, Primrose also says that she sends this 'Chaine' (her book) for the reader to 'weare, for her sweet sake' which does seem to imply a gendered focus on female readers (A2^f). Nevertheless, Primrose's 'The Indvction' (A3^v-A4^f) not only praises the late Queen but also invites implicit comparisons with King Charles where he is found wanting:

As Golden Phoebus with his radiant face
Enthron'd in his Triumphant Chaire of State...
With his Imperiall Scepter, and doth hate
All Comforts in his Starry Monarchy,
As preiudiciall to his Sovereignty.
So Great ELIZA, England's brightest Sun,
The Worlds Renowne and Everlasting Lampe,
Admits not here the least Comparison...(A3^v)

Dorothy Berry's dedication to Primrose, 'To the Excellent Lady, the Composer of this Work' (A3^f), further highlights praise for the virtues of Elizabeth I: 'Blest be her Name! blest be her Memory!' (A3^f). Thus, the main purpose of the front matter is to highlight the virtues of the old queen, the subject of the book, rather than to primarily develop an exclusive audience of female readers. These texts are clearly influenced by 'hagiographic accounts of Elizabeth's life and reign [which] became a Jacobean and Caroline feature' (Barton 714) and have been supposed to imply possible political and/or religious criticisms of the reigning monarch Charles I and his Catholic Queen, Henrietta Maria (C Perry 187; Kim 132). Similarly, in the early Jacobean years, 'Elizabethan nostalgia' was also expressed; however, texts containing such sentiments have not always been read as oppositional to James (C Perry 154). Such commentary in the early years of James' reign may have influenced Lanyer to eulogise Elizabeth I, some eight years after the queen's death.⁶⁵ However, unlike Lanyer, neither Primrose nor Berry have been identified beyond doubt, and so any details of the religious or political allegiances read into their texts can only be speculation.

⁶⁵ See later discussion of Lanyer's references to Elizabeth I, pp.175-8 and p.189.

Katherine Stubbes is shaped by her husband as an exemplary Christian and also presented as the perfect wife:

...she would spend the time in conferring, talking, and reasoning with her husband of the word of God ... for true loue and loyaltie to her husband, and his friends, shee was ... the rarest Paragon in the world She would neuer contrary him in any thing... (A2^v-A3^r).

This preface turns her book into a conduct book to regulate women's social propriety rather than it being a specific contribution to the *ars moriendi* tradition.

The Woman Writer addressing Men

According to my survey it seems it was relatively unusual to find any front matter addressed to a man who was not a relative of the woman writer. It could be argued that a direct address from a woman writer to a named man who was not her husband or a close relative or men as a gendered group would be considered highly immodest and shameless. Nonetheless, my data shows that as time progressed the number of prefaces specifically addressed to named males increased (fig.M), and unsurprisingly, this increase can be explained by the advent of Mother's Advice books which were often addressed to husbands and sons. The preface written by Elizabeth Jocelin to her husband, in *The Mothers Legacie to her Unborn Child*, and Grymeston's address to her son in *Miscellanea. Prayers. Meditations. Memoratives* present particularly interesting cases. Jocelin excuses her writing by labelling it as a mother's instincts and for God's purposes: 'I could find no other means to expresse my motherly zeale ... I comforted my self, that my intent was good, and that I was well assured God is the prosperer of good purposes.' (B3^{r-v}). Moreover, the poignancy of signing herself as 'Thine Inviolable' presents Jocelin as a seemingly perfect wife in accordance with conduct books, as well as being a loving mother. But the closing words: 'I leaue thee and thine to his most gracious protection' (B11^v) seem to imply that she is already dead by the time her husband reads these words. Consequently, this preface can be read as a rhetorical act in constructing a vulnerable and yet courageous mother who leaves her child to the protection

of her husband, positioning herself as subservient to the male and reinforcing the power of the male to protect her child. Moreover, this front matter may not have been written by Jocelin. In the case of Grymeston, she is shaped by her address to her son, 'Bernye Grymeston', as 'an affectionate mother to hir naturall childe' (A3^r). But she juxtaposes this concept of herself as the perfect mother with a description of her own irresponsible mother: 'and my mothers vnderdeserued wrath so virulent, as that I haue neither power to resist it, nor patience to endure it' (A3^r). This isolation of a loving mother reinforces the idea of Elizabeth as being particularly vulnerable and neglected in her final illness, increasing the reader's sympathy for her: 'I am now a dead woman among the living' (A3^r). The front matter texts can be read as rhetorically supporting the contemporary notion that paternal authority is equated 'to God and the king' whilst maternal authority is rightly located with that of 'the church and the kingdom' (Rose 297); any mother performing less than her spiritual duty to her offspring is wicked and negligent, as shown by Grymeston's mother. But one needs to be wary of denigrating these mothers' words as simply being subservient and compliant with patriarchal power. Instead, they can be read as complying with readers' possible expectations; after all these are books which were constructed to be bought and read.

Before the advent and increasing popularity of Mother's Advice books I detected a slight increase in front matter addressed to a man in the decade covering 1571 to 1580. This is due to the publishing of five editions of Roger Ascham's *The Scholemaster* between 1570 and 1590 (fig.M) in which Margaret Ascham, Roger's widow, directly addresses his patron Sir William Cecil. It is known that Elizabethan literary patronage was enjoyed mostly by writers such as Roger Ascham who wrote on educational and propaganda works (Pask 84). After her husband's death, Margaret ensured that Roger's text was published and dedicated it to his patron (Travitsky *Paradise* 143). Whilst she retains a modicum of stereotypical feminine modesty by ensuring that she does not promote herself at the expense of her husband's book, she is explicit in asking for continued financial assistance after Roger's death:

...my sayd husband was many ways bound vnto you,
and how gladly and comfortably he vsed in hys lyfe
to recognise and report your goodnesse to-ward hym,
leaving with me then hys poore widow and a great
sort of orphanes a good comfort in the hope of your
good continuance ... (ii^r)

This address seems particularly striking given that a direct application for support from a patron has been considered to be humiliating for both writer and potential patron (Lamb 'Patronage' 47). Scott also comments that 'a gift was, paradoxically, only perceived to be *valuable* if both patron and client presented their exchanges as honourable, voluntary, and free from economic consideration' (Scott 139). Nonetheless, it seems that Margaret's plea was successful as Cecil 'petitioned the queen on behalf of Ascham's surviving sons and supported Ascham's eldest son, Giles, in his role as fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge'.⁶⁶ As there is no other evidence of Margaret's writing in print this preface might offer a particular example to support Benson's comment that women writers addressed 'people whose patronage they had already received, if they dedicated at all' (Benson 'Play' 243). As shown by Margaret's intervention, direct pleas for support may not have been as remarkable as previously believed by scholars who have focused on some of Lanyer's dedicatory poems, prefacing her *Salve* book, reading them as rather outspoken in pleading for personal advancement.⁶⁷ The frequency of such dedications written in the same vein as Ascham's and Lanyer's and appearing somewhat presuming in their address to potential patrons deserves further study.

Conclusion

As I have discussed in this chapter, only general trends and not definite conclusions can be drawn from how women writers and their texts were presented in printed title pages and front matter in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in English. Overall, my data from 1551-1600 complements work by previous scholars that has reviewed data from 1600

⁶⁶ O'Day. 'Roger Ascham.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. June 2009. <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26737>.

⁶⁷ See later detailed discussions, pp. 174-5.

onwards, indicating that there are comparably small numbers of extant publications of women's texts in print from the end of the sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth century. However, more detailed work is needed to interrogate the reason for the apparent dip in numbers of extant texts available between 1551 and 1580 which disrupts the steady if small increase of women's extant texts from the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries. It may be that it can simply be explained by lost titles. Nonetheless, the overall trend of an increase in extant texts from 1571 onwards might be seen as running parallel with the growth of 'female literature', as defined and observed by Suzanne Hull (Hull 127-44; M Bell 'Writing' 437: fig 20.4), and providing evidence of a prologue to the enormous explosion in first editions produced after 1640, as previously noted (M Bell 'Writing' 434: fig. 20.2; Crawford 'Writings' 212: fig.7.1). My data suggests that just over half of the women writers had texts that were printed only once in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, with approximately a third of the women having work that was reprinted, while relatively few had more than one text printed. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis, the apparently low incidence of reprintings of texts written by women deserves further study, comparing it with the possible frequency of reprintings of texts written by men. Such a study would help to identify any possible gendered differences in the ways that women's texts were viewed by the book trade. There is also the suggestion that the minuscule number of women whose texts were in print might have only offered one text for print publication, possibly maintaining more of their writing within the less inhibitory atmosphere of manuscript culture in which 'scribal publication was prevalent' (M Bell 'Writing' 432).

Even though print was considered to be socially hazardous for both men and women, my finding that most of the women who had work published between 1551 and 1590 were of royal or gentry status can perhaps be explained by Hull's assertion that before 1570 printing was very expensive and the book trade 'concentrated on producing those books which they felt fairly certain would sell or for whom they had a patron' (Hull 129). The possible emergence of middle-class women writers that I noted in the

later years of the sixteenth century may lend some support to Hull's comments that by about 1570 the atmosphere of the book trade was changing '[a]s the market became surfeited in certain fields [and] booksellers began to diversify their output and to look for more different readers' (Hull 130). This comment lends support to Blayney's suggestion that 'publishing was a form of speculation, undertaken to augment [a stationer's] regular income rather than to replace it' (Blayney 'Playbooks' 391) and is illustrated by recent scholarship (Melnikoff 271). My finding that seemingly more middle-class women had work published in the early years of the seventeenth century may represent a forewarning of increased access to the world of print by lower-status writers in the seventeenth century, as noted by Bell (M Bell 'Writing' 434), which, in turn, could be the result of bookseller/publishers speculating in publishing women's texts as print novelties. However, the range of genre in women's writing did not seem to diversify significantly during the time period I reviewed, despite the beginnings of an increase in the printing of first editions by women writers in the seventeenth century. This increase again lends some support to the idea that bookseller/publishers were becoming more interested in diversifying their portfolio of publications, which may have developed alongside 'the increased interest in women-directed and women-related texts in general, observable from the 1570s, [which] contributed to a climate in which increasing numbers of women ... came to be printed' (M Bell 'Writing' 437-8).

Previous scholarship has stated that early modern women mainly translated religious texts because this form of writing was deemed appropriately feminine. However, my finding suggests that, irrespective of the presentation of women's writing (either complete texts or within compilations), the majority of religious texts were probably original compositions. This finding deserves further study to help in understanding the writerly roles that women were able to attain and which genres and forms of writing were considered most appropriate for them.

Unfortunately, little is known about many of the women writers whose works I have reviewed, with the exception of royal writers, and so details stated on title pages and in front matter cannot be properly verified

nor the writers' identifications definitely recognised as rhetorical or derivative constructions. However, by reading the text supplied on title pages and in front matter with respect to common rhetorical strategies used by the early modern book trade and the writers whose work they printed, the writing of these women can be firmly positioned in their cultural and religious moment within the realm of their literary contemporaries. For example, my review of texts that I have categorized as 'hidden' or 'embedded' has offered new suggestions as to how women's writing was viewed in the world of early modern print culture. At face value, such texts might suggest that a woman's text is not valued as an entity to be published in a stand-alone volume and credited to the woman. However, if considered in their literary context, within the early modern cultural notion of elitism through anonymity, a better understanding can be reached regarding their lack of credit. Writings by women with either elevated status (Mary Sidney) or relatively lower social standing (Isabella Whitney) seem to have been sufficiently respected to be thought worthy of inclusion in publications by male writers. In the absence of copyright laws, the lack of credit given to such work by women cannot be solely explained by an unwillingness to pay justifiable tribute. A writer would feel no obligation to credit another writer's work, male or female. Moreover, the presence of different kinds of work by women placed together in one volume indicates that the writers were allowed to offer their writing to the general public and given the space, much as any other writer within the printed book made by the bookseller/publisher and/or printer, to show off their varied skills as creative writers. Consequently, Crawford's notion that amid 'men's unwillingness to take their words seriously' women's writings were not given the same degree of respect as their male counterparts is brought into question (Crawford 'Writings' 218). It may be that male mediators of women's writings had promotion of the text rather than the woman writer uppermost in their minds, for example, Anne Bacon's translation of John Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiae*. If Whitney is the writer of discovered but unattributed poems it can then be concluded that her work was respected and treated in much the same way as work by male writers. However, I conclude that, in the case of some male-

mediated religious texts by women; for example, those mediated by Foxe, Bentley and Bale, agency rested only with their male mediators, in accordance with their own agendas in constructing their books.

My conclusion is that texts written by the women writers in my survey offer evidence that apparent female passivity should not always be read at face value. Instead, these texts can be read as being performative in their invoking of gendered societal expectations to undermine hostile readers as well as being examples of elaborate non-gendered use of rhetoric. Early modern women writers *seem* to present themselves as stereotypically ideal and modest in order to *be* writers who are able to reach readers of the printed word. As a consequence, early modern women writers were able to use the idea of femininity as a source of strength and as part of a wilful strategy in a fictive construction of the self to fulfil readers' expectations of what an ideal woman would write. Clearly, any strategy that would ensure fewer hostile book-buyers objecting to the possibilities of a woman writer would have suited the aims of book trade members in their speculative publishing of new writing. We do a disservice to early modern women writers if we label their works as being either compliant with or else subverting the dominant patriarchal discourse by speculating only about the rebellious gendered motivations which have been considered by past scholarship. Instead, early modern women seem to have contributed to literary and cultural discourses and to have 'approached those discourses not as an exclusively male preserve but as common property' (Lewalski *Jacobean* 314) and constructed their self-presentations within these discourses in anticipation of readers' expectations. I can only agree with Chedgzoy, who suggests that scholarship of early modern women's writing should now aim at identifying how male and women writers influenced each other (Chedgzoy 'Aemilia Lanyer'). The results of this survey show that the data retrieved, however problematic, can indicate trends which are useful in a better understanding of women's printed writings in early modern times. They also create a firm foundation from which my more detailed case studies of Lanyer and Cary can be fully contextualised within the literary and cultural context in which they were written and published.

PART II: AEMILIA LANYER

Introduction

Little is known of Aemilia Lanyer (1569?-1645). Speculations on the details of her life have been drawn from comments she made to Simon Forman, the astrologer, in 1597, from some court documents and from her parents' wills. She was the daughter of Baptista Bassano, a musician at the court of Elizabeth I. Before her marriage she may have had some connection with Elizabeth I's court, and she was certainly the mistress of the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Hunsdon, by whom she had a son in 1593. It seems that her court connection came to an end with her marriage in 1592 to Alfonso Lanyer (also a court musician), shortly before she gave birth to Lord Hunsdon's son.¹ Given the illegitimacy of her son and evidence of pecuniary difficulties during her marriage it is probably reasonable to assume that she had no direct connection with either the court of James I or the inner circle of Queen Anne, although it has been shown that Alfonso was very ambitious to improve his and, by implication, his wife's social standing.² Woods has explored and consequently discounted Rowse's suggestion that Lanyer was the 'Dark Lady' of Shakespeare's sonnets, although this issue is still a matter of contention (Woods *Lanyer* 94-8).³

Physical Presentation of *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611)

Introduction

Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611) is an unusually constructed printed book. According to my survey, no other extant women's printed book, containing just the original composition of the woman writer, is prefaced by so many addresses: Lanyer's book has eleven. Previous scholars studying extant copies of the *Salve* book have concluded that different compilations of these dedications suggest a

¹ For a detailed but often speculative account of Lanyer's life, see Woods *Lanyer* 3-41.

² For example, Barroll, 'Looking' 36-40. Barroll describes his assessment of Alfonso Lanyer's possible ambitions in improving his social status. See also Longfellow *Women* 64.

³ See also Rowse 'Revealed at Last, Shakespeare's Dark Lady' 12 and Green 'Emilia Lanier IS the Dark Lady of the Sonnets' 544-76.

strategic targeting of potential readers by Lanyer herself (Woods 'Introduction' xxxii; Barroll 'Looking' 29-48). Drawing on this scholarship I shall consider the possibilities of Lanyer's involvement in the targeting of her book, with regard to the 'sociology' of her book and the realities of a middle-class woman, with few court connections, endeavouring to get her manuscript into print form for public consumption. Bearing in mind Cary's motto, *be and seem*, I shall consider the physical presentation of Lanyer's book and what it says about how a woman writer and the producers of her book might have built strategies in order to present her as a worthy writer.

I have personally examined two of the extant copies (those held at the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum⁴ and at the British Library⁵) and reviewed images from other extant copies, for comparison purposes only. Using previous scholarship, a detailed census of the contents of extant copies (Woods 'Textual Introduction' xlvi-l). and my own results, I shall consider possible input from contributors other than Lanyer herself in the production of her book by examining the portfolio output of the bookseller/publisher (Richard Bonian), and the printer (Valentine Simmes) in order to suggest realistic roles for these book trade members in targeting readers. My review of the output of these members of the book trade together with textual analysis of the typography of original printed leaves will show how Lanyer's book fits in with the rest of Bonian's and Simme's portfolios.

The physical examination of a book's original binding can help to give an indication of the wealth of an owner and the prestige attached to the book at its original publication. Subsequent bindings and added leaves help to show how a book was valued throughout its history. However, I believe that the effect of subsequent disturbance to both the V&A and BL copies has hampered the historicizing of these copies of Lanyer's book. Consequently, I have endeavoured to account for such disturbance by subsequent owners of the books. My examination of the dedications in the

⁴ Afterwards referred to as 'the V&A copy'.

⁵ Afterwards referred to as 'the BL copy'.

SALVE DEVS REX IVDÆORVM.

Containing,

- 1 The Passion of Christ.
- 2 Eues Apologie in defence of Women.
- 3 The Teares of the Daughters of Ierusalem.
- 4 The Salutation and Sorrow of the Virgine Marie.

With diuers other things not vnfit to be read.

Written by Mistris *Emilia Lanyer*, Wife to Captaine
Alfonso Lanyer Seruant to the
Kings Majestic.



AT LONDON:

Printed by *Valentine Simmes* for *Richard Bonian*, and
are to be sold at his Shop in *Pauls Church-*
yard. Anno 1611.

Figure 9: The 4-line imprint Title Page of
Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Rex Iudaeorum*
(1611)

V&A and BL copies offers conclusions which question some previously held scholarly assumptions.

Extant Copies of *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611)

There are nine extant copies of Lanyer's book. One copy, held at Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, has a 4-line imprint on the title page (fig.9):⁶

AT LONDON
Printed by *Valentine Simmes* for *Richard Bonian*, and
are to be sold at his Shop in Paules Church-
yard. *Anno* 1611.

Eight copies have a 5-line imprint with more details of the bookshop where the book could be purchased wholesale and retail on their title pages:

AT LONDON
Printed by *Valentine Simmes* for *Richard Bonian*, and are
to be sold at his Shop in Paules Churchyard, at the
Signe of the Floure de Luce and
Crowne. 1611.

These copies are held at the following locations: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (fig.10);⁷ the British Library;⁸ the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum;⁹ the Chapin Library, Williams College; the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford; the Folger Shakespeare Library (two copies), and; Bath Central Library. It is thought that in its complete form Lanyer's front matter comprises nine poems and two prose dedications. There are eleven dedicatory addresses as in the Huntington Library 5-line imprint copy in the following order (Woods 'Introductory Notes' xv-xvii):¹⁰

⁶ Afterwards referred to as 'the Huntington Library 4-line copy'. Aemilia Lanyer *Salve Deus Rex Iudaeorvm*. (1611). STC 15227 (Reel position: 1929:07). Early English Books Online. June 2006. <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:29214>.

⁷ STC 15227.5 (Reel position: 1855:08). Early English Books Online. Jan. 2006. <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:8709>.

⁸ Shelfmark: C.71.h.15. STC 15227.5 (Reel position: 803:11). Early English Books Online. Jan 2006. <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:8708>.

⁹ Pressmark: DYCE S4 to 5675.

¹⁰ Afterwards referred to as 'the Huntington Library 5-line copy'.

SALVE DEVS
REX IVDÆORVM.

Containing,

- 1 The Pafsion of Christ.
- 2 Eues Apologie in defence of Women.
- 3 The Teares of the Daughters of Ierufalem.
- 4 The Salutation and Sorrow of the Virgine Marie.

With diuers other things not vnfit to be read.

Written by Mistris *Amelia Lanyer*, Wife to Captaine
Alfonso Lanyer Seruant to the
Kings Majeltie.



AT LONDON

Printed by *Valentine Simmes* for *Richard Bonian*, and are
to be sold at his Shop in Paules Churchyard, at the
Signe of the Floure de Luce and
Crown. 1611.

Figure 10: The 5-line imprint Title Page of
Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Rex Iudaeorum*
(1611)

a3 ^r -b1 ^v	‘To the Queenes most Excellent Majestie’ ¹¹
b2 ^r	‘To the Lady <i>Elizabeths</i> Grace’
b2 ^v	Blank
b3 ^r -b4 ^v	‘To all vertuous Ladies in generall’
c1 ^r	‘To the Ladie <i>Arabella</i> ’
c1 ^v	Blank
c2 ^r -c2 ^v	‘To the Ladie <i>Susan</i> , Countesse Dowager of Kent, and Daughter to the Duchesse of Suffolke’ ¹²
c3 ^r -d3 ^v	‘The Authors Dreame to the Ladie <i>Marie</i> , the Countesse Dowager of <i>Pembrooke</i> ’ ¹³
d4 ^r -d4 ^v	‘To the Ladie <i>Lucie</i> , Countesse of Bedford’ ¹⁴
e1 ^r -e1 ^v	‘To the Ladie <i>Margaret</i> Countesse Dowager of Cumberland’ (prose) ¹⁵
e2 ^r -e3 ^v	To the Ladie <i>Katherine</i> Countesse of Suffolke’ ¹⁶
e4 ^r -f2 ^r	‘To the Ladie <i>Anne</i> , Countesse of Dorcet’ ¹⁷
f2 ^v	Blank
f3 ^r -f3 ^v	‘To the VERTUOUS Reader’
f4 ^r -f4 ^v	Blank
A1 ^r -H1 ^v	The ‘Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum’ title poem (afterwards referred to as the ‘Salve’ narrative poem)
H2 ^r -I1 ^r	‘The Description of Cooke-ham’
I1 ^v	‘To the doubtfull Reader’.

Publication Date

Lanyer’s book was entered into the Stationers’ Register on 2nd October 1610 (*A Transcript* 201) and is thought to have been printed very soon afterwards because of a handwritten inscription dated November 1610 on the title page of the Chapin Library copy: ‘The guifte of m^r Alfonso

¹¹ Afterwards referred to as ‘To the Queens...’

¹² Afterwards referred to as ‘To the Ladie *Susan*...’

¹³ Afterwards referred to as ‘To the Ladie *Marie*...’

¹⁴ Afterwards referred to as ‘To the Ladie *Lucie*...’

¹⁵ Afterwards referred to as ‘To the Ladie *Margaret*...’

¹⁶ Afterwards referred to as ‘To the Ladie *Katherine*...’

¹⁷ Afterwards referred to as ‘To the Ladie *Anne*...’

Lanyer .8. No: 1610' along with the signature of 'Tho: Jones'.¹⁸ Woods has deduced that this copy was a presentation copy from Aemelia's husband, Alfonso Lanyer, to Thomas Jones, Archbishop of Dublin (Woods 'Textual Introduction' xlix). It is likely that this inscription was written by a Thomas Jones as the receiver of the book as a gift. It is known that receivers of books would write their names as signs of ownership; it was not until the nineteenth century that the *giver* would write to mark a book as a gift.¹⁹ Consequently, it is reasonable to conclude that the Lanyer book was most likely printed at the end of 1610 because it is known that if a book was printed towards the end of a year the date of the coming year was often used on the title page as bookseller/publishers 'wished to make their books seem as new as possible'.²⁰ However, Lanyer's book could have been printed any time between October 1610 and the first quarter of 1612 if the convention of dating the official New Year from 30 March was used.²¹ But 1612 is highly unlikely in view of the handwritten date on the Chapin Library copy. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse the handwriting on the Chapin Library copy's title page; however, verification that the inscription and signature are in the hand of Archbishop Thomas Jones, or a recognizable proxy, is required to give a firmer assurance of the possible identification of the writer and, therefore, the conclusion that the book was printed by November 1610. Further investigation of the inscription and signature would also help to eliminate the possibility that they were written at a later date by an owner in an attempt to confirm a possible historical detail that the book was originally a gift.

Variant Issues

Results of the application of McKerrow's test on each title page of the extant copies show that all copies with the 5-line imprint are from the same setting of type. However, the title page with the 4-line imprint is evidently from a different setting of type. In addition, the 4-line imprint

¹⁸ I would like to thank Wayne Hammond for providing a photograph of the title page of the Chapin Library copy.

¹⁹ Information from a private communication with Sarah Griffin. See also D Pearson *Provenance* 12-5.

²⁰ Quoted from a private communication with Robin Myers.

²¹ Information from a private communication with David Shaw.

title page (a2^r) is conjugate with the following leaf, a3, (the first leaf of the first dedication addressed to Queen Anne) and so these two leaves were the inner fold of the same sheet.²²

McKerrow's test was applied to leaves of front matter using EEBO images, photographs, personal examination or microfilm. The following leaves: a3^r, c1^r, c2^r, c3^r, d4^r, e1^r, e2^r, e4^v, f3^r were tested in both Huntington Library copies (EEBO); the Bodleian Library copy (photographs); the V&A copy (personal examination) and one copy at the Folger Shakespeare Library (microfilm). It was not possible to obtain photographs of all the same leaves per copy and so photographs of only e1^r and e4^v were tested in both the Chapin Library copy and the Bath Library copies. For the BL copy, a3^r, b3^r, d4^r, e1^r, e4^r, e4^v were personally examined. Accordingly, it seems that all of the front matter texts tested were probably from the same setting of type.

It appears that the type was set for the title page and the front matter but at some point in the printing process the setting of type for the title page only was changed from a 4-line imprint to a 5-line imprint or indeed vice versa. The copies with 4-line and 5-line imprints are, therefore, separate issues of the same edition of the front matter. Barroll refers to the copy with the 4-line imprint as the first issue and copies with the 5-line imprint as second issues but offers no evidence for this conclusion (Barroll 'Looking' 47: n51). Unfortunately, it is not possible to offer a satisfactory explanation for the change of imprint. It might be argued that the longer imprint on the Huntington Library 5-line copy gives a more aesthetically pleasing spatial configuration of the type on the title page, in the shape of an anchor, than does the 4-line imprint of the Huntington Library 4-line copy. Most importantly, the 5-line imprint gives more detailed information of the location of Bonian's shop, which can be seen as a more desirable advertising feature from Bonian's point of view. As a result, the 4-line imprint can be viewed as an early state which was then expanded into the 5-line imprint.

²² Information supplied by Stephen Tabor.

Textual Analysis of the Typography in Extant Copies

The Title Page

The main title, *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*, unequivocally positions the book as a religious devotional work. At face value a Latin title for a vernacular text appears to be incongruous but historical context can offer possible reasons why Latin was used for the title while the text is in the vernacular. The use of Latin on the title page might have given the book and its writer some intellectual standing with a prospective reader (Farmer, Lesser 99, 101). Latin was, after all, the ‘international language of scholarship’ (Rivers 130). Consequently, the Latin title might have associated a book with classical literature in the mind of the prospective reader but she or he would not need to be fully conversant with Latin in order to read the text. Nonetheless, the title clearly positions the book as a religious text and the use of Latin in spiritual practice was indicative of religious affiliation. It is important to note that 1611 was also the year of publication of the King James Bible, authorized by the Crown, which provided God’s Word in the vernacular (Parry ‘Patronage’ 180). Therefore, the vernacular was officially recognized by Protestants as a language of pious practice whereas Latin was still preferred by Catholics for prayer. However, it remains difficult to assess why the Latin title was specifically chosen. It might be supposed that a spiritual text written in the vernacular with a Latin title might make the title page distinctive and attractive to readers of different religious affiliations, thereby widening opportunities to increase sales.

Turning to the title itself, it can be translated from the Latin as ‘Hail God King of the Jews’, echoing an aspect of Mark’s story of Christ’s Passion where Christ was ridiculed by Roman soldiers who called out to him: ‘Hail, King of the Jews!’ (*Mark* 15: 18). Bowen comments that by adding the word *Deus* to give: ‘Hail God King of the Jews’, Lanyer ‘clumsily spells out what is taken in Christian exegesis as a central, elegant irony: the inscription [on the cross], “Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews” designed to mock Christ’ (Bowen ‘Aemilia Lanyer’ 293). By contrast, Keohane, convinced that Lanyer was responsible for the title page design,

claims that Lanyer's misquoting of Mark's Gospel was deliberate in order to shape Lanyer as a Christian writer who acknowledged Christ's divinity and distanced herself from her Jewish roots (Keohane 364-5). However, one might speculate that if this title was of such vital importance to Lanyer, she would have given it greater prominence than simply mentioning it in 'To the doubtfull Reader', where she rhetorically hands the authority for choosing the title to God.²³ On the other hand, the addition of *Deus* reminds the reader that Christ was God as well as man. It may be that this reference to Christ's divinity is a reflection of popular meditative practice in the seventeenth century, thereby advertising the book as a religious text that should be used for this purpose. Meditation on the humanity and suffering of Christ in vivid detail, together with contemplation of his divinity, was a popular religious practice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Martz 75-6).

Even though the title of Lanyer's book is potentially eye-catching, it is not an accurate description of the narrative material that follows the front matter. The main title is followed by four subtitles of contents numbered 1-4: '1. The Passion of Christ. / 2. Eves Apologie in defence of Women. / 3. The Teares of the Daughters of Jerusalem. / 4. The Salutation and Sorrow of the Virgine Marie'. Although these subtitles indicate chronological sections of the 'Salve' narrative poem they do not represent the complete contents of the poem nor the entire book. However, they do partially reference sections of the narrative poem which are highlighted by marginalia. Subtitle 1 refers to the section containing the marginalia: 'To the Ladie of Cumberland the Introduction to the passion of Christ' (alongside ll.249-54) and 'Here begins the Passion of Christ' (alongside ll.329-31); Subtitle 2 refers to the section containing the marginalia 'Eves Apologie' (alongside ll.761-2); Subtitle 3 refers to the section containing the marginalia 'The teares of the daughters of Jerusalem' (alongside ll.968-70), and; Subtitle 4 refers to two sections containing the marginalia 'The salutation of the virgin Marie' (alongside ll.1041-4) and 'The sorrow of the virgin Marie' (alongside ll.1009-11), although they are presented in

²³ See later discussion of the textual content of 'To the doubtfull Reader', pp.180-1.

the poem in the reverse order of that stated on the title page. The subtitles give the impression that they are the titles of four separate pieces of writing included in the book despite only representing certain sections within the 'Salve' narrative poem itself, as indicated by some of its marginalia. Nonetheless, the marginalia, 'Christ's Resurrection' (alongside ll.1299-90 and 'A briefe description of his beautie upon the Canticles' (alongside ll.1297-1301) are missing from the title page although they are sections that would advertise the value of the book as an aid to Christian devotional reading. Moreover, 'The Description of Cooke-ham' is also not mentioned, an absence which seems to suggest that it was not originally planned as part of this book, although it describes a relationship between Lanyer and the main patron of the book, Lady Margaret Clifford. Therefore, this poem's inclusion suggests that the title page may have been constructed without strict reference to textual content and/or possibly Lanyer's objectives in attracting patronage. It may be that Lanyer had little or no input into the design of the title page and that the choice of sections represented on the title page was made by a less than observant compositor or is simply incomplete because of limited space for Simmes to adequately advertise the text. However, it is also possible that the apparently limited references to the book's contents were part of an overall strategy to advertise the book in a specific way.

The first title ('The Passion of Christ') confirms that the book is a religious work on Christ's suffering and death. The reader might reasonably expect a text of meditative verse. But the second title ('Eves Apologie in defence of Women') is more audacious, seeming curiously out of place in a devotional text because it indicates a possible challenge to patriarchal constructs rather than a spiritual meditation. This possibly subversive title is counterbalanced by the third and fourth titles which, like subtitle 1, lead the reader to expect a conventional meditation on the sorrow of Christ's suffering. 'The Teares of the Daughters of Jerusalem' evokes the *Song of Songs* where the daughters of Jerusalem were the companions of the Bride and Bridegroom (for example, *Song of Songs* 1:5). 'The Salutation and Sorrow of the Virgine Marie' with its distinct

reference to Marian iconography, underlines the concept of women as part of a female community, emphasizing that this community is bound by a kinship of mourning (Hodgson 113).²⁴ What is especially interesting is that the title page is dominated by female images; this may have been part of a deliberate intention by Simmes and/or Bonian to employ ‘a rhetorical strategy in which “woman” becomes a marketing device’, exploiting anticipated readers’ interests in printed texts about or for women (M Bell ‘Writing’ 431). It seems reasonable to suggest that such a strategy would attract the female reader; Lanyer’s book can be placed in the genre of devotional, religious verse, which was typically ‘female-identified in terms of the market-place’ (Coles ‘Social Rank’ 153). The title page also shapes both male and female readers to expect a text which contains ‘woman’ as subject matter.

In my survey I found very few extant printed books written by women that are comparable with Lanyer’s book for the quantity of detail about the contents on their title pages. One example is Anne Dowriche’s translation of *The French Historie*. However, this lack of comparable women’s title pages does not provide robust evidence of a gendered strategy by the book trade as a whole in presenting women writers. It is more likely that these title pages were constructed in accordance with the printers’ usual working practices. Similarly, there are no other women’s printed works that display obscure references to the contents in the way that Lanyer’s title page does: ‘With divers other things not unfit to be read’. It seems most likely that Simmes, perhaps in collaboration with Bonian, deliberately chose to limit the description of the contents on the title page. The vague comment on ‘divers other things’ could be a useful logistical tool, offering a suitable abbreviation for the contents and helping Simmes to avoid cluttering the title page with lots of detail not already indicated in the subtitles. Moreover, such a vague term could easily be useful as a marketing strategy. The reader’s appetite is whetted in anticipation of the contents, coerced into opening the book to find more about these ‘divers

²⁴ Hodgson suggests that Lanyer uses this image of women as mourners as ‘a strategic central trope’.

other things' and lured into looking for other contents not directly mentioned on the title page.

The dominance of 'femaleness' is intensified by the specific emphasis of Lanyer's sex in the title page's description of her as the writer. As previously seen, many women writers were described by their status in society or by their piety. Lanyer's presentation on her title page is uncharacteristic for a religious or secular publication written by a woman because it shows no social or pious attributes of her own and instead emphasizes just those social attributes that are derived specifically from her husband's social position. It seems that since Lanyer was without aristocratic birthright her tenuous links with the King's court were emphasized:

Written by Mistris *AEmilia Lanyer*, Wife to Captaine
Alfonso Lanyer Seruant to the
Kings Majestie.

Although Lanyer is not specifically described as possessing the attribute of virtue, her feminine modesty is implied because she derives her identity from her husband; a relatively unusual description for a woman writer of religious subject in my survey. Schell comments that this description presents Lanyer as respectable by eradicating any possible memory of her previous liaison with Lord Hunsdon, (Schnell 80), although it is unlikely that the general public who made up most of the anonymous book-buyers would have heard of Lanyer's previous indiscretions.

The italicizing of the names of Aemilia and Alfonso seem to give both of them equal prominence on the title page. Lanyer's description as the wife of Alfonso has been read as the book's 'only acknowledgement of masculine authority' (Woods 'Introduction' xxxi). Previous scholars have commented on Alfonso's social pretensions,²⁵ and so it may be that Alfonso was specifically mentioned on the title page because he had commissioned the book to be printed. It may be that Alfonso had acted as an intermediary between Aemilia and Bonian to ensure the book was printed. It has been reasonably speculated that 'husbands/brothers were the

²⁵ For example, see Barroll 'Looking' 39-42; Longfellow *Women* 64-6.

usual intermediaries'.²⁶ Although Alfonso may have been some kind of intermediary or supplied the finances to ensure the book was printed, Lanyer's text does not rely on a sympathetic male to present her work as worthy as seen with some other women writers.

Richard Bonian – Bookseller/Publisher

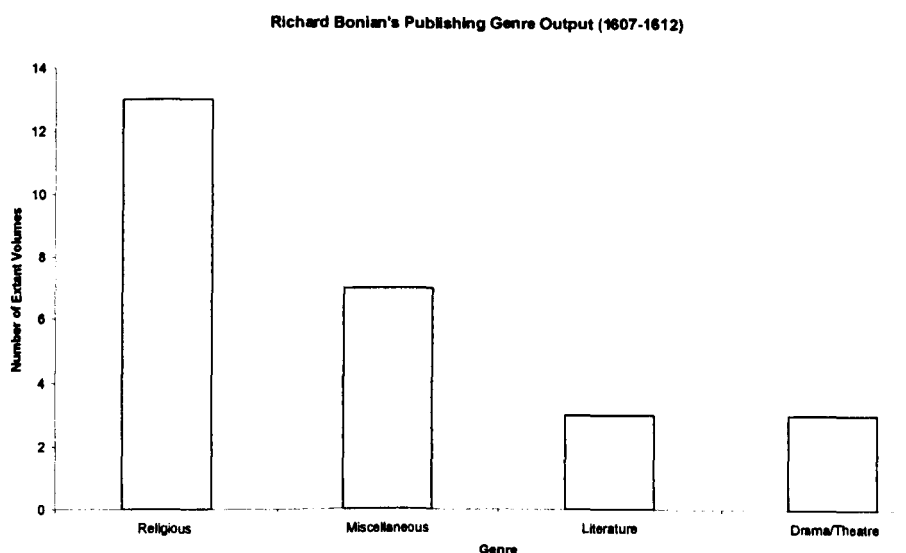
As noted earlier, Lanyer's book was entered into the Stationers' Register on 2nd October 1610: 'Richard Bonyon: Entered for his Cotype vnder th[e] h[an]des of Doctor Mokett and Th'wardens, A booke called, *Salve DEUS Rex Judaeorum*' (*A Transcript* 201). This indicates that only Richard Bonian, as a member of the Stationers' Company, had legal ownership of the manuscript and, therefore, the rights to publish this named book in printed form; this could take place 'with or without the author's approval' (Dobranski 6). Richard Bonian was a bookseller/publisher in London from 1607 to 1612 (*STC Volume III* 25).²⁷ His date of apprenticeship is given as 1598 (BBTI). Bonian was in partnership with H. Walley from 1609 to 1610 (*STC Volume III* 25) and J. Budge, a bookseller/publisher in London (1606-25) who '[d]ealt chiefly in theological literature' (McKerrow *Dictionary* 54). Bonian's shop was located in St Paul's Churchyard which was the 'most important location for the London book trade' during the seventeenth century (Mandelbrote 24-5, fig.2). Therefore, the choice of Bonian as bookseller/publisher would have guaranteed exposure of the book to as wide a variety of potential book buyers as possible.

Woods suggests that Bonian was 'an eclectic publisher with an eye for poetry and the sensational' (Woods *Lanyer* viii). However, a review of extant books bearing his name does not lend unequivocal support to this conclusion. He seems to have mostly published religious works (fig.N) which might not be so surprising since, "Religious books", in conventional terms, are found to have been the single most important component of the publishing trade' (Collinson, Hunt, Walsham 29).

²⁶ Information from a private communication from Maureen Bell, January 2007.

²⁷ There is also one book (STC 23545) published by Bonian (spelt Bonion on the title page) in 1612. 1612 is also given as the trading end date on the BBTI. By contrast, see McKerrow *A Dictionary* 42-3. McKerrow notes that Bonian was in business from 1607 to 1611.

Figure N:



He published thirteen religious books (50% of his total surviving output of twenty-six books), seven miscellaneous books (26%), three literary books (12%) and three drama/theatre play-books (12%). Of course, there is no way of knowing whether this mix of genre would be different if all lost titles and books that do not bear Bonian's name, although published by him, could be included. However, from the data available in *STC Volume III*, it cannot be concluded with any certainty that Bonian was a bookseller/publisher who was especially committed to publishing poetry. For example, in 1609 he published two editions of Shakespeare's *The Famous Historie of Troylus and Cresseid*. However, it seems that Bonian was not offered Shakespeare's sonnets, which were published in that same year, printed by George Eld for Thomas Thorpe. Furthermore, it is not clear that he was particularly interested in publishing 'sensational' books. He only published two (or possibly three) books which might be classed as 'sensational'.²⁸ Therefore, no specific conclusions can be safely drawn from Bonian's portfolio of extant books to suggest why he would have been motivated to publish Lanyer's book, other than it is a religious book, a genre so pervasive that it attracted all bookseller/publishers.

²⁸ For example; Anon. *A True Relation of the Birth of Three Monsters* (1609); *True Discourse of the Discoverie of the Plot of Monsieur du Terrail*. (1609) and Anon. *A True Relation of the Most Inhumane and Bloody Murther, of Master James Minister*. (1609). See *STC Volume III* 25 which indicates that the first title has the name Richard Bunnian on the title page; however, 'the shop is almost certainly not [Bonian's], but it has not been associated with any other bookseller.'

Consequently, no inferences can be made about how Lanyer's book might have been perceived by Bonian, other than as a devotional book that was worth his investment of time and money to have printed because it would have a ready-made audience of readers eager to buy it.

Valentine Simmes – Printer

Valentine Simmes was a 'printer and bookseller in London, (1585) 1594 - ?1623'.²⁹ After 1607 he may have worked only as a journeyman (*STC Volume III* 155). Interestingly, it is thought that Simmes' business was 'not large' and 'unsteady' (W C Ferguson 'Stationer' 26) and that 'there were few publishers who gave him very much business' ('Stationer' 26a), leading him to rely on trade with inexperienced rather than established booksellers/publishers ('Stationer' 21). This may be why Simmes worked with the seemingly inexperienced Bonian on Lanyer's book in 1610. Previous scholars have focused on Simmes' religious affinities. Woods, for example, seems to suggest that Simmes' involvement in printing radical Protestant pamphleteers for the Martin Marprelate Press helps to provide a similar location for Lanyer's religious affiliations (Woods *Lanyer* 7). Alternatively, it has been suggested that Simmes had Catholic sympathies (N P Brown 139).³⁰ These may be simplistic conclusions. As discussed previously, printers produced sheets of printed text in accordance with a contract between them and a commissioning bookseller/publisher, whose output was influenced by market forces and not just their own personal beliefs. As a result, it is likely that little can be confidently said about either the religion or personal politics of book trade members from a review of their portfolio of work. As a consequence, caution should also be taken when assigning religious or political

²⁹ *STC Volume III* 155 states a possible end date of 1623. See also McKerrow *A Dictionary* 245. McKerrow gives the years 1585-1622? The years 1576 as the 'date of apprenticeship' and 1585 as the 'date of freedom' were found on the BBTI. See also Ferguson 'Stationer' 1-26a: 'Simmes was admitted as a freeman of the Stationers' Company March 8, 1585' (i.e. completed his apprenticeship as a printer). Nothing is known of Simmes until 1589 when he was hired by John Hodgets to assist in the 'second Marprelate Press'. See *STC Volume III* 155: Simmes began his career as an independent printer and bookseller in 1594 acquiring the printing material of William How as his assignee.

³⁰ If Simmes did have Catholic sympathies they might not have precluded his involvement in the Marprelate Press. See also Black 'The Rhetoric of Reaction' 718. Black comments that there is evidence 'of the possibility of Catholic approval of Martin to their own ends'.

allegiances to writers as a corollary of the possible allegiances of members of the book trade who published or printed their work.

Forshaw suggests that Simmes was an unsuccessful printer between 1597 and 1602 and through financial need '[h]e had to take what work he could, even risking fines and imprisonment': for example, Simmes was among a group of fourteen printers who were fined by the Company for printing satires against the Bishops' Ban of 1599 (Forshaw 121).³¹ Heron has commented that few well-established bookseller/publishers would engage Simmes to print many of their publications because he was held in low esteem by writers.³² It might be concluded that some writers as well as some bookseller/publishers may have distanced themselves from Simmes because they did not want to be associated with a printer who had a reputation of printing banned texts. On the other hand, these stories may just be examples of the usual tensions between writers and members of the book trade and do not offer any understanding of Lanyer's relationship with Simmes or Bonian.³³ However, it can be said that Lanyer's title page, although very plain (figs. 9 and 10), is typical of other title pages printed by Simmes. Although Ferguson does not comment on Lanyer's book, he describes a typical title page produced by Simmes which fits the description of Lanyer's title page: 'The general impression created by the title-pages is that they were carefully laid out

³¹ Forshaw comments that although the Stationers' Company was a regulatory body granting approval for texts to be printed they did not enforce censorship as harshly as other governmental authorities, for example, the ecclesiastical authorities: 'the Company was paternalistic and often indulgent [...] but the Government certainly was not.' However, see W C Ferguson 'Stationer' 4-7. Ferguson outlines that Simmes was in trouble with The Stationers' Company for much of his career, for example, Simmes was imprisoned (possibly in 1607). The Company stated his punishment was for 'printing seditious books, [he] has done the like seven times before this; first he printed the things of Martin Marprelate, after had been meddling in Popish books, he by forbearing has become worse.' See also 25-6: Ferguson notes that there is no information of any books printed by Simmes in the years 1608-1610. Simmes may have been in prison at this time.

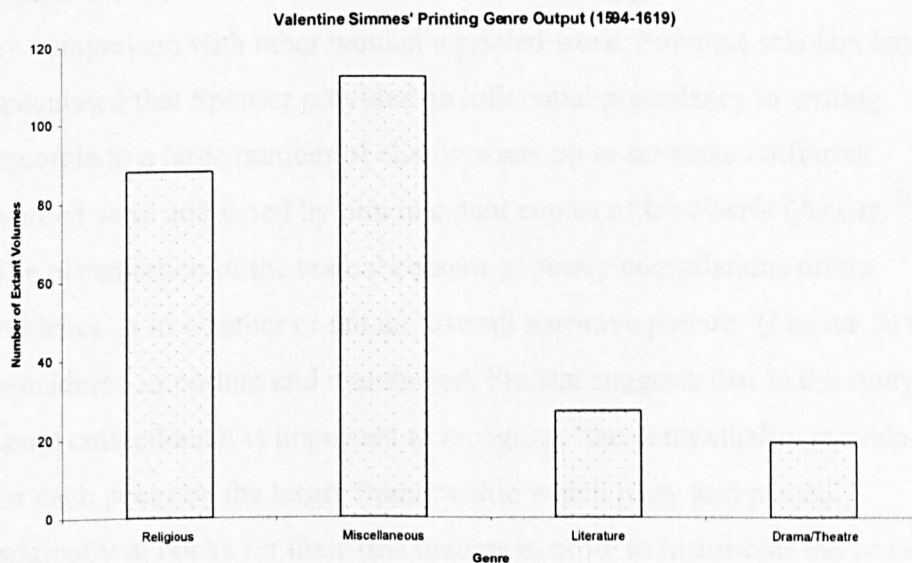
³² Onnaca Heron commented in a private communication that Simmes was considered untrustworthy by his contemporaries and she cites the writing of Thomas Middleton as evidence. Simmes had printed (and published) Middleton's poem *The Wisdom of Solomon Paraphrased* (1597). Simmes also printed (and published) *The Ghost of Lucrece* (1600). Despite his association with Simmes, Middleton's next work *The Ant and the Nightingale: or Father Hubbards tales* (1604) was printed by Thomas Creede for Thomas Bushell. Middleton's comment in *The Ant and the Nightingale: or Father Hubbards tales*: 'I never wisht this Booke better fortune, then to fal into the hands of a true spelling Printer ... I had rather haue one Bushell of honestie' ('To the Reader', ll.12-15, ll.17-18) shows some evidence of Middleton's distrust of Simmes during their collaboration on Middleton's first two books.

³³ It is interesting to note that, although Middleton appears to have distanced himself from Simmes in 1604, Bushell (Middleton's bookseller/publisher and a fellow freeman of Simmes in the Stationers' Company) was still commissioning Simmes for printing in 1604 and 1605.

with a deliberate attempt to catch the eye.’ Moreover, Simmes employed large type for the main title followed by smaller type for subtitles: ‘The centering [of the titles] is accurate to a millimeter; there is no crowding’ and most of his titles are separated from the imprint by a small device usually a flower ornament as seen on the Lanyer title page (W C Ferguson *Simmes* 79-82) (figs. 9 and 10). Consequently, it can be said that Simmes produced the *Salve* title page with the same care and attention he always gave to title pages. Simmes constructed Lanyer’s book in quarto format and relatively small, making copies ideal for use in a private setting for devotional reading. Longfellow calculates that it would have cost 7d or 7½d (Longfellow *Women* 66).

To conclude, it is not possible to confidently identify Simmes’ religious affinities from the extant books that bear his name. It also seems that Simmes printed a wide range of texts but did not have a special interest in religious texts. With regard to extant copies, he printed eighty-eight religious books (36% of his output of two hundred and forty-six books³⁴) with one hundred and twelve books (45%) that can be categorised as miscellaneous books, twenty-seven literary books (11%) and only nineteen drama/theatre play-books (8%) (fig.O).

Figure O:



³⁴ This total includes items that he assigned (transferred copyrights) to other printers.

With regard to the portfolio of Bonian and Simmes, it does not seem likely that the presence of the bookseller/publisher's and printer's names on the title page would have associated the Lanyer book with any particular religious allegiance or offered literary prestige. Nonetheless, it can be deduced that the illocutionary force of the title page advertises Lanyer's book as a religious work which might have been particularly attractive to female readers; it emphasizes that 'woman' is not just the subject matter but also the writer. This prominence of the feminine might have been part of a strategy to deliberately target the woman reader as a potential consumer of a religious book whilst not excluding the interested male reader. Although Lanyer is not specifically presented as virtuous, she is shaped with a social propriety and a stereotypical feminine position with regard to her husband, thereby making her a credible authority to write a religious work. However, this formulaic shaping of Lanyer, like other women writers, invests her with little individuality and distinction as the writer. Instead the title page points towards a rhetorical construction of Lanyer primarily to promote the book, rather than the writer herself, thus subtly undermining any possible attempts at self-promotion by Lanyer in her writing.

The Front Matter

Lanyer's book is unusual because it contains a large number of addresses by comparison with other women's printed work. Previous scholars have speculated that Spenser provided an influential precedence in writing encomia to a large number of elite women: up to seventeen different women were addressed by him in extant copies of his *Faerie Queene*.³⁵ The presentation of the textual content of poetry compilations offers evidence as to whether or not an 'overall narrative pattern' (Fraistat 3) was considered important and maintained. Fraistat suggests that in the study of poem collections it is important to recognize 'the contextuality provided for each poem by the larger frame within which [they are] placed' originally in books for their first readers in order to historicize the texts

³⁵ For example, Woods *Lanyer* 43; S Miller "' Mirroures More Then One'" 125-47.

Table 9: Front Matter in Extant Copies of *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* held at the Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Library compared with the Huntington Library 5-line Imprint Copy

Dedication	To the Queenes most Excellent Majestie	To the Lady <i>Elizabeths</i> Grace	To all virtuous Ladies in generall	To the Ladie <i>Arabella</i>	To the Ladie <i>Susan</i> , Countesse Dowager of Kent, and Daughter to the Duchesse of Suffolke	The Authors Dreame to the Ladie <i>Marie</i> , the Countesse Dowager of <i>Pembrooke</i>	To the Ladie <i>Lucie</i> , Countesse of Bedford	To the Ladie <i>Margaret</i> Countesse Dowager of Cumberland	To the Ladie <i>Katherine</i> Countesse of Suffolke	To the Ladie <i>Anne</i> , Countesse of Dorcet	To the Vertuous Reader	Original leaf
The Huntington Library 5-line imprint Copy	a3 ^r -b1 ^v	b2 ^r (blank b2 ^v)	b3 ^r -b4 ^v	c1 ^r (blank c1 ^v)	c2 ^r -c2 ^v	c3 ^r -d3 ^v	d4 ^r -d4 ^v	e1 ^r -e1 ^v	e2 ^r -e3 ^v	e4 ^r -f2 ^r (blank f2 ^v)	f3 ^r -f3 ^v	blank f4 ^r -f4 ^v
The V&A Copy	a3 ^r -b1 ^v	b2 ^r (blank b2 ^v)	b3 ^r -b4 ^v	c1 ^r (blank c1 ^v)	c2 ^r -c2 ^v	c3 ^r -d3 ^v	d4 ^r -d4 ^v	e1 ^r -e1 ^v	e2 ^r -e3 ^v	e4 ^r -f2 ^r (blank f2 ^v)	f3 ^r -f3 ^v	blank f4 ^r -f4 ^v
The BL Copy	a3 ^r -b1 ^v	b2 ^r (blank b2 ^v)	b3 ^r -b4 ^v	NP	NP	NP	d4 ^r -d4 ^v ¹	To the Ladie <i>Anne</i> , Countesse of Dorcet ² e4 ^r -e4 ^v ³	NP	To the Ladie <i>Margaret</i> Countesse Dowager of Cumberland NS ⁴	NP	NP

KEY: The Huntington Library 5-line imprint copy was viewed on EEBO, the V&A and the BL copies were personally examined. Both copies that were personally examined were compared with the Huntington Library 5-line imprint Copy. Differences noted:

Missing Leaves	Dedications known to be cannibalised from another copy	Incomplete dedication	Dedications in erroneous physical position
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NP – Dedicatory poem or original blank leaf is not present.

NS – No signatures present on leaves of dedicatory address where signatures are anticipated. Therefore, signatures are assumed to be missing.

¹ 'c' is written in pencil in the bottom margin of d4^r.

² 'To the Ladie *Anne*, Countesse of Dorcet' is positioned immediately after 'To the Ladie *Lucie*, Countesse of Bedford'. See Woods, 'Textual Introduction', pp.xlix-1. In her description of the BL copy Woods makes no mention of the positioning of this dedication, although she states that only the first 7 stanzas are present. The last 11 stanzas (on f1^r-f2^r in the Huntington Library copy) are not present. In addition, the catchword relevant to this variant issue ('To') is not present following the 7th and last (in this issue) stanza.

³ 'c2' is written in pencil in place of the signature.

⁴ e1 signature is missing and 'To the Ladie *Margaret* Countesse Dowager of Cumberland' is placed after the address to her daughter Lady Anne.

(Fraistat 7). Thus, I have considered Lanyer's front matter as a compilation of poems and prose texts when examining the order in which the dedications are placed in her book.

The presentation of any particular dedication is the same for each extant copy. Each dedication starts at the top of the recto side of a given leaf with a main title and an elaborate woodcut image overhead which is in effect the same across them all, with the exception of 'To the Ladie *Susan...*' where the image is approximately half the size of the others. In addition, the running title of each dedication is an abbreviation of the main title and they are the same in all extant copies for any given section of text. No two dedications share the same leaf; consequently, there are blank versos between the dedications where the preceding dedication does not extend over to the verso (Table 9). As a consequence, each dedication can be considered as a separate and distinct piece of text within the front matter. This physical presentation ensures that each piece of text can be easily included or excluded as distinct pieces without disrupting other pieces of text.

Lanyer seems to have addressed a fictive community of women in an effort to invent herself as 'a poet writing within the pale of aristocratic sanction' (Barroll 'Looking' 30). Therefore, unsurprisingly, Lanyer addresses the Queen and her daughter along with other elite women who either had reputations as literary patrons or influential religious credentials. The study of different compilations of the front matter found in extant copies has suggested a careful and strategic targeting of potential readers (Woods 'Introduction' xxxii). Conversely, some scholarship has commented that the order in which the dedications are presented defies social etiquette, indicating that Lanyer showed political and strategic naïveté in not presenting the dedications accordance with the social standing of the ladies addressed. It is known that '[p]oems addressed to noblemen had to be presented according to the heraldic rules for precedence' (Stillman 144). Therefore, it would be reasonable to suggest that a similar recognition of social precedence might be expected with respect to the physical positioning of Lanyer's addresses in the resultant

printed book. As a result, Barroll asserts that Lanyer's book should have 'To the Ladie *Lucie...*', addressed to the highly influential Countess of Bedford, placed ahead of 'To the Ladie *Marie...*' instead of vice versa as in the Huntington Library 5-line copy. Accordingly, Barroll accuses Lanyer of political naïveté in her prioritizing and choice of dedicatees (Barroll 'Looking' 40). Similarly, it is curious that the address to Lady Margaret Clifford, the main dedicatee of Lanyer's book, is positioned in the relatively insignificant place of eighth in a collection of eleven dedications. One might expect to find a dedication to Lady Margaret amongst the early leaves of the book, perhaps after those addressed to the Queen and Princess Elizabeth. However, Barroll comments that distinct references to Lady Margaret in the textual content of the 'Salve' narrative poem and 'The Description of Cooke-ham' threaten to make Lanyer's pleas to other elite women redundant if she were trying to attract patronage (Barroll 'Looking' 39). On the other hand, Shea maintains that the 'disorder' of the dedications was a deliberate strategy to 'evoke a sense of guilty obligation' (Shea 388). Even so, in early modern times it was not necessarily guaranteed that a dedicatee would read a book in which he or she was mentioned and so evocation of obligation in a dedicatee could not always be assured.

It is important to recognise that a poetic collection written by a single writer does not necessarily imply authorial input into the compilation of the book (Shawcross 141; Patterson 95). Therefore, the order in which the dedications appear may not have been entirely Lanyer's choice. The positioning of some of the dedications might be adequately explained as evidence of a possible strategy by Bonian and Simmes, with or without input from Lanyer, as to how the book was positioned as a worthwhile book to be bought and read. If the assumption is that Lanyer's dedications to the socially most important addressees should have been placed earlier in front matter, in accordance with 'heraldic rules of precedence', then the inclusion of the address 'To all vertuous Ladies in generall' placed just after addresses to royalty but in front of the rest of the dedications deserves comment. It may be that this address serves as a

division between royal dedicatees (Queen Anne and Princess Elizabeth) and those following, addressed to nobility. However, the position of 'To all vertuous Ladies in generall' can also be described as an expression of the substantial value that is placed on the anonymous female reader who would only have access to the book through purchasing it. It can also be read as showing that book sales were starting to become valued as much as possibilities for patronage (Lamb 'Patronage' 43). The prominent placing may be a rhetorical indication to the female reader that she is as much valued as the named dedicatees, providing physical evidence that the book was constructed to express the value placed on the anonymous reader as well as on the elite dedicatees. Certainly the textual content, by Lanyer, points to use of a strategy to demonstrate the importance of female virtue, as exemplified in 'To all vertuous Ladies in generall'.³⁶ In complete extant copies, 'To the Ladie *Marie*...' is physically central in the front matter (sixth of the eleven addresses). This placing might have provided 'contextuality' (Fraistat 7) for original readers, showing the dedicatee to be very important in the presentation of the textual content of Lanyer's book. The placing of the dedication might indicate that the Countess of Pembroke was important for Lanyer as 'a figure of feminine literary tradition' (Rienstra 81). However, as mentioned earlier, it is unclear that seventeenth-century women writers saw themselves as 'a cohesive group defined by gender' (Lewalski *Jacobean* 3). Nonetheless, the central placing of this dedication might be evidence of the 'overall narrative pattern' of Lanyer's message in her dedications, that she, like Ladie Marie, is a writer of worth (Lewalski *Jacobean* 3).

Drawing on work by previous scholars on the tensions between early modern writers and the book trade in the construction of their work in print, Jones' comment that a woman writer might experience difficulties in negotiations with a bookseller/publisher regarding construction of her book in print seems reasonable (Jones *Eros* 36). Therefore, one might imagine that a woman such as Lanyer, who did not have an especially high social status, could have particular difficulties in persuading a

³⁶ See textual analysis of 'To all vertuous Ladies in generall', pp.221-2.

bookseller/publisher to target her choice of potential readers especially if it conflicted with a bookseller/publisher's efforts to position the book in order to recoup his investment in its printing. However, an equitable working relationship between Lanyer, Bonian and Simmes cannot be ruled out, especially if Lanyer's husband took part in negotiations. Alfonso's social status, due to his court connections, may have assisted him in negotiations with a bookseller/publisher. Moreover, previous scholarship regarding the activities of writers and booksellers/publishers indicates that it is likely that, once he had legal ownership of Lanyer's manuscript, Bonian would have applied editorial control and contracted Simmes to print the book 'with or without the author's approval' (Dobranski 6).

The Lanyers may not have been remunerated financially by Bonian for Aemelia's manuscript, instead, receiving bespoke copies of her printed book to use in order to generate some kind of remuneration or to gain literary prestige, because income was often 'derived from patrons, not from the trade' (Gaskell 183). As mentioned before, the Chapin Library copy has an inscription indicating that the book was a gift to a Thomas Jones. Longfellow comments that this inscription suggests that Lanyer's husband, by offering this book as a presentation copy, was attempting to exploit his connections in order to further both his and his wife's social standing (Longfellow *Women* 64). It may also be that the copy was given as a gift to reinforce the book's religious credentials. Woods comments that Alfonso Lanyer served in Ireland with Thomas Jones, who had become Archbishop by 1610 (Woods 'Textual Introduction' xlix). Although Woods does not give any dates or other details of their relationship she also states that Alfonso Lanyer served with the Earl of Essex in 1599 in Ireland (Woods *Lanyer* 19-20), where it might be reasonably assumed that he came into contact with the Archbishop. As discussed before, verification of the signatory, on the title page of the Chapin Library copy of Lanyer's book, as Thomas Jones, Archbishop of Dublin is required in order to substantiate claims that the Chapin Library copy was a presentation copy given to the Archbishop. Nonetheless, even without a definite identification of the signatory, Thomas Jones, the

inscription provides some possible evidence that the Lanyers had negotiated a useful means of remuneration in order to use presentation copies as gifts to generate literary prestige.

Most importantly, it is known that printed books were bought as bespoke copies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the early modern reader was prone to 'create virtually new texts' (Dobranski 58) whereby pieces of text could be included or excluded in a book according to a reader's taste. Therefore, extant copies with different combinations of dedications and ordering of them, could also be a result of customer preference rather than that of the Lanyers. In addition, it could be that some extant copies have missing or wrongly ordered dedications as a result of error by Simmes, Bonian or Lanyer; a similar explanation has been offered to explain missing dedications in extant copies of the 1590 edition of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (Stillman 143). Consequently, it cannot automatically be assumed that Aemilia or her husband would have had an exclusive influence on the construction of all copies of the book that were printed. As a result, any deliberate inclusions or exclusions or error in etiquette cannot be wholly attributed to Lanyer. Equally, loss of any number of dedications in a copy may be due to damage throughout that copy's history.

Narrative Material³⁷

Ferguson concludes from his study that a typical Simmes text begins on A2^f. Ferguson outlines Simmes' usual signature formula as A1 for the title page with A1^v blank beginning the text on A2^f. Simmes used a capital letter in the same font as the text (W C Ferguson *Simmes* 82). Nonetheless, the first dedication of Lanyer's book begins on a3^f (with a letter in lower case). However, this signature is thought of as typical for English printed books in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.³⁸ The number '3' in the signature implies that either a blank leaf or a leaf of text (now lost) was originally planned to accompany a3^f, either before or after the

³⁷ The narrative material is defined for the purposes of this thesis as: the 'Salve' narrative poem; *The Description of Cooke-ham*, and; 'To the doubtfull Reader', in Woods *Poems* 51-139.

³⁸ Information from a private conversation with Sarah Griffin.

title page in all extant copies with the 5-line imprint. Instead the narrative material starts on a leaf marked as A in each copy, irrespective of the number of dedications included in front of it. This may be typical signature differences between prefatory material and main text, as McKerrow states that '[e]ither [the printer] would sign the first sheet of the text A, intending when he came to the preliminaries to sign these with an asterisk, or with letters of another font; or he would begin the text with B, keeping A for the preliminaries' (McKerrow *Introduction* 189). As a consequence, because signatures between the prefatory and the narrative material sections are not continuous it is not even possible to say with complete confidence that the copies with the largest number of dedications have the full complement of Lanyer's prefatory material.

As with the dedicatory poems, the narrative material of the 'Salve' narrative poem and 'The Description of Cooke-ham' also start on the recto side of a given leaf with their own main titles. The title of the 'Salve' poem has the most ornate woodcut, which suggests that this poem was the most important section of the book. All main titles are printed in a larger font than the corresponding text with the exception of the title of 'The Description of Cooke-ham', which is printed in the same-sized font as the poem. The running title of the narrative poem is given as 'Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum' in a bigger font than the running titles of the dedications and 'The Description of Cooke-ham'. As a consequence, the bigger font seems to present the narrative poem as the main section of the book.

Images of the following leaves of the narrative material were tested using McKerrow's test³⁹: E4^v, G4^v in copies held at the Huntington Library (EEBO); the Bodleian Library (photographs); the British Library and the V&A (personal examination) and one copy at the Folger Shakespeare Library (microfilm). Moreover, E4^v was tested on photographs of the Chapin Library copy and the Bath Library copy. As a result of this, it appears that all copies of the 'Salve' narrative poem are from the same setting of type. In addition, E4^v has the same catchword error in all copies. The catchword is given as 'This', although the first

³⁹ See details on p.36.

word on F1^r is 'Thus'. Although the presence of catchwords is not a fail-safe means of identifying editions (McKerrow *Introduction* 181), the consistency of this mistake supports the suggestion that the 'Salve' narrative poem, and possibly the entirety of the narrative material, was printed from the same setting of type because the chances of a regular typographical error common across different setting of type are low.

Although the signature formula of the narrative material is continuous, the 'Salve' narrative poem ends with 'FINIS' approximately halfway down H1^v and, interestingly, has no catchword to indicate the start of 'The Description of Cooke-ham', which is at the top of H2^r continuing to approximately a quarter of the way down I1^r. As a consequence, each prefatory address and narrative poem is presented in the book as a distinct component of text with the exception of 'To the doubtfull Reader' which is at the back of the book, on the verso of the final leaf (I1^v) that contains the final lines of 'The Description of Cooke-ham' (I1^r). The placing of this address is curious because an address to a critical reader, confidently addressing and admonishing the unsympathetic reader, was often placed prominently at the front of a book. However, as mentioned earlier, in my survey of women's printed works, I found only one book other than Lanyer's which has an address to a potentially critical reader: Rachel Speght's *Mortalities Memorandvm*. In contrast to Lanyer's 'To the doubtfull Reader', Speght's address, *To the Reader* (A3^v) is placed at the front of the book, as was typical.

At face value, it seems likely that the physical presentation of the pieces of text in Lanyer's book was a deliberate tactic as part of an overall strategy whereby Bonian could produce some copies with different combinations of the front matter and narrative material. However, extant copies provide equivocal evidence indicating that some copies were constructed with variant combinations of the narrative material. The Bodleian Library copy is missing the last leaf of the 'Salve' narrative poem, 'The Description of Cooke-ham' and, consequently, 'To the

doubtfull Reader' (Woods 'Textual Introduction' 1).⁴⁰ Since the last leaf of the 'Salve' narrative poem is missing, it seems likely that this is due to damage and not a deliberate request by reader. Similarly, the Bath copy is missing the last part of 'The Description of Cooke-ham and, consequently, 'To the doubtfull Reader' (H4 and I1), also probably due to damage.⁴¹ However, the lack of extant copies with different combinations of the narrative material does not rule out the possibility that provision was made for copies with differing narrative material. Bonian most likely played the major role in compiling different combinations of texts in copies of the *Salve* book. Simmes is unlikely to have had a printing house in 1611 and so he would not have had the capacity nor indeed the inclination to get involved in any activities other than simply printing complete sets of sheets for Bonian.

It can be surmised that Simmes probably printed a full complement of front matter separately from the main narrative material, sending the sheets to Bonian who then had the prefatory sheets compiled into different combinations of dedications and narrative material in accordance with the taste or sensitivities of customers or intended recipients of presentation copies. With regard to the title page, the setting of type (for the title page only) appears to have been changed by Simmes at some point during the printing stage, for reasons unknown, producing two different title pages and hence, two separate issues of the book. Moreover, the front matter in all of the extant copies (irrespective of the number of dedications) came from the same print run, supporting the assertion that Simmes printed full complements of prefatory dedications in one print run, avoiding the nuisance of changing the formes for each copy of the book with different compilations of dedications. Interestingly, I did not find two separate signature formulae in the prefatory and narrative material of any other volume printed by Simmes or published by Bonian. Hence, this discontinuity of signatures was especially adopted for Lanyer's book to facilitate the inclusion or omission of dedications without disrupting the

⁴⁰ Information confirmed by Sarah Wheale in a private communication.

⁴¹ Information supplied by Anne Buchanan. See also Woods 'Textual Introduction' xlvi, Woods only mentions that I1 is missing.

signature sequence between the preface and the narrative poem. Nonetheless, it is not possible to say whether or not the overall strategy of compiling various copies with differing numbers of dedications was a result of a special request from Bonian, Simmes, Aemilia, Alfonso or even all four. McKerrow suggests that printers often printed front matter last, after the main text of a book (McKerrow *Introduction* 189). However, because of the intriguing positioning of the address, 'To the doubtfull Reader', at the back of the book Simmes may have printed the front matter before the main text of the Lanyer book.

Lanyer shapes herself as divinely inspired in 'To the doubtfull Reader' in order to write her text. On the one hand, this address expresses a stereotypical self-presentation for a woman writer of a religious work⁴² but on the other hand, the physical positioning of such an emblematic declaration, hidden at the back of the book, does not assist Lanyer in her quest to construct herself as a virtuous woman in order to justify her text. Since I have found no other printed texts written by women nor religious texts printed by Simmes or published by Bonian with similar addresses to the reader (doubtful or otherwise) positioned at the end of a book, it does not seem routine for Simmes or Bonian or any other printers or bookseller/publishers of women's texts to have placed an address to the reader in such a position. It might be argued that 'To the doubtfull Reader' was strategically placed at the back of the book to conceal its presence. However, the physical presentation of the ending of 'The Description of Cooke-ham' does not support this argument. In the Huntington Library 5-line copy, 'The Description of Cooke-ham' ends on 11^r with a 'FINIS', with no catchword supplied in anticipation of 'To the doubtfull Reader' on 11^v. Therefore, 11^r has the appearance of a final side of printed text. If 'To the doubtfull Reader' was planned for 11^v it might be that it was deliberately concealed. Nonetheless, the typical and uncontroversial textual content of this address does not support any reasonable explanation for possibly wanting to hide it. It is not clear that such concealment would have been requested by Aemilia since the address makes use of a

⁴² See later commentary on the textual analysis of 'To the doubtfull Reader', pp. 180-1.

traditional literary device of modesty to present her rhetorically with virtue and authority. If 'The Description of Cooke-ham' was originally planned as the last poem of the book then 'To the doubtfull Reader' does not seem to have been planned for I1^v. Nonetheless, the lack of mention of 'The Description of Cooke-ham' on the title page gives rise to the inference that this poem was not even originally planned to be included in the book and might have been quickly ushered into the printing process at a late stage, thus giving rise to the possible typographical error of a missing catchword and the word 'FINIS' on I1^f. However, since the textual content of 'The Description of Cooke-ham' describes a relationship between the writer and the main patron of the book, the deliberate inclusion of this poem in the book cannot be ruled out. If 'To the doubtfull Reader' was not deliberately concealed on I1^v, a more satisfactory explanation for its placement would be that it had been placed at the end of the book perhaps as a result of an earlier processing error.

As mentioned earlier, 'paratextual vestibules', including front matter, influence the reception of a book (Anderson 637) and so one might expect 'To the doubtfull Reader' to be in a prominent position at the front of the book. According to that logic, this address would have been ideally placed on f4^f where it would advertise the virtue and authority of the writer just prior to the main poem of the book. If 'To the doubtfull Reader' was originally planned as the twelfth address at the front of the book, Lanyer's address to the Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, would be fairly central in the front matter (sixth of the twelve addresses). Moreover, since the f4 leaf is blank on both sides in all extant copies one can suggest a possible scenario that has resulted in this blank leaf and the placing of 'To the doubtfull Reader' at the end of the book, if the Huntington Library 5-line copy is indeed the copy with the full complement of dedications. It may be that Simmes printed the full complement of prefatory dedications and sent them to Bonian but did not print 'To the doubtfull Reader' on f4^f for any of the following reasons: Lanyer had not delivered it to Bonian in her manuscript of her other work, Bonian was remiss in giving it to Simmes or Simmes was just negligent in not printing it. By whatever means, Simmes

received it at some later date and printed it on the only remaining space that he had on the sheets reserved for the narrative material, I1^v at the end of the book.

Lanyer's book is dominated by her 'Salve' narrative poem. Despite the importance of marginalia as sign posts to guide the reader who was accustomed to scanning leaves for interesting snippets rather than necessarily reading a text through (Kintgen 182), there is little evidence that great care was taken in applying printed marginalia. Simmes, like any printer, routinely applied biblical marginalia to religious work.⁴³ Consequently, one might expect the 'Salve' narrative poem to make reference to the Gospels to give credibility to Lanyer's interpretation of the Gospel story. However, it is curious that Lanyer's book does not contain any marginalia referencing her 'Salve' narrative poem to the New Testament. It may be that the absence of marginalia is due to a less than observant compositor. But this seems fairly unlikely; compositors would be aware of the importance of marginalia. It may be either that marginalia were simply absent in Lanyer's manuscript or that Bonian chose to exclude any written by Lanyer. It is certain that Lanyer's manuscript would have been written before she had access to the printed King James's Bible, especially if it was published in late 1610. Therefore, it may be that she and/or Bonian were aware of the imminent publication of the King's Bible (1611) and the absence of marginalia may point to a reluctance by Lanyer (in her manuscript) and/or Bonian (in the printed text) to reference available preceding Bibles, for example, the Geneva Bible, for political reasons.⁴⁴ If this is a reasonable suggestion then Guibbory's comment that Lanyer reworked Genesis and Christ's Passion in the vernacular as 'an oppositional alternative to the monumental biblical project of James' (Guibbory 193) is brought into question. In addition, the absence of biblical marginalia, allows Lanyer the liberty of adapting Gospel stories

⁴³ For example, John Jewel. *A Exposition upon the Two Epistles of the Apostle Saint Paul to the Thessalonians*. (1594).

⁴⁴ The King James Bible was published in 1611, the Geneva Bible was available from 1560 and the Bishop's Bible was available from 1568.

for her own purposes and producing poetry in much the same way as advocated by Philip Sidney:

Poesy therefore is an art of imitation ... a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth – to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture... ('The Defence of Poesy', ll.219-221)⁴⁵

Physical Presentation of Extant Copies of *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*

The V&A Copy

Unfortunately, seven of the extant copies of Lanyer's book have been rebound.⁴⁶ Hence, close study of the physical presentation of these extant copies is highly unlikely to yield robust evidence of the book's original construction. My examination shows that the BL copy has a twentieth-century blue leather binding. By contrast, the V&A copy appears to be still in its original binding.⁴⁷ It has been said that this copy was a presentation copy given to Henry, Prince of Wales (1594-1612) (Woods 'Textual Introduction' xlvi) and cited as evidence of an effort by both Alfonso and Aemilia to improve their social standing.⁴⁸ It is certain that successful acquisition of Prince Henry's favours would have been highly advantageous for the Lanyers because he was known to have an extensive library and to be a particularly attentive patron of writers (Parry 'Patronage' 180-1). Moreover, the book, with its Protestant tone and the textual references to Elizabeth I, might have been seen by Aemilia and possibly her husband too as an appropriate gift to the Prince because he was a patron of the arts with 'steadfast Protestantism' (Parry 'Patronage' 180) and made use of iconography connected with Elizabeth to position himself as the natural heir to Elizabeth (Barton 196-8). Woods has described the V&A copy as

⁴⁵ For Sidney's thoughts on tragedy see 'The Defence of Poesy,' Sir Philip Sidney. *The Major Works including Astrophil and Stella*. Ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones. 212-50.

⁴⁶ Information gathered from private communications with Stephen Tabor, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery; Wayne Hammond, Chapin Library; Dunja Sharif, The Bodleian Library and Georgianna Ziegler, Folger Shakespeare Library. Both Huntington Library copies have nineteenth-century calf binding, the Chapin Library copy has late-nineteenth-century morocco binding. The Bodleian Library copy has twentieth-century brown morocco binding and both Folger Library copies have nineteenth-century bindings (one light-brown calf and one goatskin). The Bath Library copy has no binding and is covered in blue paper.

⁴⁷ Information supplied by David Pearson in a private communication.

⁴⁸ For example, see Barroll 'Looking' 39-42, and Longfellow *Women* 64-6.



Figure 11a: The front binding of the V&A copy of Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611)

'beautifully printed and bound with the Prince's coat of arms on the cover' (Woods 'Textual Introduction' xlvi). However, the results of my own examination of the V&A copy do not fully substantiate Woods' conclusion and cast doubt on the idea that the copy was a presentation copy to Henry.⁴⁹

The V&A copy is part of the library of the literary scholar Alexander Dyce (1798-1869).⁵⁰ Although, it is thought to have its original vellum binding, it seems likely that it has been rebound and thus is not in its original state.⁵¹ Its leaves are stabbed into a cream coloured, limp vellum binding with holes for ribbons, which are missing (fig. 11a). Such a binding has no boards, is cheap in comparison to leather over boards and considered to be a typically cheap retail binding.⁵² This does not suggest that the V&A copy's binding is special in any way. Any early modern book would have been originally bought as unbound sheets (Farmer, Lesser 78), and therefore, original bindings are useful in identifying the initial purpose of a book (Foot 55). Binding was a process separate from the printing procedure. A printer would print text on sheets of paper and send them to a wholesale bookseller/publisher who would distribute them to retail booksellers (who were also printers and/or wholesale booksellers) (Gaskell 146). These bookseller/publishers only had a small number of any particular edition of a book's printed sheets bound prior to sale because binding was an expensive process and each book had to be bound individually (Gaskell 146). A bookseller/publisher would not risk having a book bound that could not be sold; hence, he would offer an edition of a book for sale, bound and unbound (Gaskell 146). If a customer bought an unbound book he or she arranged for it to be bound more formally after purchase (Foot 57-8). Retail bindings were usually tanned calf or vellum⁵³ although some books were bound in an inexpensive retail binding;

⁴⁹ The results of my physical examination of the V&A copy were confirmed by Carlo Dumontet.

⁵⁰ Hopson. 'Alexander Dyce.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Jan. 2007. <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8342>.

⁵¹ Information supplied by David Pearson and Carlo Dumontet in private communications.

⁵² Information supplied by David Shaw, David Pearson and Carlo Dumontet in private communications. Pickwood 'Onward and downward' 73. The cheapness of this binding was also confirmed by David Shaw, David Pearson and Carlo Dumontet in private communications.

⁵³ Carlo Dumontet commented in a private conversation that vellum is a cheap covering made of calf, goat or sheep skin that was not properly tanned and only treated with lime.



Figure 11b: Central Tooled
Embellishment on the V&A Copy of
Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex
Judaeorum* (1611)

devotional handbooks were usually bound in this way prior to sale (Gaskell 147). Therefore, the presence of a cheap retail binding on the V&A copy of Lanyer's devotional text does not lend support to the idea that it was a presentation to the Prince of Wales.

The cheapness of the binding of the V&A copy is obvious because follicle marks on the animal skin are clearly evident on the front cover (figs. 11a and 11b) despite the gold-tooled embellishments. Simple gilt-tooled designs positioned as a centre piece on the front cover were popular in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (D Pearson 'Bookbindings' 106). The design is not particularly elaborate in comparison to other books of that period.⁵⁴ Gaskell comments that gilt tooling was often present on the retail binding of devotional books to make them look expensive even though they were bound cheaply (Gaskell 151-2), with the leaves only stabbed and not sewn into the binding as would be expected of a more permanent binding. Moreover, the paper enclosed in the V&A copy is relatively cheap and of a poor quality, containing extraneous material.⁵⁵ Woods has commented that 'the paper is clean, and the inking and impress of printing particularly clear' (Woods 'Textual Introduction' xlvi). However, following personal inspection, I would not agree with this conclusion. Little can be deduced from the cleanliness of paper in early modern books other than a possibility that the book had been preserved carefully and not used during its history. In addition, as previously discussed, my results from using McKerrow's test on selected leaves across copies indicate that the front matter texts of all copies were probably from the same setting of type, indicating that it is likely that no more care was taken in printing the V&A copy than any other copy of Lanyer's book.

It might be expected that any book owned by Henry would have been purchased in a paper cover and then bound by Prince Henry's librarian or the bookseller, with a binding displaying Prince Henry's crest as a mark of ownership. There are many examples of books that may have

⁵⁴ Information supplied by David Pearson in a private communication.

⁵⁵ Information supplied by Carlo Dumontet in a private communication.

been owned by Prince Henry which have far more elaborate and expensive bindings compared with the V&A copy, suggesting that Prince Henry routinely commissioned more expensive coverings than the one bound on to the V&A copy. A copy of *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae & Priuilegeiis Ecclesiae Cantuarensis* (1572), thought to have been owned by Henry, has the Prince of Wales' plumes stamped in blind at the four corners of the front covering with the Stuart coat of arms as a gold-tooled embellishment in the centre.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, personal examination of possible examples of Henry's books show that not all contain high quality paper or show the Prince of Wales' crest on their front cover: for example, Martin Fumee's *The Historie of the Troubles of Hungarie...* (1600). This book has a calfskin cover with the Stuart arms as a centre piece but does not have the Prince of Wales plumes. In addition, following personal inspection, I find it contains paper of poor quality, comparable with that of the V&A copy of Lanyer's book.⁵⁷ By contrast, personal inspection of Michael Huass's *Inaugurationi Principum* (1603), also thought to have been owned by Henry, indicates that it is printed on high-quality paper with the use of elaborately coloured text. This book has the Stuart arms and the Prince of Wales' plumes featured in a decoration surrounding the arms. As a consequence the BL catalogue concludes that this book 'may have belonged to Henry' (my emphasis).⁵⁸ Therefore, it seems that the presence of the Prince of Wales plumes and the Stuart arms on the binding of a seventeenth century book do not automatically indicate beyond doubt that Henry was the owner. In addition, there are examples of books with relatively cheap vellum coverings which were owned by other members of Henry's royal family: for example, Gasparo Murtola, *Della Creatione del Mondo* (1608) is thought to have belonged to Queen Anne.⁵⁹ The binding on this book is cream vellum with gold tooling of the Queen's royal insignia placed centrally on the front cover. On personal inspection I consider that it is of a higher quality than the vellum binding of the V&A

⁵⁶ Held at the British Library, Shelfmark: c.24.b.7.

⁵⁷ Held at the British Library, Shelfmark: c.22.f.13.

⁵⁸ Held at the British Library, Shelfmark: c.24.b.15. The BL catalogue states: 'Most of Prince Henry's bindings are in this standard library style'.

⁵⁹ Held at the British Library, Shelfmark: c.66.d.5.

copy which has such evident follicle marks on the vellum (fig.11b). In addition, the quality of the paper is better than that of the V&A copy. As a consequence, following personal inspection of these other copies owned by the Stuart royal family, I have concluded that the tooled centre-piece is not the Prince of Wales' coat of arms, as noted previously (Woods 'Textual introduction' xlvi), may not even be the associated crest (fig.11b) when compared with other possible examples of Henry's books. Instead, it seems that it is 'a centre-piece decoration formed of four applications of a tool with a Prince of Wales' feathers pattern'⁶⁰ and there is the possibility that 'the bindery [just] had a tool of Prince-of-Wales' feathers' to use as a decoration.⁶¹ Although likely to be contemporary with the original publication of the Lanyer book, the vellum binding may not even be the first binding of the original leaves. Gaskell suggests that there is the possibility ('though a remote one') that apparently original bindings on an early printed book might in fact have been taken from another book during its history (Gaskell 319). Therefore, the vellum binding on this copy of Lanyer's book may have been put on the printed text at a later date than the book's original publication, a possibility which would also cast doubt on the proposal that the book was owned by Henry (he died in 1612) in its present vellum binding.

Pearson asserts that English books often had bindings that were decorated with royal crests and coat of arms 'as a statement of respect or because the contents of the book have some appropriate link' (D Pearson *Provenance* 109). Although Prince Henry is not addressed, the first dedication is an address to his mother, Queen Anne and so a link with the prince might have been suggested by the decoration. Building on the idea that the copy was a presentation copy to Henry, it has been concluded that a lack of a dedicatory poem to Henry only shows Lanyer to be politically naïve in presenting such a book of poems to a Prince of Wales (Barroll 'Looking' 42). One might equally expect that the copy would have been

⁶⁰ I am grateful to David Shaw for his invaluable advice in helping me to clarify my thoughts regarding this centre-piece decoration.

⁶¹ I am grateful to David Pearson for his invaluable advice and for sharing his expertise on cheap early modern binding.

decorated with Queen Anne's crest if it were a presentation copy to the Queen. However, one should be 'cautious of assuming that the binding decoration "means" something, in terms of a direct link with either the text or owner of the book'.⁶² Therefore, the presence of this centre-piece decoration and the lack of address to Prince Henry on the cover together suggest that the V&A copy of Lanyer's book may not have been a presentation copy to the Prince of Wales.⁶³ It is possible that the copy was never owned by a Prince of Wales. The image alluding to the Prince of Wales' crest may have been chosen by Bonian, or the customer's favourite binder, to attract Prince Henry as a potential buyer of the book. Such a request from Lanyer and her husband cannot be ruled out. A comparable strategy was employed by the poet Elkanah Settle (1648-1724) (D Pearson *Provenance* 108), who wrote poetry specifically addressed to the elite in society without invitation. Subsequently, he had the poems printed and bound in books decorated with the prospective recipient's crest and then presented in anticipation of financial reward (Foot 108). It may be that Bonian had copies purposely bound with this decorated binding for Lanyer to use as presentation copies and generate prestige and/or patronage. Similarly, if such a strategy was employed with the V&A copy then it would be reasonable to expect a copy to be presented to the main dedicatee of Lanyer's book, the Countess of Cumberland, and it is thought that there is some evidence to suggest this.

Woods comments that the V&A copy was a presentation copy from Lanyer via Lady Margaret, Countess Dowager of Cumberland to Prince Henry (Woods 'Textual Introduction' xlvi). On the recto side of the first original blank leaf, at the front of the book, the word 'Cumberland' is written in ink in the centre at the very top of the leaf. Lady Margaret may have, in fact, owned the V&A copy because there was a long tradition of owners of books writing their names on books sometimes in abbreviated form, to denote ownership (D Pearson *Provenance* 12-5). It seems, nonetheless, unlikely that the Countess wrote her name in the way in

⁶² Information supplied by David Pearson in a private communication.

⁶³ I am grateful to David Shaw for encouraging me to develop my ideas regarding this centre-piece decoration.

which it can be seen now. The word is slightly cropped at the top edge of the leaf. The cropping of the original blank leaf may have occurred after 'Cumberland' had been written but before the leaves had been originally bound in the vellum covering. This sequence of events can be explained by the premise that the printed sheets were marked with name 'Cumberland' to indicate that they were destined to be bound as leaves in a book which was to be given to the Countess and were duly cropped at the binding stage.⁶⁴ It may be that the name was cropped when Dyce disrupted the book's binding in the nineteenth century. However, this does not constitute robust evidence that the Countess wrote the word or actually owned the book. In conclusion, contrary to previous scholars, my examination shows that it is not possible to state confidently that the V&A copy was a presentation copy to, or even owned by, either Prince Henry or Lady Margaret Clifford.

The compilation of dedications in the V&A copy has also been studied by Woods (Woods 'Textual Introduction' xlix). Interestingly, additional material bound in the Huntington Library 5-line copy may give vital information regarding the present state of the V&A copy. An undated letter from Alexander Dyce to Phillip Bliss,⁶⁵ bound into the front of Huntington Library 5-line copy, offers evidence that Dyce took nine leaves from one copy of Lanyer's book and added them to another. Dyce specifically mentions nine leaves in the letter which are all present in the V&A copy.⁶⁶ These nine leaves (c1-4, d1-3, e2-3) measure 17.3 x 13.1 cm and have red colouring on the edges. The rest of the leaves are uncoloured, measuring 17.7 x 14.2 cm, and have rough edges which fit the vellum binding more closely than the additions which suggests that they are possibly the original leaves. It is likely that these smaller leaves were introduced into the V&A copy probably by Dyce, after being removed

⁶⁴ Suggestion supplied by David Pearson in a private communication.

⁶⁵ Bell. 'Philip Bliss.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. March 2007. <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2654>.

⁶⁶ Stephen Tabor's transcription of the letter: 'My copy of Mrs Lanyer's poem.... is now complete: I made it up from another (imperfect) copy. It originally wanted nine leaves of the dedicatory Poems which appeared (from the fine state of the book) to have been properly omitted in that copy.' Dyce states: 'The leaves in question were C,c2,c3,c4,d,d2,d3,--e2,e3.' This letter is also quoted in Woods 'Textual Introduction' xlix: fn.4.

from this other copy (not now extant). Moreover, it is most likely that these nine leaves had been trimmed and coloured at the edges *in situ* in their previous binding at a later date than the seventeenth century; colouring of the edges of leaves was popular in the nineteenth century (Table 9).⁶⁷

Woods has commented that the leaves that were added to the V&A copy by Dyce were taken from the BL Copy (Woods 'Textual Introduction' xlix). However, my personal examination of both the V&A and the BL copies suggests that this is probably unlikely. The leaves of the BL copy measure 17.2 cm x 12.3 cm and are not coloured red at the edges, and so do not match either the measurements of the original or the additional leaves in the V&A copy or the physical appearance of the additions despite Woods' assessment that the leaves of the BL copy are 'consistent with the nine leaves tipped into the Dyce [V&A] copy' (Woods 'Textual Introduction' xlix). In addition, personal inspection revealed that the BL and V&A copies have leaves made of paper of very different quality. Of course, it must be acknowledged that no two sheets of hand-made paper were consistently alike (Gaskell 76); however, all of the leaves in the V&A copy (including those introduced) have a much thicker quality paper than the thinner, more translucent texture of the paper in the BL copy. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that the dedications missing in the BL copy are now present in the V&A copy. It seems more likely that the leaves were taken from a different copy altogether.

In its original state the following dedications seem to have been excluded from the V&A copy: 'To the Ladie *Arabella*', 'To the Ladie *Susan...*', 'To the Ladie *Marie...*' and 'To the Ladie *Katherine...*' (Table 9). If the prefatory dedications were printed *en masse* and then delivered to Bonian it seems that he purposefully cut the printed sheets in order to exclude these dedications; simple exclusion of gatherings does not apply. For example, 'To the Ladie *Lucie...*' on d4 was included but not 'To the Ladie *Marie...*' on c3-d3 (text on d1 would have been printed on the same sheet as d4). Therefore, that printed sheet had to be cut to exclude

⁶⁷ Information confirmed by Carlo Dumontet and the V&A records of their copy of the Lanyer book.

specifically 'To the Ladie *Marie...*' but include 'To the Ladie *Lucie...*'. The leaves regarding 'To the Ladie *Katherine...*' could be easily excluded because this address would have been printed on the same sheet (e2-3). This likely process suggests that the exclusion of dedications was quite deliberate. As mentioned earlier, the early modern reader was prone to 'creat[ing] virtually new texts' (Dobranski 58), whereby pieces of text could be included or excluded in a copy at customer request. Therefore, as my personal examination shows, it is not entirely certain that the V&A copy was a specific presentation copy and it does not necessarily follow that the exclusions in the V&A copy were decided by Bonian at the behest of Aemilia or her husband, though the Lanyers' involvement cannot be ruled out.

It is possible that when the book was first published there were some copies constructed without 'To the Ladie *Arabella*'. The V&A (prior to interference by Dyce), Chapin Library and BL copies are the only extant copies which do not have this address. It may be that it was excluded for bespoke presentation copies or by customer request because the content was politically unpalatable for some readers.⁶⁸ Similarly, 'To the Ladie *Susan...*' could also be seen as too religiously significant to be included by some customers,⁶⁹ and an address to a specific patron of the arts ('To the Ladie *Marie...*') might have been culturally sensitive for a specific readership.⁷⁰ It should not be forgotten that it is also possible that leaves are missing because they were simply damaged and so deliberately excluded by fussy book owners during later rebinding, for example, in the nineteenth century, when it was customary to interfere with original compilations. Nonetheless, Woods suggests that the positive support for the role of women described in 'To the Vertuous Reader' might have been excluded because it was deemed to be too culturally sensitive for a particular reader (Woods 'Textual Introduction' xlix). However, my textual analysis suggests that it is an address which is a fundamental part

⁶⁸ See discussion on the textual analysis of 'To the Ladie *Arabella*', pp.178-9.

⁶⁹ See also discussion on the textual analysis of 'To the Ladie *Susan...*' and commentary on Lady Susan's religious affiliations, pp.186-7.

⁷⁰ See discussion on the textual analysis of 'To the Ladie *Marie...*', pp.205-13.

of Lanyer's prefatory material.⁷¹ Moreover, contrary to Woods' findings, it seems that the BL copy is the only copy that is missing 'To the Vertuous Reader'. Woods states that the Chapin Library copy is missing this address; however, it has been confirmed that it is, in fact, present in this copy (Woods 'Textual Introduction' xlix).⁷² In any case, as previously discussed, the condition of extant copies does not unequivocally offer evidence of the original physical state of copies. Therefore, it cannot be said that its possible pro-woman content was unpalatable to a prospective recipient of a presentation copy or a potential customer, and so it was excluded.

It may be that 'To the Ladie *Katherine*...' was removed at a time shortly after the book's publication date. At the time of publication, Lady Katherine was a powerful member of Queen Anne's court but in 1615 Lady Katherine's daughter, Frances Howard, was implicated in a murder (Lindley 1);⁷³ hence, reference to Lady Katherine's 'noble daughters' (l.49) might have jarred by that time. Similarly, because of the fall from grace of Lady Katherine and her husband in 1618 the terms '[y]our most honourable lord' (l.25) or 'honourable *Howards* antient house' (l.32) (Woods *Poems* 36-40)⁷⁴ might have been seen as politically imprudent.⁷⁵ Therefore, a few years after publication, the inclusion of this address might have reduced the book's desirability amongst book buyers and so the dedication was intentionally removed at that time. If it remained in the book it might have caused a diminution in its marketability in a sale and so it was removed as a means of reducing any embarrassment for a subsequent seller of the book.

The V&A copy is not unique in containing leaves that were not originally bound into copies of Lanyer's book: 'The whole of quire f in the Huntington Library 4-line copy is thought to have been taken from another

⁷¹ See discussion on the textual analysis of 'To the Vertuous Reader', pp.217-9.

⁷² Confirmation of its presence was given by Wayne Hammond, librarian at the Chapin Library in a private communication.

⁷³ Frances was implicated in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury (her second husband's friend).

⁷⁴ All references to this poem are to this edition.

⁷⁵ Aemilia Lanyer. *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*. Ed. Salzman. 413: fn.39. Lady Katherine and her husband were imprisoned for corruption in 1618.



Madie Susan, Countess
 of Kent, and daughter
 of the Duchesse of
 Suffolke.

the Mistris of my youth,
 my vngouern'd dayes;
 she delighted in Gods truth,
 she maid to sound forth his praise
 his pure excellencie,
 his holy feast, and me.

visions shew'd the Glasse
 speckle of a fault;
 that faire greene grasse,
 or cleere vertues taught:
 tis that grace the mind,
 from Errour oft doth blind.

did I note,
 of Prince, of Lawes,
 and so farre remote

firsta uet non nobis in terra postest quis

Figure 12: Handwritten Inscription
 on the V&A copy of Aemilia
 Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex
 Iudaeorum* (1611)

copy.’⁷⁶ It also seems that the tipping in of copies of dedicatory poems was routine in the nineteenth century, as evinced by additional manuscript notes bound into other copies. Moreover, since the Huntington Library 5-line copy contains a manuscript reading ‘...Mr Rice wants the address to the Ladie Arabella’,⁷⁷ it appears that ‘To the Ladie *Arabella*’ was considered as a very important part of Lanyer’s book by prospective book-buyers in the past although, and perhaps because, extant copies at the time did not often contain it. It was clearly a rare book and highly prized in the nineteenth century.⁷⁸

I have also examined the handwritten marginalia on the V&A copy, which gives some indication of early reader reception being somewhat emotive, suggesting that the book was possibly controversial in the early years after its publication (fig.12). The margins of a book were often used as sites for debate or general commentary, illustrating the humanist educational instruction to question and comment on texts (Mack ‘Rhetoric’ 9). Therefore, handwritten marginalia were often applied as a ‘mark of engagement’ with the text (Sherman 65). One seventeenth-century reader (or possible owner) of the V&A copy of Lanyer’s book has left a handwritten note in the margin of the front leaf of the address to Lady Susan (c2^r-c2^v) in the V&A copy (fig.12). Curiously, this leaf is one of the additional leaves that were introduced into the copy by Dyce and so the handwritten note was originally made on the cannibalized copy which is no longer extant. No other handwritten marginalia are present on any of the other leaves in the V&A copy. However, no link can be made between the textual content of the marginalia and the fact that the copy has a binding displaying Prince Henry’s coat of arms. Previous scholars have commented that collectors of early modern books often preferred books with leaves that had no annotations (for example, Lesser *Renaissance* 6). Therefore, the inclusion of what must have been seen as a substandard leaf

⁷⁶ Quoted from a private communication with Stephen Tabor with regard to quire f: ‘there are “stab-holes, which often don’t line up between neighboring quires’.

⁷⁷ Stephen Tabor’s transcription of the letter.

⁷⁸ The Bodleian copy contains a letter (dated 21 August 1839?) from Isaac Disraeli to G Wright. The letter opens with ‘I am gratified by your obliging communication of the dedicatory Sonnet to Arabella Stuart by “Mistress Amelia Lanyer”. The extreme rarity of the Volume enhances the favour’.

(an annotated one) to assemble a full complement of text gives another indication to the rarity of this book during the nineteenth century.

The handwritten note is written in a typical early seventeenth-century secretary hand and appears to read as ‘Sicka vos non nobis vellera ferter ovis’. As it stands this makes no sense in Latin and so any suggestions of its meaning are conjecture.⁷⁹ Its construction suggests that it may be an inept transcription of ‘Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves’ (‘Thus you for others bear your fleece, O sheep’). This is part of an epigram written by Virgil, well-known in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For example, Puttenham uses it as an anecdote to comment on the advantages and disadvantages of anonymity for courtly poets in their seeking of patronage, advocating modesty to gain court approval (44-5).⁸⁰ If so, the writer of the handwritten note may have been commenting with respect to Lanyer’s lack of anonymity and modesty in her search for patrons. Interestingly the handwritten note is placed alongside the first two stanzas of the dedication which refers to Lady Susan as a ‘noble guide’ (1.2) with ‘rare Perfections’ (1.7). Therefore, the handwritten note in conjunction with the stanzas can also be read as a criticism of Lady Susan (on personal or religious grounds) by a writer who neither liked nor thought her worthy of any praise, even in the context of a rhetorical encomium.

On the other hand, in the sixteenth century sheep were typically used as a metaphor to describe the laity, with shepherds as the clergy; for example, Spenser’s May, July and September Eclogues in *The Shepherdes Calendar* (ed. Greenlaw *et al* 46-58; 66-75; 84-94). There are two other possibilities for intended meaning by the writer if the first word is read as ‘Ficta’:

Transcription 1:

‘Ficta vos non nobis vellera fert ovis’
(‘The sheep bears you, as false fleeces, not to us’)

or

⁷⁹ Information and possible translations are supplied in a private communication by Graham Anderson. However, he attests that, due to the inaccuracy of the Latin, a robust translation is not possible.

⁸⁰ See also North ‘Anonymity’s’ 2-3.

Transcription 2:

‘Ficta vobis non nobis vellera fert ovis’
(‘The sheep bears false fleeces to you not to us’)

At face value, the two transcriptions seem to use a similar metaphor. Transcription 1 (‘The sheep bears you, as false fleeces, not to us’) can be interpreted as describing the laity being burdened with false protection (‘bears you, as false fleeces’) offered by the clergy. In addition, if Transcription 2 is closer to the writer’s purpose (‘The sheep bears false fleeces to you not to us’) the laity cannot be trusted and bears false witness (‘bears false fleeces to you’) to the clergy. Transcription 1 criticizes the clergy for offering erroneous guidance to the people whereas Transcription 2 shows disapproval of the laity’s morality. And both transcriptions seem to distance the writer from the laity and the clergy (with ‘to you’ and ‘not to us’). It might be that this inscription, on a dedication to a prominent Protestant, Lady Susan, criticizing the Anglican laity and clergy, indicates that the writer is Catholic. Likewise, the inscription may address Lady Susan (‘you’) from the perspective of a Puritan, critical of the practices and doctrines of the ‘half-reformed’ Church of England. Moreover, from medieval times, the French word ‘lainier’ was a term for a dealer in fleeces; a wool-merchant (Rey 1098).⁸¹ Consequently, the bearing of ‘false fleeces’ could be a reference to Lanyer herself with an implicit Anglo-French pun employed on her name. The writer might, therefore, be warning Lady Susan that Lanyer offers ‘false fleeces’, that is, she speaks untruths.

Furthermore, the poor standard of Latin complicates any attempts at clarification of the meaning of the handwritten note and the possible identification of the writer. One might speculate that the marginalium writer was not a well-educated man who would be likely to have a better command of Latin. Nonetheless, Milton comments in *Of Education* that Latin was poorly taught in schools; albeit he is commenting in the mid-

⁸¹ From 1225 ‘lainier’ was a pejorative term for a mercenary who gained profit from minding sheep. By 1296 until the eighteenth century, the term was used to describe a wool-merchant.

seventeenth century.⁸² It is known that very few women read Latin let alone wrote it (M W Ferguson 'Renaissance' 150), therefore, the writer may have been a woman. Whilst the handwritten note does not offer clear evidence to identify the writer it does suggest that the dedicatory poem or the book itself had prompted an emotional response in a reader. It may be that she or he was moved to offer a more general comment on her/his contemporary religious and political atmosphere. In this regard, the tone of the handwritten note does not support findings by previous scholars who have commented that annotations are 'generally formal and impersonal' and are 'lacking "personal or creative intensity"' (Lesser *Renaissance* 6).

The BL Copy

As discussed in connection with the V&A copy, the BL copy is missing 'To the Ladie *Arabella*', 'To the Ladie *Susan...*', 'To the Ladie *Marie...*', 'To the Ladie *Katherine...*' and 'To the Vertuous Reader'. On the other hand, this copy is unusual in comparison with other copies because of the presence of an unsigned e1^r containing the start of 'To the Ladie *Margaret...*'. Moreover, the order in which 'To the Ladie *Margaret...*' and 'To the Ladie *Anne...*' are presented differs from all other copies: 'To the Ladie *Anne...*' is bound in front of 'To the Ladie *Margaret...*' whereas in all other copies 'To the Ladie *Margaret...*' is bound in front of 'To the Ladie *Anne...*' (Table 9).⁸³ According to other copies, one would expect that these two dedications had been printed on the same sheet because the start of 'To the Ladie *Margaret...*' and 'To the Ladie *Anne...*' are printed on e1^r and e4^r respectively; the outer fold of the quarto gathering (e1.e4). It seems most likely that 'To the Ladie *Anne...*' in front of 'To the Ladie *Margaret...*', were mistakenly replaced at rebinding at some point in the history of this book; and refolded to give a fold e4.e1. In addition, 'To the Ladie *Anne...*' is presented in truncated form, with only the first seven stanzas present; the last eleven stanzas (printed on the last two leaves of the poem) are not present.

⁸² Milton 138. '...we do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year.'

⁸³ See Woods 'Textual Introduction' xlvii-li. Woods makes no mention of this in her study.

In the Huntington Library 5-line copy (taken as the complete version of Lanyer's book), the catchword 'To' follows the seventh stanza and is present in anticipation of the eighth stanza. In the BL copy the catchword is not present following the seventh (and, in this copy, last) stanza of the address to Lady Anne. Although the book has been trimmed in later years the cropping does not extend beyond the border decoration and so cannot be the explanation for the missing signatures or catchwords. The absence of the catchword might be thought of an evidence to imply that 'To the Ladie *Anne*...' was planned to be presented in truncated form. However, there is a need for 'To' as a catchword to anticipate the subsequent address ('To the Ladie *Margaret*...') in the BL copy. Nonetheless, the presence of catchwords, or indeed catchword errors, is not a fail-safe method of identifying different editions of books. It may be that two set-ups of the same setting of type were used by two different compositors working for the same master printer. It is conceivable that different small errors could have been accidentally introduced independently into those set-ups which were intended to be the same, that is, to produce the same edition of the book (McKerrow *Introduction* 181).

However, if the BL copy was specifically constructed without 'To the Ladie *Arabella*', 'To the Ladie *Susan*...', 'To the Ladie *Marie*...', 'To the Ladie *Katherine*...', last eleven stanzas of 'To the Ladie *Anne*...', 'To the Vertuous Reader' and blank leaf (before the 'Salve' narrative poem) Bonian would have had to cut sheets but some leaves could easily have been excluded. The last eleven stanzas of 'To the Ladie *Anne*...' and 'To the Vertuous Reader' and the blank leaf (in front of the *Salve* poem) are all on one gathering (f1-f4) (Woods 'Textual Introduction' 1) and could be easily excluded, along with 'To the Ladie *Katherine*...', printed on the same sheet (e2-3). If the missing eleven stanzas are a flaw then it seems likely that they are the result of repair to a damaged copy with the loss of thirteen leaves (c1-4; d1-3; e2-3; and f1-4) and the fold e4.e1 rather than suppression and rearrangement of dedications because there seems no

clear reason to remove the stanzas in ‘To the Ladie *Anne*...’ or rearrange the order of ‘To the Ladie *Anne*...’ and ‘To the Ladie *Margaret*...’.⁸⁴

Conclusion

It is most important to acknowledge that the practise of cannibalizing early books in the nineteenth century is an obstructive issue that hampers the uncovering of the original state of books when they were first produced. Such disturbance can make it difficult to fully assess the original purpose of a book. As a consequence, previous scholars have been too hasty in drawing conclusions from the state of extant copies of Lanyer’s book. The results of my personal examination of the V&A copy do not fully substantiate previous claims that the copy was a presentation copy to Prince Henry or ever owned by the Countess of Cumberland.

No evidence has been found through previous scholarship to indicate that any women writer had any input into the working of the book trade⁸⁵ but, of course, this does not mean that women writers did not have any interaction with their printers and/or bookseller/publishers. Realistically, given the societal pressures on Lanyer as a woman with aspirations of future court connections, it is likely that she did not personally deal with Bonian or Simmes. As a consequence, the textual content of the typography of extant copies of Lanyer’s book is probably as the result of decisions made by Bonian in communication with a mediator for Lanyer and possible mistakes made by Simmes. Producing sheets of variant compilations of dedications and narrative poems for assembly into books would involve regular changing of each forme. This would have been very cumbersome and time-consuming for a printer. If Lanyer’s book was relatively cheap it would not have been seen worthy of uncommonly extensive effort to produce. Having said that, it must be remembered that ‘relationship between prestige and the print-run is not straightforward (cheap can equate popular)’.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ I would like to thank David Shaw for his invaluable help in encouraging me to develop my ideas of this copy.

⁸⁵ Information provided by Maureen Bell in a private communication.

⁸⁶ Information provided by John Jowett in a private communication

In order to understand the ‘sociology’ of Lanyer’s book, it is reasonable to acknowledge that the order of dedications in extant copies cannot just be considered as resulting from political naïveté exhibited by the Lanyers, action by the bookseller/publisher or printer in producing presentation copies or strategic targeting of potential readers with different compilations of the dedications. There is also a distinct likelihood that bespoke combination of texts constructed in accordance with an original customer request would have been an important factor in the compilation of pieces of Lanyer’s texts in original published copies of her book. However, if disruption of Lanyer’s collection of patronage poems in the construction of her book was due to customer request, it might be suggested that a writer’s likely textual aims in hoping to attract some patronage from the elite could be overridden by a publisher’s concerns in maximising sales from the anonymous public. In this case the aims of the bookseller/publisher would seem to be at odds with those of the writer. But this disparity is by no means confined to women’s writing.

Unsurprisingly, in its original state the title page is the most effective means of targeting potential readers. Lanyer’s title page clearly advertises a book of worth in terms of devotional religious practice. The predominant illustration of aspects of feminine spirituality seems to suggest that the book was particularly targeted at the anonymous female reader. Lanyer’s book is the only extant piece of work known to be written by her and, as such, is illustrative of my survey data, which suggests that most women had texts that were only printed once in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. One might speculate that Lanyer attempted to maintain her writing within the less inhibitory atmosphere of manuscript culture. However, social possibilities for Lanyer, who was perhaps on the fringes of any elite social groups, might have been limited and prompted her to offer her work for print circulation. Even so, as indicated by my survey results, many women writers hailed from the elite of society. Therefore, by being socially placed on the fringes of elite society, Lanyer may have still experienced some difficulty in getting her book published. Nonetheless, the unusual physical presentation of Lanyer’s book, prefaced

by as many as eleven dedications, indicates that she and her bookseller/publisher and/or printer went to some lengths to ensure that her book would be noticed by the book-buying public. My analysis of the textual content of the *Salve* book complements the idea that Lanyer aimed to be noticed as a writer of worth by presenting herself like other contemporary woman writers who *seem* to portray themselves as ideal and modest women in order to *be* writers able to reach readers of the printed word.

Textual Analysis of *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611)

Introduction

Previous scholars have identified Lanyer's book as having a proto-feminist theme.¹ Beilin has concluded that 'Lanyer wished to circumvent masculine thinking and writing about women' (Beilin *Eve* 207) and Krontiris asserts that 'Lanyer defends women against male charges and establishes a spirit of solidarity even by addressing herself to women only' (Krontiris 118).

McGrath also comments that Lanyer 'forced the grounds of protest available in early seventeenth-century English culture' to locate a self-presentation beyond that set by men (McGrath *Subjectivity* 243-4). While Lewalski has urged caution, stating that it would be 'wrongheaded' to read Lanyer's religious subject as 'a thin veneer for a subversive feminist statement', she has read 'The Description of Cooke-ham' as possessing a 'remarkable feminist frame' and sees Lanyer 'fusing religious devotion and feminism so as to assert the essential harmony of those two impulses' (Lewalski 'Of God' 224, 207).

However, terms such as 'feminist' or 'proto-feminist' would have been mystifying concepts for a woman like Lanyer, who lived in a society with 'deep differences and inequalities' between women in terms of 'religion, politics, region, generation, ethnicity and experience' (S Roberts 'Literary Capital' 264). In her study of Lanyer's dedications, Trill concludes that 'Lanyer's "female community" of dedicatees may reflect financial necessity rather than feminist strategy' (Trill 'Feminism' 70). Longfellow has also questioned a feminist reading of Lanyer's book as resistant to patriarchal constructs in society (Longfellow *Women* 159). It is clear that Lanyer's text offers no appeal for a change to the patriarchal infrastructure of her society. Whilst Lanyer advocates virtue in females, she does not depict a female community of mourners in her Passion narrative as part of a quasi-feminist argument to describe a superiority of spirituality over men although Coles has argued that Lanyer emphasizes that her female readers can achieve a 'superior spiritual awareness' because of their closeness and identification

¹ For example, Mueller 'Feminist Poetics' 98-127; Richey "'To Undoe the Booke'" 106-28; and Wall 'Our Bodies/Our Texts?' 59-68.

with Christ (Coles 'Social Rank' 161). The parts of Lanyer's text that have been labelled as proto-feminist has been seen as deriving from Lanyer's engagement with the pro-woman agenda of popular *querelle des femmes* debates in her book (Richey 106-28).² Nonetheless, as argued by Beilin, engagement by women in the *querelle des femmes* did not signal 'the birth of feminist consciousness' (Beilin *Eve* 248) and Clarke comments that the *querelle des femmes* debates are now thought to be 'structured by rhetorical imperatives that have little to do with observed reality' (D Clarke 'Speaking' 76).

Many previous scholars have failed to fully acknowledge that Lanyer would probably have self-consciously written her text with the specific aim of reaching an audience of early modern readers in order to achieve a 'professional standing as a poet' (Woods *Lanyer* vii). The *Salve* book has been read as 'an attempt on Lanyer's part to carve a poetic space for herself' (Su Fang Ng 448), to announce her arrival in the early modern literary world. Lanyer, like any other writer, constructed her text in order to show off her talents and provide herself with a legitimacy through her use of a variety of 'preestablished literary modes' (Jones *Eros* 1); that is, religious devotions, pastoral and dream genres, as well as the *querelle des femmes* debate. Lanyer's front matter has been read as a compilation of poems and prose texts that she adapted from the tradition of the miscellany to ensure that her book had a text (front matter and text proper) with a unifying premise of female virtue and spirituality (J Pearson 'Women Writers' 50). Elizabeth Cary's motto of *be and seem* is a fitting starting point to establish how Lanyer's text should be read in the same terms as those texts by contemporary female writers, and not always read at face value in all of its details. Here I shall explore Lanyer's overall textual involvement in building a fictive community of virtuous women through her dedications and her narrative poem in an effort to *seem* to be at the centre of that community in order to *be* a writer of worth.

² Richey draws distinct parallels between Lanyer's *Salve* book and a well-known *querelle des femmes* text, Cornelius Agrippa's *Of the Nobilitie and Excellencie of womankind* (1542) in order to label Lanyer's work as subversively feminist.

Past scholarship has centred on the idea that much of Lanyer's text is driven by her biography, through her personal acquaintance with some of her dedicatees, especially the main dedicatee, Lady Margaret Clifford, and her daughter Lady Anne, together with Lady Susan, Countess Dowager of Kent (Woods *Lanyer* 7-9, 28-33). On the other hand, Lanyer's descriptions of intimacy with named addressees may not be expressions of real friendships and so it is possible that her dedications offer some illumination of the early modern definition of friendship. Longfellow notes that Lanyer's addresses to elite women in society can appear as an act of 'social audacity' (Longfellow *Women* 68); nonetheless, addressing women was probably 'a matter of exigency It would have been immodest for [Lanyer] or any other woman of her station to seek patronage from an unknown male' (Longfellow *Women* 63).

A dedication is often concluded with the personalized signature of a writer as a gesture that forces the reader to see it as a private address meant specifically for the dedicatee: for example, Daniel's dedication to Queen Anne ends with 'Your Maiesties most humble servant/SAMUEL DANIEL' (2^v, ll.41-2).³ Lanyer's prefatory addresses do not contain valedictory signatures,⁴ although, it is impossible to ascertain whether Lanyer provided such signatures in her manuscript. However, the lack of signatures supports a contention that the dedications were not included simply as personal addresses intended to attract patronage. Dedications were also often written to maximize book sales and 'dedicating works to strangers was a new phenomenon in the early modern period' (Lamb 'Patronage' 42).⁵ Therefore, Lanyer's dedications can also be read as early examples of some sort of 'celebrity endorsement' (Lamb 'Patronage' 42).

In contrast to other women's front matter texts, which were limited in the number of their addressees, Lanyer included an extraordinarily large number of texts in her front matter dedications to individually named women. Through this front matter Lanyer, like her contemporaries, informs the

³ Samuel Daniel. *Hymens Triumph. A Pastorall Tragicomaedie*. (1615). Afterwards referred to as Daniel's *Hymens Triumph*.

⁴ Cf. Skelton 'A Right Delectable Treatise upon a Godly Garland or Chaplet of Laurel', in *The Complete Poems of John Skelton Laureate* 347-97. The dedications in John Skelton's *Garland of Laurel* are similarly presented without valedictory signatures.

⁵ See also Beier 'Social Discourse and the Changing Economy' 50-67.

reader of the quality of her text and controls the reception of the whole book. Scholars have suggested that Lanyer might have been influenced by Spenser's prefatory addressees to a large number of elite women in his *Faerie Queene*. Certainly, in my survey I did not find any other example of possibly middle-class women writers who had similarly addressed such elite women, with the exception of Anne Lok Prowse who addressed the Countess of Warwick and Katherine the Duchess of Suffolk. Even so, it is likely that by addressing these women Lok Prowse was positioning herself as writing from within a spiritual community shared with them rather than actually knowing them personally. On the other hand, Lanyer might have been influenced by her Italian heritage in shaping herself as a writer, modelling herself on continental professional women writers and even the *cortigiane oneste* (honest courtesan) in order to find 'the ambition to publish her works and herself, and the capacity to earn money and live well' (Benson 'Play' 257). Although scholars have recognized the greater possibilities for early modern continental women to flourish as writers within literary circles that 'span the social classes, from the courtesan to the noblewoman' (Campbell 5) there is no way of knowing whether Lanyer was influenced by continental writing practices. Equally, this does not mean that she was not. However, as Benson points out, there was a 'common English conviction that contact with things Italian would result in moral and religious conviction', what she calls 'the stigma of Italy' (Benson 'Stigma' 146). This is perhaps shown, as previously discussed, in Anne Bacon's front matter to her translation of *Fouretene Sermons of Barnardine Ochyne* (1551),⁶ where she excuses her knowledge of the Italian tongue.

Although Lanyer has a desire to articulate her own identity as a writer, she nonetheless also focuses on her reader. The physical construction of the title page perhaps offers evidence of a strategy to attract female readers to Lanyer's devotional, religious verse, a genre typically 'female-identified in terms of the market-place' (Coles 'Social Rank' 153). Similarly, the textual content of Lanyer's book focuses on the interests of the female reader, ensuring that the function of the book as a devotional text and an aid

⁶ See previous discussion, p.98.

to meditation is preserved. By doing so, Lanyer presents herself as a worthy writer of a religious text. Early modern spiritually devotional texts highlighted the readers' inadequacy, leading them to reject their sinful self through penitence and value themselves by having a close affinity to their God. According to Narveson's formulation,

What is expressed in meditation and prayer is not direct experience but rather an intentionally exaggerated and vivid self-imagining along lines set out by the theological discourse of spiritual psychology, calculated to ignite and shape affective experience ... the sense of inadequacy and need ... was a created disposition, so that we should be careful not to take works intended to arouse strong feeling as direct expressions of some hypothetical 'genuine' affectivity. (Narveson 128-9)

This discovery of a self in a meditative process is not analogous to a writer providing a means for readers to identify their own subjectivity thereby challenging previous findings that Lanyer provides her female reader with the agency to realize her own self-presentation⁷ and 'the female constructed the site of private devotion and in turn was constructed by it' (Comilang 81). Consequently, I shall review Lanyer's text in order to identify ways in which dedicatees and readers are encouraged to value themselves as being close to Christ, through their use of her book as an aid to spiritual meditation rather than to focus on realizing their own self-presentation.

Some scholars have suggested that gendered (Coles 'Social Rank' 151) and rhetorical performances need to be analysed more closely in the works of writers who 'happen also to be women' (Bennett *Women* 255). Consequently, I have analysed Lanyer's text in terms of identifying such fictive self-presentations by the author in the context of similar constructions I noted elsewhere in my survey of women writers. As a result, I will be placing Lanyer's *Salve* book in its contemporary literary context rather than burdening its author with feminist motivations more at home in a twenty-first century subjectivity.

⁷ For example, McGrath *Subjectivity* 237-40.

Use of Literary Convention and Rhetoric in Self-Presentation

As Lanyer's addresses have been labelled as an act of 'social audacity' (Longfellow *Women* 68) it is unsurprising to find evidence of the careful application of decorum and literary convention in the language of the dedications (Bennett *Divinest Things* 209-210). For example; Lanyer's address to Lady Margaret opens with typical modesty tropes and praises her addressee in an emotional declaration which shapes Lanyer as poor and subservient: 'I may say with Saint / *Peter, Silver nor gold have I none, but such as I have, that give / I you*' ('To the Ladie *Margaret...*', ll.1-3) (*Woods Poems* 34-5).⁸ Clarke points out that the declaration of a lack of wealth was a rhetorical convention often used in dedications (D Clarke 'Aemilia Lanyer' 371 n1-3).⁹ However, in line with decorum, Lanyer first addresses the Queen.

Lanyer's first dedicatory poem 'To the Queenes...' (*Woods Poems* 3-10)¹⁰ addresses Queen Anne. Kings and Queens were traditionally addressed as potential patrons (Barroll 'Court' 196). Woods suggests that Lanyer dedicated her book to Queen Anne and other elite women so as to enter the Queen's female court while Alfonso Lanyer sought advancement in the king's 'relentlessly homosocial' court (*Woods Lanyer* 36). Woods' suggestion seems reasonable given that Lanyer directly requests personal advancement at the same time: 'Your Excellence can grace both It and Mee' (l.6), a request which might be read as indecorous. Such a direct appeal is not unique. As previously discussed, Margaret Ascham addresses Sir William Cecil for personal help.¹¹ However, Ascham was at least acquainted with Cecil while Lanyer was probably not acquainted with the Queen at all, because she lacked court connections. Curiously, Lanyer continues in this vein by encouraging the Queen (and by inference the general reader) to feel guilty at amassing wealth in comparison to the needy writer who, nonetheless, is willing to share the 'writing of divinest things' (l.4):

⁸ All subsequent references to this piece are to this edition.

⁹ Lanyer refers to Acts 3:6.

¹⁰ All subsequent references to this poem are to this edition.

¹¹ See previous discussion of Margaret Ascham's direct plea for support in the context of scholarship on dedications which express applications for patronage p.118.

And since my wealth within his Region stands,
 And his Crosse my chiefest comfort is,
 Yea in his kingdome onely rests my lands,
 Of honour there I hope I shall not misse:
 Though I on earth doe live unfortunate,
 Yet there I may attaine a better state.
 (ll.55-60)

This address pointedly locates the 'Region' and 'kingdome' of Christ in contrast to the earthly kingdom ruled by the Queen's husband, asserting that Lanyer's exclusion from courtly advancement and material prosperity is in contrast to the spiritual prosperity to which Lanyer feels that she can lay claim. This address is also illustrative of how Lanyer relates to her dedicatees in general. Male writers used the Petrarchan form of amorous address in a dedication to a woman patron (McBride 'Celebration' 63); however, McBride comments that cultural and social mores dictated that Lanyer was unable to position herself as importuning a woman patron by this means (McBride 'Celebration' 63). Instead, Lanyer represents Queen Anne as the 'Mother of succeeding Kings' (l.2), a trope typically used by Lanyer's contemporaries, for example, Samuel Daniel calls Queen Anne, 'Renowned Denmark, that hast furnished / The world with Princes' (2^v, ll.31-2) in his *Hymens Triumph*. On the other hand, Lanyer also dismantles her rhetoric of praise and shapes the Queen as being answerable to a higher authority. Lanyer reminds the Queen that a 'mightie Monarch both of heav'n and earth, / ...[a]nd yet all Kings their wealth of him do borrow' (ll.44, 48). This approach to potential patrons can be read as being similar to one adopted by Jonson, setting up a competition between dedicatees to prove their worthiness of inclusion. He challenges patrons to 'live up to his/her social status' and prove their worthiness to be considered patrons alongside each other (Scott 145). As a consequence of this approach, Lanyer's poetic voice is unstable and shifts its position between supplicant and provider, appearing to draw on established traditions practised by miscellany writers (Heale 171).

It seems that Lanyer comments on Queen Anne as mother in order to introduce the Queen's daughter, Princess Elizabeth, and to specifically invoke the spirit of the previous queen, Elizabeth I. Woods has concluded

that Lanyer's references to Elizabeth I evince an intimacy between Lanyer and the dead monarch (Woods *Lanyer* 42, 52): 'this great Ladie whom I love and honour, / And from my very tender yeeres have knowne' (ll.115-6). Although Lanyer's father had been a musician at Elizabeth I's court, one cannot presume that Lanyer personally knew the old queen. Moreover, Woods has also commented that Lanyer was influenced by Spenser's praise for Elizabeth I in his poetry (Woods *Lanyer* 43-54). This may be so, although we have no direct evidence that Lanyer had read any of Spenser's work. Miller reads Lanyer's reference to Elizabeth I as 'dear mother of our common-weal' in the address to Princess Elizabeth as a construction of 'female sovereignty in unequivocally matriarchal terms' (Miller '(M)other Tongues' 150). However, Lanyer's use of the concept of motherhood to remind the reader of Elizabeth I may be more complicated and reflect literary conventions used in the years of James' rule. References to the memory of Elizabeth I were common, and such texts were not always oppositional to James (C Perry 154). It is not until the second decade of James' reign that 'comparisons between himself and Queen Elizabeth had become distinctly unequal' (Barton 716). Lanyer can therefore be read as making full use of such contemporary literary practices to celebrate James as a continuation of the monarchy from Elizabeth.

Elizabeth I had represented herself in complex maternal imagery as Virgin Queen and Mother to the nation in order to negotiate and retain power as the female ruler of her people. By contrast, concepts of masculine pre-eminence, not maternal power, were disseminated during James' rule (Olchowy 201-2). Nonetheless, Queen Anne was often celebrated through literary reference to Elizabeth I (C Perry 165). In her address to Queen Anne, Lanyer refers to Elizabeth's motto *semper eadem* ('always the same') to assert that the Queen's daughter, Princess Elizabeth, and by implication Queen Anne herself, represents a continuation of the dead queen's virtue:

And she that is the patterne of all Beautie,
 The very modell of your Majestie, ...
 This holy habite still to take upon her,
 Still to remaine *the same*, and still her owne:
 And what our fortunes doe enforce us to,
 She of Devotion and meere Zeale doth do.
 (ll.91-2, 117-120)

Writers often employed puns on Elizabeth I's name: for example, 'Eliza' and 'Elysium' (Hackett 221). Lanyer uses such a pun as a witty allusion to Elizabeth I as a source of virtue in her address, 'To all vertuous Ladies in generall', where she refers to 'pleasant groves / Of sweet *Elizium*' by the Well of Life, / Whose crystal springs do purge from worldly strife' (ll.61-3) (Woods *Poems* 12-16).¹²

If the V&A copy was a presentation copy to Prince Henry or bound as a mark of respect to the Prince of Wales,¹³ these references to Elizabeth I might have been included because Prince Henry used iconography connected with Elizabeth to position himself as her natural heir (Barton 715). It is known that Henry's court was 'the site of an ambitious Elizabethan revival which fostered support for a number of positions opposed to James' policies' (C Perry 166). However, any textual focus on Henry would not necessarily be interpreted as oppositional to the court of James I; most texts expressed some 'obedience owed to the king by the patron, or by connections with the king's court' (C Perry 184). Such connections are reinforced on the title page on Lanyer's book whereby Alfonso is positioned as 'Servant to / the Kings Majestie'.

Lanyer uses her next dedication, 'To the Lady *Elizabeths* Grace' (Woods *Poems* 11)¹⁴ to invoke the assumption of the pre-eminence of Elizabeth I, reinforced by half of the poem itself, which is clearly devoted to lamenting the loss of the old queen: 'The *Phoenix* of her age' (l.4). As Doran explains, the phoenix was 'a symbol for hereditary rule because, like the institution of monarchy, the generality of the phoenix lives on when the individual dies; and like a ruler only one of its kind is ever alive at any time' (Doran 178). During the early years of the Stuart crown, James was often seen as 'a Phoenix rising from Elizabeth's ashes' where 'the phoenix trope asserted not just continuity but absolute identity between the regimes'

¹² All subsequent references to 'To all vertuous Ladies in generall' are to this edition.

¹³ See previous discussions of the V&A copy, pp.152-7.

¹⁴ All subsequent references to this poem are to this edition. See 11, title footnote. Princess Elizabeth (1596-1662) was the eldest daughter of King James I and Queen Anne. Again, given Lanyer's lack of court connections it seems unlikely that she knew Princess Elizabeth.

(Watkins 120-1). In addition, Lanyer refers to Lady Arabella as a 'Rare Phoenix' (l.3) in 'To the Ladie Arabella' (Woods Poems 17)¹⁵.

Lady Arabella Stuart (1575-1615) was the first cousin of James I and her grandmother was the first cousin of Elizabeth I. Consequently, Lanyer's evocation of a phoenix presents Lady Arabella as an embodiment of either Elizabeth I or James. Some thought that Lady Arabella rather than James was the rightful heir to Elizabeth.¹⁶ Lady Arabella had been a lady-in-waiting to Elizabeth but by 1588 had fallen out of favour, and she had also angered James when she married, without his consent, into the proscribed Seymour family in June 1610. James had her imprisoned in the Tower of London, from where she tried to escape to France.¹⁷ As a consequence, praise for Lady Arabella in Lanyer's book, possibly in circulation in late 1610, might have been interpreted by royal insiders as condoning Lady Arabella's claim to the Stuart dynasty. Nevertheless, the symbol of the phoenix was also 'a common trope for a person viewed as exceptional' (Doran 178) holding 'connotations of singularity, virginity, [and] triumph over adversity' (Hackett 220).¹⁸ Therefore, it may be that Lanyer was aware of Lady Arabella's rebellious nature and uses the symbol of the phoenix to describe her ironically rather than as a rival to James' throne, emphasising her as a distinctive and unusual individual: 'faire feathers are your owne, / With which you flie, and are so much admired' (ll.3-4). This might be a sentiment that would meet with cynical agreement in royal circles since Lady Arabella was probably seen as an unpredictable nuisance.¹⁹ On the other hand, Lanyer might also be commenting on her perception of Arabella's possible literary prowess. Lanyer may have known that Lady Arabella was 'a remarkable letter writer and also a poet' (*Orlando Project*) and had ensured that Jonson's play *Epicene* was banned in early 1610

¹⁵ All subsequent references to 'To the Ladie Arabella' are to this edition.

¹⁶ Marshall. 'Lady Arabella Stuart.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Nov. 2009. <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/601>.

¹⁷ Marshall, 'Lady Arabella Stuart.' (unpaginated).

¹⁸ These general connotations of the symbol of the phoenix were, of course, also very useful for Elizabeth. See Strong *Gloriana* 81-2. Strong states that 'the phoenix is one of the most common of all Renaissance emblems and its application to Elizabeth ran the full range of meanings in praise of her uniqueness, oneness and chastity, it was above all a vehicle rich in dynastic mysticism asserting the perpetuity of hereditary kingship and royal dignity.'

¹⁹ Marshall. 'Lady Arabella Stuart.' (unpaginated).

(Jonson ed. Campbell 463: n17).²⁰ Of course, it may be that Lanyer did not know of Lady Arabella's tribulations during this time and may have innocently concluded that Lady Arabella had some literary and political prestige qualifying her as a worthy dedicatee: 'True honour whom true Fame hath so attired' (l.5). Whilst Lanyer may have been guilty of being politically naïve by including this dedication, whoever physically constructed some copies of her book may not have been. As discussed earlier, 'To the Ladie *Arabella*' is missing from the V&A copy (before interference from Dyce), from the BL copies and Chapin Library copies of Lanyer's book and was thought to be rare in the nineteenth century.²¹ Therefore, the dedication to Lady Arabella may have been excluded for bespoke presentation copies or by customer request because its content was seen as politically unpalatable for some readers' tastes. Of course, as the BL and Chapin Library copies are not in their original bindings it is not possible to ascertain for sure that the dedication was ever in them.

Previously, some critics have observed that Lanyer shows diffidence and little self-confidence in her writing as a whole (Snook 121); however, it is more appropriate to recognize Lanyer's comments as rhetorical acts of modesty and decorum in addressing her elite dedicatees. To note Lanyer's comments as being the result of a gendered feeling of inferiority is to ignore early modern literary traditions in the rhetorical self-presentation of writers. For example; Lanyer refers to her work in 'To the Lady *Elizabeths* Grace' as 'the first fruits of a womans wit' (l.13). At face value this comment might be literally read as a self-deprecating admission that this work was her first attempt at writing. However, Wilcox comments that the term 'first fruits' can be read as a biblical term for that 'part of the harvest given as an offering to God' (Leviticus 23:10) (Wilcox 'Fruits' 219: n9) which can in turn be read as an indication of Lanyer's confidence in the worth of her text. Wilcox recognizes Lanyer's apparently casual comment in her address to the Countess of Pembroke that her work is 'the fruits of idle houres' (l.194) (Woods *Poems* 21-31)²² as 'continuing the idea of the woman writer's

²⁰ Lady Arabella had been offended by an apparent allusion to her in the play.

²¹ See earlier discussion, pp.159, 161, 164-5.

²² All subsequent references to 'The authors Dreame to the Ladie Marie...' are to this edition.

harmless passivity' (Wilcox 'Fruits' 203). However, similar commentary by a male writer on the production of a text is recognized as a rhetorical adage; for example, in his dedication of 'Venus and Adonis' to the Earl of Southampton Shakespeare states, 'only if your honour seem but pleased, I account myself highly praised, and vow to take advantage of all idle hours' ('To the Right Honourable Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton and Baron of Titchfield', ll.7-9, 128).²³ Few scholars would argue that Shakespeare is a writer with a lack of self-confidence. Correspondingly, if a woman writer employs the same language there is no reason why she should not be similarly read within the context of literary convention.

Another adept example of rhetorical self-construction by Lanyer is her address 'To the doubtfull Reader' (Woods *Poems* 139)²⁴ which shapes her as a writer appointed by God. In particular, Lanyer uses this address to employ a modesty *topos*, denying her agency but at the same time declaring herself as the author of the work: 'I had written the Passion of Christ' (ll.4-5). She also seems to express an anxiety about the reception of her work, appearing to draw on a tradition of addresses to the reader where criticisms of the book were raised in order to be dispelled. Lanyer only tentatively addresses a possible 'doubtfull' reader, opening her address with: 'Gentle Reader' (l.1). Lanyer begins 'To the doubtfull Reader' by shifting attention to the title of her book. This is the only place where the title is mentioned in the text other than in the printed titles and running titles supplied by Simmes. Most importantly, Lanyer constructs herself rhetorically as a mediator for God's wishes and declares that the title 'was / delivered unto me in sleepe many yeares before I had any intent to write in this maner' (ll.2-4). She explains that she felt that this title must have been 'a significant token' (l.7) indicating that she was divinely 'appointed to performe / this Worke' (ll.7-8). She also alludes to being divinely appointed in her address to Lady Anne:

²³ 'Venus and Adonis' in *Shakespeare's Poems*. Eds. Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen. 125-229. All subsequent references to 'Venus and Adonis' refer to this edition.

²⁴ All subsequent references to 'To the doubtfull Reader' are to this edition.

Blest by our Saviours merits, not my skil,
Which I acknowledge to be very small;
Yet if the least part of his blessed Will
I have perform'd, I count I have done all:
(ll.9-12) (Woods *Poems* 41-7)²⁵

Therefore it seems curious that Lanyer should state in 'To the doubtfull Reader' that her God-given title had slipped her memory until she had finished writing the work: '[it] was quite out of my memory untill I / had written the Passion of Christ' (ll.4-5). No added rhetorical value is gained from the description of this scenario. Previous scholarship on Lanyer's claim to have forgotten the title has suggested that Lanyer distances herself from it (Bowen 'Aemilia Lanyer' 293). Drawing on this idea that Lanyer was perhaps uncomfortable with the title, it may be that it did not originate with her but with Bonian, along with a request to write an address specifically referencing it as a marketing ploy for the book. On the other hand, as mentioned earlier, booksellers/publishers and printers often wrote prefatory material (Stern 'Small-beer' 183); therefore, it is not beyond possibility that Bonian and/or Simmes wrote 'To the doubtfull Reader' without reference to Lanyer.

The Purpose of 'the *Salve* book'

It seems highly likely that Lanyer was sensitive to established writing traditions and prepared to accept them in order to get her book published. It is thought that in order to reach broad readerships writers sometimes advertised their texts with a 'placement in circles of private exchange ... through dedications' (Wall 'Circulating' 39) although the printed book was clearly available to a wider audience. It is possible to see Lanyer positioning 'vertuous Ladies in generall' and by implication, her dedicatees, with her in a fictive literary circle from which she derives an implicit virtue. Molekamp offers a reasonable suggestion that as a central voice from within such a fictive group, Lanyer is able to 'foster hermeneutic agency' (Molekamp). Moreover, from within such a fictive communality these anticipated female readers, addressed in 'To all vertuous Ladies on generall', are offered a reflection of their virtue in Lanyer's book:

²⁵ All subsequent references to 'To the Ladie *Anne*...' are to this edition.

Each blessed Lady that in Virtue spends
 Your pretious time to beautifie your soules;
 Come wait on hir whom winged Fame attends
 And in her hand the Booke where she inroules
 Those high deserts that Majestie commends:
 Let this faire Queene not unattended bee,
 When in my Glasse she daines her selfe to see.

(ll.1-7)

Lanyer's depiction of her book as a 'Glasse' is reminiscent of a conventional perception of reflections in a mirror in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: 'Tudor and Stuart England made great cultural use of the mirror ... They used glass to attempt to reflect themselves; they used steel in mirrors to gain a new perspective, often thought idealistic' (Kinney 2). McGrath states that Lanyer positions her text as a mirror to reflect the virtue of women in order to offer the female reader a view of herself (McGrath *Subjectivity* 237-40). Another example of the use of this convention is Katherine Stubbes' *A Christall Glasse for Christian Women*. As a result of using the symbolism of a mirror, Lanyer is able to reinforce the truthfulness of her book as a direct idealistic reflection of herself as a writer with 'a worthy Mind' in her address to Queen Anne:

Looke in this Mirrour of a worthy Mind,
 Where some of your faire Virtues will appeare;
 Though all it is impossible to find,
 Unlesse my Glasse were chrystall, or more cleare:
 Which is dym steele, yet full of spotlesse truth
 (ll.37-41)

Moreover, in her address to Lady Margaret, Lanyer invites her main dedicatee to view 'the Mirrour of [her] most worthy Minde' in the *Salve* book (ll.30-1). Tinkham offers a reasonable conclusion in suggesting that Lanyer, by inviting her dedicatees to view their own virtues in her mirror, asks her readers to 'irresistibly praise her work because finding fault with [her] text is tantamount to a self-identification with wickedness' (Tinkham 68). Lanyer positions her book as a devotional and meditative aid for her readers to read so that they can improve their virtue and asserts to Lady Margaret: 'I present unto you / even our Lord Jesus himselfe' (ll.6-7). Thereby, Lanyer positions her book confidently as an indispensable aid to increasing spirituality and virtue in Lady Margaret and, by inference, the

general reader: 'I deliver you the health of the soule ... the inestimable treasure of all elected soules...', (ll.9-10, 29) as opposed to Peter who she says only 'gave health to the body' (l.9) (D Clarke 'Aemilia Lanyer' 371: n.9-10).²⁶ Despite the protocols of propriety which may be seen as predominating in Lanyer's opening dedications, one is struck by an ambiguity of her performance in the dedications. She presents her book as an indispensable means of delivering Christ himself, by which piety can be achieved, but in so doing she shapes herself as a mistress to her dedicatees. Such ambiguity is not unusual and has been noted in manuscript miscellanies of the period, in which there are 'shifts of genre, voice, and viewpoint' (S Roberts 'New Formalism' 82).

Lanyer employs the representation of describing Christ as a book in her address to Lady Lucy:

Loe here he comes all stucke with pale deaths arrows:
 In whose most pretious wounds your soule may reade
 Salvation, while he (dying Lord) doth bleed.
 (ll.12-4) (Woods *Poems* 32-3)²⁷

This symbolism developed from medieval tradition, with the earliest sixteenth-century example thought to have been made by John Fisher, who commented that one should read the wounds of Christ (Molekamp). Katherine Parr also uses the concept of Christ as text in her *Lamentation of a Sinner* (1563) to elevate the value of inward meditation on Christ as opposed to depictions of Christ's passion. She comments that 'wee may see also in Christe crucified the bewtie of the Soule, better then in all the bookes of the worlde' (Cii^f), which seems to negate the value of her own writing in her book. Moreover, William Cecil reinforces Parr's comment in his preface to Parr's text: 'the crucifxe, the booke of our redempcion, the very ab-solute library of Gods mercy and wysdome' (Aiiii^v). By contrast, in her dedication to Lady Lucy, Lanyer unequivocally uses the concept of Christ as text in order to advertise the value of her book, to show off her storytelling skills and to build tension and anticipation for her forthcoming Passion story in the main narrative poem. Lanyer merges Christ and the book, so that the act of

²⁶ Clarke suggests that Lanyer references *Acts* 3: 6-7 'where Peter cures the lame man'.

²⁷ All subsequent references of this poem are to this edition.

meditation becomes an extension of reading her book Lanyer attempts to maintain the concept of presenting her book with modesty whilst at the same time insisting on its value because it contains the Divine. For example; a clumsy employment of both the *modesty topos* and a confident advertisement of her work can be seen in Lanyer's address to the Countess of Pembroke. There is an anxiety to praise the addressee conventionally whilst denigrating her own work, but then by incongruously alleging that this defective work contains the Divine Lanyer deconstructs her own rhetorical stance:

Though your faire mind on worthier workes is plac'd,
On workes that are more deepe, and more profound:

Yet is it no disparagement to you,
To see your Saviour in a Shepherds weed,
Unworthily presented in your viewe
Whose worthinesse will grace each line you reade
(ll.215-20)

Wall comments that Lanyer's humble presentation of the Saviour in 'Shepherds weed' (l.218) 'transforms the corporeal metaphor of presenting Christ as a book' (Wall 'Bodies' 63). However, Lanyer aims to imitate worthy predecessors rather than 'invert[ing] the textual dynamic in which the writer asserts control over his book by figuring it as in need of governance' (Wall 'Bodies' 63) by positioning herself within the tradition of describing Christ as a book. Moreover, Lanyer also makes the rhetorically self-deprecating point that she offers a 'little Booke' (l.9) to Lady Arabella, whilst insisting that it presents Christ to the dedicatee and, by implication, the anonymous reader, so that they can 'spare one look/[u]pon this humbled King' (ll.11-2).

It is thought that Lanyer explicitly shapes herself as a priestess offering her text as a feast to her dedicatees and the general reader (McBride 'Celebration' 66) and actively engages with 'a long tradition of feminist meditation on the essence of the priesthood' (White 337). Lanyer offers her book 'feast' as a devotional aid which 'heals and feeds readers through verse' (White 331) alluding, at some level, to the Eucharist, she also imitates biblical symbolism of Christ as a sacrificial lamb in her address 'To the Queenes...':

For here I have prepar'd my Paschal Lambe,
 The figure of that living Sacrifice;
 Who dying, all th'Infernall powers orecame,
 That we with him t'Eternities might rise:
 This pretious Passeover feed upon, O Queene...
 (ll.85-9)

Although the Eucharist is a re-enactment of the 'Paschal' feast of the Last Supper, a link made explicit in the Communion liturgy (in Catholic and Anglican practice), I would suggest that Lanyer advertises the function of her book to readers from a broad spectrum of religious beliefs and practices, thereby widening its potential audience rather than positions herself as a priestess.

Lanyer's correlation between reading her book and digesting a feast can also be described as drawing on the convention of describing reading in terms of the physiological processes of digestion. Francis Bacon's essay 'Of Studies' makes reference to this concept: 'Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested' (ll.17-8) (Bacon *The Essays* 209).²⁸ Drawing on this common trope, Lanyer invites Princess Elizabeth to read and digest 'this wholesome feast' in her address 'To the Lady *Elizabeths* Grace' (l.9) equating it with doing 'good workes' (l.11). Consequently, Lanyer promotes the value of her text and her skill as a proficient writer who is qualified to provide an aid to increased spirituality for her elite dedicatees and, by implication, her general reader. William Cecil uses a similar approach to promote Katherine Parr's *Lamentation of a Sinner* (1563). He positions Parr as providing spiritual nourishment to her readers through the narrative of her religious experiences: 'let us ther-fore now feed by this gracious Quenes example' (A6^r). Moreover, Lanyer appears to position herself as a provider of a feast for a mother to give to her child in 'To the Ladie *Katherine*...':

And let your noble daughters likewise reade
 This little Booke that I present to you;
 On heauenly food let them vouchsafe to feede...
 (ll.49-51)

²⁸ Bacon. 'Of Studies' in *The Essays*. Ed. Pitcher. 209-10. See also Schoenfeldt 'Reading Bodies' 215.

Although Lanyer was probably a mother by this point (Woods *Lanyer* 18)²⁹ she never shapes herself as a mother offering her text to her own children. One might expect such an approach given the popularity of *Mother's Advice* books at the time of Lanyer's book was published. Instead, by use of established tropes and rhetorical stances, Lanyer retains her ghostly presence as storyteller; hints of the real Lanyer are never present in her addressing of her dedicatees. Lanyer's main concern here seems to be an articulation of herself as a writer who should be valued on her own merits and who aims to prosper within the burgeoning public world of the printed word, offering some support to Benson's argument that Lanyer saw herself as being comparable with continental professional women writers (Benson 'Play' 257). However, there are a few examples of non-continental women who also adopt this approach. Frye describes how, in her manuscript writing, Esther Inglis does not present herself as a mother or a wife; '[i]nstead, she presents herself as the prototype of the career woman who has assumed the usually male role of scrivener as well as the function of the male activities of publishing a text' (Frye 476).

Of course, Lanyer's employment of rhetoric in the construction of her dedicatees (and readers), does not negate the possibility that Lanyer did know and was intimately friendly with some of her dedicatees. Having said that, although Lanyer refers to Lady Susan as 'Mistris of my youth' (l.1) in 'To the Ladie *Susan*..' (Woods *Poems* 18-20),³⁰ the details of this relationship are still thought of as doubtful. Barroll comments that if Lanyer knew Lady Susan they could not have met until 1589, when Lanyer was aged twenty and probably not considered to be in her youth (Barroll 'Looking' 34-5). However, Lanyer's comment that she knew Lady Susan can also be explained as strategically deploying an early modern model of friendship as an attempt to position her book and, by implication, herself, with a 'celebrity endorsement' (Lamb 'Patronage' 42) rather than a real address to an intimate friend.

²⁹ She said to Simon Forman that Lord Hunsdon was the father of her son whom she named Henry in 1593. See also Woods *Lanyer* 28; Lanyer's daughter, Odillya, was born in 1598 but died in 1599.

³⁰ All subsequent references of this poem are to this edition. See Barroll 'Looking' 34-5. Lady Susan Bertie (b. 1554) became Countess of Kent in 1572.

Most importantly, the address to Lady Susan shapes the religious affiliation of the book and of Lanyer herself. Woods comments that the story of the family's exile on the Continent had become 'the stuff of Protestant legend' (Woods *Lanyer* 8). Lady Susan's family (the Bertie family) were prominent Protestants and Lady Susan's mother fled England with her family during Mary Tudor's reign (1553-1558), sometime after 1555, to escape persecution, returning to England in 1559 (Barroll 'Looking' 31-2). Lanyer's address emphasizes the righteousness of Lady Susan's family and even states that it is only Lady Susan's virtue that encourages her to write. However, the modest claim that she simply wants to praise Lady Susan can be read as rhetorical in Lanyer's expression of hope that she will be patronized in the future by the lady:

Onely your noble Virtues do incite
My Pen, they are the ground I write upon;
Nor any future profit is expected,
Then how can these poore lines goe unrespected?
(ll.45-8).

This address can also be seen as an attempt to foster a commitment to Protestantism in the anticipated reader who is encouraged to question whether he or she is as fervent and virtuous as Lady Susan's mother in maintaining such a strong religious stance and adhering to her faith. The anticipated reader is implicitly expected to identify with the fervent Protestantism of Lady Susan:

Whose Faith did undertake in Infancie,
All dang'rous travells by devouring Seas
To flie to Christ from vaine Idolatry,...
By your most famous Mother so directed,
That noble Duchesse, who liv'd unsubjected.

From *Romes* ridiculous prier and tyranny...
(ll.19-21, 23-5).

Although it is unsurprising that an early seventeenth-century religious book should express anti-Catholic sentiment, the tone also suggests possibilities as to how the book was originally perceived when considered along with other contents and the physical presentation of one extant copy. This anti-Catholic tone offers textual evidence that the book might have been seen by the

Lanyers as an appropriate gift from Alfonso Lanyer to Thomas Jones, Archbishop of Dublin, who was known to be fiercely anti-Catholic throughout his career in Ireland³¹ and who is thought to be the recipient of the extant Chapin Library copy. The copy might have been given to reinforce the book's religious credentials as well as aiming to increase the Lanyers' social prestige.³² On the other hand, Lanyer's address to Lady Susan is missing in the Chapin Library copy (Woods 'Textual Introduction' xlvi).³³ But as this copy is not in its original binding it is not possible to ascertain for sure whether the dedication was ever in it. It may be that the poem was taken out at a later date, at a subsequent reader's request (Jones died in 1619) or along with other poems as a result of damage through the years.

Woods alleges that Lanyer was well acquainted with the main dedicatee, the Countess of Cumberland and her daughter, Lady Anne Clifford (Woods *Lanyer* 28-33). However, given Lanyer's obvious employment of rhetorical tropes in her addressing of her dedicatees one can only speculate on her real social links with any of these women. Moreover, if Lanyer had a close relationship with, for example, Lady Anne, one might expect to find some textual evidence from the Clifford archive to support this. Nonetheless, it seems that Lady Anne (like Lanyer's other addressees) did not mention Lanyer or appear to have obliged her with patronage despite clear evidence that shapes Lady Anne as a prominent consumer of printed texts. Her famous portrait in the Appleby triptych (painted in 1646) depicts her with many clearly-titled printed books (Parry 'Great Picture' 202-219). Lanyer's book, however, is not evident in the painting. Moreover, Lady Anne kept a diary where she took pains to define her reading practices in precise detail, but the *Salve* book is not mentioned. However, it must be said that the diary is not extant for the early years of the 1603-1616; the years just before and after the publication of Lanyer's book in 1611.

Despite the possibility that Lanyer did not know Lady Margaret Clifford it is intriguing that the 'Salve' narrative poem (Woods *Poems* 51-

³¹ Walshe. 'Thomas Jones, Archbishop of Ireland (1550-1619).' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Nov. 2009. <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15086>.

³² See Longfellow, *Women* 64.

³³ Confirmed by Wayne Hammond in a private communication.

129)³⁴ is described as a text written for Lady Margaret Clifford, given that Lanyer seems to have taken great care to address other elite women and the general reader in the prefatory dedications. Moreover, Lanyer's opening lines suggest that Lady Margaret is the main dedicatee because of Elizabeth I's previous death:

Sith <i>Cynthia</i> is ascended to that rest...	
To thee great Countesse <u>now</u> I will applie	<i>The Ladie</i>
My Pen, to write thy never dying fame;	<i>Margaret</i>
That when to Heav'n thy blessed Soule shall flie,	<i>Countesse</i>
These lines on earth record thy reverend name:	<i>Dowager of</i>
And to this taske I mean my Muse to tie....	<i>Cumberland</i>
(ll.1, 9-13, <u>my emphasis</u>)	

Woods reads this as an implication that 'Lanyer had addressed poems to [Elizabeth] during her lifetime and now turns to the Countess of Cumberland' (Woods 'Vocation' 85). However, Lanyer's references to Elizabeth I can also be read as probably another application of the nostalgia employed in the first four dedications. Hackett has noted the use of lunar imagery 'to evoke a waning, feminine power secondary to the masculine sun and outshone by its rising splendour' to give a 'favourite conceit ... to acclaim James as the sun rising after the moon' (Hackett 22). Lanyer alludes to such a conceit:

When shining *Phoebe* gave so great a grace,
Presenting *Paradice* to your sweet sight,...

Whose Eagles eyes behold the glorious Sunne
Of th'all-creating Providence, reflecting
His blessed beames on all by him, begunne;
Increasing, strengthning, guiding and directing
All worldly creatures their due course to runne,
Unto His powrefull pleasure all subjecting...
(ll.20-1, 25-30)

Whatever Lanyer's reasons for opening her narrative poem in this way, it can be suggested that it was politically naïve to displace Queen Anne with Lady Margaret as main dedicatee of the book. Lanyer uses the image of Lady Margaret with a 'Mind so perfect by [her] Maker fram'd' (l.41) to reinforce the idea that the book is an indispensable tool with which the

³⁴ All subsequent references to this poem are to this edition.

reader can improve her/his virtue. However, the tone of the poem quickly changes as Lanyer launches into a meditation on Judgement Day before returning to address the Countess, seemingly to apologize for her digression:

Pardon (good Madame) though I have digrest
From what I doe intend to write of thee,
To set his glorie forth whom thou lov'st best,...
(ll.145-7)

*To the Countesse
of Cumberland*

Bennett reads this apparent apology after an apparent digression as indicating Lanyer's awareness of the importance of decorum, drawing explicit attention to its temporary lack (Bennett *Divinest Things* 224-6). The marginal gloss 'To the Countesse of Cumberland' highlights the return to decorum. However, it could be argued that Lanyer has used the intervening lines to advertise the worth of her poem, which will offer a means for the reader to be reminded of God's 'wondrous works no mortall eie can see' (l.148). Therefore, if Bennett is correct in saying that Lanyer was well acquainted with the principles of decorum in addressing the elite, this belies any evidence that has been offered to suggest that Lanyer was politically naïve in choosing and addressing her dedicatees, or indeed insensitive to the possibilities of self-promotion.

Nonetheless, Lanyer appears to admit that her text is not the work that was commissioned by Lady Margaret. Instead Lanyer has preferred to write a text of her own choosing which shapes Lanyer as a writer with an independent spirit:

And pardon (Madame) though I do not write
Those praisefull lines of that delightfull place,
As you commaunded me in that faire night,...
(ll.17-9)

If the 'delightfull place' is correctly assumed to be the Cooke-ham estate belonging to the Cliffords then these lines suggest that Lanyer wrote them in anticipation that the poem would not be included in the same book as 'The Description of Cooke-ham' (Woods *Poems* 130-8).³⁵ This conclusion is supported by the absence of any mention of 'The Description of Cooke-ham'

³⁵ All subsequent references to this poem are to this edition.

on the title page and in the dedications. Consequently, its inclusion alongside the main narrative poem suggests that Lanyer's book was constructed without cross-checking the textual content of the dedication and/or consulting Lanyer's possible objectives in appealing to a potential patron. However, the textual content of 'The Description of Cooke-ham' describes a relationship between the writer and the main dedicatee of the book, making it possible, as McGrath suggests, that Lanyer uses the community of her dedicatee and her dedicatee's daughter as a frame 'in which to embed the scene of writing' (McGrath 'Libertie' 341). Therefore, the deliberate inclusion of 'The Description of Cooke-ham' in the book cannot be ruled out. Whether or not this poem was meant to be included in the book, influences of contemporary use of literary traditions are clearly evident in this poem which enable Lanyer to sustain her argument for the importance of virtue to prove women's worth and, most importantly, her own worth as a writer which she has set up in her dedications and continued in the *Salve* narrative poem.

Lanyer's Self-Presentation as a Worthy Writer

Woods offers the possibility that Lanyer actually spent time at Cooke-ham because she knew Lady Margaret and Lady Anne Clifford (Woods *Lanyer* 28-33). Moreover, Benson speculates that Lanyer was a music tutor in the Clifford household (Benson 'Play' 252-3). Even so, it may be that literary tropes of claimed female friendship and pastoral self-location should be seen as overlapping with any possible autobiographical construction of the 'I' in the dedicatory poems and in 'The Description of Cooke-ham'. It is, however, known that Lady Margaret Clifford held the lease on the Cooke-ham estate 'while estranged from her husband and which she continued to hold, and struggled to retain, after his death in 1605' (Jenkins 160). Cooke-ham was a 'crown manor leased to the Countess of Cumberland's brother, William Russell of Thornhaugh, where the Countess resided periodically until 1605 or shortly after'.³⁶

³⁶ Woods *Poems* Title footnote 130.

In analysing the textual content of Lanyer's 'The Description of Cooke-ham' previous scholarship has suggested that it is 'calling attention to women's unjustifiable subjection to men on earth' (Munroe 76), offering an 'idealized microcosm of society' (Lewalski *Jacobean* 236) and 'a vision of woman's fulfilment of her typological promise [with] an acknowledgement of the actual genealogical politics which governed Margaret and Anne's lives' (Loughlin 169). In fact 'The Description of Cooke-ham' is a complex amalgamation of all of these suggestions. McBride considers that Lanyer in her 'The Description of Cooke-ham' along with 'To the Ladie *Marie*...' invokes 'the conventions of the initiatory pastoral poem' in an attempt to present herself as a poet (McBride 'Orpheus' 88). Lanyer's implicit reference to the Clifford 'genealogical politics' (Loughlin 169) does not necessarily indicate that she was an intimate associate of Lady Margaret or Anne, but instead may also be a deliberate means to show off her ability in using the pastoral tradition.

According to Snyder, the essential tenet of pastoral poetry is the description of an Eden and its loss:

Pastoral postulates the ideal, then, but derives its power from including, or being predicated upon, antipastoral elements: time, death, conflict, civilisation, frustrated desire ... "[P]astoral process" ... has to do with paradise once possessed and then lost, with an original pastoral perfection that later transmutes into its opposite. (Snyder 3)

Subsequent anxiety with time passing, 'forcing the individual from Paradise into the wilderness of the world', has been recognized as a typical trope in seventeenth-century poetry (Stewart 40-1), with the poet situated in a lonely position on the edge of elite society (Heale 155). Gardens were often viewed as perfect 'symbolic setting[s] for the pursuit of wisdom' (Rivers 130), used to describe 'erotic spaces' for lovers and associated with the corporeal female body (Tigner 117). In this latter sense the language of the *Song of Songs* was often used to symbolize Divine love in the shape of the male groom waiting for his beloved bride (the female voice) in an enclosed garden. Different commentators assigned various allegorical characteristics to the groom and beloved: Christ and his bride, the Church; Christ and the

soul, Christ and all Christians (Longfellow *Women* 2), and the Virgin Mary as the perfect bride to Christ the ultimate lover, waiting in the *hortus conclusus*, often associated with the Garden of Eden (Stewart 40-1). Devout Christian women were able to self-consciously locate themselves within a ‘mystical marriage’ as brides resident in a fictive garden of happiness with Christ their groom, and consequently able to derive authority for commentary on religious principles (Longfellow *Women* 13). Moreover, it is thought that pastoralism was used in the Elizabethan court for ‘the development and exploration of a rhetoric of inwardness which provided discursive space within which it was possible to domesticate potentially subversive content’ (C Perry 55) and explore contested ‘gendered power relationships’ (Munroe 1). Perry notes in his study of early Jacobean pastoral that indirect social comment found in Elizabethan pastoral seems to have often been replaced by explicit social criticism in pastoral published in the early years of James’ reign (C Perry 50-58). It may be that Lanyer uses her knowledge of contemporary pastoral literary practice in ‘The Description of Cooke-ham’, and to some extent in ‘To the Ladie *Marie*...’, to merge the concepts of the ideal bride waiting for the Divine bridegroom and the pursuit of wisdom in an unsustainable and indistinct female Eden so as to form a discursive space from within which to explore power relations and the possibilities of creativity with the support of patronage for the woman writer.

Woods argues that ‘The Description of Cooke-ham’ is the first example of a country-house poem and was probably read by Jonson before he wrote ‘To Penshurst’,³⁷ previously thought of as a forerunner of this genre (Woods *Lanyer* 116). However, both Lanyer’s and Jonson’s poems could be more accurately described as ‘estate’ poems rather than ‘country house’ poems because they describe landscapes and not simply houses (Fowler ‘Cabinet’ 1; Cook 104). Moreover, both poets might have been influenced by descriptions of Continental literary salons (Campbell 134: n7) rather than Jonson specifically being influenced by Lanyer’s poem.

Cooke-ham describes a space where a woman can gain knowledge as long as she finds herself in a convivial and metaphysical affiliation with

³⁷ Jonson ‘To Penshurst’ in *The Broadview Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Verse & Prose: Volume I, Verse*. Eds. Rudrum, Black & Nelson. 68-70. All subsequent references are to this edition.

other women. The female space is described as a place ‘where the Muses gave their full consent’ (l.3.). As the Lady is referred to as ‘you (great Lady) Mistris of that Place’ (l.11) it may be reasonable to associate the Lady with the Countess of Cumberland. The women in the Cooke-ham are the Lady, the poet and ‘that sweet Lady sprung from *Cliffords* race’ (l.93), that is, Lady Margaret’s daughter, Lady Anne. To this end Lanyer conjures the imagined and imaginative space in which all of the women can not only receive inspiration for their creativity but also protection from the guardian presence of the Lady who is clearly Lady Margaret Clifford, the main dedicatee of Lanyer’s book, who inspires its creation and ‘[f]rom whose desires did spring this worke of Grace’ (l.12). Jonson’s *Penshurst*, home of the Sidney family, also describes a poet in the midst of the estate where Philip Sidney had been born and from where inspiration can be drawn: ‘At his great birth, where all the muses met’ (‘To *Penshurst*’, l.14). Nonetheless, there is one major difference between these two poems. Jonson’s poem elicits a positive sentiment of satisfaction in patriarchal rule: ‘Those proud, ambitious heaps, and nothing else, / May say, their lords have built, but thy lord dwells’ (‘To *Penshurst*’, ll.101-2). By contrast, ‘The Description of *Cooke-ham*’ opens with a valediction: ‘Farewell (sweet *Cooke-ham*)’ (l.1).

Lanyer mourns the loss of the space where she has been described as receiving God-given virtue: ‘Grace from that Grace where perfit Grace remain’d’ (l.2). Halewood describes ‘grace’ as a God-given virtue that ‘liberate[s] the soul from sin’ (Halewood 37). It has a particular function in Protestant (Calvinist) theology as God’s free gift of Grace through which alone those who are saved *can* be saved. As a consequence, Lanyer’s initial description of the *Cooke-ham* estate can be read as portraying a convivial place without sin; a pre-lapsarian Eden. ‘Grace’ could also be read as favour and generosity from Lady Margaret, from that ‘Grace’ (her Grace) who is Lady Margaret herself, in whom ‘Grace’ in that theological sense is lodged. Thus Lady Margaret is eulogized as the presiding presence through which ‘Grace’ is present in *Cooke-ham*. Lanyer emphasizes the significance of virtue in this female space where the women can derive a distinctly female piety from their direct contact with the Testaments: ‘With *Moyses* you did mount his holy Hill... / With lovely *David* did you often sing...’ (ll. 85, 87).

By contrast, 'To Penshurst' describes a conviviality on a grand scale of hospitality and eroticized images:

The better cheeses, bring 'em; or else send
By their ripe daughters, whom they would commend
This way to husbands; and whose baskets bear
An emblem of themselves, in plum or pear.
(ll.53-56)

Lanyer's space is also a significantly different garden space from the one described by Marvell in 'The Garden'.³⁸ Lanyer adapts the concept of a 'happy garden-state ... without a mate' ('The Garden', ll.57-8) and instead of advocating the 'cult of the solitary melancholy man' (Fitter 244) in a world in 'delicious solitude' ('The Garden', l.16), she builds a female community without men with the Lady at its centre. The choice of women to form this female community has been thought to be based on a literal relationship between all three (Woods *Lanyer* 28-33). Whilst this relationship might be based in fact, there is no direct evidence to prove it. Therefore, the choice of three women might have a different basis.

Fowler has commented that the number three symbolically functioned as the 'first female number' in Elizabethan poetry (Fowler *Triumphal* 148) which could explain why Lanyer chose three women to inhabit a female pastoral. Lanyer had praised the virtue of Eve as the first female in Eden. Choosing three women might be indicative of their ideal virtue in a prelapsarian Eden. Of course, the number three is also indicative of the Trinity which would in turn be indicative of the women's virtue. On the other hand, the maternal imagery depicted in the protected space of Cooke-ham may also have been an important aspect of the pastoral scene. Lady Margaret can be seen as creating a 'mother's guardian presence' in an enclosed garden, with her daughter 'on the verge of sexual maturing' and the poet in awe of both of them; a scene that is comparable to elements described in Virgil's Eclogue 8, noted by Snyder as the basis of most early modern pastoral texts (Snyder 177). Lady Margaret as guardian to the poet is shaped in a maternal and protective mode, with the poet incorporating herself in a daughter role in the family.

³⁸ Marvell. 'The Garden' in *The Broadview Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Verse & Prose: Volume 1, Verse*. Eds. Rudrum, Black & Nelson. 345-6. All subsequent references are to this edition.

On the other hand, the choice of three females may point to a different location of 'Grace' other than as God's free gift of Grace in 'Grace from that Grace where perfit Grace remain'd' (l.2). This line may be subtly pushing towards identifying Lanyer, Lady Margaret and her daughter Lady Anne as 'The Three Graces' from Greek mythology, with their traditional associations of 'giving, accepting and returning',³⁹ an allusion which can also be identified in 'To the Ladie *Marie*...'.⁴⁰ 'The Three Graces' were a group of women from antiquity illustrated as 'interlocked in a dance' which must not be interrupted and 'the tradition of the Graces signified liberality to the Stoics, [while] for the Neoplatonists it was a symbol of love, inviting celestial meditations' (Wind 28, 36). If Lanyer is alluding to 'The Three Graces' she can be read as conflating the concepts of 'Grace' as the free gift of God and 'Grace' as grace and favour from a patron. Lady Margaret can be seen as the one who would bestow grace and favour and the poet would accept that grace in the form of patronage and return that grace by providing the written work.

Lanyer also alludes to the tradition of the Virgin Mary identified as the bride in the *Song of Songs* by replacing the Virgin with Lady Margaret as the perfect bride in the *hortus conclusus*. The 'stately Tree' (l.53) in Cookeham is seen with 'pleasing boughes [that] did yeeld a coole fresh ayre' (l.65) whenever Lady Margaret was there. This scene is reminiscent of a similar description in the *Song of Songs*:

Like the apple tree among the trees of the forest: so is
my welbeloved among the sonnes of *men*: under his
shadowe had I delite, & sate downe: and his fruite was
swete unto my mouth.
(*Song of Songs* 2:2)⁴¹

This section of the *Song of Songs* has been interpreted as the bride taking refuge in the shade of the tree from God's wrath (Stewart 72), where she is 'blest with the comfort of repose' (Stewart 86). In the Cookeham space, Lady Margaret is shaped as the bride who takes refuge under the tree and is '[d]fended' from '*Phebus* when he would assaile' (l.64). Nonetheless, this

³⁹ I would like to thank David Blair for the formulation of this idea.

⁴⁰ See later discussion, pp.205-13.

⁴¹ 'An Excellent Song which was Salomons' in *The Geneva Bible* 281.

community of women can be seen as unusual because it is thought that early Jacobean pastoral usually placed Queen Anne in the centre of such a setting (C Perry 50-80). This displacement of Queen Anne by Lady Margaret might be another example of Lanyer's political naïveté as described by Barroll ('Looking' 40).

The description of the terrain at Cooke-ham is typical of 'Renaissance realism' where narrative images 'seem uncertainly located' and [l]andscapes tended to be *paysages moralisées* ... so that moral and political associations of ...hills and valleys were as active as the physical' (Fowler *Realism* 4). The poet explains to Lady Margaret that the garden space offers 'A Prospect fit to please the eyes of Kings: / And thirteene shires appear'd all in your sight' (ll.72-3) which might be indicative of the high social status enjoyed by the Lady. Lanyer also draws on conventions of estate poetry using nature as a 'synonym for the lower orders of society' (McLeod 30) to reinforce the concept of Lady Margaret's inborn superiority and celebrate her as born to dominate the land (McLeod 84-5):

The Walkes put on their summer Liveries,
And all things else did hold like similies:
The Trees with leaves, with fruits, with flowers clad,
Embrac'd each other, seeming to be glad,...
The Little Birds in chirping notes did sing,
To entertaine both You and that sweet Spring.
(ll.21-4, 29-30)

Similarly, Jonson shows the lord of Penshurst ruling nature on his estate: 'The painted partridge lies in every field / And for thy mess is willing to be killed' ('To Penshurst', ll.29-30). As a consequence, this poem reinforces patriarchal authority within the estate; Penshurst's partridges mimic the feudal duty of tenants or servants to sacrifice themselves for their lord's military cause if need be. In contrast, it can be said that Cooke-ham's birds mimic the peacetime roles of minstrels and entertainers in their 'Liveries'.⁴² Similarly, Lanyer's description of the subordination of nature to Lady Margaret indicates her high status in the society and, therefore, does not necessarily rest with Lewalski's suggestion that Cooke-ham is a 'classless

⁴² I would like to thank David Blair for the formulation of this idea.

society' (Lewalski *Jacobean* 237). The idea that Lady Margaret is superior would also support the contention that the three women in the Cooke-ham space are a reference to 'The Three Graces'. If so, then Lady Margaret is the one who would bestow grace and favour and according to Wind, '[i]n strict conformity to the Stoic idea, the giving Grace appears as the most majestic' (Wind 33).

The fictive space of Cooke-ham is a protected space without patriarchal interference as a consequence of Lady Margaret's presence as a centralized power. It might be suggested that Lanyer's deployment of the myth of Philomela illustrates a classical example of a victim of patriarchy within this protected space. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Philomela was changed into a nightingale after being raped and mutilated by Tereus (her sister Procne's husband) (230-43).⁴³ Lanyer clearly shows off her knowledge of this story, but Philomela is not just a simple representation of a victim of patriarchy. It needs to be remembered that Philomela was changed into a nightingale as a punishment after her violent challenge to the gendered roles of power; Philomela, together with her sister Procne, kill Itys (Procne's and Tereus's son and heir) in revenge for Philomela's rape and subsequent mutilation. Although this violent story was of great interest in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (J O Newman 305, 316), Lanyer suppresses Philomela's brutality calling her 'Faire *Philomela*' (l.189) picturing her singing 'her sundry leyes' (l.31), after her punishment, in the safety of the Cooke-ham space. Newman notes that Philomela's violence is also omitted by Shakespeare in a complex representation in his 'The Rape of Lucrece' (J O Newman, 307-17). Both the Philomela and Lucrece stories draw on classical references to describe victims of rape. The story of Lucrece, from early Roman history, describes Tarquin's rape of Lucrece, the wife of his friend, Collatinus, and her subsequent suicide. Lanyer makes direct reference to Lucrece's story in the 'Salve' narrative poem:

Twas Beautie made chaste *Lucrece* loose her life,
For which prowde *Tarquins* fact was so abhorr'd:
(ll.211-12)

⁴³ *Metamorphoses*, Book VI., Trans. Raeburn. All references to tales in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* refer to this edition.

Philomela is a victim because she is excluded by the lady's show of 'no pittie' (l.190) in the female space of Cooke-ham. Lady Margaret has given life to the garden and Philomela is dependent on her 'pittie' to give her life with which to sing. Without that 'pittie', Philomela turns into a sombre bird with her 'mournfull Ditty' (l.189) at the loss of the Cooke-ham space. Luckyj describes Philomela, who 'leaves her mournfull Ditty' (l.189), as a deliberate act of 'self-silencing' and 'self-negation' to elicit attention from the lady but 'yet can procure no pittie' (l.190) from her (Luckyj *Gender* 172). However, rather than read Lanyer's Philomela as an agent one may recognize her as sympathetic to the poet's sense of loss in Cooke-ham, thus displaying a female camaraderie. This theme of female solidarity can also be noted in Shakespeare's representation of a 'lamenting Philomela' ('The Rape of Lucrece', l.1079)⁴⁴ with a 'well-tuned warble of her nightly sorrow' (l.1080) to whom Lucrece turns for female solidarity as both are ravished victims:

Come, PHILOMEL, that sing'st of ravishment,
 Make thy sad grove in my dishevelled hair.
 As the dank earth weeps at thy languishment
 So I at each sad strain will strain a tear...
 (ll.1128-1131)

This is not to suggest that Lanyer's (or Shakespeare's) representation of female solidarity, as symbolized by the 'lamenting Philomela', is necessarily an expression of gendered opposition to male authority. Instead, Lanyer's symbolism can be read as a communal expression of a need for attention from the elite lady in the Cooke-ham space. The sorrowful song of Philomela in Lanyer's Cooke-ham space expresses the hurt felt by the abandoned poet. This necessary attention from the elite lady can be extended to the idea of patronage in the real world; if a writer 'can procure no pittie' (l.190) from a patron then s/he is unable to survive. Lanyer had previously used the metaphor of a sombre bird in a rhetorical act to present herself as a needy writer in her address to Queen Anne with its request for patronage:

⁴⁴ Shakespeare 'The Rape of Lucrece' in *Shakespeare's Poems*. Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen. 231-383. All subsequent references to 'The Rape of Lucrece' refer to this edition.

O let my Booke by her faire eyes be blest
In whose pure thoughts all Innocency rests...
And both reflecting comfort to my spirits,
To find their graces so much above my merits

Whose untun'd voice the doefull notes doth sing
Of sad Affliction in an humble straine;
Much like unto a Bird that wants a wing,
And cannot flie, but warbles forth her paine:
(ll.95-6, 101-2, 103-6).

Therefore, one might read Lanyer's use of the figure of Philomela in Cooke-ham in much the same way as the poet pleading for patronage in the address to the Queen. Philomela in the Cooke-ham space can be read as a metaphor to describe the uncertainties of a writer's life without patronage; a woman writer who tries but is unsuccessful in eliciting patronage from the elite because she is a victim of '[u]nconstant Fortune' (l.103).

Similarly, Lanyer's use of Ovid's story of Echo has interesting but also complex implications for her purpose in illustrating a fictive space in which a woman writer can survive. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 'Echo, the wood nymph, protected Jove by detaining Juno, his queen, in conversation whilst Jove flirted with a nymph. Echo was punished by Juno and only allowed to repeat words she heard; she was not allowed a voice of her own' (Book III 109-16). Lanyer clearly shows off her knowledge of the story of Echo; however, she uses it in a complex way. Although Ovid's story of Echo contains a mixture of revenge and sadness, Lanyer's use of the story can be read as an analogy with a woman's voice as imitator; imitation of preceding literary traditions was an expectation for Renaissance writers who wished to announce their entry into the literary world. But it must be remembered that within this fictive space Echo is an imitator of only the female voices there because there are no men in this utopia. Therefore, the Cook-ham space might be read as an imagined sanctuary where women can learn from each other and develop their own literary traditions and language with no need to imitate male voices. Nonetheless, as discussed earlier, to view women writers as essentially working in a separate sphere from their male counterparts seems to give a somewhat false impression of writers in early modern times. Clarke warns that attempts to identify a voice that is

‘unmediated [and] unequivocally female’ are unwise without contextualizing early modern women’s writing ‘bequeathed by rhetoric’ (D Clarke ‘Speaking’ 70, 74). Drawing on Clarke’s comments, Lanyer’s use of Echo can be given a different reading, whereby her confidence in expressing the possibility of the development of a unique female voice appears to be cautious. Lanyer’s employment of Echo at the end of ‘The Description of Cooke-ham’, where the unsustainable fictive space is dying, offers a poignant sentiment of loss:

Delightfull Eccho wanted to reply
To our last words, did now for sorrowe die:
(ll.199-200)

As a consequence, Echo seems to illustrate the anxiety expressed in the ambiguities of establishing an ideal coterie of women writers with a central patron who will offer suitable support for their creative aims. On the other hand, Clarke comments that Echo ‘initiates and repeats but subverts and generates’ (D Clarke ‘Speaking’ 87, 73) because she represents ‘the power of deception, the betrayal of female solidarity and flagrant disregard for social hierarchy’ (D Clarke ‘Speaking’ 77). But Lanyer refers to Echo as ‘[d]elightfull’ (l.199) although she possibly examines the concept of a lack of female solidarity in her address to the Countess of Pembroke. On the other hand, Pearson offers a more positive commentary to conclude that Lanyer shows ‘restrictions on female access to language and kill[s] off [Echo] to claim artistic autonomy’ (J Pearson “‘An Emblem’” 97).

Lanyer imagines the tree of knowledge to be situated in her female Eden as a place of repose for Lady Margaret and her daughter where knowledge is particularly gained:

But specially the love of that faire tree,
That first and last you did vouchsafe to see:
In which it pleas’d you oft to take the ayre,
With noble *Dorset*, then a virgin faire,
Where many a learned Booke was read and skand...
(ll.157-61).



Although the tree is essentially a source of virtue and knowledge, it is also witness to a curious scene which has been described in various ways by previous scholars:

To this faire tree, taking me by the hand,
You did repeat the pleasures which had past
Seeming to grieve they could no longer last.
And with a chaste, yet loving kisse tooke leave
Of which sweet kisse I did it soone bereave...
(ll.162-6)

This tree-kissing scene has been seen as a 'ludicrous joke' (Coiro 357-76) and Greenstadt has read it as evidence of a homoerotic bond between the poet and the Lady (Greenstadt 71-2). However, the trochee present in line 162 achieved by the word 'taking' (l.162) has been thought to indicate an expression of an 'emotional strain' (Coch 110). Moreover, the word 'chaste' (l.165) seems to help to discount any reference to eroticism in the idea of the kiss. Instead, the kiss should perhaps be seen as a metaphor for favours that the Lady is willing to assign elsewhere when the poet feels that she needs them. The Lady has been positioned as the main dedicatee and so the poet feels rejected and jealous that favours are dispensed where they are not required: '[s]cornning a sencelesse creature should possesse' (l.167). And so the poet has to resort to retrieving the favours opportunistically: 'Of which sweet kisse I did it soone bereave' (l.166). It seems that this metaphor describes the tensions for writers trying to attract favours from potential patrons; Furey comments that the kiss is a metaphor for the 'nature of relationships: complicated and varied, they are not stable and *cannot* be stable' (Furey 574). The instability of favours is depicted by the tree which having been favoured in time becomes 'forlorne, / To shew that nothing's free from Fortunes scorne' (ll.176-7) when the Lady leaves the Cooke-ham space. Drawing on Coch's and Furey's comments, Lanyer's scene can be seen as portraying the anxiety experienced by a woman trying to be recognized as a writer and gaining substantial favours from the elite. The favour of the kiss cannot be retained and it is easily lost, leaving no trace. Conversely, in the space of Penshurst Jonson notes, 'There, in the writhed bark, are cut the names / Of many sylvan taken with his flames' ('To Penshurst', ll.15-6). The men within the Penshurst space are able to establish

an enduring presence, achieving ‘fame and worldly recognition’ (Woods *Lanyer* 122), as exemplified by Philip Sidney: ‘That taller tree, which of a nut was set / At his great birth’ (‘To Penshurst’, ll.13-4). On the other hand, Lanyer’s scene of the insubstantial kiss suggests an exploration of the difficulty women writers felt in being recognized (that is, making their mark) as opposed to the ease with which male writers can be noticed, as expressed in Jonson’s poem. It also reveals Lanyer’s knowledge of poetic voices performing in the tradition of sixteenth-century writers who habitually offered unstable self-representations (Heale 155). Lanyer seems to express desperation in the assertion that there is power of longevity through her written word in a last-ditch attempt to improve the insubstantial favours on offer to her: ‘When I am dead thy name in this may live’ (l.206).

Anxiety in obtaining favour from the Cliffords is more directly expressed in ‘To the Ladie *Anne*...’. It seems that Lanyer offers her plea for patronage as a means for Lady Anne to fulfil her family’s dynastic tradition in supporting the poor in order to almost shame Lady Anne into supporting her:

And as your Ancestors at first possest
 Their honours, for their honourable deeds,
 Let their faire virtues never be transgrest,
 Bind up the broken, stop the wounds that bleeds,
 Succour the poore, comfort the comfortlesse...
 Yet let true worth receive your greatest grace.

So shal you shew from whence you are descended...
 So this poore worke of mine shalbe defended...
 (ll.73-77, 80-1, 85)

The metaphor of the unsustainable nature of relationships and possibilities of patronage is further explored by the temporal nature of the pastoral space of Cooke-ham. When the Lady leaves, the idyllic female space of Cooke-ham ‘retained a sad dismay’ (l.130). Nonetheless the poem, now reverting to the present tense, concentrates on describing the pathetic fallacy and resultant sad state of affairs in the fictive space of Cooke-Ham after its protector has left:

Those pretty Birds that wonted there to sing,
Now neither sing, nor chirp, nor use their wing;
But with their tender feet on some bare spray,
Warble forth sorrow, and their owne dismay.
(ll.185-88, *my emphasis*)

The apparent loss of this female Eden is heightened by angry social commentary. It may be that Lanyer has drawn on an early Jacobean trend in expressing overt social criticism in pastoral texts (C Perry 50-80). The poet offers a scathing commentary of hierarchy in order to position herself as a victim of Fortune which has forced her separation from the Lady and possible favours within the Cooke-ham space:

Unconstant Fortune, thou art most too blame,
Who casts us downe into so lowe a frame: ...
Many are placed in those Orbes of state,
Parters in honour, so ordain'd by Fate;
Neerer in show, yet farther off in love,
In which, the lowest alwayes are above.
(ll.103-4, 107-10)

Lanyer also employs explicit social comment in 'To the Ladie *Anne*...', describing hierarchy in real society as problematic when compared with God's will: 'God makes both even, the Cottage with the Throne' (l.19). Lanyer can be read as blending her comments on hierarchy with the real life situation of Lady Anne, who lost the inheritance of her northern lands in 1605:

Whose successors, although they beare his name,
Possessing not the riches of his minde,
How doe we know they spring out of the same
True stocke of honour, beeing not of that kind?
(ll.41-4)

Lanyer suggests that virtue and spirituality (not societal hierarchy) should be enough to secure Lady Anne's inheritance: 'Titles of honour which the world bestowes, / To none but to the virtuous doth belong' (ll.25-6). It is particularly striking how Lanyer uses this idea to position her book as an indispensable tool for Lady Anne. If Lady Anne cannot gain her lands she can at least be satisfied that she will gain virtue from reading Lanyer's book: 'weare this Daidem I present to thee, / ... You are the Heire apparent of this

Crowne' (ll. 63, 65). This is a somewhat presumptuous comment in view of the fact that Lady Anne devoted her whole life to trying to gain control of her inheritance. Nonetheless, the imagery Lanyer uses in the closing of 'The Description of Cooke-ham', to express a gloomy disappointment by the poet in her hope of achieving her aspirations as a creative writer, is echoed in the more optimistic opening of 'To the Ladie *Marie*....' to describe a feminine utopia.

In 'To the Ladie *Marie*....', the lady is described as 'Fast ti'd unto [the Graces] in a golden Chaine' (l.7) where the Graces 'stood, but she was set in Honors chaire' (l.8). Consequently, the lady is firmly ensconced in a place of honour in a female utopia and so cannot be removed by force, unlike the struggling poet in the Cooke-ham space. By contrast, the Cooke-ham poet explains that her destiny is fettered to Lady Margaret 'by those rich chaines' (l.210). Loughlin argues that Lanyer's setting out 'to imagine women as progressing from type to antitype with each woman in this "golden Chaine" embodying increasing perfection is to dignify the sex's spiritual capacity' and to offer a 'feminist typology' in order 'to refute some early modern misogynist assumptions about women's comparative moral and spiritual weakness' (Loughlin 139, 141). However, Lanyer's use of the imagery of a 'golden Chaine' and 'rich chaines' can also be read as a specific analysis of a writer's necessary struggle for patronage and favour. It may be that Lanyer is making another allusion to Greek mythology through this imagery. According to myth, Hera was punished by Zeus for her petulant jealousy by 'hang[ing] her on a[n unbreakable] golden chain between heaven and earth. The goddess is thus attached to the spiritual sphere ... and at the same time she is excluded from it' (Diel 174). If so, it could be read that the poet in the Cooke-ham space sees herself as chained to, and held hostage by, her dreams of patronage. Through the loss of access to a supportive literary coterie revolving around its patron (in the Cooke-ham space), and hence to possible patronage, she is prevented from achieving her aim to be a creative writer. It could also be said that the Cooke-ham poet likewise aspires to be 'set in Honors chaire' but is left bereft of that certainty and held only by her dreams of being honoured.

On the other hand, Lanyer can also be read as conflating the two concepts of Grace, as a gift of God and as a gift from a patron at the closing of 'The Description of Cooke-ham' and 'To the Ladie *Marie*...'. In 'To the Ladie *Marie*...' the imagery of 'a golden Chaine' (l.7) is reminiscent of the title of a very popular exposition of Calvinist doctrine by William Perkins, *A Golden Chain or the Description of Theology* (1590), which went through fifteen editions. Perkins is thought to be 'the most prominent Reformed theologian on the English scene in the late sixteenth century' (Muller 69). Although there is no evidence that Lanyer was aware of Perkins' treatise, his image of a golden chain tying virtuous souls to God, ensuring that they are predestined to go to heaven after death, can be seen as echoed by Lanyer's image of the golden chain that ties the Lady to the Graces in the utopian space of 'To the Ladie *Marie*...', receiving grace and favour from them and tying her to her destiny of being honoured. But, although Lady Margaret in the Cooke-ham space is a source of grace in a theological sense and offers favour: 'Grace from that Grace where perfit Grace remain'd' (l.2), the 'rich chaines' that tie the Cooke-ham poet to her are not sufficient to ensure a destiny of being honoured and favoured with patronage.

Lanyer also uses her knowledge of pastoral literary practice in 'To the Ladie *Marie*...' to further explore possibilities of creativity and the destructive concept of underlying tensions in establishing links with ideal patrons. Also in this poem, Lanyer shows off her skills in the use of the dream genre. Some poets of the seventeenth century adopted this long-established literary convention to describe a metaphorical journey of discovery or to 'dramatize a relationship' (Weidhorn 89) although it was a 'minor genre in the English Renaissance' (Weidhorn 70). However, other women also used the dream genre. For example; Elizabeth Melville used it in *Ane Godlie Dreame* (1603-1620) which was written 'at the end of the period of Middle Scots' 'in Scottish meter' to describe a journey through the underworld to reach salvation (Travitsky 'Elizabeth Melville' xiv). Ross sees Melville as an innovative women writer whose manuscript sonnets, while written in middle Scots, are clearly influenced by Sidneian sonnets (Ross). I would suggest that Lanyer also uses the concept of a dream to describe a journey of discovery. Lanyer's journey is a metaphorical journey in a female

utopian space with an 'imagined mentor' at its centre (Rienstra 83).

Admittedly, Lanyer also uses the dream genre for different purposes, as part of the speech of Pilate's wife in the 'Salve' narrative poem and in her 'To the doubtfull Reader'. This is not to imply that Lanyer was influenced by early editions of Melville's book in her construction of her address 'To the Ladie *Marie*...', but both Lanyer and Melville are clearly influenced by literary predecessors in their use of the dream genre and should be read as such.

The Countess of Pembroke was known as a much-celebrated patron at the centre of a Sidneian literary circle which has been viewed as mimetic of continental literary salons (Campbell 129). In fact, Campbell's study of some sixteenth-century pastoral texts, such as Abraham Fraunce's *The Third Part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yvychurch. Entitled, Amintas Dale...* (1592), portrays the Countess as 'surrounded by her nymphs and shepherds [which] resembles a Continental salon in pastoral or country house mode' (Campbell 134). Lanyer may have been influenced by such pastoral texts in her depiction of the lady in 'To the Ladie *Marie*...'. On the other hand, the utopia of this address, like the Cooke-ham space, may allude to descriptions of Continental literary salons. Benson asserts that Lanyer was influenced by her Italian heritage in the construction of her dedication to the Countess, conceiving of 'a multiclass canon' of women writers in England such as was already in place in the Italian literary scene (Benson 'Stigma' 164), with Sidney at its centre. In 'To the Ladie *Marie*...' Lanyer describes an idyllic space similar to that of Cooke-ham. The space in 'To the Ladie *Marie*...' is infused with elements of a traditional pastoral scene:

While beauteous *Pallas* with this Lady faire,
Attended by these Nymphs of noble fame,
Beheld those woods, those groves, those bowers rare...
(ll.105-7)

The poet-dreamer takes the reader on a journey to search 'through th' *Edalyan* Groves, / ... to a Lady whom *Minerva* chose' (ll.1, 3). At one level, this journey suggests a voyage of discovery, mimicking colonial exploration of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Here the poet-dreamer can be read as taking a journey of self-discovery to explore a newly

discovered creativity. The reader is also taken on this metaphorical journey to realize the worth of the lady and ‘To see how all the Graces sought grace here’ (l.41), which can be read as a significant echo of not only ‘The Three Graces’ but the myth of Hera and Zeus in the virtuous female space of Cooke-ham.⁴⁵

The lady in the address to Lady Marie is another example of the virtuous learned woman who is represented in ‘To all vertuous Ladies in generall’ and the space where the lady resides is an idyllic female space which can also be seen as an imagined private space away from public intrusion. It is a fictive space where the poet-dreamer can live with the lady ‘in height of all respect’ (l.4) and so derive knowledge and prestige from her because possibilities for developing her creativity exist in this private enclosed space. But the contentment within this space is brittle and the description of the lady is, in part, ambiguous. Although ‘Fast ti’d unto [the Graces] in a golden Chaine’ (l.7) within this utopia the poet-dreamer expresses a similar despondency to that experienced in the Cooke-ham space, as to whether fellowship amongst women writers can really be achieved which is also discussed in ‘To the Vertuous Reader’.⁴⁶

The utopia in ‘To the Ladie *Marie*...’ is possibly a contested space because the symbolic figure of Envy seems to be present. Envy was well known in early modern iconography and represented in emblem books with a ‘pallid visage, wasted body, oblique gaze, surrounded by snakes’ (Meskill 51). In Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, the goddess Minerva engaged the demon Envy to infect Herse’s sister, Aglauros, as a means of punishment for helping Mercury to gain the love of Herse (82-88).⁴⁷ Whilst Lanyer shows off her knowledge of the allegorical figure of Envy she also complicates this representation. Minerva had chosen to employ Envy to punish Aglauros in Ovid’s tale; conversely the poet-dreamer highlights the fact that Minerva had honoured the lady of Lanyer’s poem and therefore, Lanyer positions the lady as exceptionally gifted:

⁴⁵ See earlier discussion, p.205.

⁴⁶ See later discussion of despondency in the reality of female solidarity, p.218.

⁴⁷ *Metamorphoses*, Book II., Trans. Raeburn. All references to tales in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* refer to this edition.

And now me thought I long to heare her name,
Whom wise *Minerva* honoured so much,
Shee whom I saw was crownd by noble Fame,
Whom Envy sought to sting, yet could not tuch.
(ll.97-100)

However, it is not made clear whether Envy is firmly ensconced in the space, like the lady, or a transient visitor like the poet-dreamer. Nonetheless, the poet-dreamer stresses that Envy has no power in this utopia. Many early modern masques metaphorically indicate the defeat of Envy by either the gaze of a monarch or 'some avatar, such as "Virtue" or "Fame"' (Meskill 59). And there is the implication that the lady's virtues render Envy powerless:

Me thought the meager elfe did seeke bie waies
To come unto her, but it would not be;
Her venime purifi'd by virtues raies,
(ll.101-103)

Interestingly, the figure of Envy is employed by other writers in descriptions of the aggressive competition of the literary world. For example; Spenser's prefatory 'To His Booke' in his *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579) expresses an anxiety about the reception of his book by envious competitors:

Goe little booke: Thy selfe present...
And if that Enuie barke at thee,
As sure it will, for succoure flee...
(‘To his Booke’, q1^v, l.1, 5-6)

Similarly, Lanyer's description of the lady 'whom *Minerva* chose' ('To the Ladie *Marie*...', l.3) and '[w]hom Envy sought to sting', (l.100) can be read as suggesting that the presence of Envy is indicative of a pejorative comment on literary communities which display a competitive and tense ambience. It may be that Lanyer is also commenting on tension that can be experienced within any form of female community, pointing to a problematic concept of loyalty. It is tempting to extrapolate from this that in the real world of writers Lanyer is advocating that patronage from her famous elite women might shield a poet such as herself from envious competitive poets as they are themselves shielded. Consequently, within the metaphorically fictive female utopias of the poet-dreamer and Cooke-ham, a woman poet can thrive and reach her potential as a writer.

It is interesting to note that Jonson similarly refers to envy in 'To Penshurst', which can also be read as an indictment of the world of writers. Jonson describes a space in which the poet-*persona* is honoured only because he enjoys the support of the lord of the estate:

Without his fear, and of thy lord's own meat;
Where the same beer and bread and self-same wine
That is his lordship's shall be also mine
And I not fain to sit, as some this day
At great men's tables, and yet dine away.
Here no man tells my cups, nor, standing by,
A waiter, doth my gluttony envy,
But gives me what I call. And lets me eat;
He knows below he shall find plenty of meat. (ll.62-70)

Jonson's poet is evidently relieved that he is not like others who are 'fain to sit, as some this day / [a]t great men's tables' (ll.65-6) and are not allowed to eat. Meskill suggests that the 'lord's meat' is not just hospitality but also 'learned invention and good poetry' (Meskill 117). In other words, the 'lord's meat' not only bodily sustains the poet-*persona* but also gives him inspiration for his poetry. If he was positioned as others who have no support from the lord and not allowed to partake of favours then he would not be able to flourish. But there is envy from the waiter who the poet recognizes 'doth my gluttony envy' (l.68). It can be read that the waiter is envious that the writer can eat *with* the lord whereas he must stay 'below' to eat his share: 'He knows below he shall find plenty of meat' (l.70). Favours abound for all in that seemingly idyllic society, or at any rate for a writer who is protected from the envious by the lord, with perhaps even recognition from the king:

There's nothing I can wish for which I stay.
That found King James, when, hunting late this way'
With his brave son, the Prince...
(ll.75-7)

On the other hand, Lanyer recognizes that her poet's lack of contact with the lady results in the loss of the Cooke-ham space. Similarly, the poet-dreamer is separated from the Lady in 'To the Ladie *Marie*...' but she defiantly claims that her efforts to write will not be restrained. Morpheus has woken her and broken her dream but she says, 'Thou hast no powre my waking sprites to barre' (l.192). McBride suggests that 'Lanyer intimates

Mary Sidney's symbolic death, silencing the live Mary Sydney by placing her in a mythic heavenly landscape ... by fusing her poetic person to that of her dead brother' (McBride 'Orpheus' 94) in order to displace her (McBride 'Orpheus' 96), which carries the implication that Lanyer was envious of Sidney. However, Lanyer shapes Envy as a 'source of a self-destructive melancholy', which is typical of the early modern period (Meskill 63): 'Shee pin'd and starv'd like an Anotomie' (l.104). But typically it was also thought that to disable Envy is to turn it into 'its more positive counterpart, virtuous emulation' (Meskill 62-3). It would seem then that Lanyer does not wish the destruction of Mary Sidney but celebrates her and pleads for her support so that she can emulate her:

But here in equall sov'raigtie to live,
 Equall in state, equall in dignitie,
 That unto others they might comfort give,
 Rejoycing all with their sweet unities...

So craving pardon for this bold attempt,
 I here present my mirrour to her view,
 Whose noble virtue cannot be exempt,
 My Glasse beeing steele, declares them to be true.
 (ll. 94-7, 209-212)

Nonetheless, it can be said that 'emulation considers how it may achieve and even surpass the other's achievement' (Meskill 64). Benson also claims that Lanyer tries to emulate Sidney, as evinced by textual similarities between the Countess's translation of 'The Triumph of Death' and Lanyer's dedication to her (Benson 'Stigma' 152-63). Moreover, the physical presentation of the dedication also shows how important this address was in the book and therefore within Lanyer's probable intent to be seen as a worthy writer. The address is placed centrally in those extant books which have the full complement of dedications. It is the longest dedication (two hundred and sixteen lines) with a form not found in the other poems, ABAB rhyming quatrains with iambic pentameter. Most importantly, the title of this dedication indicates the importance of this poem to the self-construction of Lanyer as a worthy writer.

Woods reads the title, 'The Authors Dreame to the Ladie *Marie*, the Countesse Dowager of *Pembrooke*', as 'provocative' (Woods 'Vocation' 89).

She argues that women at that time were not allowed a free agency implied by the various meanings of the word ‘author’ in the seventeenth century (Woods ‘Vocation’ 83). The title of the poem very clearly shapes the poet-dreamer (by inference, Lanyer herself) as having authorial authority to write not only the poem of her dream but, by inference, her book within which the poem is contained. Moreover, the marginalia on this dedication seem to be important in Lanyer’s self-presentation. Although there are very few marginalia present in Lanyer’s book as a whole, they are used in ‘To the Ladie *Marie...*’ to offer extra clarifications. One marginal gloss is of particular interest highlighting Mary Sidney’s psalter: ‘*The Psalms written new-ly by the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke*’ (alongside ll.117-22).⁴⁸ Mary Sidney Herbert is most famous for the Sidney Psalter (started by her brother Philip). She worked on translating the Psalms into verse from 1586, after Philip’s death, until 1599. Lanyer’s marginal gloss is alongside ‘rare sweet songs which *Israels* King did frame / Unto the Father of Eternitie’ (ll.117-8), which firmly places authority for the psalms with God. However, since the use of margins as sites for advertisements was not unusual,⁴⁹ the marginal comment on the Sidney *Psalms* may be a display of admiration for Sidney’s work. Interestingly, the *Psalms* were never published in print during Mary Sidney’s lifetime; instead, they were ‘circulat[ed] widely in manuscript’ (Hannay, Kinnamon, Brennan ‘Introduction’ 22). Consequently, a printed text making reference to another text that was only available in manuscript form gives an indication how manuscript and print culture worked closely alongside each other in the early seventeenth century. Of course, there is no way to ascertain whether Simmes and/or Bonian are responsible for this marginal gloss or whether Lanyer had included it in her manuscript, although Lanyer does implicitly acknowledge the *Psalms* within her poem by referring to ‘holy Sonnets they did all agree, / With this most lovely Lady here to sing’ (ll.121-2). Most importantly, the marginal gloss and her textual reference give the impression that Lanyer is aware of,

⁴⁸ For full discussion of Sidney’s works see, Hannay, Kinnamon and Brennan ‘Introduction’ 1-77. Sidney’s *Psalms* were read in manuscript and appreciated by her contemporaries.

⁴⁹ For example, Peter Boaistuau, *Theatrum mundi* (1581) contains an inter-textual marginalium where the author appears to advertise another text that he has written: ‘I have treated of this more at large in a treatise the last yere of peace and warre’ (G3’).

and possibly had read, the *Psalmes*. She, therefore, presents herself as a member of an elite literary coterie who had access to a Sidney manuscript.

The mention of Sidney's *Psalmes* is something of a digression from the dream narrative but is obviously seen as a worthy diversion because Lanyer makes similar reference to Mary Sidney's brother, Philip, revered as a literary figure. As Mary published, promoted and completed Philip Sidney's *Psalmes*, many poets, consequently, positioned her in her brother's role as literary patron (Hannay, Kinnamon, Brennan 'Introduction' 9) and she became a central figure in the Sidney circle which 'provid[ed] something of an Anglicized version of a Continental literary circle' (Campbell 17). Trill comments that Sidneian poetics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw Mary and Philip as equal partners in the building of the Sidneian myth and it has only been in recent years that literary criticism has privileged Philip (Trill 'Psalms'). But Lanyer's mention of the Countess differs from this example, since she praises Mary in preference to her well-renowned brother: 'And farre before him is to be esteemed / For virtue, wisdom, learning, dignity' (ll.151-2). However, this apparent displacement of Philip Sidney also functions, as Suzanne Trill proposes, to 'indicate the pivotal significance of Philip's *Psalmes* for Mary Sidney's contemporary reputation' (Trill 'Spectres' 201). McBride reads the creation of a 'double life' for Mary as Lanyer celebrates the 'stellification' of her addressee (McBride 'Orpheus' 96). Other contemporary writers such as Barnabe Barnes have also been recognized similarly celebrating Mary (Alexander 97). Benson concludes that Lanyer was the 'first woman writer to pay explicit tribute to an English woman poet predecessor, the first to imitate a poem by another English woman, and the first to appeal to another English woman for literary judgement' (Benson 'Stigma' 154). It would seem that by celebrating Sidney Lanyer locates herself as a learned writer from the same sort of literary milieu where 'poetry [was] imagined as the product of an aristocratic social ethos' (Wall *Imprint* 13).

Lanyer also shows how she can tackle another genre popular in her time: the *querelle des femmes* debate. She can be seen as engaging in the pro-woman debate since her 'Eves Apologie' and 'To the Vertuous Reader' exhibit characteristics recognized as typical of the genre: 'strong first person

narration, railing tone, *ad hominem* attacks on opponents, ... allusions to historical and legendary figures' and 'rehabilitation of Eve (and the concomitant depreciation of Adam) [which] is a cornerstone of the case for the defence' of women (Benson 'Note' xiv, xvi). Whilst proto-feminist arguments may be apposite when parts of Lanyer's 'Eves Apologie' are read in terms of a twenty-first century subjectivity, in its original context Lanyer's main purpose may be to engender a greater appreciation of women and not to dismantle patriarchal constructs in seventeenth-century society. As a consequence in my survey I have categorized her book as religious rather than political. 'Eves Apologie' is indicated on the title page of the book as 'Eves Apologie in defence of Women' which is tautological; an apologia *is* a defence.⁵⁰ This title can be read as an apologia for all women and an effort to counteract the negative stereotypical label of women as daughters of Eve prevalent in early modern society. Although Lanyer had advertised in her prefatory dedications a meditation on the Passion of Christ in anticipation of the 'Salve' narrative poem, her defence of Eve is only mentioned once in the front matter (in her address to Queen Anne). In her address, 'To the Queenes...', Lanyer positions the Queen as a representative of all women, a group from which Lanyer appears to stand apart from: 'Behold, great Queene, faire *Eves Apologie*, / Which I have writ in honour of your sexe' (ll.73-4) (my emphasis). Moreover, Lanyer challenges the Queen (and by inference the general reader) to find biblical evidence that agrees with the defence of Eve against blame for the Fall of Man:

And doe referre unto your Majestie,
 To judge if it agree not with the Text:
 And if it doe, why are poore Women blam'd,
 Or by more faultie Men so much defam'd?
 (ll.75-8)

Lanyer presents herself as the creative force who sets Eve centre stage in her text. But it is Eve who presents the 'feast' of the book to the Queen. First, Lanyer shapes Eve not as the first sinner but as the fount of knowledge for succeeding generations of both men and women. Thereby Lanyer implicitly argues for women to have as much access to knowledge as men, which

⁵⁰ In classical Greek rhetoric apologia was a formal defence of a position in debate.

seems to be aimed at rehabilitating Eve's reputation by shaping her as worthy to present a 'holy work' (l.62):

And this great Lady I have here attired,
In all her richest ornaments of Honour,
That you faire Queene, of all the world admired,
May take the more delight to looke upon her:
For she must entertaine you to this Feast,
To which your Highnesse is the welcom'st guest.
(ll.79-84)

Bennett reasonably suggests that 'Eves Apologie' is a rhetorical act of digression within the most important section of Lanyer's book, the Passion narrative, in order to highlight her argument of the importance of the apology's message for all women (Bennett *Women* 199-201) and the importance of valuing the virtue in women. Lanyer adapts the apology tradition to defend Eve and reworks the Gospel story of the Passion instead of taking evidence directly from biblical sources to support her argument (as in a typical apologia). She juxtaposes men's part in the Passion of Christ with the idea of Eve's disobedience in the Garden of Eden (eating the apple from the Tree of Knowledge), presenting an exceptional argument that illustrates Eve's transgression as insignificant compared with men's villainy against Christ.

Lanyer uses Pilate's wife, who 'speakes for all' (l.834), to deliver a defence of Eve. However, as Bennett points out, Lanyer seems to express 'a multivocal plea for equality' since it is difficult to ascertain whether Pilate's wife or the poet is speaking throughout the apology (Bennett *Women* 210). But Bennett also offers a word of caution in identifying the rhetoric within such a text as 'synonymous with a speaker's tone' (Bennett *Women* 207), lending support to my argument that one cannot assume that Lanyer expresses a proto-feminist viewpoint in the text. 'Eve's Apologie' emphasizes that Eve is a victim rather than a perpetrator of a crime because she '(poore soule) by cunning was deceav'd' (l.773). Moreover, Lanyer stresses that Eve's disobedience against God was a matter of naïveté that should be excused as benefiting men from the knowledge that Eve found: 'Yet Men will boast of Knowledge, which he tooke/From *Eves* fair hand, as from a learned Booke' (ll.807-8). Moreover, Bennett suggests that Lanyer exhibits her knowledge of the application of logic as a practice of rhetoric

when Lanyer comments that if there was anyone to blame for Eve's transgression it was Adam for allowing himself to be tempted by Eve: 'Being Lord of all, the greater was his shame' (l.780) (Bennett *Women* 197).

'Eves Apologie' concludes with an emotional cry from Pilate's wife which, within the culture of gender equality of the twenty-first century, can easily be interpreted as Lanyer giving voice to a distinct tirade against female subjection. At face value, it can also be read as advocating the interrogation of patriarchal constructs in seventeenth-century society:

Then let us have our Libertie againe,
And challenge to your selves no Sov'raignitie;
You came not in the world without our paine,...
...why should you disdain
Our beeing your equals, free from tyranny?
(ll.825-7, 829-30)

Most intriguingly, the word 'againe' problematizes the idea of Lanyer's tirade asking for equality for men and women as has been argued by scholars who have emphasized Lanyer's proto-feminist credentials. Women had never achieved a 'Libertie' from men. Even in a pre-lapsarian state, Eve was described as subordinate to Adam. Lanyer's argument for better appreciation of women is not necessarily proto-feminist but can be read as influenced by the traditional Augustinian belief that 'the honour of the female sex is in the mother of Christ' (Blamires 107). With this in mind one can see that Lanyer builds an imagined female community within which Pilate's wife positions herself to defend women against the 'Sov'raignitie' (The 'Salve' narrative poem, l.826) of men. Pilate, as a representative of all men, is reminded that if he should agree to Christ's execution his sin would be far greater than Eve's transgression:

If one weake woman simply did offend,
This sinne of yours, hath no excuse, nor end.
(ll.831-2)

At face value one might read Lanyer's reference to 'one weake woman' (Eve) as an acceptance of Eve's transgression. Conversely, Lanyer's use of the word 'weake' is not pejorative towards Eve but ironic given that another woman (Pilate's wife), the speaker, is shown as being vocally robust,

whereas Pilate is given no voice to answer any of the accusations, and is rendered weak with no means of defence.

Lanyer can also be read as using her Augustinian argument in 'To the Vertuous Reader' (Woods *Poems* 48-50).⁵¹ She appeals for a better appreciation of women rather than any dismantling of seventeenth-century society. As in 'To the Ladie *Marie*...', 'The Description of Cooke-ham' and the 'Salve' narrative poem, Lanyer does not address the reality of women's experiences in seventeenth-century England but instead, she conjures images of stereotypical virtue in women. 'To the Vertuous Reader' is addressed to the general reader, positioning Lanyer's book as an aid for an imagined female community of 'all virtuous Ladies / and Gentlewomen of this kingdome' (ll.6-7) and her dedicatees, described as 'some particular persons of our owne sexe' (l.8). Moreover, Lanyer attributes to all female readers of her book the ability to 'cherish, nourish, and increase the least sparke / of virtue where they find it' (ll.59-60) and rather to improve the book with 'favourable and best inter- / pretations, than quench it by wrong constructions' (ll.60-1). By this, Lanyer shapes herself in typical guise as an early modern writer who 'wanted readers to measure their reactions' (Dobranski 39) and improve the texts they were reading whilst guiding their responses (Pask 10, 33).

It seems that in 'To the Vertuous Reader' Lanyer deliberately excludes the male reader from benefiting from the main purpose of her book. Nevertheless, the appeal for a better understanding of the value of women still speaks to the male reader. Lanyer produces a seductive argument that men should behave like Christ, realize women's worth and respect them. Consequently, the female reader is also helped to deepen her understanding of a positive woman role model (Virgin Mary) and an acceptance by God:

...it pleased our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, without the assistance of man,... to be begotten of a woman, borne of a woman, nourished of a woman, obedient to a woman (ll.40-1, 43-5)

On the other hand, Lanyer problematizes the concept of loyalty within a female community as fictively imagined in the Cooke-ham space and the

⁵¹ All subsequent references to this piece are to this edition.

dream utopia.⁵² In 'To the Vertuous Reader', Lanyer distances herself from women who are disloyal to other women and who are 'in danger to be condemned by the words of / their owne mouthes, fall into so great error, as to speake / unadvisedly against the rest of their sexe' (ll.13-5). Nevertheless, despite, and possibly because, Lanyer anticipates that a male reader might read the book she saves her rancour for men:

who forgetting they were borne of women...doe like
Vipers deface the wombes wherein they were bred,
onely to give way and utter-ance to their want of
discretion and goodnesse.
(ll.19-20, 22-4)

Lanyer sets herself centre-stage within an ideal female community who defend themselves against criticism by men: 'Therefore *we* are not to regard / any imputations, that they undeservedly lay upon *us*' (ll.26-7, my emphasis). The female reader is led to infer that Lanyer also locates herself within a community of women from biblical sources of 'divers faithfull and virtuous / women' (ll.51-2) named earlier in the address. At the same time, the male reader is encouraged to feel remorse for past transgressions against women. Clarke comments that all of the women named by Lanyer were victims of unjustified vilification by men and were often cited in contemporary literature (D Clarke 'Aemilia Lanyer' 373: n34-51):⁵³

...God himselfe, who gave power to wise and virtuous
women, to bring downe their pride and arrogancie. As
was cruell *Cesarus* by the discreet counsel of noble
Deborah, Judge and Prophetesse of Israel:
(ll.31-4)

Such deferential commentary supports the idea that Lanyer is partaking in the pro-woman style of the *querelle des femmes* debate which often alluded to historical and legendary figures (Benson 'Note' xiv). This address seems

⁵² See commentary on the textual analysis of Echo in 'The Description of Cooke-ham', pp. 200-1 and Envy in 'To the Ladie Marie...', pp.208-11.

⁵³ Clarke details Lanyer's examples of biblical women who were victims of patriarchy in their society: n34-5, Deborah, 'Deborah and Barak delivered Israel from the oppression of Sisera (*Judges* 4:10-17)'; n36, Jael, 'Sisera fled to Jael's tent ... while he was sleeping she killed him (*Judges* 4:21)'; n37-8, Esther, 'Esther protected her people and had their enemy Haman hanged (*Esther* 5-7)'; n37-8, Judith, 'Judith's decapitated Holofernes to save her people from Nebuchadnezzar's army ... in the Apocryphal Book of Judith 13'; n40, Susanna, 'Susanna was accused of sexual incontinence by two men ... the slander was discovered by Daniel who had them put them to death (Apocryphal Book of Susanna)'; n50-1, 'Mary Magdalene who was the first woman with another woman called Mary, to see Christ after his resurrection (Matthew 28:1-17).'

to be a fundamental part of Lanyer's prefatory material in offering a pro-woman discourse.

If Lanyer's purpose was to advocate the importance of cohesive female solidarity then one might not be surprised that this gendered project would be evident in the language she used. Therefore, given Lanyer is probably influenced by literary predecessors it is reasonable to speculate that she might employ some kind of feminine poetic as has been argued by some scholars. Quilligan points out in her study of Spenserian poetic form that feminine rhymes (endings with final unstressed syllables) were used 'for specific feminine contexts' (Quilligan 318). Furthermore, Quilligan notes in her study of the *Old Arcadia* that Sidney 'uses feminine rhyme to articulate the patriarchal chaos at the heart of the plot' (Quilligan 313) and 'political upset' (Quilligan 315). In addition, Mueller notes that Lanyer's verses 'abound in feminine endings across a variety of stanzaic forms' but does not specify examples (Mueller 'Feminist Poetics' 107). Pearson suggests that the eleven pairs of feminine rhymes in 'The Description of Cooke-ham' may reflect 'the plangent tone' but one might argue that such a small number of pairs of rhymes in a poem of 210 lines of rhyming couplets is insufficient to be labelled as 'an instrument of the poem's radical sexual politics' (J Pearson "'An Emblem'" 98). However, if Pearson is correct in assuming that feminine rhymes were used to express comments on sexual politics, then one might speculate that the sections in Lanyer's text that have been labelled as proto-feminist may well contain some. However, in the 'Salve' narrative poem, certain key elements in 'Eves Apologie' do not contain feminine rhymes, for example, 'But surely *Adam* can not be excused, / Her fault though great, yet hee was most to blame' (ll.777-8). Moreover, the so-called feminisation of the crucified Christ is not particularly illuminated by feminine rhyme: 'His harmlesse hands unto the Crosse they nailed, / And feet that never trode in sinners trace' (ll.1153-4). Although I would agree that many of the feminine rhymes express positive qualities and those expressing negative qualities are associated with the male tormentors of Christ (J Pearson "'An Emblem'" 98), Pearson's comments that Lanyer uses eighty-two pairs or triplets of feminine rhymes in 2660 lines in the whole book (J Pearson "'An Emblem'" 98) again does not seem to offer enough

evidence to support the contention that Lanyer was 'struggling to devise a specifically female language in contrast to the male-dominated forms she had inherited' (J Pearson "An Emblem" 98). Instead, given the sporadic usage of feminine rhymes, it would seem that we can never know if Lanyer was even conscious of using any or whether she was aiming to produce some kind of feminine language. On the other hand, Clarke quite rightly comments that searching for evidence of an exclusively feminine voice is a flawed process (D Clarke 'Speaking' 70); early modern women did not write in a different literary sphere to their male counterparts and like any other early modern writer they sought to imitate eminent predecessors. Therefore, bearing Clarke's contention in mind, if Lanyer did deliberately use feminine rhymes it might be argued that, converse to Pearson's conclusion, Lanyer struggled to imitate poetic forms she had inherited from eminent male literary predecessors. In fact, Lanyer's whole book shows evidence of influences from established literary and religious conventions, especially in her shaping of her readers. Therefore it cannot be proven that Lanyer's text is proto-feminist in its content or language. Instead her venture into the *querelle des femmes* debate in producing pro-women texts might be seen as part of her project of presenting herself as a writer who is adept enough to tackle more than one genre. However, as shown in my survey, most of the printed writings by women were of a religious nature and Lanyer's book, whilst different from other women's work in its subject matter, is primarily a book to aid devotional practice.

Lanyer's Readers as Brides of Christ

'Self-annihilation' was an important motif in the performance of the preaching by both men and women (Mack *Visionary Women* 173). Hence, it is unsurprising that symbolic language was employed to couch and mask the process of self-presentation (Mack *Visionary Women* 174), and the *Song of Songs* was often employed by women writers for this purpose. This language was customary in medieval meditation verse. Woolf comments that the use of language drawn from the *Song of Songs* to describe Christ as 'bridegroom-husband' or 'knight-lover' was prevalent in portraying Christ in meditative verse written in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

(Woolf 58, 188) At the beginning of the seventeenth century the erotic language of the *Song of Songs* was used as a 'divine alternative to the love lyrics in the popular miscellanies'. Stewart asserts that there was '[b]y the beginning of the seventeenth century [a] reaction against licentiousness of secular lyrics ... Competition developed between the songs of the courtly lover and the lyrics of Solomon and David' (Stewart 3).⁵⁴

Previous scholars have emphasized that Lanyer uses the eroticized language of the *Song of Songs* in anticipation of a female reader who is advised to build her relationship with Christ and to see herself as part of a virtuous female community of readers by employing the idea of the parable of the five wise and five foolish virgins, with Christ as bridegroom.⁵⁵ At some points this makes the address, 'To all vertuous Ladies in generall' read like a prescriptive behavioural guide:

Put on your wedding garments every one,
The bridegroome staves to entertaine you all;
Let Virtue be your guide...('To all vertuous Ladies in generall' ll.8-10).

Lanyer also promotes advancement in learning and creativity for the virtuous lady who reads her book, drawing on a traditional association between wisdom and artistic creation and going on to align female virtue (primarily sexual virtue) with female wisdom by invoking the idea of the Muses (Cuddon 560)⁵⁶ as companions of *Pallas* (Greek version of Minerva), again in the apparent guise of a prescriptive behavioural guide. There is also an implication that the community of the nine named individuals who are addressed in the dedications are equated with the learned female community of the Muses:

⁵⁴ Stewart also writes, with reference to comments by George Withers who wrote *The Hymnes and Songs of the Church* (1623) '[b]ecause its subject matter was both historical and relevant, the *Song of Songs* in particular was vitally pertinent to the daily life of the reader. As for its eroticism, this quite properly stimulated the human affections'.

⁵⁵ *Matthew* 25: 1-13. The parable tells us that the five wise virgins filled their lamps with oil waiting for the bridegroom and were admitted to the wedding feast. However, the five foolish virgins had no oil and were not admitted. The message of the parable is a reminder to always be prepared for the coming of Christ and concentrate on being pious. Lanyer reinforces this message with: 'fill your Lamps with oyle of burning zeale' (l.13).

⁵⁶ Cuddon describes the Muses: 'nine Greek goddesses who were the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne (or Memory). Each presided over one activity or art: Calliope, Epic poetry; Clio, history; Erato, love poetry; Euterpe, lyric poetry; Melpomene, tragedy; Polyhymnia, songs of praise to the gods; Terpsichore, dancing; Thalia, comedy; Urania, Astronomy.' Traditionally a poet requested one of the Muses to help him in writing.

And let the Muses your companions be
Those scared sisters that on *Pallas* wait;
Whose Virtues with the purest minds agree,
Whose godly labours doe avoid the baite
Of worldly pleasures, living alwaies free...
(ll 29-33)

Lanyer encourages the reader to feel part of that learned female community (like the Muses) as long as virtue is her guide (like the wise virgins):

Gods holy Angels will direct your Doves,
And bring your Serpents to the fields of rest,...
Where worthy Ladies I will leave you all,...
 In generall tearmes, to place you with the rest,
 Whom Fame commends to be the very best.
(ll.57-8, 71, 76-7)

Most importantly, Lanyer shows that the virtuous female reader has as much right to 'grace this little Booke' (l.72) as the elite women she addresses by name. Some of these named women are also invited to seek union with the Divine as they deserve and, by implication, the anonymous female reader can do the same. In the address to Lady Arabella, the addressee is encouraged to imagine that Christ 'might imbrace/[Her] beauteous Soule, and fill it with his grace' (ll.13-4). Moreover, Christ is shaped as a 'faire Bridegroom' in the address to Lady Susan:

Receive your Love whom you have sought so farre,
Which heere presents himselfe within your view;...
Take this faire Bridegroom in your soules pure bed.
(ll.37-8, 42)

Snook suggests that Lanyer uses erotic language in presenting Christ as the beloved in order to 'excuse female desire' (Snook 125). At face value this suggestion may seem reasonable. When addressing Lady Katherine, Lanyer reminds her addressee that in the private practice of meditation on Christ, which can be precipitated by reading Lanyer's book, women will see Christ as someone '[i]n whom is all that Ladies can desire' (l.85). In doing so Lanyer advertises the worth of her book:

And unto you I wish those sweet desires,
That from your perfect thoughts doe daily spring,
Increasing still pure, bright, and holy fires,
Which sparkes of pretious grace, by faith doe spring...
(ll.103-6)

Lanyer also develops the idea of Christ desired in a private space in ‘To the Ladie *Lucie*...’. However, it is curious that Lanyer did not construct this address with some kind of recognisable allusion to the Countess of Bedford’s reputation as an eminent patron of Donne and Jonson amongst others (Payne 171-77).⁵⁷ Lucy, Countess of Bedford was known to have received far more dedications from writers than any other woman other than royalty (O’Connor ‘Letters’). It might be speculated that Lanyer concentrated on possible knowledge that Lady Lucy used to ‘engage in poetic competition with her clients’ (Parry ‘Patronage’ 182), since Lanyer exercises considerable skill in drawing on the Countess’s role as a principal lady-in-waiting of the Queen’s bedchamber (Payne 171-77) to construct an address suggesting the advantages of reading the *Salve* book in a female private space such as a bedchamber. Sasha Roberts has commented that women read in private female spaces; for example, the bed chamber which was used by the wealthy woman for ‘sitting, working, reading or writing in comfort and warmth’ (S Roberts ‘Shakespeare’ 34). Lanyer draws on these ideas of private reading in her address to Lady Lucy, to position her book as the ‘key of Knowledge’ (l.3) in the hand of ‘faire Virtue’ (l.1) that will help her addressee to deepen her relationship with Christ. Lanyer asserts that her book affords a freedom in which the reader can gain more knowledge about Christ within a private space. Moreover, Lanyer conjures the idea that Christ can be invited (through reading the ‘Salve’ narrative poem,) into the reader’s private interiority:

Key of that Cabbine where your selfe doth rest,
 To let him in, by whom her youth was blest
 The true-love of your soule, your hearts delight,
 Fairer than all the world in your cleare sight...

Where your faire soule may sure and safely rest,
 When he is sweetly seated in your brest’
 (ll.4-7, 20-1).

Miller compares Lanyer’s ‘sexualization of Christ as bridegroom’ with that of Donne’s, concluding that Lanyer, as a woman, ‘comfortably

⁵⁷ Lady Lucy Countess of Bedford (d.1627) was the wife of Edward Russell, Earl of Bedford.

conjoin[s] the erotic and the spiritual' providing the woman reader with Christ as a reliable lover compared with the men who perpetrated Christ's death (Miller '(M)other Tongues' 160). On the other hand, the use of erotic language to describe Christ does not necessarily suggest that the writer, or indeed the reader (male or female), yearns for the satisfaction of physical desire with Christ. Both Lanyer's and Donne's texts can be read as drawing on the traditions of medieval Christocentric piety wherein a craving for union with the Saviour enables the devotee to lose a sense of her/himself in the Divine.⁵⁸ Their texts can be read as displaying a spiritual yearning but not a simple expression of physical desires: for example, Donne focuses on a spiritual reshaping and rescue by God in 'Batter my heart'.⁵⁹ Donne describes his soul's relationship with God, the bridegroom to Donne's soul. Donne asks God to 'ravish' his soul away from Satan: 'Take me to you, imprison me, for I / Except you enthrall me, never shall be free, / Nor even chaste, except you ravish me' ('Batter my heart', ll.12-4). Schoenfeldt concludes that the violence conjured up by Donne 'invades heterosexual eroticism in a patriarchal culture as a measure of the absolute submission his God demands of him' (Schoenfeldt 'Gender' 228). Furthermore, Guibbory comments that Christ as heavenly spouse might have 'strongly subversive implications [rejecting] the symbolic authority of husbands', particularly since King James had promulgated the notion that he was a husband to his people (Guibbory 204). However, Lanyer does not seem to concentrate on a negative idea of submission to Christ as part of some kind of proto-feminist argument. Instead, it can be argued that Lanyer conventionally employs the figure of Christ as the quasi-lover because 'in the tradition of lovers, representing patrons, he is the ideal Lord' (Longfellow *Women* 84), and concentrates on the redemption derived from a yearned-for spiritual union with the Divine for male and female. Consequently, one would agree with Longfellow who points out that Lanyer portrays Christ as representing 'a fluidly gendered, utterly desirable virtue which [she] both presents as a gift to her patrons and urges them to emulate in their own lives' (Longfellow

⁵⁸ For more details of medieval Christocentric piety see Chewning 129.

⁵⁹ *The Complete English Poems of John Donne*. Ed. C.A. Patrides. All subsequent references to and quotations from Donne's poetry refer to this edition.

Women 84) aided by reading her text. Interestingly, those dedications that particularly refer to the eroticisation of Christ's relationship (addressed to Ladie Katherine and Ladie Lucie) are not present in the Chapin Library copy of Lanyer's book (Woods 'Textual Introduction' xlviii).⁶⁰ If this copy was a presentation copy for Thomas Jones, Archbishop of Dublin, as has been suggested, it may be that these dedications were excluded as their contents were thought to be unpalatable to him. Equally, it may be that a subsequent owner requested the exclusion. Nonetheless, sections of the 'Salve' narrative poem clearly position Lanyer's main dedicatee, as the ideal bride of Christ: 'Still reckoning him, the Husband of thy Soule' (ll.253). One central character in her Passion narrative is the Virgin Mary, by convention the perfect bride of Christ.

Protestants were hostile to the shaping of Christ's mother by Catholics as having an 'exceptional status' on a par with God (Dolan 104). This controversy, as Dolan has shown, had the effect of making 'more widespread construction of maternal power as a problem' (Dolan 107). Lanyer cannily positions the Virgin Mary as a 'co-redemptrix' (Kuchar 47), rather than endowing her with a powerful maternal identity, to argue for a greater appreciation of female virtue. However, Lanyer resists shaping the Virgin Mary in her role as co-redeemer with a Catholic ideology which elevates her status to equal to God and so avoids any possible accusations of alluding to the iconography of the Virgin Mary. Arguably Lanyer can be seen to draw on Marian traditions, in the 'Salve' narrative poem, in order to describe an exemplary woman of virtue (the Virgin):

That thou a blessed Virgin shouldst remaine,
Yea that the holy Ghost should come on thee...
 Making thee Servant, Mother, Wife, and Nurse
 To Heavens bright King, that freed us from the curse.
(ll.1081-2, 1087-8)

Lanyer first calls the Virgin Mary 'Servant' (l.1087) to God, then in typically stereotypical female subjectivities of early modern culture as 'Mother, Wife, and Nurse' (l.1087). The Virgin is positioned in an appropriately modest role

⁶⁰ This information was confirmed by Wayne Hammond.

as enabling the delivery of Mankind from the 'curse' of original sin. She is an exemplary, grieving woman in Lanyer's community of mourning women.

As discussed earlier, the suggestion is not that Lanyer's depiction of a female community of mourners is part of some proto-feminist argument to describe closeness with Christ to the exclusion of men. Instead, Lanyer is entirely conventional in focusing on the mourning women at Calvary and, like Calvin, she highlights the sinful actions of the male perpetrators (Longfellow *Women* 88-9):

The Thieves attending him on either side, The Serjeants watching, while the women cr'd.	<i>The teares of the daugh- ters of Ieru- salem.</i>
Thrice happy women that obtaind such grace From him whose worth the world could not containe; (ll.967-70)	

Lanyer goes on to develop further her concept of female virtue through her depiction of Christ's mother as mourner (the concept of the *Mater Dolorosa*) which she draws from typical Marian iconography.⁶¹ Lanyer uses this traditional Marian imagery and juxtaposes it with that of the suffering Christ. Hence, the suffering of Christ is mirrored by the anguish experienced by his mother with the 'daughters of Jerusalem':

<i>The sorrow of the virgin Marie</i>	His woefull Mother wayting on her Sonne, All comfortlesse in depth of sorrow drowned; Her griefes extream, although but new begun, To see his bleeding body oft shee swooned; How could shee choose but thinke her selfe undone, (ll.1009-13)
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Kuchar concludes that Lanyer 'empower[s] women as agents of an empathic Christ whom Mary parallels through her physical and spiritual suffering' (Kuchar 62). Although the reader (both female and male) can develop a closer relationship with their God by being carried along by the sentiment expressed in Lanyer's story-telling, it is not entirely clear that the female reader is generally empowered to articulate herself through reading Lanyer's text.

⁶¹ For a full discussion on Marian iconography and the concept of the *Mater Dolorosa*, see Warner 206-23.

Lanyer highlights a natural affinity of the mourning women with Christ, whose body is broken and whose voice is silent. Christ's silence has been defined as evidence of Christ as the 'ideal woman' in Puritan manuals (Mueller 'Feminist Poetics' 112) and Coles reads Lanyer's Christ as an 'impoverished, marginalized, and subordinate figure ... shar[ing] an experience common to women' (Coles 'Social Rank' 160). However, Longfellow points out that Lanyer never explicitly portrays Christ as feminized but instead offers a conventional depiction of a submissive and gentle Christ 'who came to represent Protestant victimhood glorified in the act of sacrifice' (Longfellow *Women* 84-5). One could also argue that if Lanyer specifically aimed at portraying a feminized Christ she might have imitated medieval precedents such as Julian of Norwich who presents Jesus as mother and nurturer: 'Jesus is our very moder, not fedyng us with mylke but with himselfe, opening his side onto us and chalengyng al our love' (preamble to Chapter 60) (Julian 97). Instead, Lanyer chooses to depict Christ as the ideal bridegroom. Moreover, Lanyer's depiction of Christ standing before his accusers does not show him acting with an ideal feminine or a submissive demeanour. Lanyer indicates that Christ's silence is, in fact, an act of defiance:

...whom greatest Princes could not moove

To speake one word, nor once to lift his eyes
 Unto proud *Pilate*, no nor *Herod*, king;
 By all the Questions that they could devise,
 Could make him answeare to no manner of thing;
 (ll.976-80)

Lanyer can be seen as underlining the fact that while no males could move Christ the mourning women could elicit a response from Him, emphasizing their affinity with Him: 'Yet these poore women, by their piteous cries / Did moove their Lord, their Lover, and their King' (ll. 981-2). Consequently, Lanyer's female reader is encouraged to locate herself within this same community of female mourners, alongside the perfect bride of Christ, the Virgin Mary. The pious female reading this poignant description of Christ's Passion can become emotionally absorbed in the story and enticed by the promise that her 'tearefull eyes' (l.988) will also ensure that she realizes her innate closeness with her God and He will become her beloved:

Most blessed daughters of Jerusalem,
Who found such favour in your Saviors sight,
To turne his face when you did pitie him;
Your tearefull eyes, beheld his eies more bright;
(ll.985-8)

Hence, Lanyer also defends a female reader's right to express grief when reading the 'Salve' narrative poem, mourning with the female community depicted. Such a reading practice, for both male and female, would be more akin to the emotion of late medieval affective piety than the restrained sentiment recommended in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Hodgson 103). By contrast, Lanyer positions the male reader to feel guilt and sorrow about his gender's participation in the Passion. He is left to feel an affinity with Pilate as the voiceless male and required to identify with Christ's executioners, a position which devotionally would have been deeply uncomfortable. Consequently, a male reader has been in a significant way disempowered whilst the female reader can locate herself within an imagined female community, as exemplified by Lady Margaret, to protect Christ: 'And all your prayers, and your almes-deeds / May bring to stop his cruell wounds that bleeds' (ll.1335-6). On the one hand, like Calvin, Lanyer's focus on the mourning women at Calvary highlights the sinful actions of the male perpetrators (Longfellow *Women* 88-9). But on the other hand, it does seem that Lanyer suggests that good works ('almes-deeds') could bring relief to Christ, a means to gain grace at odds with Calvinism.

Lanyer's notion of the 'daughters of Jerusalem' is probably drawn from the *Song of Songs*, where these women were companions of the Bride and Bridegroom: 'I charge you, o daughters of Ierusalem If you finde my welboued, that you tel him that I am sick of love' (*Geneva Bible, Song of Songs* V:8).⁶² In the *Geneva Bible*, this line is glossed with, 'She asketh of them which are godlie ... that thei wolde direct her to Christ', where 'she' is the true church searching for Christ. With this gloss in mind, Lanyer's 'speaking picture' of the female community of daughters has been read as offering an unofficial church of women (White 335) as a gendered alternative to the male apostles whom Catholics and Anglicans believed to

⁶² All subsequent references to *Song of Songs* are to the *Geneva Bible*.

be the forefathers of the Church, with a succession through the Bishops, although Puritans thought that the apostles who had first-hand knowledge of Christ were the only true antecedents of the Church. Nonetheless, Lanyer may be just simply describing a closeness with Christ, reminding the female reader that it was the 'Maries', according to the gospels according to Matthew and Mark, who intended to embalm Christ's body and found that he had risen from the dead. Lanyer blends the idea of these 'Maries' as representatives of women with that of Christ's wife as 'holy Church':

The *Maries* doe with pretious balmes attend,
But being come, they find it to no end.

For he is rize from Death t' Eternall Life,
And now those pretious oyntments he desires
Are brought unto him, by his faithfull Wife
The holy Church; who in those rich attires,
Of Patience, Love, Long suffering, Voide of strife,
Humbly presents those oyntments he requires...
(ll.1287-1294)

By contrast, Bowen suggests a proto-feminist message in describing a female affinity with the crucified Christ. She suggests that Lanyer renders the typically masculine discourse of the Passion ineffective through 'Eves Apologie' which shapes the narrative as 'an imaginative restoration of the bodily integrity of women' (Bowen 'Rape of Jesus' 124) by putting 'pressure on the meaning of the crucifixion' (Bowen 'Rape of Jesus' 109). Bowen reads the last lines of the speech of Pilate's wife ('This sinne of yours, hath *no excuse, nor end*', l.832, my emphasis) as a direct echo of the end of a line in Shakespeare's 'The Rape of Lucrece' where Tarquin considers whether or not to rape Lucrece, the wife of his friend Collatinus (Bowen 'Rape of Jesus' 111):

Had COLLATINUS killed my son or sire,
Or lain in ambush to betray my life,
Or were he not my dear friends, this desire
Might have excuse to work upon his wife,
As in revenge or quittal of such strife.
But as he is my kinsman, my dear friend,
The shame and fault finds no excuse nor end.
(my emphasis, ll.232-8).

Moreover, Bowen extrapolates the use of the words, 'no excuse nor end', as Lanyer speaking 'Lucrece's part ... free[ing] the discourse of rape from the masculinist rhetoric of display' (Bowen 'Rape of Jesus' 112) endowing Christ crucified by male tormentors with an affinity with the raped female. Certainly, in the 'Salve' narrative poem Lanyer portrays Christ as a victim of male tormentors:

When spightfull men with torments did oppresse
Th'afflicted body of this innocent Dove,
(ll.993-4).

In her address to Lady Katherine, Lanyer depicts the beauty of Christ: 'If Beauty, who hath bin more faire than he?' (l.86) and draws the reader to notice men were the perpetrators of crimes against beautiful and virtuous women, for example, Lucrece. However, Bowen's speculative argument, which seems to be entirely informed by a feminist line of reasoning, is unconvincing. If Lanyer was attempting to portray the concept of rape as a metaphor of the patriarchal subjection of women, mirrored by the crucifixion of Christ, then it would be reasonable to expect more textual references to texts such as 'The Rape of Lucrece'. It may be that Lanyer had read Shakespeare's text, although it can never be proved and certainly not on the basis of Lanyer's use of the same four words. Lanyer does not shape the mourning women in her text or the woman reader as having an affinity with the crucified Christ because she offers a critique of an 'invocation of rape [which] contributes to and extends an existing dialogue on the eroticism of the passion' (Bowen 'Rape of Jesus' 121). Instead, Lanyer's focus is on developing a sense of feminine virtue throughout the book rather than female vulnerability to male subjection, and she draws on this virtue to portray a feminine affinity with Christ as a women's natural tendency to yearn for Him as their beloved.

Analysis of Lanyer's focus on the beauty of the crucified and risen Christ, both expressed and implied, creates an understanding of her text as a typical early modern-day devotional meditation on Christ's Passion. Lanyer describes the visceral nature of Christ's agony on the cross in order to evoke more sympathy for Christ and a sense of guilt as perpetrator, informed both

by medieval Catholic narratives (Longfellow *Women* 72) and also by Calvinist traditions (Coles 'Social Rank' 155). As Woolf suggests, the idea of presenting Christ as a beloved who suffers was 'the cornerstone of the Middle English Passion lyrics and of the Latin tradition of meditation lying behind them' (Woolf 21) and used 'so that horror is instantly transformed into compassion' (Woolf 232). Meditation in medieval pious practice also involved a desire to receive corporeal suffering to provide a deeper understanding of Christ's Passion as in, for example, Julian of Norwich's expression of Christocentric piety. By contrast, Protestant theology of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not emphasize the need to experience corporeal pain to achieve piety during meditation on Christ's Passion in such vivid detail (Crawford *Religion* 12).

In shaping her book as an aid to meditation on Christ's Passion Lanyer offers a taster of the narrative that follows in her address to Lady Katherine:

Here may they see him in a flood of teares
Crowned with thornes, and bathing in his blood;
Here may they see his feares exceed all feares...
(ll.61-3)

Interestingly, this address is missing in the V&A (before interference), BL and Chapin Library copies of Lanyer's book (Woods 'Textual Introduction' xlviⁱⁱⁱ)⁶³ although it is unlikely to have been deliberately excluded because of the suggestion of visceral description of the Passion, which is anyway developed further in the 'Salve' narrative poem. The visceral details employed by Lanyer describe the image of the king of the Jews of the title of the book just before his death:

His joynts dis-joynted, and his legges hang downe,
His alabaster brest, his bloody side,
His members torne, and on his head a Crowne
Of sharpest Thornes,
(ll.1161-4)

⁶³ The missing dedication is confirmed by Wayne Hammond who has said that it is not possible to distinguish if it is 'wanting, censored or cancelled' because of subsequent binding.

Woods comments that 'Catholic language tends to be tropic, with symbols and extended metaphors, while Protestant language tends to be schematic ... its passion in repetition' (Woods *Lanyer* 129). As a consequence, Woods goes on to observe that Lanyer's use of language to describe Christ is 'more insistently physiological than we might expect from a Protestant poet' (Woods *Lanyer* 129). However, labelling Lanyer as making an atypical use of language in describing the Passion may be somewhat simplistic. It is known that in sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century English devotional texts often exhibited residual Catholic tropic language; later Calvinist reformers drew on visceral details of Catholic tradition in depiction of the Passion (Longfellow *Women* 72). Moreover, it should be recognized that in Lanyer's day, even within the Catholic community, there were 'pluralities' in devotional belief and 'early modern Catholics opposed Protestants and variously shared common ground with them' (Miola 38). Nonetheless, Longfellow concludes that Lanyer's focus on the physicality of Christ's passion is probably drawn from her Italian Catholic heritage and Protestant faith to offer her readers 'a tortured Calvinist Christ and the beautiful Saviour of medieval Catholics' (Longfellow *Women* 72). It has also been argued that Lanyer uses the rhetorical device of blazon by itemizing the parts of the body of Christ as an object of desire in order to legitimize female physical desire (Snook 125) and position him as a Petrarchan beloved: 'Lanyer assumes the Petrarchan mode of commodification and display in order to circulate the body of Christ to other Christian women [thereby expressing] her own desires for authorial recognition and patronage' (Coles 'Social Rank' 162). Nonetheless, the early modern use of eroticized language cannot reasonably be explained as an expression of physical desire. It would seem, therefore, that Lanyer's description of Christ's broken body can be read as an adept mimicking of blazon procedure in order to evoke anguish in the pious reader and highlight Christ as an object of spiritual, not physical, desire.

Early modern use of the blazon convention can be read as an exploration and expression of male physical desire. The female body is itemized from the head down to the erogenous zones and to the feet by the

male gaze. A prime example of this technique is displayed in Philip Sidney's 'What tongue can her perfections tell':⁶⁴

Her hair fine threads of finest gold...
The lovely clusters of her breasts...
There oft steals out that round clean foot...
(‘What tongue’, ll.3, 53, 105).

By contrast, Lanyer clearly reverses the direction of the blazon in her description of Christ. She starts with ‘His joints dis-joynted, and his legges hang downe’ (l.1161) and ends with ‘his head a Crowne / Of sharpest Thorns’ (ll.1163-4). It might be suggested from Lanyer’s itemizing of Christ’s body from feet to his head that the view point is taken from the foot of the cross. Nonetheless, it can equally be suggested that by concluding her gaze on his body at his ‘Crowne’ (l.1163) Lanyer emphasizes Christ as God who is ‘King of kings’ (‘To the Ladie *Katherine*...’, 1.42). Thus Lanyer stresses that Christ deserves veneration as the King of Heaven rather than as a man and an object of physical desire. However, Lanyer provides a vivid description of the viscerality of the Crucifixion of Christ that would probably increase her book’s value as a meditative aid for the pious reader. Moreover, Lanyer’s use of visceral imagery is comparable with contemporary passion poetics by Donne, for example,

Tears in his eyes quench the amazing light,
Blood fills his frowns, which from his pierced head fell...
(‘What if this present were the world’s last night’, ll.5-6)

Woolf explains that ‘seventeenth-century poets show the poet meditating’ (Woolf 6), for example, Donne expresses a desire to identify with Christ’s suffering which is typical in devotional texts which ‘exhort their readers to gaze at Christ’s body, not merely to feel sorrow for his suffering but to contemplate their own sin’ (Longfellow *Women* 72). Donne does this in atonement for his responsibility for Christ’s death:

Spit in my face you Jews, and pierce my side,
Buffet, and scoff, scourge, and crucify me...
(‘Spit in my face you Jews’, ll.1-2)

⁶⁴ Sidney. *The Major Works including Astrophil and Stella*. Ed. Duncan-Jones 134-7. All subsequent references to this text are to this edition and are abbreviated to ‘What tongue’.

However, Lanyer does not present herself as the meditating poet; instead she maintains an ethereal presence within her narrative poem. By this means Lanyer heightens the emotive impact of her Passion narrative on the reader, in a way which is more typical of medieval writers, who ‘provided versified meditations which others may use’ (Longfellow *Women* 6). Lanyer’s conjuring of the imagery of the abject physical degradation that Christ endured compared with the beauty of the risen Christ brings relief to the pious reader with a remembrance that Christ’s suffering led to His resurrection, leading to the prospect of eternal life for Man: ‘he is rize from Death t’Eternall Life’ (l.1289).

Lanyer describes the outward beauty of Christ’s risen body in comparison to her blazon of his tortured body:

His cheeks like scarlet, and his eyes so bright
 As purest Doves that in the rivers are,
 Washed with milk, to give the more delight;
 His head is likened to the finest gold,
 His curled lockes so beauteous to behold;

Blacke as a Raven in her blackest hew;
 His lips like skarlet threeds, yet much more sweet
 Than is the sweetest hony dropping dew (ll.1308-15)

This description mirrors the depiction of both the female beloved in the *Song of Songs* (‘Thy lippes are like a threde of scarlet...’ (IV, 1.3)) and the male beloved (‘His head is as fine golde, his lockes curled & blacke as raven. His eyes are like dooues vpo[n] the rivers of waters, which are washt with milke...’ (V, ll.10,12)). This self-conscious mixture of imagery drawn from the male and female beloved descriptions provides evidence that Lanyer does not necessarily represent Christ as feminized.

Bowen has speculated on Lanyer’s use of the colours red and white but curiously has not mentioned her use of these colours in describing the risen Christ. By contrast, Bowen concentrates on Lanyer’s use of the colours marked in the margin as ‘An Invective against outward beuty unaccompanied with virtue’ (alongside ll.185-9) as part of her thesis that Lanyer was influenced by Shakespeare’s ‘The Rape of Lucrece’ (Bowen ‘The Rape of Jesus’ 122-3):

That outward Beautie which the world commends,-
Is not the subject I will write upon...
Those gawdie colours soone are spent and gone:
But those faire Virtues which on thee attends
Are alwaies fresh...

As for those *matchlesse colours Red and White*...
All these doe draw but dangers and disgrace...
(my emphasis ll.185-6, 188-90, 193,196)

Bowen suggests that Lanyer's phrase 'matchlesse colours Red and White' is an echo of Collatinus' description of Lucrece's outward and inward beauty in 'clear unmatched red and white' ('The Rape of Lucrece', l.11) together with her impossible combination of 'beauty's red and virtue's white' ('The Rape of Lucrece', l.65). Lanyer seems to indicate that Lady Margaret also has this impossible combination of outward and inward beauty. It may be that Lanyer had read Shakespeare's poem and imitated it but more likely is that Lanyer has her own message to offer, which is not echoed in Shakespeare's poem. What Lanyer highlights, in her narrative poem, is that inner beauty is far longer lasting and is true beauty compared with outward beauty: 'A mind enrich'd with Virtue, shines more bright, / Adde everlasting Beauty, gives true grace' (ll.197-8). Lanyer compares Lady Margaret's 'alwaies fresh' (l.190) inner beauty with examples of famous women whose outer beauty has caused their reputations to be tarnished (Woods *Poems* 59-61);⁶⁵ such 'invective' was a common trope in the literature of the seventeenth century (D Clarke 'Aemilia Lanyer' 374: n185-90). Examples were often used so that the reader could make intertextual connections and derive 'empathy and identification' (Wiseman 148). In doing so, Lanyer emphasizes that the female reader should concentrate on developing her inner beauty of virtue to achieve the inner beauty of the virtuous Lady Margaret; the possession of 'Heavenly Grace' (l.248), making her 'pleasing in [her] Makers sight' (l.250). By contrast, Bowen contends that Lanyer offers, through her use of the colours red and white, an

⁶⁵ Woods details Lanyer's examples of famous women from literature and history (provided in the poem's margins): Helen of Troy whose 'beauty supposedly sparked the Trojan Wars' 59: n192;; Cleopatra who was 'figuratively blind to the destruction her beauty was wreaking on Antony 60: n219; Rosamund who was the mistress of Henry II 61: n225; Matilda who was a virtuous maiden lustfully pursued by King John 61: n233; and Lucrece as described earlier, p.198.

indication that Lucrece's outward beauty 'leads directly to her rape' (Bowen 'The Rape of Jesus' 123). Lanyer points out that the gaining of inner beauty is less dangerous, than cultivating an outward beauty: 'For greatest perills do attend the faire, / When men do seeke, attempt, plot and devise' (ll.205-6). Bowen's speculation that Lanyer is trying to find 'a language for beauty that delinks it from violence' (Bowen 'The Rape of Jesus' 123) by her paraphrasing of 'unmatched red and white' ('The Rape of Lucrece', l.11) remains unconvincing. It is more likely that Lanyer's (and probably Shakespeare's) use of the colours red and white is reminiscent of the blazon convention to describe outward beauty, for example, as used by Philip Sidney:

Her cheeks with kindly claret spread...
 Like wine and milk that mingled stood...
 But who those ruddy lips can miss...
 Her belly...
 A spotless mine of alabaster...
 ('What tongue', ll.23,30,37,77,80)

Interestingly, Lanyer refers to the whiteness of the tortured Christ as being like 'alabaster', which is used in the blazon convention (as seen above) but also reminiscent of death.⁶⁶ By contrast in her depiction of the risen Christ, Lanyer describes whiteness as '[w]ashed with milk' (l.1310); drawing explicitly on the beloved's depiction in the *Song of Songs* and emphasizing not so much the risen Christ's desirability as his ability to nurture. But it is important to note that Lanyer is describing the risen Christ's beauty gained as a consequence of the violence of the crucifixion. Moreover, Lanyer specifically comments on her use of the colours red and white as representative of deliverance from danger and violence to gain a purer inner beauty:

Loe Madame, here you take a view of those,
 Whose worthy steps you doe desire to tread,
 Dekt in those colours which our Saviour chose;
 The purest colours both of White and Red...
 (ll.1825-8)

*Colours of
 Confessors
 & Martyrs.*

⁶⁶ See *Othello*, 5.2.11.4-5. On seeing Desdemona before he is about to kill her, Othello refers to her skin as 'whiter skin of hers than snow / And smooth as monumental alabaster'.

Therefore, in contrast to Bowen's conclusion, Lanyer's language would appear to specifically link rather than 'delink' beauty with violence.

Consequently, Lanyer is advocating the great importance of building an inner virtue even if it means suffering to gain it, a suffering personified by the gentle Christ as 'Protestant victimhood glorified in the act of sacrifice' (Longfellow *Women* 84-5). By doing so, she advertises the worth of reading her book to help the reader to achieve this. Most importantly, Lanyer has heralded, through her address to Lady Katherine, the one individual who has true beauty: 'If Beauty, who hath been more fair than he?' (l.86). In fact, as Longfellow asserts, the beauty of Christ portrayed in Lanyer's narrative poem is a reflection of Lady Margaret's inner beauty since her heart is 'Environed with Love and Thoughts divine' (l.1328) (Longfellow *Women* 79) Explicit depiction of this beauty of Christ is important in Lanyer's quest to present her book to her dedicatees and her anonymous readers as worthy of use in their devotional practices so that they can imitate Lady Margaret. The use of visceral imagery together with a portrayal of Christ as a beloved reveals Lanyer as knowledgeable about established literary and religious traditions and skilful in her application of these to produce a devotional text that is useful and likely to be popular with the pious female or male reader. Likewise, Lanyer unequivocally places her text within a Protestant tradition by withdrawing from further description of Christ. Consequently, Lanyer also offers an implied beauty of Christ, indicating that language is not capable of describing the real beauty of Christ; a theme that she has set up in, for example, her address to Lady Katherine:

No Dove, no Swan, nor Iv'rie could compare
With this faire corps, when 'twas by death imbrac'd;
No rose, nor no vermillion halfe so faire...
(ll.79-81)

Badir points out that Lanyer shapes Lady Margaret as a 'reading Magdalene, a relatively common figure in the devotional poetry of the seventeenth century' in her narrative poem (Badir 206). The medieval 'reading Magdalene' is evoked by remembrance of the Gospel's Mary Magdalene who first recognized the risen Christ. It is most important to recognize that Mary Magdalene was admired because of her perceived

closeness to Christ. Therefore, Lanyer can be read as shaping Lady Margaret as a Magdalene, showing her off as being exemplary in her female piety and an example of women who are 'exalted for their expert negotiation of vision, memory and language' (Badir 206):

Ah! Give me leave (good Lady) now to leave
This taske of Beauty which I tooke in hand,
I cannot wade so deepe, I may deceave
My selfe, before I can attaine the land;
Therefore (good Madame) in your heart I leave
His perfect picture, where it still shall stand.
(ll.1321-6)

Consequently, if Badir's suggestion is credible, then Lanyer's comment that 'I may deceave / My selfe' (ll.1323-4) may point to a lack of confidence in her writing skills in contrast to Lady Margaret's superior reading skills which consign Lanyer's image of Christ to her heart. Thus, Lanyer stops short of creating an external piece of devotional, Catholic iconography and instead makes full use of Protestant meditative practice.⁶⁷ She relates the image of Christ to an act of private devotion as seen in; for example, Katherine Parr's *Lamentation of a Sinner* (1563), where she speaks of her 'love of god printed and fixed in [her] heart duely' (Bvi^v) because 'inwardly to be-holde Christ crucified upon the crosse, is the best and godliest meditacion that can bee' (Cii^f). Lanyer positions herself as a provider of 'His perfect picture' (l.1326) not only for Lady Margaret but also for the anonymous reader in the act of meditation. In so doing, Lanyer self-consciously highlights the purpose of her book, to aid the process of devotional meditation and gives an indication of the 'devotional depth of England's commitment to the Protestant faith' (Snook 55). She also offers the idea of the power of women's spirituality and affinity with Christ and his suffering, as exemplified in Lady Margaret:

⁶⁷ For more discussion on Protestant meditative practice see Coles 'Social Rank' 158.

There you may reade his true and perfect storie
His bleeding body there you may embrace...

Thou call'st, he comes, thou find'st tis he indeed,
Thy Soule conceaves that he is truly wise:
Nay more, desires that he may be the Booke,
Whereon thine eyes continually may looke.
(ll.1331-2, 1349-1352)

Similarly, Lanyer retreats from further description of Christ's body in her address to Lady Katherine and invites her female readers to use her book appropriately:

In whom is all that ladies can desire...

Whose vertues more than thoughts can apprehend,
I leave to their more cleare imagination,
That will vouchsafe their borrowed time to spend
In meditating, and in contemplation
Of his rare parts, true honour's fair prospect,
The perfect line that goodnesse doth direct.
(ll.85, 97-102)

The overall message left with the reader is of the worth of Lanyer's devotional text. Lanyer shapes it as a book that can be read and reread in devotional practice and, by implication, presents herself as a writer worthy of patronage and opportunities to write more.

Conclusion

My study has highlighted that the physical presentation of extant copies does not offer unequivocal evidence of Lanyer's input from which conclusions about her purpose in writing her book or about readers' possible responses to the text can be definitely drawn. Moreover, the physical presentation of extant copies does not offer reliable indications of reader response to textual content. While previous scholarship has concluded Lanyer's main aim was to project herself with a 'professional standing as a poet' (Woods *Lanyer* vii), my study shows that it is possible that Lanyer was not politically naïve and was instead well-acquainted with the principles of a 'rhetorical performance in a desire for authorship' typical of this period (Pender). With regard to Benson's contention that Lanyer could have been influenced by her Italian heritage in shaping herself as a writer comparable with continental

professional women writers (Benson 'Play' 257), it might also be suggested that Lanyer's emphasis on female virtue, uniting the ladies within the fictive literary circles of her dedicatees, negates any possible connotations of 'the stigma of Italy' (Benson 'Stigma' 146). Instead, I would argue that Lanyer's book is self-consciously written with the specific aim of reaching an audience of early modern readers and to gain cachet as a writer by positioning herself as an adept imitator of eminent predecessors. Lanyer's front matter is a compilation of poems and prose texts where she adapts the tradition of miscellany to present the concepts of female virtue and spirituality, which can be improved in the reader by engaging with the rest of her book. Lanyer places herself as a creator of the image in the mirror and the nurturer of the feast of her book, and the reader is left to admire the creator and nurturer as well as the image and the feast, showing what I consider to be the *raison d'être* of Lanyer's mission: self-promotion as a writer. Lanyer rhetorically presents herself as a servant to the elite mistresses whom she addresses, providing her book for the ladies' disposal. Nonetheless, addressing her book to so many dedicatees suggests that Lanyer is confident in advertising the worth of her book, presenting it as a commodity within the culturally important system of gift exchange whereby the potential patron is a 'purchaser' and Lanyer is a 'merchant' (Scott 140). Through presenting dedications solely to women Lanyer may have chosen to use "'woman" [as] a marketing device' in order to attract a readership of women (M Bell 'Writing' 431). Moreover, Lanyer endorses a woman reader's engagement with the book by flattering the female reader to think that she is capable of improving the book by reading it. However, this does not necessarily support the concept of a proto-feminist message from Lanyer. Instead Lanyer promotes herself and her work in much the same way as other writers of her time. Interestingly, her book is not constructed to include an endorsement by a sympathetic male as are those of many of her contemporaries. Therefore, Lanyer tries to express herself textually with an agency within the mercantile conceptual space, even though social pressures may have debarred her, as a woman, from the possibilities of court connections or from engaging directly with Bonian and/or Simmes.

Analysis of the *Salve* book shows that Lanyer employs a female religiosity, using an 'early modern women's literary capital' of a 'chaste reputation' (S Roberts 'Literary Capital' 264), to present herself as ideally placed to write superior religious poetry in what Coles notes as a 'self-conscious performance of gender' (Coles 'Social Rank' 164). Consequently, as a creator of textual examples of female virtue, Lanyer implicitly includes herself in the community of virtuous women and thereby authorizes and advertises herself as a writer of religious verse. In particular, she achieves the aim of any devotional religious text: 'conformity to an ideal of godliness rather than some sort of personal self-actualization' (Narveson 123). Therefore, I conclude that Lanyer does not clearly establish a means for women to articulate their self-presentation. Instead, having described Eve's action as naïveté rather than a transgression, Lanyer pleads for a greater affirmative reception of women as a whole, which needs to be acknowledged as an imitation of literary predecessors who used 'rhetorical imperatives' (D Clarke 'Speaking' 76) within the framework of *querelle des femmes* debates rather than the expression of a 'feminist consciousness' (Beilin *Eve* 248). Thus, Lanyer aims to convince the male reader of the logic of her virtuous stereotype and to invite the female reader to feel part of this imagined female community.

Lanyer adopts a gendered performance in an effort to get her book noticed by the book-buying public and thereby raise her own profile as a skilful writer of religious verse, a popular genre for women as writers and readers. To this end, she *seems* to present herself as an ideal and modest woman in order to *be* a writer who is able to reach her readers through the printed word. She also draws on the traditional use of miscellany as a means of self-promotion, which involves impressing the male reader (the majority of readers), along with the female reader, with her range of skills as a writer of traditional poetic forms and styles. Even so, ultimately, Lanyer betrays her lack of confidence in the concept of the ideal fictive space which can allow the female stereotype of virtue to flourish intellectually and spiritually. Of course, it may be that Lanyer herself had to strive against social as well as gendered constraints and so this despondent view might be her pessimistic

response to her own struggle to be successful as a writer in the real world governed by the early book trade.

PART III: ELIZABETH CARY

Introduction

Elizabeth Cary (1585/6-1639) was the only child of the lawyer Laurence Tanfield and his wife Elizabeth. Cary was educated at home and Michael Drayton and John Davies of Hereford may have been her tutors. She married Sir Henry Cary in 1602 and they subsequently had eleven children. In 1620, Henry Cary was made Viscount of Falkland, and in 1620 Lord Deputy of Ireland. Around this time Elizabeth was publicly known to have converted to Catholicism, which her Protestant husband found embarrassing. Cary died in 1639 and was buried in London.¹

Cary's *The Tragedie of Mariam, The Faire Queene of Jewry* written between 1604 and 1609 but not printed until 1613 (Straznický "Profane" 104-34), is thought to be the first original drama written by an Englishwoman to be published and printed in England (M W Ferguson 'Note' ix). In addition, it seems that Cary may have written a play, set in Syracuse, that is now lost, and was also the first person to translate Jacques Davy du Perron's response to an attack on his work by James I, *The Reply of the Most Illustrious Cardinall of Perron* (1630) and have it published in print (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 6, 11; Wolfe 1). It is possible that Cary is also the first woman to have written a history: *The History of The Life, Reign, and Death of Edward II. King of England and Lord of Ireland... Written by E.F. in the year 1627. And printed Verbatim from the Original.* (1680, Wing 313) and *The History of The Most Unfortunate Prince King Edward II. With Choice Political Observations on Him and his Unhappy Favourites...* (1680, Wing 314).² However, there is much debate and disagreement in assigning these latter texts to Cary (M W Ferguson 'Note' xi-xii). Previous scholars have suggested that Cary was connected in some way to the competitive milieu of the Sidneian coterie, mainly because she was a dedicatee of John Davies of Hereford's *The Muses Sacrifice* (1612),

¹ For more biographical details, Hodgson-Wright. 'Elizabeth Cary.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Nov. 2006. < www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4835>; Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 3-12; Hodgson-Wright 'Introduction' 11-41.

² See also Appendix II: Listing of Women Writers and Texts Included in, or Excluded from, the Survey of Printed Texts by Early Modern Women Writers.

along with the Countess of Pembroke and the Countess of Bedford,³ and Davies was known to be a member of Mary Sidney's literary circle (Shannon 146).

Physical Presentation of *The Tragedie of Mariam, The Faire Queene of Jewry* (1613)

Introduction

Previous scholars have categorized Cary's *Mariam* as a closet drama 'in the Senecan mode [...] inviting comparison with contemporary Senecan tragedies in the French modes, Samuel Daniel's *Philotas* and Fulke Greville's *Mustapha*' (Lewalski 'Writing Women' 807-8) and closet dramas translated by earlier women writers; for example, Jane Lumley's translation of Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis* (c1553) (Straznicky *Privacy* 4) and the Countess of Pembroke's translation of Robert Garnier's *Marc Antoine*, entitled *Antonius: A Tragædie* (1592). Closet drama books were written in the style of the neo-classical Senecan dramas that were popular reading matter in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and which 'displayed all the characteristics of drama written in the neo-classical playreading tradition' (Straznicky *Privacy* 51). Such dramas may have been read by the private solitary reader; however, Straznicky stresses that privacy in the early modern period was 'a construct rather than a social fact' where privacy can be better understood as incorporating 'notions of exclusion, privilege and autonomy' (Straznicky *Privacy* 7). It is also thought that these dramas may have been performed within a private domestic as opposed to a public space (public and private commercial theatres). Findlay *et al* point out that the definition of a private entertainment where the audience did not pay admission fee was set out in an Act of the Common Council of London (Findlay, Williams, Hodgson-Wright 131). Masten comments that the 'male-male languages and practices associated with collaboration in and around the theatres, may

³ John Davies of Hereford (1564/5-1618) should not be confused with Sir John Davies (1569-1626), author of *Nosce Teipsum* and sometime solicitor-general for Ireland. However, this confusion appears to have occurred in Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 6. See *The Poems of Sir John Davies* Ed. R. Krueger. See Finkelppearl. 'John Davies.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Nov. 2006. <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7244> and Kelsey. 'Sir John Davies.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Nov. 2006. <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7245>.

begin to explain the almost entire absence of women writing drama' (Masten 'Playwriting' 370). By contrast, it is known that although a woman was excluded from writing a play for the commercial theatre, a woman could write (or translate) and circulate a drama text within exclusive social networks and the public realm of consumers of the printed word. Consequently, as Straznicky suggests, 'a woman c[ould] avoid public censure by insisting that her play not be staged while also issuing it in print' (Straznicky *Privacy* 1). The play in the form of the printed artefact, as opposed to the play in public performance, distanced it from the public playhouse and gave it 'a degree of seriousness [and] studiousness' (Hackel 117) to be read in the pursuit of knowledge (Clegg 'Renaissance' 35), enabling playwrights to be viewed as literary writers on a par with poets and 'literature of moral instruction' (Straznicky 'Reading' 60). Elite private households of the wealthy provided quasi-public arenas in which women writers could exercise agency, and reading served as a means 'to form[ing] socially and politically distinct communities' of both men and women (Straznicky 'Introduction' 19). Anne Clifford, for example, describes how she used the privacy of her closet as a location for reading, not as a private solitary activity but as a social activity. In her diary on August 12th and 13th 1617 she records that she 'spent most of the time in playing Glecko & hearing Moll Neville reading the *Arcadia*'. On the other hand, Clifford's husband regarded his closet as private and a social retreat (Clifford 60, 45).

According to the results of my survey, I found relatively few texts (21%, ³⁴/163) that could be categorized as printed literary texts by women writers. Moreover, within this categorization the only closet dramas in print that were associated with women writers were Cary's drama and the two editions of the Countess of Pembroke's translation of Garnier's *Marc Antoine*. Scholars have argued as whether or not Sidney and her acolytes had a specific 'project' in their production of dramas. Witherspoon argues that Sidney set out to reform tragedy in accordance with her brother's preferences (Witherspoon 71). However, Lamb argues that 'the works [that Sidney] inspired were as various as her relationships with their authors' (Lamb 'Myth' 194-202). Nonetheless, it is reasonable to expect such an elite and intellectual literary network to be forceful and ambitious in their

literary aims. In fact, Zwicker has described the private literary coterie as 'a competitive system' in which manuscripts were circulated for comment, improvement and patronage from a select readership (Zwicker 172). Although the printed text was an established commercial artefact, handwritten texts in manuscript publications within exclusive literary coterie still remained socially and politically important for both men and women (E Clarke 'Miscellanies' 58). Love has recognized the circulation of handwritten manuscripts as a means of 'acquiring and transmitting privileged information not meant to be available to all enquirers' (Love 177). Love describes three means of manuscript publication: 'author ... entrepreneurial ... and user publication': although one or more means of publication were employed in the circulation of manuscripts it was only in the third mode ('user publication') that 'non-commercial replication', comment and improvement could be employed (Love 47). Of course, it could be argued that Cary, as an aristocrat would probably not require financial patronage at this time in her life, although after her conversion to Catholicism it is known that her husband refused her financial support and, whilst suffering penury, she is thought to have 'gained favour' with influential women at court (Hodgson-Wright 'Introduction' 12-13). However, the garnering of literary approval and support from elite circles would have still been beneficial for Cary when the *Mariam* play-book was published, even if she was perhaps financially secure as an aspiring writer. Of course, by the late sixteenth century mass production of printed texts meant that printed books were more generally available to the reading public compared with more restricted manuscripts, and printed play-books were amongst the cheapest that were available (Hackel 124)⁴ which might be an indication of their popularity.⁵

As previously discussed, the early-seventeenth-century printed artefact often functioned as a mimicking of manuscript circulation within an exclusive literary coterie (Wall 'Circulating' 39). Consequently, studying the textual content of the typography of Cary's play-book along with a close textual analysis of the play offers an illumination of the

⁴ Hackel comments that play-books were available from between 2d.-8d.

⁵ Information received from John Jowett in a private communication.

'sociology' of this printed play-book within a fictive quasi-private sphere, the existence of which might have been anticipated even though Cary's volume was available within the public sphere of the printed word. As with my review of Lanyer's book, my approach involves an examination of the portfolio output of Cary's bookseller/publisher (Richard Hawkins), and his choice of printer (Thomas Creede). Together with my textual analysis of Cary's text, this will historicize her book as a literary artefact that was actually read.⁶ My review of the output of these members of the book trade, together with textual analysis of the typography of original printed leaves, will also show how the Cary play-book fits in with the rest of Hawkins' and Creede's portfolios. I will also explore how far the *Mariam* play-book is made up of typical components of closet drama books by comparing its physical presentation with that of other closet dramas, and in turn with public theatre play-books and masques printed. However, it is not my intention to repeat a study of all the textual variations that have been noted between extant copies.⁷

Previous scholars have speculated that the dedicatory poem in the front matter was cancelled and that two issues were produced when the play-book was originally printed (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 44). They have concluded that the intimacy of the language and the implied private tone expressed in the dedicatory poem provide evidence that the first issue (containing the poem) was destined for a small readership or maybe as presentation copies to family members (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 44; M W Ferguson 'Note' ix). It is believed that Cary, or her husband, cancelled the poem in copies destined for general sale (M W Ferguson 'Note' ix). However, I shall review these findings in the light of present commentary on the physical presentation of extant copies and in the context of how text was employed to project rhetorical construction of women writers in order to offer some possibilities, other than maintenance of privacy, which might explain the presence or absence of the dedicatory poem in extant copies.

⁶ Quotations from Cary's play-text taken from Weller, Ferguson 69-149 unless otherwise stated. Commentary on textual analysis of the typography of original printed leaves refers to the relevant copy under discussion.

⁷ See Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 46-7 and Hodgson-Wright 'Introduction' 33-4.

Attempting to establish the ‘sociology’ of Cary’s play-book, therefore, prevents my findings being influenced by or extrapolated into illustrations of Cary’s personal life, which I feel has restricted previous discussion of Cary’s drama. Nonetheless, with Cary’s motto of *be and seem* in mind, I shall consider how the physical presentation of Cary’s play-book might indicate the sensibilities concerned with how a woman writer and the producers of her book would build strategies to present her as a worthy writer.

Extant Copies of *The Tragedie Of Mariam, The Faire Queene Of Jewry* (1613)

There are nineteen extant copies, held at the following locations: the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (fig.7), the National Library of Scotland (3 copies),⁸ the Bodleian Library, Oxford University (2 copies),⁹ the Eton College Library, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford; the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A), the Folger Shakespeare Library, Newberry Library, Chicago; Worcester College, Oxford University; the British Library (BL) (3 copies),¹⁰ Pierpont Morgan Library,¹¹ Boston Public Library, New York Public Library. Much previous scholarship on these extant copies has been done (Weller, Ferguson ‘Introduction’ 46; Hodgson-Wright ‘Introduction’ 32-3; Greg 449), although there are some differences between the number of extant copies that they variously recognized. Weller, Ferguson did not note copies held at the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust or the Pierpont Morgan Library. Although previous scholars state that there are two Yale University copies, it has been confirmed that the university owns three twentieth-century reprints of Cary’s drama and has never owned any original extant copies.¹² Since Greg did his research many years previously, it is perhaps understandable that he noted only thirteen extant copies (Greg 449). None of the extant copies are

⁸ Shelfmarks: H.3.d.47, Cwn.163, Bute.58.

⁹ Shelfmarks: 4T 35(2) Art., Mal.198(5).

¹⁰ Shelfmarks: C.34.c.9, G.11221, 162.c.28.

¹¹ Shelfmarks: W02A, 163764

¹² Information from Tobin Nellhaus in a private communication.

thought to have the original binding attached. Following personal examination, I have concluded this is also true for the BL and V&A copies.¹³

Publication Date

It is thought that the *Mariam* play-book was written between 1604 and 1609 but not printed until 1613 (Hodgson-Wright 'Introduction' 14-5; Straznicky *Profane* 104-34). The play-book was entered into the Stationers' Register on 17 December 1612 by Richard Hawkins: 'Richard Hawkins Entred for his copie vnder the hande of S^r. Geo Bucke & m^r Harison Warden A booke called Mariamme The tragedie of the fayre Mariame Quene of Iurye' (*A Transcript* 231). Interestingly, the play-text's entry was countersigned by the Master of the Revels, Sir George Bucke, who was responsible for licensing and censoring plays for public performance,¹⁴ and 'from 1606 to about 1613 Bucke acted as licenser of plays for the press as well as for performance.'¹⁵

It has been suggested that Cary was loath to have her writings printed (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 6). This assertion may be true; however, comments on Cary's antipathy towards the printed word were probably made by scholars as a result of extrapolation from 'Her Life' (1643-1650): 'One of them was after stolen out of that sister-in-law's (her friend's) chamber and printed but by her own procurement was called in' ('Her Life' 190). 'Her Life' has been described as 'a spiritual history verging on hagiography' (Beilin 'Elizabeth Cary' 167) and has been read as a 'conversion narrative [which was] an essential and dominant aspect of [the Cary family's] identity' as Catholics (Wynne-Davies 224). It is thought that the author of 'Her Life' collaborated with Cary to create 'a familial discourse in which spiritual faith and the love of God superseded family ties and affection' (Wynne-Davies 224). Consequently, this would suggest that 'Her Life' is not a robust source of historical veracity, which

¹³ I would like to thank the librarians whose libraries hold these copies for their valuable information.

¹⁴ Kincaid. 'Sir George Buck [Buc].' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Dec. 2006. <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3821>.

¹⁵ Quoted from a private communication with John Jowett concerning the role of Sir George Bucke in registering plays for publication.



*Elizabeth Taunfild wife of St. Henry Carey 1. Lord Falkland.
From an Original picture at Burford Priory.*

Figure 13: Portrait of Elizabeth Cary

problematizes the conclusion that Cary did not want her writing to be printed. Moreover, accusations of unauthorized printing were a common rhetorical act as part of a strategy of self-construction, connected with avoiding the 'social stigma' attached to having a text appearing in print or from being seen to engage in commercial transactions with the book trade, an inappropriate social interaction for the elite in society (Saunders 509).¹⁶ Such rhetoric was openly criticized by Cary in her translation of Jacques Davy du Perron's *The Reply of the Most Illustrious Cardinall of Perron* (1630).¹⁷ Most importantly, the manner in which the *Mariam* play-book is entered into the Stationers' Register suggests that it is unlikely that it was registered for printing without Cary's knowledge and/or permission. There is also no evidence to suggest that this book's printing was unauthorized; Hawkins is named on the title page and noted in the Stationers' Register as entering the work. Ioppolo comments that the wardens would be satisfied that a bookseller/publisher 'had the permission of the owners to print [a] play' before they entered details in the register (Ioppolo 172).

Similarly, 'Her Life' can be read to contain another rhetorical shaping of Cary as an ascetic: '[d]ressing was all her life a torture to her' (194). This description was probably another typical modesty trope, particularly in the light of the decidedly performative representation of Cary in her portrait by Paul van Somer (fig.13). This painting shows a woman who was probably highly conscious of her self-presentation in terms of her physical appearance, in what has been described as a masque costume,¹⁸ which is said to contribute 'to [a] hierarchal, courtly appearance' (Butlin 30). Hence, it can be suggested that Cary was keen to present herself as a creative and performative woman.

The author of 'Her Life' states that Cary's husband, Henry, approved of his wife's writing:

¹⁶ Information gained from a private discussion with David Shaw.

¹⁷ See earlier discussion, p.101.

¹⁸ Elizabeth, Lady Falkland, by Paul van Somer (1620), Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation housed in Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Texas. I am indebted to Sarah Long at the MFA for information concerning the portrait.

...he had received some letters from her [...] which seemed to him to be in a very different stile from the former, which he had thought to have been her own [...] till having examined her about it, and found the contrary, he grew better acquainted with her, and esteemed her more ('Her Life', p.189)

It may be that Henry encouraged Elizabeth to write a second play (possibly the *Mariam* play-text) (Hodgson-Wright 'Introduction' 15-16). If so, then there is the possibility that Cary or her husband, Henry, had either published or commissioned the printing of the *Mariam* play-book. However, it is well known that Cary had a somewhat turbulent relationship with her husband; therefore, one cannot totally rely on 'Her Life' to correctly position Cary's husband as an unequivocal custodian and/or publisher of Elizabeth's work. Consequently, using 'Her Life' as a basis from which to textually analyse the *Mariam* play offers only an anecdotal approach to analysing early modern women's writing in the context of the real women's lives and little more than questionable or purely speculative readings of the text (Straznicky *Profane* 106-7).

It is thought that the *Mariam* play-book was printed up to ten years after the text was written (Straznicky *Profane* 107), which is felt to be a curiously long time.¹⁹ These calculations are primarily derived from the dating of the dedicatory poem in the play-book: 'To Dianaes Earthlie Deputesse, and my worthy Sister, Mistris Elizabeth Carye'.²⁰ This dedication is thought to have been addressed to either her husband's sister or the wife of Philip Cary (Henry's brother), both of whom were named Elizabeth Cary. With reference to Cary's familial situation, it has been calculated that the dedication was written during the years 1604-09 (Straznicky *Profane* 106: n7), or no earlier than 1606 (Hodgson-Wright 'Introduction' 16). However, previous scholars seem to have assumed that this poem was written at the same time as the drama. This is primarily because of the dedication to Cary by John Davies of Hereford in his *The Muses Sacrifice* (1612), where he refers to her work set in '[t]he Scenes of

¹⁹ Zachary Lesser commented, in a private communication, that a gap of up to ten years between writing and printing 'is not unheard of, but certainly not the norm either'.

²⁰ 'To Dianaes Earthlie Deputesse, and my worthy Sister, Mistris Elizabeth Carye.' Weller, Ferguson 66. All subsequent references are to this edition and will be abbreviated to 'To Dianaes...'. See textual analysis of this poem, pp.299-303.



Syracuse and Palestine' (** 3^v, l.8). It seems reasonable to suggest that the work set in Syracuse in Sicily is the same work referenced by Cary in her dedicatory poem as a work she had dedicated to her husband, whereas the present work, the *Mariam* play-text, (set in Palestine), is to be dedicated to the addressee:

He shone on Sicily, you destin'd be
T'illumine the now obscured Palestine.
My first was consecrated to Apollo,
My second to Diana now shall follow.
(ll.11-4)

The work set in Palestine and referenced by Davies has been unquestioningly assumed to be the *Mariam* play-text. As a consequence, scholars have asserted that Davies knew of *Mariam* in 1612, before it was printed in 1613. If the *Mariam* play-text was indeed a closet drama, originally written for private consumption, then it can be suggested that it may have been maintained in manuscript form and distributed within an elite literary coterie prior to its printing in 1613. This circulation might suggest a reason for the long time between the writing and printing of the drama. Moreover, Shannon comments that John Davies of Hereford was a member of Mary Sidney's literary circle (Shannon 146) and, as mentioned before, was thought to have been a possible childhood tutor of Cary, although there is scant evidence to conclude this (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 6). If Cary was also part of a literary coterie within which she circulated her work, one might speculate that her drama had lost some of its prestige within that elite society and as a result the text was printed to introduce it to a wider circle of general readers. Since Clegg points out that '[r]eaders, as co-creators of the literary dramatic text, possessed the capacity to assure the fame of play-wrights and to ensure their perpetuity' (Clegg 'Renaissance' 35), having the *Mariam* play-text printed might have been a course of action to maintain the drama in circulation. However, the supposed social link with Davies in his dedication might also be misleading. There is the possibility that Davies himself was building a fictive social network by using the names of his dedicatees as a form of celebrity endorsement, as Lanyer may have been doing in addressing elite women.

Consequently, it cannot definitely be said that Cary was socially connected with Davies and the Sidneian circle.

It is not beyond possibility that Davies is not actually referring to the *Mariam* play-text at all in his dedication and is, in fact, referring to an earlier drama, maybe an earlier version of *Mariam*, also set in Palestine, which was circulated in manuscript. If so, this same play-text may be referenced in Cary's dedicatory poem, also written earlier than 1613 and printed alongside her later version. If this possibility is reasonable then the conclusion that the *Mariam* play-text was written up to ten years before it was printed is brought into question. Moreover, Davies' text does not indicate that he is referring to two works. It may even be possible that Davies was not socially known to Cary and had simply heard that Cary had produced a drama set in both Syracuse and Palestine. Although the use of Aristotelian unity of place might contradict this suggestion, it is not beyond possibility that Cary had written a drama set in two locations that was privately circulated but is not now extant. After all, unity of place was not always obeyed in early modern drama: to take one example, *Othello* is set in two locations, Venice and Cyprus. As discussed earlier, Cary is thought to have been a lover of masques and plays ('Her Life' 224), and so she may have been influenced by dramatic constructions evident in all forms of contemporary drama and known for producing drama within some sort of elite circle. Holdsworth has assumed what can only be called tenuous links suggesting that Middleton must have had exposure to *Mariam* through some kind of mutual social and/or literary association with Cary (Holdsworth 379-80). Weller and Ferguson also comment that Middleton probably knew of the *Mariam* drama and suggest that Shakespeare may have also been influenced by Cary's drama in writing *Othello* but offer no substantial evidence to show this influence (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 6). Such possible societal connections between Middleton and Cary cannot be definitely concluded. It is more likely that literary conventions and tastes influenced both writers, which might be a more understandable explanation for similarities in their dramas.

In conclusion, previous scholars have relied too heavily on drawing direct biographical references from too literal readings of 'Her Life',

Cary's dedicatory poem and Davies's dedication in order to assume a definite dating of *Mariam* and the purpose of the dedicatory poem. Likewise, commentary on the physical presentation of Cary's play-book has not considered all available possibilities to explain the present state of extant copies.

Variant Issues

Previous scholars have noted that only two extant copies (the Huntington copy and the Houghton copy), have the full complement of prefatory material. They identify the full complement as being the dedicatory poem, 'To Dianaes Earthlie Deputesse, and my worthy Sister, Mistris Elizabeth Carye' (A1^r); 'The names of the Speakers' (A1^v) and 'The Argument' (A2^r) *in situ* in comparison to the other extant copies which have the dedicatory poem missing (A1) (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 44; Hodgson-Wright 'Introduction' 33). It has been suggested that the A1 leaf was suppressed (Greg 449). If so, Creede probably printed all sheets of text, including the dedicatory poem and issues, with and without the poem, would be constructed at the binding stage, binding the play-book so that a stub was not visible.²¹ The ESTC collation (with reference to the Huntington copy) is given as π^2 A4 (-A1) which indicates that in this copy the title page is conjugate with a blank preliminary leaf rather than the dedicatory poem (A1). Greg notes the collation as '4^o, π^2 A-H⁴ I², 36 leaves unnumbered' (Greg 449). I have applied McKerrow's test to the following leaves: title page; A2^r; A3^r; A3^v; A4^r; G^v; G4^r; I^r; I^v and I2^r on EEBO images of the Huntington copy (with the dedicatory poem), photographs of the same leaves of the two Bodleian Library copies and through personal examination of the three BL copies (each without the dedicatory poem) and the V&A copy and have concluded that all of these copies are likely to be from the same setting of type. This conclusion is supported by the presentation of the woodcut images across the front matter and the play-text proper. The same image is used above the title of the dedicatory poem (A1^r) and 'The Argument' (A2^r), with another image above both the title of

²¹ See Gaskell 135 for a description of how leaves were removed at the time of folding the printed sheet at the binding stage.

‘The names of the Speakers’ (A1^v) and the first title of the play-text: ‘Actus primus. Scaena prima’ (A3^r). It may be that Creede chose the woodcut images to indicate continuity across the recto and verso leaves of the front matter with the play-text proper when he set up his print formes. It is thus likely that Hawkins would have received printed sheets from Creede and then arranged the binding of the sheets into a play-book as per each customer request.

Previous scholars have concluded that copies containing the dedicatory poem were destined for an intimate private readership in presentation copies to family members. However, Greg is less dogmatic and instead presents this only as a possibility: ‘[i]t is possible that only presentation copies were allowed to go out in the original state, the dedication being removed from the public issue’ (Greg 449). Although, it must be borne in mind that the bookseller/publisher would ‘exercise some editorial supervision of the copy’,²² it does not rule out the possibility that Hawkins suppressed the dedicatory poem at the request of Henry and/or Elizabeth Cary. Nonetheless, it is important to note that previous scholars have made their conclusions with regard to the absence of the dedicatory poem in extant copies without direct consideration of the disturbance of leaves throughout the history of those copies. As I observed in my commentary on extant copies of Lanyer’s book, subsequent disturbance of leaves is an obstruction that hampers the uncovering of the original state of books. Although personal examination of all extant copies is beyond the scope of this thesis, my review of the present state of some extant copies of Cary’s play-books offers some evidence for the absence of the poem other than through suppression at the time of original publication.

Previously, it has been thought that the dedicatory poem was present only in the extant copies held at the Houghton and Huntington libraries (Weller, Ferguson ‘Introduction’ 44; Hodgson-Wright ‘Introduction’ 33). It is now thought that the dedicatory poem leaf in the Houghton Library copy was not part of the original leaves but was added from another copy of the play-book when the copy was rebound in the

²² Information from a private communication from Ian Gadd.

nineteenth/early twentieth century.²³ Consequently, it may be that the Houghton Library copy did not contain the dedicatory poem when originally issued and the Huntington Library copy may be the only extant copy that has its full complement of prefatory material from its original publication. Weller and Ferguson also imply the presence of possible stubs in copies held in the Bodleian Library²⁴ and at Eton College as offering evidence that the dedicatory poem was cancelled in these copies (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 44; Hodgson-Wright 'Introduction' 33).²⁵ However, if specific issues were constructed without the dedicatory poem this would be done at the binding stage, when the play-book would be bound so as to ensure that a stub was not visible. Nonetheless, stubs can be present in copies of books where a leaf (the cancellandum) has been cancelled before the printed sheets are first bound into a book, though this is not always the case; some leaves can be cancelled and the sheets bound without leaving a visible stub. Stubs can also be present for other reasons such as manuscript insertions or physical removal of a leaf after binding in later years.²⁶ Current commentary on the Eton College Library copy disagrees with Weller's and Ferguson's findings; no stubs are thought to be present. The contents of this copy (the title page, 'The Argument' and the play-text proper) are bound into a volume with seven other seventeenth-century plays, with a manuscript leaf of a handwritten list of *dramatis personae* bound in front of the title page. However, no information has been found that enables the dating of the assembling of this compilation of plays, which are dated between 1607 and 1663. It has been suggested that the manuscript insertion might have been mistaken for the stubs of a cancellandum by previous scholars.²⁷ In addition, the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust copy is missing the title page and the dedicatory poem and there is a small stub in front of A2 which is thought to be either the remains

²³ Karen Nipps offered the following explanation for her suggestion in a private communication: 'The leaf after the title page, i.e. the dedicatory leaf is much dirtier than either the title page or the leaf that follow it. It has some holes in it that have been patched with Japanese tissue or some thin fabric. It also has a smooth and silky feel characteristic of a sheet of paper that has been washed.'

²⁴ Shelfmark: Mal.198(5).

²⁵ Hodgson-Wright accepts Weller's and Ferguson's conclusion.

²⁶ Information supplied by David Pearson. See also Gaskell 135 for a description of how leaves were removed at the time of folding the printed sheet at the binding stage.

²⁷ Information supplied by Katie Lord in a private communication.

of leaf A or the missing title page.²⁸ The Stainforth copy (held at the National Library of Scotland) is thought to have a stub present, between leaves A3 and A4, suggesting that a substitute leaf (cancellans) was perhaps inserted to replace the cancelled poem leaf (A1).²⁹ However, there is no replacement leaf present and so the reason for this stub remains unclear.

Greg comments that both Bodleian Library copies are collated thus: '1,+ π 1 and 2, - π 1'. He comments that 'one copy seen [1,+ π 1] not only preserves the blank leaf before the title, but also clearly shows the stub of the cancelled A1' (Greg 449). However, he does not clearly identify which of the two Bodleian Library copies he is referring to. One of the Bodleian Library copies (4T 35(2) Art.) is now thought to have had the leaf containing the dedicatory poem (A) 'torn out'.³⁰ If this is a reasonable suggestion, it does not offer robust evidence that the leaf was cancelled from the original printing. As play-books were unlikely to have been bought in bound form in the early seventeenth century, it suggests that the leaf was removed, either deliberately or by accident, after original purchase and subsequent binding. Certainly, by the middle of the seventeenth century there may have been realistic explanations why a reader might have removed the poem from his or her copy of the *Mariam* play-book. It became public knowledge in 1626 that Elizabeth Cary was a Catholic (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 17), therefore it is reasonable to assume that a Protestant reader could be offended by a Catholic writer and so might remove the poem when the play-book was sold to other book-buyers. Equally, it might be that the poem was just removed through damage.

As discussed, Weller and Ferguson concluded that the intimacy of the language of the dedicatory poem provides evidence that it was originally printed for a private circulation (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 44; Ferguson 'Note' ix). However, it should be borne in mind that because there now seems to be only one extant copy that appears to be complete in

²⁸ Information supplied by Marian J. Pringle in a private communication.

²⁹ Information supplied by David Pearson in a private communication.

³⁰ Information supplied by Dunja Sharif in a private communication. She stated that the copy 'has the title page followed by a blank leaf under which it does look as if something was torn out, followed by A2-4.'

its original state with the dedicatory poem (the Huntington Library copy) it cannot be concluded that this issue was produced in fewer numbers, for a private circulation, than the issues without the poem. Moreover, Cary's family or a private coterie would be likely to know about her previous work because it is reasonable to assume that she would have already circulated it amongst them. Therefore, the textual content of the poem does not easily lend itself to suggesting a restricted circulation. On the other hand, it would make marketing sense for a dedicatory poem which clearly advertises other work by the writer be included in a play-book which might be bought and read by readers who were not familiar with Cary's other work.

Similarly, it seems that previous scholars have assumed that the dedicatory poem, by identifying Cary as the playwright, in some way undermines her insistence on anonymity, which they deem to be evinced by the presence of Cary's initials on the title page as opposed to her full name. For example; Greg has commented that 'the reason for suppression most likely was that the verses revealed too clearly the identity if the authoress' (Greg 449). Although the dedicatory poem is also equivocally signed by E.C., as given on the title page, its contents do indisputably connect the writer to the Cary family. However, to conclude that Cary did not wish to be known as the writer of the poem and therefore the play-text leaves no room for acknowledgement of the rhetorical use of initials to *imply* anonymity. My survey shows that Cary's apparent anonymity on a title page, with her identity disclosed by the prefatory material, is not unique to her play-book. For example; Anne Dowriche's 1589 translation of *The French Historie* presents a very similar example of a woman writer's apparent anonymity being deconstructed by the prefatory material. Dowriche's title page states that the book was 'published by A.D.' whereas the prefatory material contains prose and a poem addressed to Dowriche's brother, Pearse Edgecombe. The prose is signed 'Your louing Sister Anne Dowriche' (A2^v) and the poem is entitled with an anagram of the names of the brother and sister which fully exposes Dowriche's identity:

Pearse Edgecombe

The sharpest EDGE will soonest PEARSE and COME vnto AN end.

Yet DOWT not, but be RICHE in hope, and take that I doo send.
A.D.
(A3^f)

However, the textual content of these pieces do not in anyway appear to exclude the anonymous reader. Instead, Dowriche's translation is advertised in the prose dedication: 'I assure you it is most excellent and well worth the reading' (A2^f) and the anonymous reader of the poem can easily feel that he or she is addressed directly by the poem:

Beware betimes of had I wist; be not these pleasures vaine?
Beleeue in Christ, and so you shall be sure to liue againe.
(A3^f)

One might suggest that the anonymity of the writer on the title page is deliberately rhetorical in nature and the uncovering of Dowriche's identity by the prefatory material was not something to be kept in a limited circulation. Moreover, it seems that extant copies of this book are not available with missing prefatory material to possibly disguise the identity of the writer. Of course, the example of Dowriche's book does not disprove suggestions that Cary wished to limit circulation of her dedicatory poem to prevent her identity being confirmed. Nonetheless, it does indicate that Cary's play-book shares some similarities with another woman's printed books, thereby historicizing Cary's play-book and problematizing definite ideas that Cary had suppressed her prefatory material.

Moreover, it is thought that the printed text was often shaped as if it were part of a literary coterie tradition of manuscript circulation in order to appeal to the anonymous book-buying public (Wall 'Circulating' 39). If so, an apparently private dedicatory poem like Cary's, and the poems and prose Lanyer addressed to her elite dedicatees, go some way towards a rhetorical imitation of a private and elite readership by use of the literary convention of replicating the early modern system of gift exchange. Consequently, it might be suggested that, rather than wishing to exclude the circulation, Cary's apparently private dedicatory poem locates her play-book in the fictive rarefied arena of an 'elite literary culture' (Straznicky *Privacy* 4). Therefore, the physical presence of such a poem with its seemingly private textual content shapes the play-book to function within a

fictive quasi-private sphere available within the public sphere of the printed word. It may be that Cary and her husband, with Hawkins, might have wished to widen the circulation of this poem rather than restrict it, to invoke the sense of an exclusive tradition of manuscript exchange to increase sales of her printed play-book. In addition, Hawkins and/or Creede would also be aware that a dedicatory poem addressed to a woman and written by a woman could exploit the concept of “‘woman” [as] a marketing device’ to attract a readership of women (M Bell ‘Women Writing’ 431). It may be that this poem was aimed at impressing female readers from Cary’s private circle as well as the market of anonymous female readers. After all, female readers, certainly by the middle of the seventeenth century, were considered to be an important section of the market of play-book readers and collectors (Straznicky ‘Reading’ 59, 71).

Since Hawkins entered the work in the Register he can be identified as the bookseller/publisher and can be assumed to directly benefit from increased sales of Cary’s play-book. Equally, an increase in readership would also boost Cary’s reputation as a writer. Therefore, Cary would have a vested interest in producing textual content that would be of interest to the book-buying public. Although there is no direct evidence that the dedicatory poem was cancelled for some other reason in copies that were destined for a different, more restricted market, this possibility cannot be ruled out. As evidence shows, we can never be sure who wrote prefaces to early modern printed books; for example, Stern has commented that prologues to public theatre play-books were routinely written by the printer, not the playwright (Stern ‘Small-beer’ 183). Straznicky comments on Creede’s involvement in writing front matter in other publications (Straznicky *Privacy* 63-4). Thus, the textual content of the typography on the verso of the leaf with the dedicatory poem, nevertheless, offers some understanding of the book-trade’s possible role in constructing the *Mariam* play-book. Typographical errors of misidentified and omitted characters are found only in the copies which contain the dedicatory poem and hence

have 'The names of the Speakers'³¹ (the Huntington and Houghton Library copies) on the verso. However, these errors are more fundamental when compared with fairly routine typographical errors identified in the play-text across different extant copies by Weller and Ferguson, and Hodgson-Wright (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 46-7; Hodgson-Wright 'Introduction' 33-4) which have been acknowledged as products of working standards that were typical of seventeenth-century printing (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 47).

'The names of the Speakers' is a list of characters in the play to follow. However, Antipater, Herod's and Doris's son is mistakenly referred to as 'sonne by Salome', and 'Butler' is referred only as a minor character ('another Messenger') although he has an important speech informing the reader that it is he who has 'the queen betray'd' (IV, v, l.265). In addition, Silleus' Man is omitted both in 'The names of the Speakers' and in the list of speakers at the beginning of Act III, Scene II. Such errors have led Straznicky to conclude that 'The names of the Speakers' was not part of Cary's original manuscript but was constructed by a less than accurate compositor (Straznicky *Privacy* 64). Consequently, if Cary had not included a list of speakers then the compositor would have had to read the play to ascertain the characters therein. This suggestion leads to a question of whether or not writers usually included lists of speakers in their manuscripts. On the other hand, a list of speakers is not entirely unique in drama manuscripts: for example, Straznicky points out that Jane Lumley's manuscript of *The Tragedie of Euripides* contains a list of 'spekers' (Straznicky *Privacy* 44) and Rachel Fane's manuscript of her *May Masque* contains a list of performers, indicating that the masque had been performed (O'Connor 'Rachel Fane' 95). If Straznicky's assertion that Cary did not produce a list of speakers is correct then we begin to gain further evidence of the role of the printer and/or bookseller/publisher in the textual production as well as in the physical presentation of a typical play-book. These typographical errors highlight the fact that in all probability the writer had no involvement in the generation of the textual content of the

³¹ 'The names of the Speakers.' Weller, Ferguson. *Elizabeth Cary*. 65. All subsequent references are to this edition.

typography of the original list of speakers. It is probably safe to assume that corrections would have been made prior to printing if the writer had any input into how the text was to be physically presented in the play-book, even if the list of speakers had not been generated by the writer. This aspect of the textual content of the typography of the original play-book deserves further study to help to understand why the list of speakers was considered sufficiently important for inclusion in a play-text by the book trade even if it was to preserve manuscript convention (Straznicky *Privacy* 43).

Little is known of the reader reception of Cary's drama. However, various handwritten emendations have been noted on extant copies (Hodgson-Wright 'Introduction' 34). It is interesting that two copies have particularly extensive emendations and a third has considerable additions to the text, indicating substantial engagement with the text. Interestingly, Straznicky has commented on emendations found on the V&A and Bodleian Library³² copies which, particularly in the case of the Bodleian Library copy, she feels 'reflect a sensitivity to the [*Mariam*] play as a performance piece' by owners in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Straznicky *Privacy* 48: n2). It is also interesting to note that the EEBO image of the Huntington copy shows an annotation of the word 'onely' written in a seventeenth-century secretary hand alongside 'One object yeelds both grieffe and joy' (I, i, l.10),³³ with an indication that the word might be positioned after 'object'. It may be that a reader suggested that the line had been printed in error as it is lacking in two syllables to complete the regular iambic pentameter and the addition of this word would complement its delivery.

Similarly, personal examination of the BL copy³⁴ offers evidence of the prestige attached to Cray's drama throughout its history. This extant copy has the last two leaves of the play-text supplied in a very high quality pen and ink facsimile of the original text. Although Hodgson-Wright states that this facsimile was supplied by an unknown hand (Hodgson-Wright

³² Mal.198(5).

³³ Spelling reproduced here as given in the Huntington Library copy.

³⁴ Shelfmark: C.34.c.9.

'Introduction' 34) it is thought to be supplied by the artist John Harris (1791-1873) or his son.³⁵ Moreover, I found that McKerrow's test applied to I1^{r-v} shows only a slight variation in the placement of the wording in comparison with the other copies that were tested. Consequently, great care has evidently been taken to ensure that the text on these final leaves simulates the appearance of the printed text of other copies. On the other hand, it is curious that there has been no attempt to reproduce the word 'FINIS.' at the end of the text or the woodcut image in the same manner as seen on other copies. Instead the word 'Finis.' is positioned between two lines (compared with other copies). Although a complex design is supplied beneath, which simulates the appearance of a woodcut image, no attempt was made to reproduce the same image found on other copies. Moreover, the words 'Hebrewes' and 'schoole' in the last two lines of the play-text (I2^r) on other copies are given as 'Hebrews' and 'school' in this copy. It is likely that the handwritten leaves were supplied to complete a damaged copy of the play-text and these differences from other copies lead to the possibility that this handwritten text might have been copied from another edition of the *Mariam* play-book. The painstaking care that was taken to complete the play-text in this manner gives some indication to the possible importance this play-book held as an artefact of a play-text during its history. A second BL copy³⁶ is known to have been in George III's library and was given to the British nation in 1823, but I noted that it was rebound in 1939. Moira Goff has confirmed that this copy is thought to have been once bound with other items; however, '[t]he earlier provenance of the King's Library material is largely unrecorded'.³⁷

It is reasonable to suggest that Cary's dedicatory poem may have been included (or excluded) in certain copies of the play-book for specific marketing reasons but not necessarily explicitly included for private circulation only. As I have argued in the analysis of my survey and of Lanyer's book, an understanding of a book's significance can only be

³⁵ Moira Goff supplied the following information: 'Such leaves were quite often added to imperfect copies of early printed books during the 19th century, and the Harrises were responsible for many manuscript facsimiles inserted into volumes in the collections of the British Museum Library.'

³⁶ Shelfmark: 162.c.28

³⁷ Information supplied by Moira Goff in a private communication.

reached if we attend to the possibilities that women writers did not write in some kind of a literary vacuum and were instead influenced by other writers and by the literary conventions of the day. Similarly, it is likely that booksellers/publishers and printers were influenced by these same literary conventions in their construction of the textual content of the typography of a printed book written by a woman.

Textual Analysis of the Typography in Extant Copies

The Title Page

Cary's title page clearly displays the subject matter of the play as being a tragedy, with the biggest font reserved for the word 'Tragedie'(fig.7). The use of some form of the word 'tragedy' on title pages of plays appears to have risen between 1590-1616 (Berek 169). Moreover, in her study of titles listed in the *STC Volumes* between 1587 and 1616, Hagen concludes that the low incidence of the word 'tragedy' as a title-word suggests that it was a 'specifically dramatic, rather than a widely literary term [...] as the convention of the tragedy developed' (Hagen pt 18), indicating 'a surprisingly coherent vision of English Renaissance tragedy between 1587 and 1616' (Hagen pt 23). Therefore, it seems that Cary's title page locates this play-book firmly in the realm of drama rather than as a purely literary text. In addition, Mariam's name is clearly prominent, constructing her as the tragic heroine (fig.7) who is '[t]he Faire, / ,Queene of Iewry'. This portrayal seems to draw on contemporary literary practice whereby Jewish women were often represented in a positive light (Callaghan 'Re-reading' 167-77), in contrast to male Jewish characters who were routinely portrayed as untrustworthy in seventeenth-century literature. For example; the title page of the 1633 publication of Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* entitled: 'The Famous / Tragedy / of / the Rich Jew / of Malta' (Marlowe 1).³⁸ Whilst this is not a directly pejorative representation of the protagonist the description does not appear to aim at eliciting any sympathy. However, 'The Prologue Spoken at Court' (6) shows him more directly in a derogatory light, describing him as 'a sound Machevill' (1.8). Subtitles

³⁸ Marlowe. *The Jew of Malta*. Ed. Siemon. All subsequent references to this play are to this edition.

were often used on title pages to further describe protagonists, and female protagonists were often shaped as villains. Vittoria is essentially the heroine of the tragedy of Webster's *The White Devil*³⁹, and the subtitle refers to 'The Tragedy of Paulo Giordano', but Vittoria is referred to in derogatory terms as 'the famous / Ventian Curtizan', shaping her as the 'Devil' of the main title. The Cary title page, noting a description of a 'Faire Queene', would be likely to engender sympathy for the main protagonist amongst potential play-book buyers. The force of the word 'faire' is such as to suggest gendered, societal and cultural expectations of a tragic heroine and is equivalent to Hagen's findings regarding words such as 'sorrowful' and 'sad', which were employed to 'subtly convey the high moral purpose of the tragedy' (Hagen pt 25) and elicit sympathy from the potential reader.

The source of Cary's drama is thought to be Thomas Lodge's translation of Flavius Josephus' history of the Jewish people, *The Antiquities* and *The Wars of the Jews* (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 17; Hodgson-Wright 'Introduction' 16),⁴⁰ which was printed in England in 1602 (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 17).⁴¹ Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to interrogate previous scholars' assessments of Cary's source material, Kelly has suggested that Cary may have used Peter Morwen's *Compendious and Most Marveilous History of the Latter Tymes of the Jewes Commune Weale*. Morwen's volume was 'printed ten times between 1558 and 1615' whereas Josephus' work was 'relatively uncommon' (Kelly 'Martyrdom' 40-1). Although it might also be argued that Josephus' volume was reprinted many times, on balance, Kelly concludes that it was probably less well-known than Peter Morwen's volume (Kelly 'Martyrdom' 40-1). Weller and Ferguson comment that Josephus describes the tribulations of the marriage of Herod and Mariam but does not shape the narrative as a tragedy or Mariam as a tragic heroine (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 20). Similarly, none of the title pages of

³⁹ Webster. *The White Devil*. Ed. Luckyj. All subsequent references to this play are to this edition.

⁴⁰ See Flavius Josephus. Ed. Weller, Ferguson 'Appendix A' 277-82. All references to Josephus' account are to this edition.

⁴¹ See Flavius Josephus. *The Famous and Memorable Workes of Josephus, A Man of Much Honour and Learning Among the Jewes. Faithfully translated out of the Latin, and French, by Tho. Lodge Doctor in Physicke*. (1602). STC 14809.

the mid-sixteenth-century publications of Mariam's story appear to shape Mariam as a tragic heroine (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 23).⁴²

Gutierrez has commented that Cary's play-book may have been relatively unusual in its day because before 1603 the subject matter of most closet dramas was women and the domestic sphere whereas after 1603 such dramas primarily dealt with men and public affairs (Gutierrez 237: n18). Therefore, the *Mariam* play-book, with its title page indicating a tragedy concerned with a woman and royalty and hence public affairs, might have been eye-catching in a bookseller/publisher's shop. Certainly, I did not examine any title pages in my survey which had a similar textual content.

Whatever the source of Cary's narrative, there are some interesting connotations in the use of the name 'Mariam' on the title page of the book. Josephus' character is called 'Mariamme' but the spelling used by Cary has an association with the Virgin Mary. Warner comments that the Virgin is not always named as Mary and Maria but in the Bible there are twelve instances where she is named Mariam (Warner 14). The name 'Mariam' also suggests the name of Moses' sister, Miriam, who was punished for using her voice in public (Shell 60), and who was 'long evoked in defenses of female preaching across the early modern period' (Achinstein 215). The name Mariam, therefore, embodies nuances of chastity and female vocal agency, both of which are emphasized as attributes attached to the main protagonist in Cary's text. The use of 'Mariam' as the name of a queen on the title page might also have Catholic overtones, reminding a potential reader of Catholic queens from recent history with the name Mary (Mary Tudor (reign: 1553-1558) and Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots (reign: 1542-1567)). The life and times of both queens would have probably been seen as tragedies by English Catholics. Mary Tudor did not manage to produce an heir and so was succeeded by her Protestant sister Elizabeth, who beheaded her cousin, Mary Queen of Scots, in 1587 for plotting to overthrow her. By the time the *Mariam* play-text was written and then printed, the deaths of both queens had led to England being ruled by a

⁴² Weller and Ferguson suggest that Cary may have read other dramas about Herod and Mariam: 'Ludovico Doce's *Marianna* (ca.1565) and Hans Sach's *Tragedia... der Wutrich Konig Herodes ...* (1552). In addition, she might have known of Alexandre Hardy's *Mariamne* (written and performed in 1600 but not published until 1625).'

Protestant, James (Mary Stuart's son), with little hope of it returning to Catholicism. Moreover, Kelly has commented that Lodge's translation of Cary's apparent source presents 'a defense of Catholic understandings of Christian history and theology' (Kelly 'Jewish History' 993-1010). Whilst the identification of possible Catholic overtones in the *Mariam* title page is seductive, the narrative and characters in the *Mariam* play-text do not offer a simple account of Catholicism versus Protestantism, particularly if we bear in mind that Morwen's text has been identified as having a Protestant bias (Kelly 'Jewish History' 993-1010). Therefore, no definite conclusions can be drawn as to any aim on Cary's part to produce a drama with Catholic nuances.

As mentioned earlier, it is interesting to note that Cary's name is only given as 'E.C.' (fig.7). In the context of my survey, Cary's presentation is relatively unusual; I found only 8% ($\frac{11}{140}$) of title pages with initials as identification of the woman writer.⁴³ If it is correct to understand that Cary is the first English woman to have published an original drama and possibly one of only two closet dramas associated with women writers and printed in England at that time, (along with the two editions of the Countess of Pembroke translation of Garnier's *Marc Antoine*) then it is interesting to note that these attributes were not emphasized on the title page or used as a marketing strategy to attract potential readers to the book. Moreover, as Bruster comments, readers in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were as interested in the identity of the writer as they were in the contents of a book (Bruster 59). Hence, printers are thought to have conspicuously displayed the status of the writer on the title pages of their books in order to attract a readership (Schnell 81). However, Farmer and Lesser comment on changes in title pages of early modern commercial public play-books compared with those of non-commercial play-books: 'While the frequency of author attributions on commercial title pages rose to over 85%, the rate for non-commercial title pages held fairly steady around 60% throughout the period' (Farmer, Lesser 101). On the other hand, North notes that 'in many publications

⁴³ See previous discussion, p.63.

where both the author's name and discretion could prove attractive to readers, initials could serve both functions simultaneously and work as a subtle sign of a book's status and ambition' (North *Anonymous* 70). It may be that 'E.C.' was supplied as Cary's name in an effort to draw on traditions of poets who maintained their anonymity in a modest effort to offer an 'identifying function in elite coterie' and gain court approval (North 'Anonymity's' 1). As discussed earlier, my survey suggests that there was no particular tendency to present a woman's printed text in a publication with a title page without her name or just her initials as some kind of rhetorical construction indicating a lack of enthusiasm for self-advancement; an ideal feminine quality. By contrast, Cary is presented with social status and stereotypical attributes along with her initials.⁴⁴ However, the commentary of 'truly noble' can also place an emphasis on the writer's magnanimity. Nonetheless, coupled with the word 'vertuous', the term 'truly noble' endows 'E.C.' with rhetorical modesty and evidence of lack of self-promotion, an appropriate respectability for a woman or male writer with a high social status. The term 'truly noble' was probably added to the description of the 'Ladie' who wrote the drama to situate her unequivocally as a noblewoman in society. Such a move can be read as part of a marketing strategy to profile the writer as hailing from the upper classes. Interestingly, Purkiss observes that the Tanfield family 'were not nobles'; however, on marrying Henry Cary Elizabeth was 'marrying into the upper classes', producing 'an alliance between old and new gentry' (Purkiss 'Blood' 29-30). Early modern women often derived their identity and social status from their husbands (Purkiss 'Blood' 27-45), but the presentation of 'E.C.' as 'truly noble' conceals the fact that Cary derived her nobility from her husband and not from her own lineage. Therefore, it appears that Cary is deliberately shaped as a member of the elite in society by the description of her on the title page. Consequently, Cary's drama is positioned like other closet dramas, 'self-consciously ... within an elite literary culture' (Straznicki *Privacy* 4). Again, Cary's title page is relatively uncommon with regard to my survey findings: typical female or

⁴⁴ See previous discussion, pp.258-9.

social attributes were indicated on only 31% (²⁶/73+11) of title pages attached to a woman's name or initials (Table 4).

Furthermore, the title page advertises this drama as part of a portfolio from a writer known to the book-buying public. The coupling of 'that' with the word 'learned' offers the implication that Cary was already known to an elite learned readership (Straznicky *Privacy* 64-5). Roberts comments that at the time of the publication of the *Mariam* play-book, Cary was known to the book-buying public because Michael Drayton dedicated his *Englands Heroicall Epistles* (1597) to her (J A Roberts, 'Marriage' 172). However, Drayton refers to Cary by her maiden name of Elizabeth Tanfield and it seems unlikely that the connection would be made some sixteen years later when the *Mariam* play-book was published in print under her married name of Cary. The manner in which Cary's name is noted in Davies's dedication in his *The Muses Sacrifice* (1612) is considerably different to the title page of the *Mariam* play-book because it locates her as specifically deriving her identity from her husband:

TO THE MOST NOBLE,

and no lesse deseruedly-renowned Ladies,
as well Darlings, as Patronesses, of the
Muses; LVCY, *Countesse of Bedford*;
MARY, *Countesse-Dowager of Pembroke*;
and, ELIZABETH, *Lady Cary*,
(Wife of Sr. Henry Cary)

Glories of Women

(*The Muses Sacrifice*, *.*2)

By being mentioned with acolytes such as the Countesses of Pembroke and Bedford Davies' dedication seems to point to Cary's likely involvement in various literary circles. She was probably mentioned last in accordance with 'heraldic rules for precedence' (Stillman 144). With regard to Cary's literary fame, Davies' description of her does not appear to imply that she was known in her own right in 1612. This description leads to the conclusion that in the short space of a year it is unlikely that Cary had become very well known amongst either Davies' coterie readers or indeed the book-buying public. Hence, the addition of the word 'that' to the description of E.C., on the 1613 *Mariam* play-book's title page, probably should not be read as an indication of Cary's literary fame amongst the

printed-book buyers. Instead, 'that' was probably added as part of some marketing strategy that provides a subtle hint towards a coterie or general literary currency for the author, thus seeming to anticipate a readership of printed material that was attracted to books by writers reputed to be, if not actually, well known. It can be suggested that the overall importance of the title page textual construction seems to have been to shape Cary as a writer of a play-book in the realm of 'an elite literary culture' (Straznicky *Privacy* 4). This suggestion is supported by the textual content of the typography of the title pages of editions of the only other extant closet drama in print during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that can be directly associated with another woman writer.

Mary Sidney translated Robert Garnier's closet drama *Marc Antoine*. The title pages of both the 1592 printing of *Antonius: A Tragædie*, (by John Windet) and the 1595 printing of *The Tragedie of Antonie* (by P. Short) similarly do not show the writer's name in full on the title page. Instead, in the 1592 book only her title is given, in italics which offset it from the description of her role as translator: 'Both done in English by the *Countesse of Pembroke*'. Her name is placed centrally and directly above the woodcut device. In the 1595 book only 'Pembroke' is given in italics but again it is placed centrally directly above the woodcut device. It therefore seems that her printers, Windet and Short, and/or her bookseller/publisher, Ponsonby, assumed that any potential reader who was inspecting the title pages would know of the Countess of Pembroke and no further explanation as to her nobility would be required. Interestingly, the eminent bookseller/publisher, William Ponsonby, has his name prominently in italics of both publications of Sidney's closet drama. It suggests that the name of the bookseller/publisher, especially a well-respected one, was used as part of a marketing strategy to attract as many readers as possible. Creede also places his name centrally below the woodcut device on the *Mariam* play-book's title page, in a bigger font than the bookseller/publisher's name. This configuration is common on many of Creede's other title pages. It seems that a prospective reader's attention was being drawn to the well-known printer's name rather than the lesser-known and less-experienced Hawkins' name as a possible marketing

strategy. In addition, the *Mariam* play-book's title page discloses that E.C. is a 'Ladie' who is positioned as the originator of a tragedy of another woman, 'Mariam'. This shaping of the writer can be read as a self-conscious public display, using "'woman" [as] a marketing device exploiting anticipated readers' interest in printed texts about (and for) women' (M Bell 'Writing' 433).

Clegg comments in her study of mid-seventeenth-century play-books that although women were acknowledged as readers of plays it was most likely men who bought the books (Clegg 'Renaissance' 30). However, as discussed earlier, the printed book of a drama written by a woman had to be marketed as a play for private consumption because women did not write for the public theatre. Therefore, by shaping Cary as a modest woman from the elite in society, the title page positions her as a credible writer of an erudite subject matter, apposite for members of a literary coterie who were elite readers or members of an audience for privately performed drama. Most importantly, the title page was designed to help in attracting elite and, possibly, female readers from among the book-buying public. By referring to 'the female reader/audience' one should not assume a homogenous and gendered viewing or reading practice. The *Mariam* book might have been advertised for a reader/audience anticipated to be female rather than male.

Despite the possibility that the *Mariam* play-book's title page was designed to attract an elite and possibly female readership, it seems to be typical of the title pages printed by Creede on books across many genres. It is thought that Creede usually decorated his title pages with woodcuts and devices (Yamada 58). And, as mentioned before, Creede uses a similar device and motto on Dowriche's *The French Historie* (figs. 5 and 6).⁴⁵ Weller and Ferguson are tempted to infer that Creede's use of the Truth emblem (together with the motto 'Viressit Vulnere Veritas') (fig.7) indicates that he might have had the same religious affiliations as Mary Queen of Scots because she used the same emblem and motto (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 45). However, Mary's and Creede's mottos are

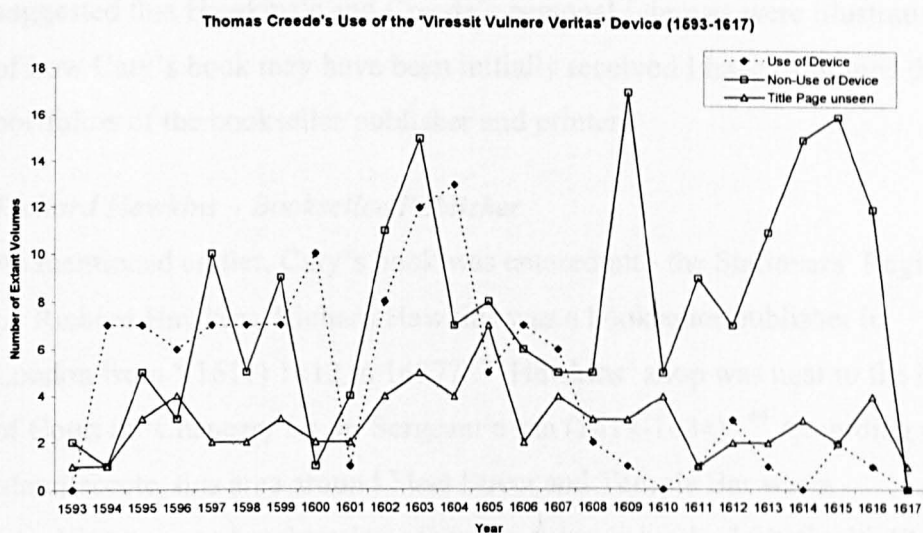
⁴⁵ See previous discussion, pp.87-8.

slightly different. Creede's device reads 'Viressit Vulnere Veritas' ('Truth [flourishes] through wounding') whereas Mary, Queen of Scots and Bess of Hardwick have been shown to use the motto: 'Virescit Vulnere Virtus' (Virtue flourishes by wounding') in their embroidery. Both Mary, Queen of Scots and Bess of Hardwick embroidered this motto on the Norfolk Panel, depicting 'a pruning hook cutting back unfruiting vines' (Durant 66).⁴⁶ And they do not seem to have used the female image used in Creede's device. Durant suggests that this panel was a political statement against Queen Elizabeth I (Durant 66). On the other hand, definite religious affiliations cannot be safely concluded by the sentiment of either motto. Mary was Catholic and the motto could easily be applied by Catholics living under Elizabeth's regime. And, as mentioned earlier,⁴⁷ Creede's device has a spelling mistake; 'Viressit' should read 'Virescit', meaning 'flourishing or strengthening'. It may be that Creede was not aware of the spelling mistake in his motto, hence one can conclude that his Truth device probably had no genuine significance for him other than decoration. This suggestion is supported by the findings of a review of extant title pages printed by Creede. With regard to extant volumes which bear his name, it seems that Creede used this device fairly regularly across genres, although it may be that he used it generally less often after 1607 rather than earlier in his career (fig.P).

⁴⁶ See also J Dunn 409-10.

⁴⁷ See previous discussion, p.88.

Figure P:



Creede used the Truth device on twenty-seven of his extant drama/theatre play-books (75%), forty-nine miscellaneous books (30%) and twenty-three literature books (50%). However, he used it on only fifteen of the religious books that bear his name (12%). Consequently, no distinct conclusions can be made from Creede's use of his Truth device but it probably had no religious significance and was just an illustrated 'trademark' on his printed works.

In conclusion, although the *Mariam* play-book's title page is not particularly unusual, it can be deduced that it was carefully and specifically constructed to advertise the book as a drama within an 'elite literary culture' (Straznicky *Privacy* 4) to mimic the membership of potential readers within a fictive quasi-private coterie. This might have been an important characteristic used to attract prospective readers from among the elite in society. Whilst Cary is shaped with propriety and feminine virtue, thereby making her a credible authority to write, she is also possibly constructed as a member of the aristocracy by her anonymity, which was a quality that seems to have been all-important to the book trade hoping to attract buyers of a closet drama book.

As discussed earlier, there is also no evidence to suggest that Cary's book was printed without authorization. Most importantly, the title page's imprint clearly indicates that the book was 'Printed by Thomas Creede, for Richard Hawkins' and it was to be sold at Hawkins' shop 'in Chancery

Lane, neere vnto Sargents Inne'. Drawing on previous commentary that has suggested that Hawkins's and Creede's personal interests were illustrative of how Cary's book may have been initially received I have examined the portfolios of the bookseller/publisher and printer.

Richard Hawkins – Bookseller/Publisher

As mentioned earlier, Cary's book was entered into the Stationers' Register by Richard Hawkins. Richard Hawkins was a bookseller/publisher in London from '(1611) 1612 to 1637'.⁴⁸ Hawkins' shop was near to the Inns of Court in 'Chancery La. nr Sergeant's Inn (1613-1634)'.⁴⁹ According to Mandelbrote, this area around Fleet Street and Temple Bar was a 'significant secondary location of the [book]trade by the 1640s' with St Paul's Churchyard consistently the most important location for the London book trade throughout the seventeenth century (Mandelbrote 24-5: fig.2). Previous scholarship has suggested that it would be advantageous for a stationery shop to have a close proximity to 'a major thoroughfare or to particular customers' (Raven 89). Hawkins' shop was also located in close proximity to potential customers from the population of students at the Inns of Court. Consequently, one might suggest that Hawkins could have agreed to publish Cary's closet drama because of the advantages of the location of his shop. Students at the Inns of Court are known to have had a great interest in dramas: for example, Shakespeare's public theatre plays, such as *Twelfth Night*, were favoured in the Inns of Court revels and it is thought that texts for private performance, such as *Troilus and Cressida*, were also of interest (Elton 2). On the other hand, as mentioned earlier, the bookseller/publisher noted on an imprint would be the wholesale bookseller/publisher but she or he would also sell books retail which had been published by other bookseller/publishers. So, a book published by the bookseller/publisher noted on the imprint, would be on sale in other parts of London as well and the geographically immediate book-buying students of the Inns of Court would not be the only potential customers with access

⁴⁸ The BBTI; *STC Volume III* 80; McKerrow *A Dictionary* 132-3. Hawkins gained his freedom in 1611 and has a possible end date of 1637. See 133 where McKerrow notes that Hawkins was in business from 1613 to 1636.

⁴⁹ The BBTI.

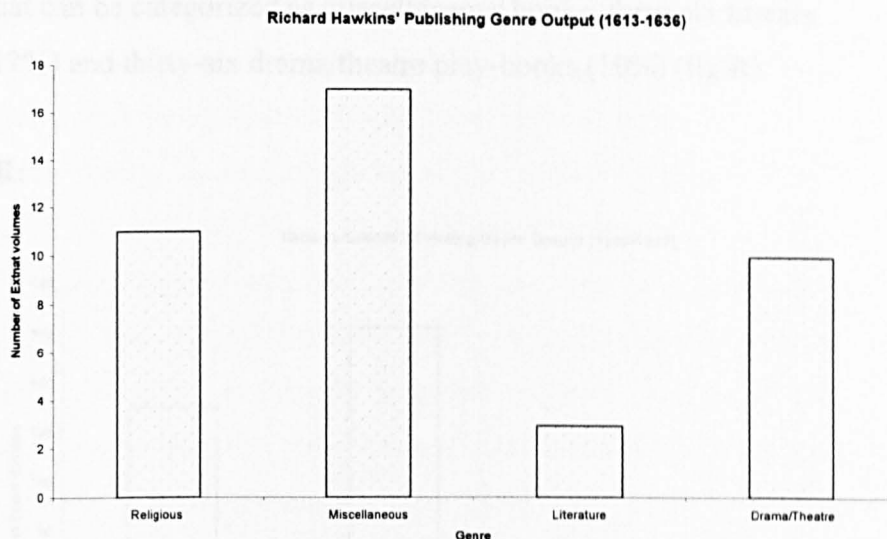
to a book of drama. For example, *Twelfth Night* is known to have been performed at the revels in February 1602 (Elton 2) but was not printed until 1623 in the First Folio⁵⁰ and, as mentioned before, Bonian printed two editions of Shakespeare's *The Famous Historie of Troylus and Cresseid* in 1609. Both texts would have been sold by the bookseller/publishers from their shops in St Paul's Churchyard as well as in other retail outlets across London. But these two cases do not prove that students did not routinely purchase quarto drama texts from nearby shops.

It has also been tentatively suggested that the Cary family may have known Edmund Mattes, to whom Hawkins was apprenticed⁵¹ which might suggest a reason why Hawkins published Cary's play-book. This suggestion seems doubtful since it is based on the tenuous idea that both Mattes and the Cary family originated from Oxfordshire (J A Roberts 'Marriage' 173). In addition, since Cary's mother had translated work by Seneca and Mattes had published such translations by other writers, Roberts offers the unsubstantiated idea that Cary's mother was likely to have known Mattes (J A Roberts 'Marriage' 173). Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to review the business activities of Hawkins it is interesting to note that a review of extant books bearing his name shows that he published only forty-one surviving books. He does not appear to have specialized in any particular type of publishing and his output represents an eclectic mix of works. He published eleven religious books (27%), seventeen miscellaneous books (41%), three literary books (7%) and ten drama/theatre play-books (24%), nine of which were public theatre plays with one closet drama text. Unlike Bonian who seemed to have published mostly religious works which might be expected given that "Religious books", in conventional terms, are found to have been the single most important component of the publishing trade' (Collinson, Hunt, Walsham 29), Hawkins seems to have mostly published miscellaneous works (fig.Q).

⁵⁰ *Mr William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies*. (1623). STC 22273. Early English Books Online. All subsequent references to the First folio are to images accessed from this site.

⁵¹ The BBTI shows 1604 as the date of apprenticeship with 1611 as Hawkins' date of freedom.

Figure Q:



This mix of publications indicates that Hawkins had no particular interest in certain types of texts and probably published whatever texts he was able to acquire during his career.

Thomas Creede – Printer

Thomas Creede was a London printer from 1593 to 1617 although he was made a freeman of the Stationers' Company of London as early as 7 October 1578 (Yamada 3).⁵² Although this thesis is not focusing on the business activities of printers and bookseller/publishers to any great extent, it is interesting to note that there is a business link between Creede and Hawkins after the publication of Cary's volume. Creede 'took Bernard Alsop into partnership in 1616 and turned the business over to him in 1617':⁵³ in 1618 'Alsop printed as [Hawkins'] assignee.'⁵⁴ Previous scholars have said that Creede had a 'special interest in literary material' (Straznický *Privacy* 62); however, the results of my survey of extant volumes which bear his name have shown a somewhat different picture. It seems that he printed a wide range of texts, including one hundred and thirty religious extant volumes (35% of his extant output of a total of three

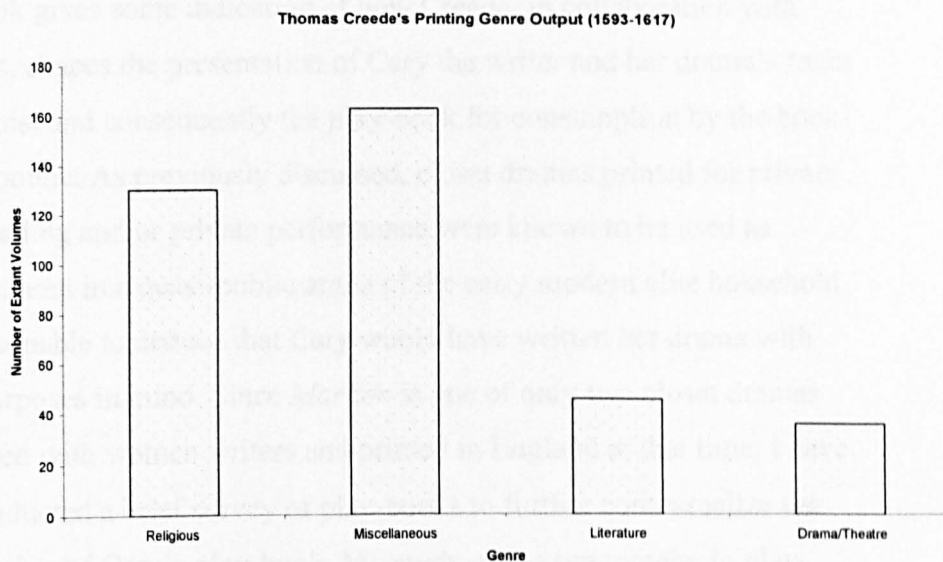
⁵² Yamada comments that it is thought that Creede was a journeyman until he opened his own printing house in 1593. Journeymen were contract compositors or pressmen. For more details see Gaskell, 172-3. The BBTI shows the date of freedom as 1578 with an end date of possibly 1619, which is also found in *The Short-Title Volume III* 47.

⁵³ *STC Volume III* 47. See also the BBTI.

⁵⁴ *STC Volume III* 80. See also the BBTI.

hundred and seventy-five books), with one hundred and sixty-three books (43%) that can be categorized as miscellaneous books, forty-six literary books (12%) and thirty-six drama/theatre play-books (10%) (fig.R).

Figure R:



Interestingly, three of the seven books that Creede printed in 1601 have been recognized as being recusant texts, despite Weller and Ferguson's assertion that there are no recusant texts identified with Creede (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 45). Nonetheless, this is unlikely to indicate a Catholic affiliation on Creede's part (Yamada 7) as has been tentatively suggested (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 45). Creede later printed an anti-Catholic book, Francis Burton's *The Fierie Tryall of Gods Saints* (1612). Therefore, it seems that Creede printed whatever he was commissioned and there is no evidence that he had any preferences in the type of texts that he printed.

It may also be that the decision to have the *Mariam* play-book printed was to take advantage of the popularity of texts on marriage.⁵⁵ It has also been thought that the publication of the *Mariam* play-book was planned to coincide with the famous annulment of the marriage in 1613 between Frances Howard and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex (J A Roberts

⁵⁵ Examples of texts which examined these subjects and, incidentally, were also printed by Creede are: Robert Cleaver. *A Codly Form of Householde Governement* (1598). STC 5382. Early English Books Online; Thomas Heywood. *A Pleasant Conceited Comedie, Wherein is shewed how a man may chuse a good Wife from a bad.* (1602). STC 5594. Early English Books Online.

'Marriage' 161-78). Equally, given the subject matter, it may be that the *Mariam* play-book was printed to take advantage of the popularity of revenge tragedies and 'tyrant-driven plays'. Revenge tragedies and 'tyrant-driven plays' were very popular during James' reign (Allman 190). Whatever the reason for publication, my review of the title page of Cary's play-book gives some indication of how Creede, in collaboration with Hawkins, shapes the presentation of Cary the writer and her drama's main protagonist and consequently the play-book for consumption by the book-buying public. As previously discussed, closet dramas printed for private silent reading and/or private performance were known to be used as entertainment in a quasi-public arena of the early modern elite household. It is reasonable to deduce that Cary would have written her drama with these purposes in mind. Since *Mariam* is one of only two closet dramas associated with women writers and printed in England at that time, I have also conducted a brief survey of play-books to further contextualize the presentation of Cary's play-book. My study of the typography in play-books seeks to establish whether Cary and/or her drama were presented any differently from other contemporary printed play-texts. Moreover, the survey is intended to give some indication of how far the physical presentation of such volumes corroborates suggested uses and enhances a writer's possible intentions.

Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Public Theatre Play-Books Printed by Thomas Creede or Published by Richard Hawkins (1550-1650)

The front matter and play-texts of fourteen closet dramas were identified and evaluated against twelve public theatre play-books, along with two masques (to give a comparable total of fourteen), by using EEBO as a tool to identify typographical presentation of textual content.⁵⁶ The public theatre play-books reviewed were either published by Hawkins or printed

⁵⁶ For more details of methodology used see Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650) in Methodology.

by Creede. Of the two masques chosen, one was printed by Creede while the other, randomly chosen, was printed for Thomas Thorp. However, only 29% ($7/24$) of all Creede's public theatre play-books and 56% ($5/9$) of all Hawkins' play-books (giving a total of twelve) had any front matter at all which could be included in this survey as a comparison with the presentation of printed closet drama texts. This apparent random presence of front matter in Creede's and Hawkins' publications is in line with findings in previous studies of front matter in public theatre play-books.⁵⁷ By contrast, thirteen out of the fourteen closet drama books inspected had front matter.⁵⁸ It, therefore, seems that the *Mariam* play-book is typical of other closet drama books in containing front matter.

Front Matter

Cary's dedicatory poem is also a fairly typical example of front matter in closet drama books, which may support my suggestion that it was included specifically for circulation within the public world of print as opposed to some kind of private circulation amongst Cary's family members. Of the closet drama books surveyed 57% ($8/14$) contained dedicatory addresses. Moreover, 63% ($5/8$) of those books had dedicatory poems as opposed to prose. A smaller proportion of public theatre play-books contained dedicatory addresses. Only 33% ($4/12$) public theatre play-books contained dedicatory addresses (all written in prose). It seems that closet drama books were likely to contain dedicatory addresses, particularly in the form of a poem. Therefore the absence of Cary's dedicatory poem seems to be something of an anomaly. Although there are only two masques in this brief survey and so conclusions on the construction of masque play-books were not attempted, neither had a similar construction to either public theatre play-books or closet drama books and only one of the masque books contained a prose address.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ For further discussions see Clegg 'Renaissance' 33; Stern 'A Small-beer' 172-99.

⁵⁸ See Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650). The exception is Fulke Greville, *The Tragedy of Mustapha* (1609), STC 12362, which has no front matter.

⁵⁹ See Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650). Samuel Daniel, *The Vision of the 12 Goddesses...* (1604).

With regard to the inclusion of a list of speakers in a play-book 33% ($4/12$) of public theatre play-books included a list of speakers while 86% ($12/14$) of closet drama books had a list of speakers positioned before the start of the play proper.⁶⁰ This finding is in agreement with previous commentary and it seems likely that a list of speakers/actors/characters was a standard addition to the front matter of closet drama books as in the *Mariam* play-book (de Grazia and Stalybrass 267). Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that 50% ($7/14$) of closet dramas referred to the speakers in the dramas as ‘actors’.⁶¹ Curiously, in Brandon’s *The Tragicomoedi of the Vertuous Octavia* (1598) the title of the drama is subtitled on A4^v with ‘The Stage supposed Rome’. Similarly, ‘The Argument’ in *A Discourse of Life and Death [...] Antonius: A Tragædie* states: ‘The Stage supposed Alexandria’ (F^v). Ostensibly, the words ‘stage’ and ‘actors’ seem out of place with reference to a closet drama not designed with performativity in mind. Instead, these terms might be expected in a play-book of a drama that had previously been performed. On the other hand, it should be noted that in early usage the word ‘actor’ did not necessarily refer to an individual who acted on a stage in front of an audience. The *Oxford English Dictionary* states that from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century the word ‘actor’ could mean ‘one who acts, or performs any action, or takes part in any affair, a doer.’ Therefore, in their context Brandon’s and Mary Sidney’s books might not necessarily be offering a possible performativity in their closet dramas.

On the other hand, a clearer example of the front matter seeming to anticipate the use of the printed drama text in a stylized performance is the translation of Theodore de Beza’s *A Tragædie of Abrahams Sacrifice*

⁶⁰ See Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650). Only William Shakespeare’s *The Famous Historie of Troylus and Cresseid* and Fulke Greville’s *The Tragedy of Mustapha* did not have a list of speakers.

⁶¹ See Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650), for example, Samuel Brandon, *The Tragicomoedi of the Vertuous Octavia*.

(1577).⁶² This prologue seems to address some kind of an anticipated audience rather than a reader in a private solitary space:

ye Gentlemen and Ladies, I ye pray
Giue eare and harken...
Wherefore I craue but silence at your hand'
I say yit further to you, see you wel
Yon place? (Aviii^v, ll.3-4; Aviii^f, ll.7-8,15)

It is also important to note that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century readers of play-books read to be informed as well as entertained (Clegg 'Renaissance' 35). An example of the book trade's acknowledgement of this purpose is illustrated by the address to the reader in Shakespeare's *Second Folio* (1632)⁶³ urging the reader to '[r]eade him, therefore; and againe, and againe' (A4^f, ll.34-5). The reader is flattered in Francis Beaumont's and John Fletcher's *Philaster* (1634)⁶⁴ and positioned as a member of the elite in society with the capacity not only to judge a play but also to improve it: 'the Actors being onely the labouring Miners, but you the skilfull Tries and Refiners' (A2^v, ll.5-7). If the printed closet drama book was specifically constructed by the book trade to flatter a potential reader into feeling part of a fictive quasi-private coterie who partook in engaging to 'a degree of seriousness [and] studiousness' (Hackel 117) and read in the pursuit of knowledge (Clegg 'Renaissance' 35), it might be expected that there would be some kind of address to that potential reader in such drama books. Nonetheless, Cary's front matter does not specifically address a general reader and this seems to be fairly typical of other closet drama books. Only 29% (4/14) of closet drama books had any form of address to the reader or prologue in the form of an address.⁶⁵ Moreover, only 33% (4/12) of public theatre play-books had addresses to readers. This finding is in line with Clegg's conclusion that there is only random

⁶² See Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650). Theodore de Beza, (A.G. trans.) *A Tragedie of Abrahams Sacrifice*.

⁶³ See Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650).

⁶⁴ See Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650).

⁶⁵ See Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650). Theodore de Beza's (A.G. trans.) *A Tragedie of Abrahams Sacrifice* (1577).

inclusion of addresses to the reader in public theatre play-books (Clegg 'Renaissance' 35). Similarly, two masques did not include an explicit address to the general reader. The masque printed by Creede (published by Simon Waterson in 1604) positions its text as a report of a prior performance of the masque, addressed specifically to the Countess of Bedford. It, therefore, shapes the general reader as a voyeur on this pseudo-private correspondence.⁶⁶ It can be argued that this address constructs the printed masque text as part of a simulation of a restricted circulation of the masque such as might be regularly seen within a manuscript literary coterie.

Although the reader of the closet drama book was not routinely addressed, as in the *Mariam* play-book, she or he is offered a synopsis of the narrative of the play in the form of a prose argument. The *Mariam* play-book includes an argument, as did 71% (¹⁰/₁₄) of closet dramas I reviewed, all positioned in front of the first Act of the play. By contrast, no public theatre play-books contained an argument. Instead, 58% (⁷/₁₂) contained prologues, positioned at the start of the play proper. But epilogues/conclusions were found in only two closet dramas (14%, ²/₁₄)⁶⁷ and only one public theatre play-book.⁶⁸ It, therefore, seems likely that a closet drama book was routinely furnished with an argument positioned in front of the first act. Prologues and epilogues seem to be randomly assigned to both closet drama books and public theatre play-books.

Although the Cary play-book contains an argument entitled 'The Argument' (A2^f) the running title on the verso reads 'The Epistle' (A2^v).⁶⁹ It seems that the skeleton forme for printing the top and the bottom of the page was mistakenly applied thereby introducing this error. Moreover, typographical errors in the list of speakers have been blamed on the compositor and it seems that the error in the running title might also be

⁶⁶ See Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650). Samuel Daniel, *The Vision of the 12 Goddesses...* (1604).

⁶⁷ See Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650) de Beza's *A Tragedie of Abrahams Sacrifice* (called 'The Conclusion'), and Brandon's *The tragicomoedi of the vertuous Octavia*.

⁶⁸ See Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650). Thomas Dekker, *If It Be not Good, the Diuel is in it. A New Play* (1612).

⁶⁹ The OED indicates that 'Epistle' has a quite different definition to 'Argument'. 'Epistle' is as 'A preface or letter of dedication addressed to a patron, or to the reader, at the beginning of a literary work.'

explained by substandard working practices in reading and printing from the writer's manuscript. These mistakes, however, cannot be taken as evidence that the Cary play-book was constructed with less care and attention than any other printed books at that time because it is thought that the quality of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century printing in England was poorer than that on the Continent.⁷⁰ Similar apparent typographical errors are clearly evident in other play-books I reviewed: for example, a different running title is also printed in the front matter of Shakespeare's *The Famous Historie of Troylus and Cresseid*.⁷¹ The address to the reader is titled 'A neuer writer, to an euer reader. Newes.', but the running title on the verso side is 'Epistle'.

Play-texts

The *Mariam* play-text has designated Acts and Scenes (with a list of speakers at the start of a scene who take part in that particular scene) with a Chorus at the end of each Act and a mixture of roman type and italics in the play-text. One typographical error is noted where Silleus' man is not mentioned just prior to the scene in which he speaks (Act III, Scene II). He is also omitted from 'The names of the Speakers'. In her analysis of Samuel Davies' *Philotas*, as a 'non- theatrical type of play', Straznicky says that it 'display[s] all the characteristics of drama written in the neo-classical playreading tradition: a prose argument, a list of "The names of Actors" regular divisions into acts and scenes, continuous text columns, and typographically distinct sententiae' (Straznicky *Privacy* 4). She has examined these features and found them in examples of closet drama texts, concluding that the *Mariam* play-text is constructed 'to create a more conspicuously reader-friendly play' (Straznicky *Privacy* 57).

Interestingly, no Acts and Scenes were seen in the sample of public play-texts reviewed. For example, the 1599 publication of *Romeo & Juliet* has no Acts or Scenes designated; however, there are Acts and Scenes in 'The Tragedie of Romeo & Juliet', in the Shakespeare's First Folio (1623).

⁷⁰ Information from a private communication with Carlo Dumontet.

⁷¹ See Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650).

Of the closet drama books surveyed 86% ($\frac{12}{14}$) did contain Acts and Scenes. Similarly, the *Mariam* play-text is separated into Acts and Scenes. With the exception of the first Act and Scene, they are prominently placed between two horizontal lines and so appear to support Straznický's conclusion that the *Mariam* play-book is positioned as a closet drama book. The play-texts of both Mary Sidney's *A Discourse of Life and Death [...] Antonius: A Tragædie*, and *The Tragedie of Antonie*, do not exhibit particularly noticeable titles for each act, in contrast to the *Mariam* play-book, and no scenes are noted. Both editions seem to show a compositor's error by omitting the title Act 3 in the tragedy. However, it is impossible to assess whether, or not Cary indicated the Acts and Scenes in her manuscript. Nonetheless, Howard-Hill comments that '[a]ct divisions did not exist in the early [sixteenth century] Latin manuscripts but were eventually added by printers and editors' (Howard-Hill 134-5). As a consequence, it may be that Hawkins and Creede were responsible for the location of the Acts and Scenes in their textual production of the *Mariam* play-book. Input by Hawkins and/or Creede, rather than Cary might also explain the awkward locations of some Acts, as noted by Straznický (Straznický *Privacy* 57). However, Howard-Hill comments on printed plays in general and states that '[d]ivision into five acts was arbitrary and conventional. [...] Such confusions foreshadow the treatment of Act and Scene division in sixteenth-century plays' (Howard-Hill 134-5), which might offer a contrary explanation for 'awkward locations' of Acts and Scenes.

Moreover, printed closet play-texts might have been produced in the same manner as public theatre play-texts, and there is no reason to anticipate otherwise. If so, then the printer or bookseller/publisher of closet drama play-texts would have a major input into the construction. This is illustrated in the address to the reader of de Beza's *A Tragedie of Abrahams Sacrifice* closet drama text, which states: 'I haue separated the prologue, & divided the whole into pawse, after the maner of actes in comedies' (Aiiiii^f, ll.14-6). This comment would support Straznický's

conclusion that the physical presentation of a play-text has been specifically structured to aid reading.⁷²

Gutierrez comments that the 'formal structure' of closet drama texts also includes 'the presence of the chorus' (Gutierrez 236). However, in my survey, not all (79%, ¹¹/₁₄) closet drama play-texts contained Choruses. Therefore, with regard to my survey, it seems that closet dramas were probably not all constructed in the traditional neo-classical manner recognized by Straznicky. As might be expected, none of the public theatre play-books had Choruses; 'The Prologue' in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (1599) is an interesting exception which is subtitled as a 'Corus.' (A2^r). However, the 'Corus' is missing in the First Folio.

Early closet drama books were printed in black letter. It is thought that black letter type was prevalent only until 1591 (Howard-Hill 138),⁷³ because it was thought to produce a sense of antiquity and 'Englishness' (Lesser 'Typographic' 107). In following years a mixture of roman and italic type was predominant in all kind of printed plays in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Howard-Hill 138). Therefore, it is unsurprising that all images of play-texts I reviewed, printed after 1591 (public, closet and masque), were presented in this mixture of type.⁷⁴ Predictably enough, Creede used a mixture of roman and italics in the *Mariam* play-book, with roman type for the bulk of the play-text and italics for character and country names and speech prefixes only. Towards the end of the play Creede also uses italics for Mariam's epitaph, which highlights the line from the rest of the text on the leaf.⁷⁵ With regard to the use of a mixture of roman type and italics in Sidney's 1592 *A Discourse of Life and Death [...] Antonius: A Tragædie*, Straznicky comments that the 'more noticeable use of roman [type was] rhetorical in character' (Straznicky *Privacy* 5), as used by John Windet for William Ponsonby. However, one questions whether the mixture of type is significant in giving meaning to

⁷² See Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650).

⁷³ See Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650).

⁷⁴ See Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650).

⁷⁵ See later commentary on the monument to Herod, pp.335-6.

the text. Italics are used for the bulk of the play-text in *Antonius: A Tragædie* with roman type for character and country names and aphorisms whereas *A Discourse of Life and Death* is given in roman type only. On the other hand, the 1595 reprinting of Sidney's text of her tragedy, entitled *The Tragedie of Antonie*, by P.Short for Ponsonby employs italic and roman type in a different manner. This text is essentially the same as the 1592 printing even to the extent of having the same compositor error of excluding the title 'Act 3'. However, Short uses roman type in the bulk of the play-text for the exact words for which italics were used in the 1592 edition, and italics where roman was used in the earlier edition. It may be that this different use of roman and italics type can be explained by a change in Ponsonby's supervision of the printing of the play-text, indicating a possible lack of concern with how the specific fonts were to be read consistently between the two editions. Nonetheless, both Windet and Short used a mixture of roman and italics in their respective printing of Sidney's play-text in the same way as they used it for other publications to accentuate any particular passages. For example, printing for Ponsonby again, Windet uses a roman type for the dedicatory prose and the text proper in *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1593). He used italics for the address 'To the Reader' and proper names, sub-titles and distinctive passages, such as the Eclogues, in the text.

With regards to the *Mariam* play-book it seems that Creede used the same mixture of type as he did in other works he printed, for emphasis or aesthetic effect and not to convey any rhetorical message, for example, Shakespeare's 1599 quarto of *Romeo & Juliet* (also known as Q2) which he printed for Cuthbert Burby. Whilst the characters' words are given mostly in roman type (with italics for emphasis of isolated words) throughout the play, the Nurse's words on B4^{r-v} are given mostly in italics (with roman type for emphasis of isolated words). However, the content of the Nurse's words does not seem to offer any textual reason for especial emphasis. This anomaly is also seen in the 1597 quarto (Q1), printed by John Danter for Ed.Alde, at the same point of the play. Goldberg has speculated that this isolated use of italics is used in both Q1 and Q2 is part of a 'memorial reconstruction' from the original manuscript, although he

concludes that this is unlikely (Goldberg 253-67, 270). It seems more likely that the setting of type for Q2 was constructed with reference to the Q1 setting of type, although this issue is a matter of contention between scholars (Goldberg 45). By contrast 'Romeo & Juliet', in Shakespeare's First Folio, printed by 'Isaac Iaggard and Ed Blount [at the charges of W Jaggard, Ed Blount, I Smithweeke and W Aspley]' in 1623, does not replicate the use of italics for the Nurse's words; only roman type is used for the Nurse's words throughout the play, with the use of italics for isolated character names. Consequently, it can probably be said that the use of different fonts by Creede, as with other printers, may be a reflection of his aesthetic preferences or even just of the typefaces he regularly preferred to use. Moreover, it is reductive and unhelpful to assign particular meanings to specific fonts (Lesser 'Typographic' 107).

Straznicky comments that 'the reader-orientated presentation is not necessarily antitheatrical' (Straznicky *Privacy* 53). Certainly, the *Mariam* play-text contains stage directions: for example, 'They fight' is supplied as a stage direction during a meeting between Silleus and Constabarus (II, iv, l.376). However, this stage direction is presented in the *Mariam* play-book as a continuation of the line and is not as clearly defined as stage directions in public theatre play-books. The presence of this stage direction gives the impression that Cary's drama has a theatrical dimension to it. Interestingly, stage directions are given in the manuscript of Rachel Fane's *May Masque* which may lend some credibility to the idea that Cary supplied the stage directions in her manuscript (O'Connor 'Rachel Fane' 95). Moreover, Findlay *et al* make mention of Davies' dedication to Cary, where he references her work alongside an image of dramatic performance. Davies references where a classical actor would wear buskin boots when performing a classical tragedy (Findlay, Williams, Hodgson-Wright 132):

Thou makst Melpomen proud, and my Heart great
Of such a Pupill, who, in Buskin fine,
With Feete of State, dost make thy Muse to mete
The Scenes of Syracuse and Palestine.
(*The Muses Sacrifice*, *, *3^v, ll. 5-8)

The mention of these play-texts written by Cary can be seen as an advertisement of the prestige and breadth of Cary's work.

In comparison, no stage directions are given in Lumley's manuscript, although Straznicky argues effectively that the manner in which speakers are indicated gives some credibility to the idea that the drama could be performed (Straznicky *Privacy* 44). Similarly, no stage directions are given in the printed text of *Antonius: A Tragædie*. In fact, stage directions are present in only 29% ($\frac{4}{14}$) of closet drama books and, unsurprisingly, in all twelve of the public theatre play-books. As a consequence of the presence of stage directions in closet drama texts scholars have suggested that there is a degree of performativity of the closet dramas of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in contrast to the 'standard classical form' of drama, including the *Mariam* play-text (Straznicky *Privacy* 44). *The Famous Historie of Troylus and Cresseid* (1609) (published by Bonian and Walley) addresses the reader and shapes Shakespeare's text as a privately performed play but not intended for the 'vulgar' in society: 'a new play neuer stal'd with the Stage, neuer clapper-clawd with the palmes of the vulgar' (¶2r). Addresses to the reader were often written by the bookseller/publisher and/or the printer, not the writer of the text. Therefore, it is likely that Bonian and/or Walley are self-consciously offering a reading of the text in order to advertise it 'within a particular niche of the print market place' (Lesser *Renaissance* 2). Moreover, Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher explicitly position their reader in the front matter of *Philaster* as a member of the gentry and a regular theatre-goer who has already seen and enjoyed the play before reading the text: 'This Play ... approved by the Seeing Auditors, or Hearing Spectators, (of which sort, I take, or conceive you bee the greatest part)' ('The Stationer to the understanding Gentry.' A2', ll.1-7).⁷⁶ Nonetheless, elaborate stage directions do not always represent performance and performativity. Straznicky comments that in the later closet dramas of the Interregnum they were 'a substitute for the visual experience of playgoing' after the closing of the theatres in 1642, leaving play-reading as a 'substitute for playgoing rather than an extension of it'

⁷⁶ See Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650).

(Straznicky *Privacy* 74). Farmer and Lesser suggest that an appreciation of the printed play and 'conditions of playing' is needed to fully understand the physical presentation of play-books in print (Farmer, Lesser 107: n 31). It is interesting to note that Straznicky's suggestion may not apply to all closet dramas of the mid-seventeenth century. The 1642 publication of the closet drama *Tyrannicall-Government Anatomized*, sponsored by Parliament, does not contain any stage directions.⁷⁷

In conclusion, my brief survey of play-books makes clear that it is likely that Cary's play-book was physically presented in much the same way as any other printed closet drama. Moreover, if it is correct to understand Cary as the first English woman to have published an original drama, it is interesting to note that these attributes were not emphasized on her title page or in the front matter, and so probably not considered of as important as placing the play-book within its literary context and marketing it in a similar fashion to other closet dramas.

Conclusion

Gutierrez's textual analysis of the *Mariam* play-text has led her to conclude that the genre of closet drama allows Cary a 'self-expression, unhindered by male authority' (Gutierrez 241), but examining the textual content of the typography of the *Mariam* play-book leads to a somewhat different conclusion. Hawkins and Creede, with or without input from Elizabeth or Henry Cary, probably had control of the physical construction of the printed play-book as a literary artefact. Given likely societal pressures on Cary, as a member of the aristocracy and as a woman, it is likely that she did not personally have dealings with Hawkins or Creede. As a consequence, the textual content of the typography of extant copies of Cary's play-book is more likely to be the result of decisions made by Hawkins in communication with a mediator, possibly Cary's husband or more likely his representative. Although we have no way of showing whether or not Cary interacted with her printer and/or bookseller/publisher to influence the physical presentation of the *Mariam* play-book it seems

⁷⁷ See Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Play-Books Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650). See also Sauer 80-95.

certain that Hawkins and/or Creede were well aware of the market forces in sales of closet drama and constructed the printed product in accordance with them even though it seems that neither of them particularly specialized in publishing and printing play-books. The physical presentation of both the title page and front matter positions the *Mariam* play-book as a physical artefact which mimics possibilities of reading in the fictive, rarefied arena of an 'elite literary culture' (Straznicky *Privacy* 4) and its front matter and play-text is typographically presented in much the same way as were other contemporary closet drama books. This presentation may be primarily because a drama written by a woman would have to be marketed as a play for private consumption, because women did not write for the public theatre. Nonetheless, if Cary's drama is the first original drama by an English woman to be printed in England, this consideration does not appear to be shown by the physical presentation of the play-book. On the other hand, the title page indicates a degree of performativity of itself as an attractive play-book along the lines of Cary's motto (*be and seem*). The textual content of the typography of Cary's title page and dedicatory poem can *seem* to present Cary as an ideal modest woman from elite society so that she can *be* a writer who is able to reach readers of such dramas in print. Moreover, the presentation of Cary with only her initials but, unusually, coupled with stereotypical attributes seems to be some kind of rhetorical construction which draws on an 'identifying function in elite coterie' (North 'Anonymity's' 1), together with an indication of ideal feminine qualities also seen in printed publications containing contemporary women's writing.

As I noted in my review of Lanyer's book it is important to recognize that the practice of cannibalizing copies of early books often hampers the uncovering of the state of books when they were first produced. Such acknowledgement helps us to avoid resorting to definite conclusions to explain the present physical presentation of extant copies that are clearly not in their original form. As a consequence, it would appear that previous literary scholars have been too earnest in reaching for definite conclusions in their textual analysis of Cary's work in the context of the physical presentation of extant *Mariam* play-books in the same way

as in their study of Lanyer's book. My review of the present understanding of extant copies of Cary's play-book shows the importance of also acknowledging the possibility that rhetorical constructions have been employed in the typographical presentation of such an early modern play-book as a marketing strategy. Moreover, previous scholarship that posits the idea that the writer of a public theatre play-text was routinely excluded from authoring the front matter in playbooks (as with other genres) provides a greater understanding of interactions between the book trade and the writer in constructing the front matter in closet drama books. This type of exclusion may be evidenced by the absence of the dedicatory poem in some copies of the *Mariam* play-book. Whatever the reasons why Cary's dedicatory poem was perhaps originally included and then maybe subsequently excluded from some copies of the play-book, it was probably considered to be of some importance to the marketing of this play-book and in the reading of it rather than as an item for private circulation only. After all, according to my brief survey of printed closet dramas, Cary's dedicatory poem seems to be entirely in keeping with other front matter found in similar publications. Crucially, it should be acknowledged that the dedicatory poem is a clear advertisement for Cary's work in general. Moreover, it can be suggested that Cary and Hawkins and/or Creede uses the placement of this poem in a likely strategy of presentation of a proficient writer of previously successful work. Even in copies without the poem it is still clear from the title page that the play-text was written by a woman who is projected as a worthy writer for the elite intelligentsia in society.

As I have argued in the analysis of my survey of women writers and the textual analysis of Lanyer's book, early modern women writers used the idea of femininity as part of a strategy to present themselves fictively to fulfil readers' expectations of what an ideal woman would write. Cary explores a theme of *be and seem* in her drama to show similar fictive self-presentations in her construction of her main protagonist, *Mariam*. Moreover, a deeper understanding of the work of early modern women writers can only be reached if we attend to the possibility that they did not write in some kind of a literary vacuum nor write only about their own

lives. Instead these women were highly likely to have been influenced by other writers and the literary conventions of the day. In adopting this approach my textual analysis of Cary's play-text will offer possible new interpretations of her drama.

Textual Analysis of *The Tragedie of Mariam, The Faire Queene of Jewry* (1613)

Introduction

Shell reads *Mariam* as part of the tradition of ‘appropriating history for didactic purposes’ (Shell 54), whereby Cary uses it as ‘a means of merciless self-interrogation’ (Shell 60). Other studies have identified *Mariam* as an exploration of a woman’s use of her voice and her right to self-expression in writing (Meija-LaPerle 90), with Cary ‘as critical analyst of philosophical and political import’ (Shannon 147). In particular, many previous scholars have emphasized that the *Mariam* play-text is a drama about an unhappily married woman, and consequently have thought of it as a reflection and expression of the unhappiness suffered by Cary in her own marriage (as indicated in ‘Her Life’, which may have been written by one of Cary’s daughters).¹ Clarke also comments that Cary’s drama ‘makes the exploration of tyranny within marriage a paradigm for relations between ruler and ruled’ (D Clarke *Politics* 95). On the other hand, the author of ‘Her Life’ laid great emphasis on shaping Cary as an intelligent woman who consciously decided to convert to Catholicism, an issue that caused great enmity with her Protestant husband. Since this dispute is known to have been most apparent in the 1620s (Weller, Ferguson ‘Introduction’ 7), some fifteen years after she wrote the *Mariam* play-text, it may be that personal struggles for self-assertion amid the marital strife in Cary’s life were not such important motivations in writing her drama in the early years of her marriage. However, some scholars have suggested that Cary’s Catholicism was important in informing her drama on early modern issues of divorce, religion and civil disobedience (Weller, Ferguson ‘Introduction’ 30-5; Iwanisziw 109-22). As with my study of Lanyer’s book, I consider that previous analysis of Cary’s play-book has been hampered by its emphasis on biographical details. Instead, I shall review the textual content of the typography of extant copies of Cary’s play-book, and along with analysis of her text, attempt to place her work within the context of my survey of early modern women writers. My survey suggests that these

¹ For example, Fischer 225-37; N Miller ‘Domestic Politics’ 353-69; Lewalski *Jacobean* 200-1.

women writers *seem* to present themselves fictively as ideal and modest women in order to *be* writers who are able to reach readers of the printed word. Thus Cary explores early modern cultural anxieties around such fictive self-constructions with regard to her main protagonist, Mariam, a woman whose self-presentation, as I have noted with early modern women writers, cannot always be read simply at face value. I shall also examine Cary's inventive creation of a drama as an engagement with the literary culture of an imagined quasi-private coterie as well as with the public world of commercial drama, in order to explore the cultural and sexual politics of her day.

Whilst I argue against reading biographical details of Cary's unhappy marriage into the drama's text, Iwanisziw's observation that 'husbands compelled wifely obedience in matters of religious faith, but in fact, when motivated by conscience, early modern women frequently acted independently' (Iwanisziw 109) highlights an important cultural concept that Cary explores. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries conscience was seen as the 'rational means by which man relates moral law to his own actions' (Slights 11); 'a right conscience [was] the basis for all virtuous action' (Slights 12) and a "'doubting" conscience' was one which could not decide if a possible future action would be sinful. It was this latter type of conscience that was often rectified by casuistry (Slights 12-13). Casuistry or case divinity was a branch of theology whereby divine law and ethics were applied to specific individual cases to determine the correct course of action (M L Brown 'Politics' 101-14). Brown suggests that 'Case divinity constitutes a significant body of Renaissance literature and its appeal in seventeenth century England was considerable. From 1560-1660, over 600 cases of conscience were published in England and Europe' (M L Brown 'Politics' 101). A case of conscience was considered when a person could not decide 'what he ought, or ought not, to do, and the casuist's goal [was] to turn the "doubting" conscience into a right conscience' (Slights 13). Thus, a 'casuistical dispensation' was granted to individuals to maintain 'a morally acceptable relation between the unique individual and the community's norms' (M L Brown *Donne* 105). In her analysis of George Herbert's poetry from a casuistical point of view, Slights suggests that

Herbert uses 'the strategies of reasoned argument and self-analysis to resolve problems of moral doubt' (Slights 182). This discussion will explore the possibility that Cary uses casuistry in the same way, to present Mariam on having a "doubting" conscience' regarding her political actions against the will of her husband.

In relation to my previous assertion that women writers were not working in a separate literary sphere from their male counterparts, the *Mariam* play-text should not be seen as an expression of Cary's personal anxieties in living as a woman in seventeenth-century England; however, I shall explore the possible cultural influences on Cary with regard to the maxim that 'reading for form is reading for influence' (Scott-Baumann "New" Formalism'). Dramaturgical aspects of the text do need to be considered when analysing Cary's drama. Hirsh states that until the middle of the seventeenth century soliloquies were thought of as specific speech acts and not as self-conscious displays of the inner thoughts of characters (Hirsh 2). Consequently, Cary's original readers/audience would probably not have understood soliloquies in Cary's drama as a definite measure of some kind of disclosure by a character, or indeed by Cary herself. Belsey has argued that in a drama only an 'imaginary interiority' (Belsey *Tragedy* 48) can be shown and only a voice that 'simulates a voice expressing the self "behind" the speech' (Belsey *Tragedy* 43). Despite my reservations about the authenticity of details of Cary's life stated in her daughter's account, the Cary motto of *be and seem* is a fitting starting point to establish how the *Mariam* play-text explores the early modern cultural anxieties around appearances.² As discussed earlier, McGrath argues that Cary's motto can be interpreted as 'Be anything you want to be and at the same time seem anything you want to seem' (McGrath *Subjectivity* 208: n6). It can be argued that Cary's drama is an exploration of performativity in the presence and the absence of the female voice; indicating *being* one thing whilst *seeming* to be other.

Luckyj comments that 'Western humanist discourse represents speech as the field of human agency [and] silence ... becomes simply

² I am greatly indebted to the following paper for its examination of female performativity: A Bennett 293-309.

erasure, negation, repression' (Luckyj *Gender* 2). Silence was also read as 'an unstable and highly contested site' whereas speech was often seen in Calvinist and Puritan treatises as 'abused by fallen men that silence is of the only remedy' (Luckyj *Gender* 26). Moreover, Luckyj asserts that 'retreat into silence could be a potentially dangerous and aggressive posture. Writers such as Wyatt reconciled Stoic withdrawal and defiant anger' (Luckyj *Gender* 32). On the other hand, early modern conduct books often dictated that a woman's silence be equated with her chasteness; for example, 'As her body is locked within the walls of the house, her tongue is locked in her mouth' (Jones 'Nets' 52). However, Luckyj has concluded from her study of Tudor and early Stuart conduct books on the issue of women's speech that 'feminine silence cannot be conflated with chastity and silence in every instance [...] it is not clear either that speech is a privileged site of authority or that silence is a site of gendered oppression' (Luckyj *Gender* 8). Cary appears to exploit this cultural ambivalence in her portrayal of the women in her drama. In presenting the presence and absence of female speech, Cary manipulates the early modern cultural concept of feminine silence as representing chasteness versus the use of the female voice as evidence of lack of chastity.

The complexities of silence were often explored in early modern drama and Cary may have been influenced by such examinations. For example, defiance is enacted by Hieronimo's silence at the end of Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (1586) – his biting out his own tongue to silence himself so that the King cannot force him to confess to the murders of Balthazar and Lorenzo in revenge for the murder of Horatio:

Thou may'st torment me, as his wretched son
 Hath done in murdering my Horatio,
 But never shalt thou force me to reveal
 The thing which I have vowed inviolate...
 First take my tongue, and afterwards my heart.
 (IV, V, ll.185-8, 191)³

However, this defiant silence shows Hieronimo's passion for vengeance as he turns himself into the Senex he met earlier in the play. The Senex is also

³ Kyd, 'The Spanish Tragedy.' *Renaissance Drama: An Anthology of Plays and Entertainments*. Ed. Kinney. 45-93. All subsequent references to this play are to this edition.

a father who has had a son murdered and has been read as being ‘virtually silent, unable to connect the past to the present through speech’, but also as a location of ‘vengeful fury’ making ‘apparent the images of son, fury, and self which the revenger will eventually act upon’ (McMillan 27-8, 44):

Senex: I am a grieved man, and not a ghost,
That came for justice for my murdered son.
(III, XIV, ll.159-60)

Of course, a defiant silence can also indicate villainy and barren morality in staying aloof from victims. For example, Iago refuses to divulge his motives in entrapping Othello into killing Desdemona: ‘Demand me nothing. What you know, you know. / From this time I never will speak word.’ (*Othello*: 5, 2, ll.309-10).

By contrast, Mariam’s silence towards the end of Cary’s drama has been previously assessed as ‘not only rife with paradox but also finally inaccessible to representation’ (Luckyj *Gender* 157). Moreover, Clarke suggests that Mariam’s silence is evidence of her capitulation to patriarchal authority in ‘her return to the ideal wife, who cannot answer back’ but also of her passive resistance to Herod’s authority and legitimacy as a ruler (D Clarke *Politics* 105). Drawing on Clarke’s ideas as a starting point, it is useful to explore the possibility that Mariam’s silence towards the end of her life is a complex and powerful means of personal protest and revenge because ‘[f]eminine silence can be constructed as a space of subjective agency which threatens masculine authority’ (Luckyj *Gender* 139). Consequently, the *Mariam* play-text’s soliloquies can be interrogated to ascertain any evidence of a performance and the performativity of the female voices. In this instance, ‘performance’ refers to an evocation of a thinking self but not necessarily a true and real self, while ‘performative’, as defined by Butler, is that which produces a ‘dramatic and contingent construction of meaning’ (Butler *Gender* 139). Although Hamlin disagrees that Mariam is ‘bent on revenge – all she has done is remember Herod’s heinous crimes against her family’ (Hamlin pt 17) – in Herod Cary presents the reader/audience with a stereotypical villain and, consequently, an obligatory revenging heroine in Mariam. Accordingly, the treatment of

performance in Mariam's soliloquies may offer evidence that she is indeed 'bent on revenge' even if it means that she will also lose her life.

As Callaghan argues, 'characters are given life [because] they play *roles* we recognize' (Callaghan 'Characters' 42). This deduction is particularly borne out by Holahan's conclusion in his study of early modern play-texts: '[c]haracters only begin in marks on the page; they reach their ends in us, occasioning a more extensive text than appears on the page (Holahan 427)'. Therefore, as discussed earlier, we must acknowledge that we can be at risk of interpreting texts with reference only to our own times and without recourse to the historical moment in which the texts were written. Although it has been argued with regard to Shakespeare's work that '[o]n the surface, the early modern Character promotes an essentialist, even naïve view of the social self' (Desmet 51), there is the 'rhetorical notion of character', inherited from Aristotelian poetics (Desmet 46), leading to '[i]nconsistency and discontinuity [which] can be accommodated within any single character without necessarily rupturing it' (Crewe 36). Moreover, *Mariam* is a drama that is full of paradoxes: '[t]he virtuous are punished and killed, the wicked live and prosper, marriage begets conflict and discontent rather than harmony and happiness, and close blood ties are repeatedly sacrificed' (D Clarke 'Tragedy' 248). Consequently, it can be argued that the portrayal of the protagonists offers the possibilities of rhetorical gestures leading to perceived inconsistencies displayed by those characters.

With these issues in mind, my close textual analysis provides a new interpretation of the drama, defining it as a revenge tragedy in which Mariam examines her conscience to resolve her moral doubts. In doing so she reaches a self-realization as avenger despite seeming to be a martyr because of her use of silence. Consequently, she assumes 'a space of subjective agency which threatens masculine authority' (Luckyj *Gender* 60) and disrupts the patriarchal society in which she lives. Cary's drama itself also displays theatricality while the language and construction of the play-text show that it is a fusion of neo-classical drama and revenge tragedy, more suited to the commercial Elizabethan or Jacobean stage than a typical neo-classical drama.

Textual Analysis

Front Matter

Cary's dedicating her work to a close relative does not automatically indicate a wish to exclude the general public, as suggested by previous scholars. As discussed earlier, it is reasonable to conclude that the dedicatory poem, 'To Dianaes Earthlie Deputesse, and my worthy Sister, Mistris Elizabeth Carye', may have been included for specific marketing strategies rather than being suppressed and maintained only in private circulation because of the intimacy of the language of the poem. This poem may have been originally written for an earlier version of the *Mariam* play-text and circulated in manuscript for up to ten years prior to its publication with a later version of the play printed in 1613.⁴ It may be that this poem was chosen as being apt to preface the play-text that was printed in 1613 in order to mimic a more private manuscript circulation. Indeed, a loving intimacy is seemingly portrayed between Cary and her husband and sister-in-law:

When cheerful Phoebus his full course hath run,
His sister's fainter beams our hearts doth cheer:
So your fair brother is to me the sun,
And you his sister as my moon appear.
(ll.1-4)

However, such intimate language should not be read at face value without acknowledging the employment of rhetoric. As argued earlier, prefatory rhetoric in early modern books involved a 'strategy for oratorical authority ... to win authority for [the writer] through the appearance of spontaneous eloquence and affected modesty' to gain goodwill from the reader (D Clarke 'Speaking' 4). It is possible that Cary employs rhetoric in her dedication which offers evidence that the poem could have been specifically included in copies destined for general sale as a part of a marketing strategy to flatter and appeal to a market of female readers. After all, and certainly by the middle of the seventeenth century, female readers were considered to be an important section of the market of play-book readers and collectors (Straznicky 'Reading' 59, 71).

⁴ See earlier discussion, pp.251-3.

It should be remembered that anonymous female readers are ‘constructions’ and the plays that they read are ‘self-consciously elite plays that are negotiating their position in theatrical and print culture’ (Straznicky ‘Reading’ 65). Similarly, Lesser also comments that the textual content of the typography of any early modern book offers evidence of readers who are anticipated or ‘imagined’ by the bookseller/publisher but not necessarily real, actual readers (Lesser ‘Typographic’ 101). If Straznicky and Lesser are correct in their conclusions, then it can be argued that the inclusion of Cary’s dedication aims to introduce a positive stereotype of an ‘imagined’ female reader. This invalidates many negative clichéd assumptions that for women reading was a trivial indulgence (Snook 13) or a means of gathering gossip and salacious news (Farmer 130-4). Cary achieves this shaping of the woman reader by her use of the sonnet form. Cary’s dedication positions women readers such as Cary’s sister-in-law as part of an elite readership of the play-text who were ‘not just competent but valued readers of serious philosophical and political drama’ (Straznicky ‘Reading’ 64).

There is tantalizing evidence to imply that Cary might have been part of an elite readership, or at least influenced by writers associated with known members of the Sidneian circle (Straznicky *Privacy* 49). It may be that Cary was aware of Samuel Daniel’s work and copied his use of the sonnet form in *Delia and Rosamond* and in the opening of his closet play *Cleopatra*, which was included in the same volume and dedicated to Mary Sidney. In attending to the literary form in the study of early modern women’s texts in order to elucidate meanings from them one should acknowledge the rhetoric employed in the sonnet form. It was often used to address a patron and a real (or hoped for) intimacy is not necessarily contemplated. For example, in Samuel Daniel’s *Delia and Rosamond* (1594) the sonnet address shapes Mary Sidney not merely as the inspiration for the poems but also as the source of the creativity that produced them: ‘Vouchsafe now to accept them as thine own, / Begotten by thy hand, and my desire’ (A3, ll.6-7). On the other hand, Cary’s use of the sonnet form in her dedication is more complex. Although she also shapes her dedicatee as an inspiration for her work: ‘From you, my Phoebe, shines my second

light' (l.8), Cary requests the addressee, who is 'Dianaes Earthlie Deputess' (Title), '[t]'illumine' (l.12) the play-text, endowing it with distinction by reading it. Cary's language can be similarly compared with Lanyer's in her requests to her potential patrons to bring distinction on her work. However, nowhere is Cary so definite as to say, as Daniel does of Sidney, that her dedicatee is the actual source of the creativity, only that she has motivated Cary to author the play-text to follow. Therefore, Cary's self-presentation is as a confident and resourceful individual writer although she self-consciously uses stereotypical attributes of the ideal modest early modern woman. Cary is wary of placing Phoebe as only her 'second light' (l.8). Phoebe, as the moon, is always the 'second light' to Phoebus, the sun. Therefore, Cary's husband is explicitly identified with Apollo (Phoebus), also known as a god of music and poetry, which further challenges the idea that textual reference to the absence of her 'Phoebus' should be read literally as the absence of her husband. The rhetoric identifies her husband as the source of Cary's creativity, a shaping of a stereotypically modest woman writer. Interestingly, as discussed earlier, lunar imagery was often employed in the early years of James' reign to indicate the pre-eminence of 'the masculine sun' and to evoke a waning, feminine power in the face of the 'waning, feminine power' of Elizabeth I (Hackett 220). On the other hand, Cary includes no other typical modesty tropes to imply a feminine weakness or an unwillingness to produce and distribute her drama, as implied by those details in 'Her Life' which reference her unwillingness to have her work published. Instead, Cary's dedication has an air of confidence in the play-text that 'now shall follow' (l.14), which reinforces the supposition that the inclusion of the dedicatory poem was probably as a promotion of the printed play-text, in order to whet the appetite of the potential general play-book buyer/reader, and female readers in particular. She does not exhibit the rhetoric of sorrow that she has had her work printed as exhibited by Margaret Cavendish in her prefatory 'The Poetresses [sic] hasty resolution' material of her 1653 *Poems and Fancies*:



*But now 'tis done, with griefe repent doe I,
Hang down my head with shame, blush sigh, and cry.
Take pittie, and my drooping Spirits raise,
Wipe off my teares with Handkerchiefes of Praise. (A8^r)*

Cavendish's apparently regretful tone indicates that as much as forty years after Cary's publication the expression of the rhetoric of unwillingness to be seen in print still had a currency amongst aristocratic women writers, and lends support to the suggestion that Cary's reported expressions of reluctance to have her work published, indicated in 'Her Life' (written between 1643-1650), are purely rhetorical.

If it is accepted that Cary's play-text and its front matter were originally circulated within the competitive milieu of a private coterie it may be that Cary chose to use the sonnet form in her preface, and embedded in her play-text, as part of a self-conscious display of her skills as a writer. Moreover, the dedicatory poem can be seen to act as an advertisement of the worth of the play-text to follow. Bell concludes that the sonnet form was chosen by Cary to highlight to the reader that sonnets are to be found in the play-text (I Bell 'Lyrics' 18). Such embedded sonnet forms have led Gutierrez to suggest that Cary 'recasts the power configuration of this kind of poem', presenting herself as a 'sonnet writer' rather than as a silenced 'sonnet mistress' (Gutierrez 240). Whilst offering an interesting concept, Gutierrez's argument does not acknowledge that Petrarchan texts often challenged traditional cultural concepts of gender roles,⁵ highlighted the instability of social order (Warley 4) and 'served as the symbolic language that articulated the complex character of the social system' (Marotti 'Love' 422).

In addition, the use of the intriguing term 'now obscured Palestine' (l.12) to describe the place of action in the play can be explained as a means of encouraging curiosity amongst potential readers. Use of the word 'now' could imply that at the time of publication Palestine was not often used as a place of action for a play and had fallen into obscurity. Therefore, the *Mariam* play-book dedication may be part of a marketing strategy for Cary's work in general, and the *Mariam* play-book in particular.

⁵ For a full assessment of the complexity of gender roles illustrated in Petrarchan texts see Dubrow.

Nonetheless, the term most likely suggests a reference to Palestine which was, at that time, under the rule of the Muslim Ottoman Empire and, hence, would be considered to be 'obscured' or cut off from the light of Christian religious truth. It is also worth bearing in mind that, since 1558, the idea of a Catholic England had also been 'obscured' for English Catholics; a group to which Cary may well have belonged at this time.

The inclusion of an argument in Cary's play-text is fairly typical for the dramas I reviewed. Cary offers a synopsis of the narrative of the play in the form of a prose argument in much the same way as other closet dramas and uses 'The Argument'⁶ to concentrate on the character of Herod, depicting him as Mariam's crazed lover whose 'violent affection' (l.14) lead him to be 'moved with jealousy' (l.36), guaranteeing Mariam's downfall. Mariam, by contrast, is unequivocally shaped as a victim of Herod's oppressive desire. Hodgson-Wright comments that Cary's depiction of Mariam appears to be a departure from Josephus' text, which shows Mariam as 'prepared to be guileful towards her husband' (Hodgson-Wright 'Introduction' 19). Herod is shaped as the villain of the drama and is justifiably punished with a 'frantic passion' (l.39) for arranging her execution.

As a whole the female characters have led Weller and Ferguson to read Cary's drama as being generally informed by issues regarding the divorce of Henry VIII from his first wife, Katherine of Aragon and his subsequent marriage to Anne Boleyn and the consequential English Reformation (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 30-5). The issue of divorce is referenced in Josephus' text but Cary's introduction of this issue is important in terms of her construction of Herod rather than any other theological or gendered commentary. More importantly, Herod is depicted in 'The Argument' as a usurper as a direct consequence of divorcing his first wife: 'he repudiated Doris, his former wife' (ll.4-5). She is angry and jealous that Herod had chosen Mariam as his second wife and refers to herself in the drama as 'Herod's lawful wife' (IV, viii, l.584). This divorce both undermines Mariam's claims of chastity and, most importantly,

⁶ 'The Argument' Weller and Ferguson. *Elizabeth Cary* 67-8. All subsequent references are to this edition.

problematizes Herod's legitimacy as a ruler who, as described in 'The Argument', 'in his wife's [Mariam's] right had the best title' (l.7) to the Crown. If Mariam was not his lawful wife then Herod had no claim on the throne and so, according to 'traditional theoretical distinctions between king and tyrant ... a usurper ... might be (indeed must be) lawfully overthrown' (N Perry 112). This construction seems to have been influenced by contemporary taste in dramatic tragedies. Philip Sidney's assessment of early modern tragedies in *The Defence of Poesy* had said that the greatest tragedies 'make ... kings fear to be tyrants' (l.746). And tragedies depicting tyrants were very popular on the early seventeenth-century stage:

The fear of tyranny that accompanied James' attempt to centralize authority in his person revitalized revenge tragedy and produced a concentration of tyrant-driven plays in the politically heated middle years of his reign. (Allman 190)

Mariam is shaped as a predominantly revengeful character, being described as having 'vehement hate in her' (l.35), after Herod has killed her relatives, and she 'still bare[s] the death of her friends exceeding hardly' (l.20). This description of Mariam sets clear parameters within which the reader/audience should understand her character. In contrast to Hamlin, who does not think that Mariam is 'bent on revenge' (Hamlin pt 17), this seems indicative that Cary portrays a vengeful character with a thirst for revenge against the tyrant Herod. There is no textual evidence in Cary's preface to indicate the presence of either an elite male or a discerning judge as Clegg has recognized in the prefaces of other early modern plays (Clegg 'Renaissance' 27, 29). However, the front matter as whole and 'The Argument', in particular, plays an important part in whetting the appetite of the reader. 'The Argument' invites him or her to anticipate Mariam as a tragic heroine who is 'bent on revenge' in the play-text to follow.

The Play-Text

Introduction

If it is acknowledged that Cary's play-text⁷ is a closet drama then it is important to recognize the style of a typical closet drama. It is known that early modern closet dramas were heavily influenced by the classical tragedies of Seneca, and the sixteenth-century playwright Robert Garnier⁸ was also particularly influential. These neo-classical dramas often addressed issues of revenge within families in private domestic spheres (Witherspoon 42), involving the narration of events rather than spectacle. Moreover, they have been thought to primarily address issues of political and/or moral concerns in the public sphere rather than revenge (Witherspoon 164). Gutierrez contends that closet dramas 'written before 1603 subordinate the political dilemmas of men in public life to the problems women face in the domestic arena, while the opposite is true in plays written after 1603' (Gutierrez 237). A 'politicization' of those English closet dramas which emerged from the influence of the Sidney circle (Straznicky *Privacy* 14-5) was also thought to have been the result of a project to reform tragedy in accordance with Philip Sidney's beliefs, as outlined in his *The Defence of Poesy* (Witherspoon 71). However, this argument has now been discredited (Straznicky *Privacy* 49-50).

Structurally, the *Mariam* play-text is heavily influenced by all of these features of closet dramas. Neo-classical dramas offer the theme of suffering, and characters suffer with stoic endurance, habitually expressed in long set speeches. Set speeches in Garnier's texts are described as lamentations (Straznicky *Privacy* 213) and 'dramatic elegies' (Witherspoon 46) but considered to be full of 'bombast and [a] hollow parade of verbiage' (Clemen 215). Typically speeches in closet dramas have distinctive 'moral and didactic undertones' (Clemen 23) whilst 'climbing to the height of Seneca's style, and as full of notable morality, which it doth most delightfully teach' (*The Defence of Poesy* ll.1260-2). Although it has been called the 'last drama to be influenced by Garnier' (Witherspoon 85), Cary's drama shows *Mariam*'s speeches as indicating some kind of anxious

⁷ Weller and Ferguson *Elizabeth Cary* 69-149. All subsequent references are to this edition.

⁸ For an overview of Garnier's life and work see Witherspoon 1-32.

self-examination with an indication of real suffering rather than being merely 'bombast' and 'verbiage'. For example, Mariam expresses a seeming anxiety that she cannot perform towards her husband in a manner that he might expect:

I cannot frame disguise, nor never taught
My face a look dissenting from my thought.
(IV, iii, ll.145-6).

A display of extreme suffering in early neo-classical revenge tragedies was to influence Elizabethan and Jacobean revenge tragedies such as *The Spanish Tragedy*. By contrast, neo-classical dramas do not attempt to create a form of realistic speech and are devoid of the 'sensational treatment' and dramatic situations that were typical of Jacobean tragedies on the public stage (Barish 33-7). As a consequence, neo-classical dramas rely heavily on the narration of past events, for example, a description of the lifting of Antony's body into Cleopatra's monument at the end of Sidney's *A Discourse of Life and Death... Antonius: A Tragædie* is only reported in 'The Argument': 'she trussed up Antonius halfe dead, and so got him into the monument' (F^v, ll.14-5), but not in Cleopatra's speech. This narrative technique is also evident in Cary's drama, when Mariam's execution is reported and not textually located as a spectacle. Contrary to this observation, language which indicates physical movement of the characters in the present moment is employed in Cary's drama. In particular, this is shown by: 'Ay, Ay, they fight' (II, iv, l.376) which can be read as an implicit stage direction (Findlay, Williams, Hodgson-Wright 132-4).⁹ Nonetheless, the presentation of language that indicates physical movement by the characters in Cary's drama is not unexpected, according to Barish. His analysis of Daniel's 1607 reworking of his 1594 *Tragedy of Cleopatra* leads him to conclude that Daniel had adapted the language to give a sense of physical action. It may be that Cary's drama, like Daniel's, was imbued with influences from commercial theatre (Barish 43). Moreover, Barish argues that Mariam's interaction with Alexandra and then Salome produces a dialogue which drives the plot

⁹ These words are reproduced from those given in Weller and Ferguson *Elizabeth Cary* 102. However, the EEBO image of the Huntington copy shows the line to be: 'I, I, they fight'.

action rather than reportage of the events in a 'mono-directional' plot of the kind common in neo-classical drama (Barish 38-9) where characters do not interact with each other (Gutierrez 243). This suggests that Mariam can be recognized as a 'multifaceted female hero' (J A Roberts 'Sex' 214).

Neo-classical dramas employ stichomythia and sententia, along with a Chorus that comments on but is separate from each act. This structure is evident in Cary's drama. Moreover, there is a typical five-act structure with a corresponding Chorus commenting at the end of each act. Cary's drama obeys Aristotle's dramatic unities of time, place and action as well as having a main protagonist with a fatal flaw. Hence, there is the possibility of catharsis in accordance with Aristotle's theory of tragedy. Gutierrez has commented that Cary's drama is less didactic than the typical neo-classical drama, concluding that it has more of the mimetic qualities associated with tragedy of the commercial theatre (Gutierrez 242-3), and that the plot is driven by Mariam's 'dilemma of self-knowledge' (Gutierrez 244). However, Cary's drawing on the tradition of the Senecan revenge drama by pivoting the plot around Mariam's dilemma as to how to exact revenge on Herod rather than a dilemma concerning self-knowledge must also be considered. Cary's main protagonist self-consciously displays the inner anxiety of a married woman who ostensibly acts within the public sphere as a queen in conflict with her husband, but who also broods on revenge in a quasi-domestic sphere. Consequently, the drama draws on the influences of Seneca's and Garnier's writings in presenting '[s]toic doctrines to explore psychological conflicts that have serious political causes and effects' (M Ferguson 'Sidney' 488) within the private and public spheres.

Francis Bacon referred to revenge as 'a kind of wild justice' ('Of Revenge' 1.1).¹⁰ According to Findlay, the genre of revenge tragedy is a feminine one (Findlay 49) in which, as she explains, the 'power of vengeance to deconstruct male authority, independence, even identity is embedded in fears of maternal origin' (Findlay 51). Nevertheless, it is thought that in early modern times the contemplation of revenge against an

¹⁰ Bacon, 'Of Revenge' in *The Essays*. Ed. Pitcher. 72-73. All subsequent references to this text are to this edition.

injury meant that an individual gave into the appetites and passion of his/her 'sensible soul' (Hallett, Hallett 63-4). Revenge was forbidden by God and a 'wrong ought to be endured with patience' (Hallett, Hallett 64). Bell has commented that 'Cary dramatizes the personal, psychological, and political situations which produced sonnets' (I Bell 'Lyrics' 18) and uses her opening soliloquy to 'claim [...] female agency, female speech, and female liberty' (I Bell 'Lyrics' 18). However, close textual analysis of the embedded sonnet in the opening soliloquy suggests more complex motivations at work.

Cary's Exploration of Female Speech

Mariam's opening soliloquy begins with the sonnet form and shows a woman who indicates that she regrets previous behaviour:

How oft have I with public voice run on
To censure Rome's last hero for deceit:
Because he wept when Pompey's life was gone,
Yet when he liv'd, he thought his name too great.
But now I do recant, and, Roman lord,
Excuse too rash a judgement in a woman:
My sex pleads pardon, pardon then afford,
Mistaking is with us but too too common.
Now do I find, by self-experience taught,
One object yields both grief and joy:
You wept indeed, when on his worth you thought,
But joy'd that slaughter did your foe destroy.
So at his death your eyes true drops did rain,
Whom dead, you did not wish alive again.
(I, i, ll.1-14)

This depiction partly complies with Josephus's commentary, in his history of the Jewish people, that Mariam 'presumed upon a great and intemperate libertie in her discourse' (Weller, Ferguson 'Appendix A' 281). Mariam is speaking very specifically at this point about using her voice to criticize Caesar's hypocrisy in weeping for Pompey although in life he 'thought his name too great' (I, i, l.4). Belsey concludes that Mariam is 'a subject [who] speaks from a definite position' (Belsey *Tragedy* 172) and 'is attempting to reconcile contrary values [...] Meaning and speech, she says, are to be unified, and meaning is located in a consciousness united with the utterance which is its outward expression' (Belsey *Tragedy* 172). By

contrast, the sonnet form in Mariam's opening speech can indicate an initial instability in her self-belief such as is typically shown by a Petrarchan self. She appears to position herself within a female 'us' (I, i, l.8) who have 'too rash a judgement' (I, i, l.6) and are 'too too common' in '[m]istaking' (I, i, l.8). She also seems to examine her conscience and express a sense of guilt for past behaviour. On the other hand, this sentiment can be read as an ironic commentary on stereotypical female speech as it was seen in Cary's day; that is, it was not trusted to be judicious. One might expect at this point that if previous scholars are correct in assuming that the *Mariam* play-text is primarily addressing the freedom for women to speak without restraint then Mariam might develop her argument to express a confidence that women are capable of 'carefully circumscribed speech' as recommended by conduct books (Luckyj 'Moving' 36). However, the 'volta' of this opening sonnet form presents a definite 'turn' in her thought processes which does not concern women's speech. Instead Mariam seems to become more preoccupied with giving herself permission to have conflicting feelings about her husband, Herod:

Now do I find, by self-experience taught,
One object yields both grief and joy (I, i, ll.9-10)

Hamlin points out that he and other previous scholars consider that Cary is indebted to Montaigne's 'sense of human mutability' for this formulation of contradictory desires which is also evident in Herod where 'love and hate do fight' (IV, iv, l.244) when he decides to have Mariam executed (Hamlin pt 2). Consequently, the 'I' becomes a definite 'I' with an agency, separate from the female 'us' in the previous line. It has been suggested that the loss of the regular iambic pentameter in l.10 gives a sense of dramatic tension (Weller, Ferguson *Elizabeth Cary* 153: n10). Drawing on Maus's idea of 'a theatricalized exterior', often in opposition to an 'inwardness' (Maus 2), this tension is heightened by the final couplet, which indicates an acknowledgement that a mismatch in her 'inwardness' and 'outwardness' is justified by the precedent set by Caesar:

So at his death your eyes true drops did rain,
Whom dead, you did not wish alive again.
(I, i, ll.13-4)

It has been thought that Cary's use of the sonnet form in the play-text (and the dedication) is a complex 'part of a much larger Elizabethan critique of Petrarchan literary tradition' (I Bell 'Lyrics' 32: n5). Moreover, it is worth bearing in mind that Cary is audacious in showing off her writing skills, appealing to the intelligentsia and positioning her drama within the realm of the Sidneian coterie and, in particular, Daniel's work. In his study of sonnet sequences Warley asserts that '[i]n an effort to be "rightly of" a particular social order, sonnet speakers instead articulate a new form of social distinction [as a] consequence of [...] internally contradicted desires' (Warley 5-6). Marotti also reads sonnet writers as expressing 'sociopolitical desires [within] the constraints of the established order' (Marotti 'Love' 399). Drawing on the previous work of these scholars one might argue that Mariam attempts to assert herself as the Queen who does not have to apologize for a 'public voice' that is heard to 'run on', whilst acknowledging that, being a woman, her power is limited. Conversely, she knows that she has to *seem* to be the silent, loving wife to Herod in order to maintain her position as Queen. Mariam's self-conscious performance of 'contradicted desires' warns the reader/audience not to expect a display of the reconciliation of inward thoughts and speech in the drama that follows. 'I cannot frame disguise, nor never taught / My face a look dissenting from my thought' (IV, iii, ll.145-6). Nonetheless, she quite evidently has practised at 'enchain[ing Herod] with a smile' (III, iii, l.163) even though she says that inwardly she hates him. Such deliberate mismatching of 'inwardness' and 'outwardness' is evident in characters who aim to exact some kind of revenge in contemporary public theatre plays. For example, Hamlet deliberately mismatches his 'inwardness' and 'outwardness', complaining that his inward thought 'passeth show' (*Hamlet*: 1, 2, l.85) whilst cynically telling his audience that he feigns an 'outwardness' of madness.¹¹ Like Hamlet's, Mariam's soliloquies offer evidence that she experiences an 'inner conflict' (Belsey *Tragedy* 172), recognizing that her inner feelings of hatefulness are not matched with her outward show of affection for him: 'Oh, now I see I was an hypocrite' (III,

¹¹ This similarity is also recognized by Hamlin pt 4.

iii, l.152). But Cary does not allow Mariam to openly say that she will continue to be 'an hypocrite' in order to achieve her revenge on Herod. Instead, Cary explores the cultural anxieties around appearances in a complex manner, inviting the reader/audience to witness Mariam coming to a realization that she can devise a plan of duplicity to achieve her aims.

Despite the first lines being so strikingly explicit it is suggested to the reader that Mariam is not being entirely candid. She later refers to her 'ranging' (I, i, l.26), indicating she has more extensively used her voice in public. Cary uses the convention of the neo-classical drama only to report that Mariam has a public voice, consequently, the reader/audience can only judge the testimony given by Mariam and so is invited to identify with her from the outset. This sympathy is reinforced further when later there is disapproval from Sohemus:

Poor guiltless queen! Oh, that my wish might place
A little temper now about thy heart:
Unbridled speech is Mariam's worst disgrace,
And will endanger her without desert.
(III, iii, ll.181-4)

Mariam doubts that she has behaved appropriately as a good wife although she truly loved her husband in the past:

Oft have I wish'd his carcass dead to see.
Then rage and scorn had put my love to flight,
That love which once on him was firmly set:
(I, i, ll.18-20)

Moreover, Mariam feels confused in her grief on hearing of Herod's death, because he had killed her grandfather and brother: 'Then why grieves Mariam Herod's death to hear?' (I, i, l.38). However, according to 'The Argument' it seems that the people were also glad to hear of the death of Herod since when 'news came to Jerusalem that Caesar had put him to death; their willingness it should be so, together with the likelihood, gave this rumour so good credit' (ll.24-6). This complicates the exploration of how a wife should behave towards her husband.

Cary presents a woman with whom a seventeenth-century reader might not naturally have any sympathy, part of Cary's exploration of the

sexual politics of her day. It is likely that the reader/audience might note that an expression of distaste for a husband's behaviour would not be in accordance with societal expectations of appropriate behaviour in a wife, as laid out by conduct books. Jones quotes from William Vaughan's *The Golden Grove* (1608) regarding the expected behaviour of a wife (Jones 'Nets' 60):

she must not discover her husbands imperfections and faults to any, for by disclosing them, eyther she makes herself a iesting stock, or els she ministreth occasion for knaves to tempt to villainy. (o6v)

It seems that Cary used Josephus's text as a point of departure for her own creative ends. Josephus does not describe Mariam expressing concern for using her voice. Instead he presents her as a 'wicked woman, & ungrateful towards her husband' (Weller, Ferguson 'Appendix A' 281). However, Cary presents Mariam as being at variance with the ideal but also worthy of sympathy from the reader/audience, a woman tormented that her 'inwardness' is not matched by her 'outwardness' and unsure of how to conduct herself now she hears that Herod is not dead:

I did this morning for his death complain,
And yet do mourn, because he lives, ere night.
(III, iii, ll.153-4)

Most importantly, Cary constructs Mariam's soliloquies in order to place a case of conscience before the reader which shows Mariam pleading for understanding of her past behaviour and a 'casuistical dispensation' to continue in the same vein in opposing Herod. Mariam presents herself as having a "'doubting" conscience' and is confused. Does she continue to allow her 'public voice to run on' or does she behave as a grieving widow?

Nonetheless, the conflicted anguish suffered by Mariam has a cynical tinge. In order to excuse her behaviour, Mariam shifts the blame onto Herod, arguably evincing a degree of duplicity. She stresses that it was not in fact her fault that she had acquired a voice in the first place. Instead, she reasons that Herod is responsible for her having a voice because it was he who taught her how to *use* a voice. Moreover, Mariam goes on to ask the reader to accept that she had used her acquired voice for

legitimate reasons. Loomba's work on the concept of 'subaltern resistance' is particularly useful in analysing this section. She has identified that in *The Tempest* 'Caliban's poetry has long been read as evidence of an oral culture, sensibility and intelligence that undermines and challenges Prospero's views of him as a brute' (Loomba 172-3). Drawing on Loomba's work it could be argued that Mariam is positioned as engaging with subaltern agency in the same way as Caliban in his 'subaltern resistance' against Prospero (Loomba 172-3). Mariam positions herself as a subaltern who has used her voice to exercise an agency against Herod occasioned by his unreasonable patriarchal repression of her. In other words, Mariam says that she has received a voice from Herod and then chooses to use it against him:

And blame me not, for Herod's jealousy
Had power even constancy itself to change:
For he, by barring me from liberty,
To shun my ranging, taught me first to range.
(I, i, ll.23-6)

Although it is clear that Mariam has used a public voice against her unreasonable husband, she still emphasizes that she was never unfaithful and calls her heart a 'too chaste a scholar' (I, i, l.27), which further emphasizes that she is capable of ideal behaviour and is the victim rather than a villain.

Mariam's name is also important in the shaping of the reader/audience response to Mariam, and part of Cary's gesture of exploring gender politics of her day. As mentioned before, the name of Mariam has nuances of chastity and female vocal agency, offering an association with the Virgin Mary and Moses' sister, Miriam, who was punished for using her voice in public. Mariam's insistence that she is chaste can be seen as a defence of her public voice by counteracting the stereotypical views held by some early modern conduct books that a woman's verbal conduct was analogous to her moral conduct; that is, if a woman allowed her voice to 'run on' then she must also be considered to be morally lax. Jones states that '[d]omestic discourse linked physical enclosure and household tasks to the purity of women's bodies and the

scarcity of their speech' (Jones 'Nets' 52). In fact, a woman ideally had to be 'totally devoid of sexual desire' (Armstrong, Tennenhouse 8). Mariam fits the role of this 'ideal woman' who is found in 'female-centered [closet] dramas [which] portray women that embody the stoic ideal' with no expression of sexual desire (Straznicky *Profane* 119). In her defence of her past actions to the reader/audience Mariam specifically constructs her 'outwardness' as the 'ideal woman' depicted in contemporary conduct books: 'But now I do recant,... / Excuse too rash a judgement in a woman' (I, i, ll.5-6) despite her obvious and enduring 'inwardness' of hatefulness:

Hate doth appear again with visage grim:
And paints the face of Herod in my heart,
(III, iii, ll.158-9)

Mariam pleads for forgiveness for her folly by positioning herself as wretched and dismal. Her most important final declaration is given with much insistence that, despite her unwomanly behaviour, she has always been chaste. But her chastity is complicated. Mariam has deliberately denied Herod and 'kept [her] heart from paying him his debt' (I, i, l.22), thus disrupting his lawful authority over her in marriage. She has thereby controlled her own fertility, deliberately shaping herself as an asexual woman despite being a mother. But she bases her plea for a 'casuistical dispensation' to continue opposing Herod (politically and sexually) on the fact that her soul was free from temptation by evil: 'But I did think because I knew me chaste, / One virtue for a woman might suffice' (IV, viii, ll.561-2).

Mariam's language reveals that she is an active political agent against Herod and his family and her speech shows that she thirsts for revenge. She rants furiously but she also discloses her disingenuous adoption of a guise of innocence and passivity as 'shelter' and 'shield' from where she can hide not only her grief but her anger at Herod's treatment of her family:

Oh, what a shelter is mine innocence,
To shield me from the pangs of inward grief:
'Gainst all mishaps it is my fair defence,
And to my sorrows yields a large relief.
(III, iii, ll.171-4)

Nevertheless her words suggest that her protestations of innocence are not entirely sincere. 'For I could overthrow them all ere long' (III, iii, l.170). The Chorus at the end of Act III presents the reader/audience with a counter-argument that a show of innocence cannot be a 'shelter' or 'shield' for a woman who has not practised circumscribed speech. It dictates that even a wish to have a free voice to express oneself should not be given to married women or else their reputations are in peril:

To keep her spotless from an act of ill: ...
'Tis not glorious for her to be free, ...
Yet though most chaste, she doth her glory blot,
And wounds her honour, though she kills it not.
(III, Chorus, ll.216, 219, 231-2)

Hence the reader/audience is left to decide whether the avocation of the Chorus or Mariam's desire for a free voice is in line with 'a right conscience ... the basis for all virtuous action' (Slights pt 15). However, Hamlin points out that this Chorus is unfair, highlighting that its 'sole target' for censure is Mariam whilst it seems to be ignoring the 'aggressive presence' of Salome (Hamlin pt 15), another married woman who also clearly desires to walk 'on the ridge' even though 'she hath spacious ground to walk upon' (III, Chorus, ll.221-2).

Nonetheless, Mariam insists that she had not always acted with modesty and wisdom: 'Had I but with humility been grac'd', / As well as fair I might have prov'd me wise' (IV, viii, ll.559-60). This is not as benign as it might at first appear. She arrives at the realization that openly accusing Herod has not been effective: 'had you not desir'd to make [me] sad, / My brother nor my grandsire had not died' (IV, iii, ll.115-6). The implication is that she regrets using her voice instead of feigning humility to try to gain revenge on Herod and deliberately mismatching her 'inwardness' of revenge with an 'outwardness' of innocence. Even so, it appears that Mariam is actually well-practised in using sexual power over Herod, knowing that she could 'enchain him with a smile' (III, iii, l.163). Herod admits that she is his 'commandress' and 'sovereign guide' (IV, ii, l.98) and asks her, 'do but smile, / And I will all unkind conceits exile' (IV, iii, ll.143-4). Mariam's regret that she has not 'with humility been grac'd'

(IV, viii, 1.559) is couched in terms that indicate that she is asking her reader/audience to pity her at receiving a death penalty. Nevertheless, it also offers evidence that Mariam is sharing her logical working through of a change of strategy to exact revenge on Herod. She clings to the idea that she was 'ever innocent' (IV, viii, 1.568) and accepts death as inevitable but insists that her enemies 'but [her] life destroy' (IV, viii, 1.569). She now knows that by her death she can leave a powerful legacy that will exact revenge more effectively than her presence. She acknowledges that her 'inwardness' was ever 'sour' (IV, viii, 1.568) through vengefulness but her 'outwardness' is seen to change. Conversely, it is not because of a change in her 'inwardness' but as a consequence of interaction with the other women characters.

The mothers in the play are deceitful, treacherous and dishonest. These portrayals may be the result of cultural ambiguities linked with metaphors of maternal power in the years of James' rule, despite the great popularity of mother's advice books which, as discussed earlier, depicted virtuous mothers. Nonetheless, such depictions by Cary are comparable with Grymeston's representation of her own wrathful mother.¹² Whilst Grymeston's and Cary's depictions serve to increase the reader's sympathy for their main protagonists, Cary also depicts the political impotence of maternal power. Interestingly, none of the women characters display any solidarity with one another, unlike the fighting males, Constabarus and Silleus: 'I ope my bosom to thee, and will take / Thee in as friend' (II, iv, ll.397-8).

Duplicity is shown as a general characteristic of Mariam's mother, Alexandra. She encourages Mariam to be similarly duplicitous advocating that Mariam should only appear to endure the wrongs that Herod has perpetrated in order to disrupt his patriarchal rule. By *seeming* to be a patient victim of Herod's tyranny Alexandra suggests that Mariam can be an active agent in determining her independence to 'resolve / How now to deal in this reversed state' (I, ii, ll.203-4):

¹² See earlier discussion of Grymeston's construction of her unsympathetic mother which increase the reader's sympathy for the main protagonist, p.117.

Then send those tears away that are not sent
To thee by reason, but by passion's power:
Thine eyes to cheer, thy cheeks to smiles be bent,
And entertain with joy this happy hour.
Felicity, if when she comes, she finds
A mourning habit, and a cheerless look,
Will think she is not welcome to thy mind
(I, ii, ll.151-7)

Alexandra openly admits that she has been willing to use her son and daughter as political pawns. Alexandra sent a picture of her two children, Aristobolus and Mariam, to Antony, offering them to him as sexual partners. But she laments her political impotence being such that she could not arrange for Mariam to marry Antony, who would have then forsaken Cleopatra:

With double sleight I sought to captivate
The warlike lover...
The boy's large forehead first did fairest seem,
Then glanc'd his eye upon my Mariam's cheek...
He would have loved thee, and thee alone,
And left the brown Egyptian clean forsaken
(I, ii, ll.171-2,179-80,189-90).

In addition, Doris is a stereotypically devious matriarch who knows that as a woman her only weapon is her voice. Hence, she encourages her son to act out her revenge on Mariam. He accepts the challenge, although Doris seems hesitant that her voice could be effectively turned into action: 'They are too strong to be by us remov'd' (II, iii, l.279). When Mariam and Doris meet, Mariam refers to herself as 'guiltless' (IV, viii, l.608) but insults Doris, confident that she will still be superior to Doris even when dead:

I envy not your hap:
Your birth must be from dust, your power on earth;
In Heav'n shall Mariam sit in Sara's lap.
(IV, viii, ll.572-4)

Iwanisziw suggests that Mariam's comment that she will 'sit in Sara's lap' alludes to herself as a descendent of Abraham and Sarah: 'this affiliation speaks to both her national and religious prestige [and] Mariam's dependence on Sarah fosters a spiritual alliance with women' (Iwanisziw

120). On the other hand, as there is clearly no human alliance between the two women, we should consider the possibility that Mariam, convinced of her superiority to Doris, has discovered the power of silence when she declines to answer Doris' heartfelt pleas to know why Herod had rejected her. Her obdurate silence prompts Doris to curse not Mariam but her children:

That cup of wrath that is for sinners found.
And now thou art to drink it: Doris' curse
Upon thyself did all this while attend,
But now it shall pursue thy children worse.
(IV, viii, ll.601-4)

Instead of an expected venomous reply, Mariam seems to immediately relent, performing the role of a poor innocent and for the first time acts as a concerned mother with a disingenuous concern, adopting the role of manipulative mothers like Doris and Alexandra, who want to preserve their blood line for the throne. Mariam has told her reader/audience that Herod had named her children, not Doris's as his heirs: 'My children only for his own he deem'd' (I, ii, l.137). Mariam pleads with Doris that the children should not be cursed:

Oh, Doris, now to thee my knees I bend,
That heart that never bow'd to thee doth bow:
Curse not mine infants, let it thee suffice,
That Heav'n doth punishment to me allow.
Thy curse is cause that guiltless Mariam dies.
(IV, viii, ll.604-8)

Of course, this is the same Heaven in which she has just insisted she would be safe in 'Sara's lap' (IV, viii, l.574). Mariam attempts to grace herself with humility, but when her appeal to Doris is ineffective she speaks in vitriolic terms to damn Doris. Nonetheless, it is clear that Mariam's adoption of victimhood is a feigned and fraudulent role. She accepts death at this point knowing that in her dying she has an opportunity for revenge and 'could overthrow them all ere long' (III, iii, l.170):

Oh! Heaven forbid. I hope that world shall see,
This curse of thine shall be return'd on thee:
(IV, viii, ll.625-6)

The main opposition to Mariam comes from her arch-rival, Salome. Although Salome is another mother, she is primarily depicted as a woman who allows her passions to control her will. She is typical of the female characters found in 'male-centered closet dramas', which tend to portray women who are 'antithetical to the stoic ideal' and 'generally the embodiment of unbridled passions' (Straznicky *Profane* 119):

Now stirs the tongue that is so quickly mov'd,
But more than once your choler have I borne:
Your fumes words are sooner said than prov'd,
(I, iii, ll.227-9)

Salome takes a lover, Silleus, and is determined to dispense with her husband, Constabarus. In contrast to Mariam, who uses her husband's jealousy to excuse her behaviour, Salome notes Constabarus's jealousy in order to defy conventions, give into her desire and arrange a divorce:

Thou shalt no hour longer call me wife,
Thy jealousy procures my hate so deep:
That I from thee do mean to free my life,
By a divorcing bill before I sleep.
(I, vi, ll.417-20)

Previous scholars have suggested that Salome is a stereotypically dishonest and treacherous woman. It cannot be denied that juxtaposing the apparently stoic heroine against her evil nemesis, Salome, serves to emphasize the innocence of the main female character and engages the sympathy of the reader with Mariam's plight. However, Hodgson-Wright makes an interesting observation, that Mariam and Salome share 'one crucial quality – a desire for power over their own bodies' (Hodgson-Wright 'Introduction' 22). By contrast, Salome aims to prove that, unlike Mariam, she can match her words with action and achieve her aims by use of her voice. But Salome, as well as Mariam, realizes that a woman was expected to 'bare herself of power' (III, iii, l.218). Salome, unable to exact any harm directly on Mariam, uses her voice as her only available weapon to ensure that Herod acts against Mariam:

Salome. Why, drown her then.
Herod. Indeed a sweet device.
 Why, would not ev'ry river turn her
 course...
Salome. Then let the fire devour her.
Herod. 'Twill not be:
 Flame is from her deriv'd into my heart:...
Salome. Then let her live for me.
 (IV, vii, ll.371-3, 377-9, 381)

This dialogue shows Salome performing as Herod's apparently 'concerned sister' (A Bennett 'Performativity' 305). There is a distinct parallel with Iago's interaction with Othello. Iago performs as the apparently concerned ally to Othello, suggesting methods of execution for Desdemona: 'Do it not with poison, strangle her in her bed' (*Othello*: 4, 1, l.197). Iago fosters the idea that Desdemona is unfaithful to ensure her downfall, playing on Othello's fragile self-esteem. Likewise Salome ensures that Herod's decision to execute Mariam is carried through by reminding him of the mismatch of Mariam's 'inwardness' with her 'outwardness':

She speaks a beauteous language, but within
 Her heart is false as powder:
 (IV, vii, ll.429-30).

By contrast, Mariam has previously positioned herself as the 'slander'd Mariam' (I, iii, l.252) and Salome's performance reinforces this assessment. Mariam's portrayal of herself as an innocent, chaste victim of the tyrannous Herod and victim of her female enemies is seductive for the reader/audience even though Mariam's mask as passive victim slips when she slanders Salome as a 'mongrel: issu'd from a rejected race' (I, iii, l.236). However, Callaghan's argument that '[t]he racialization of Salome, then, permits the irresistible logic of her proto-feminist pronouncements about female desire' (Callaghan 'Re-reading' 167-77) is a little overplayed. Instead, Mariam's racially insulting remark gives an indication of her arrogant 'inwardness' behind the 'outwardness' of goodness and saintliness. In this respect she seems to have inherited some traits from her mother, who refers to Cleopatra as a 'brown Egyptian' (I ii, l.190).

In specifically commenting on and exploring pertinent sexual politics of her day, Cary depicts female characters around Mariam as

examples of women whose only weapons, their voices, are ineffectual. The helplessness of their voices brings into sharp relief the fact that Mariam's 'public voice' is also ineffectual. Instead, they have to strive to use their voices to manipulate others: Salome manipulates Herod; Alexandra influences her children's destinies; and Doris can only encourage her son to rebel against Herod. It is only Graphina who appears to resist using her voice and instead employs silence to formulate her own ambitions. Her distinction amongst the women characters is that she does not appear to use her voice as a weapon to harm anyone. Moreover, it is interesting to also note that Cary is thought to depart from Josephus' history by inventing this particular character, who has been read as acting in the ideal feminine role of assuming a silence (R Green 'Ears Prejudicate' 464). Ferguson has suggested that the name Graphina 'plays on the Greek word for 'to write' (*graphein*)[...] deliberately evok[ing] the classical concept of writing as silent speech' (M W Ferguson 'Renaissance' 155). But can Graphina be read as subservient because of her silence and can Mariam be read to present herself with obedience and chasteness when she assumes a silence?

Graphina says that she is silent because of fear: 'tis no more but fear / That I should say too little when I speak' (II, i, ll.49-50) and 'amazement' (II, i, l.53). As a consequence, most previous scholars have read Graphina as the stereotypically ideal woman (for example, R Green 'Ears Prejudicate' 464). But Graphina is a slave who is willing to marry the King's brother; surely such a woman can also be seen as a spirited rebel. Instead of presenting the feminine ideal Graphina is only performing her subjection to Pherorus. Self-consciously she takes on a non-threatening role with her husband-to-be, which is a distinctly different approach to that taken by other female characters such as Salome, in order to achieve her aims. As a consequence of adopting this silent and subservient role she can marry the man whom she says she loves, a man who would be unavailable to a slave girl in normal circumstances. Bell comments that Graphina does not use sonnet form in her speech, emphasizing her lower class (I Bell 'Lyrics' 23). Whilst this is a viable explanation for Cary's choice of form for Graphina's speech, it may be that the narrative specifically carries such a low-born character in order to disrupt the class hierarchy. Graphina refers

to herself as Pheroras's 'lowly handmaid' (II, i, l.70) whose 'fast obedience may [his] mind delight' (II, i, l.71). It may be that Cary is offering an ironic commentary, that performance of feminine subservience is necessary for a woman to achieve her aims. Cary manipulates the concept of female silence as an indication of female subservience; instead, Graphina's silence is an example of '[f]eminine silence [that] can be constructed as a space of subjective agency which threatens masculine authority' (Luckyj *Gender* 60). Graphina gives an indication of a private 'inwardness' that Pheroras has no access to:

In my respect a princess you disdain;
Then need not all these favours study crave,
To be requited by a simple maid?
And study still, you know, must silence have.
Then be my cause for silence justly weighed,
(II, i, ll.64-68)

The reader/audience is also reminded by Pheroras's nervousness of the complexity of the 'outwardness' of silence and that it does not always indicate an 'inwardness' of obedience, instead 'silence is a sign of discontent' (II, i, l.42). It seems that Cary presents Pheroras as a man who would prefer his wife to be vocally obedient rather than offering him a silence that he is unable to interpret. In contrast to other women, Graphina stands apart, playing a subservient role to achieve her aim. Salome manipulates Herod into seeing Mariam as a threat, whilst Alexandra and Doris play the roles of concerned mothers so they can manipulate their offspring to achieve their own ambitions. Their voices alone are ineffectual but used with feminine performativity they are operative. None of these other women doubt that their chosen course is wrong; only Mariam doubts her actions, which helps to construct her as a tragic heroine.

The Chorus also helps to create the reception of Mariam as tragic heroine in comparison to the strident cohort of Salome, Alexandra and Doris. Most importantly, the Chorus at the end of Act I advocates Mariam's right to settle her "'doubting" conscience' by reminding the reader/audience that choosing to desire and satisfying the appetite of the senses cannot be justified. Moreover, desire cannot right the "'doubting" conscience' and so the Chorus provides evidence to the reader/audience

that Mariam's choice not to desire is compatible with her quest to right her "doubting" conscience':

Those minds that wholly dote upon delight,
Except they only joy in inward good,
Still hope at last to hop upon the right,
And so from sand they leap in loathsome mud.
Fond wretches, seeking what they cannot find,
For no content attends a wavering mind.
(I, Chorus, ll.493-8)

Cary explores a change in Mariam's self-presentation due to interaction with the other characters so that revenge can be acted on Herod. Bennett comments that Mariam 'is doomed [and] [s]elf-awareness is never enough to secure one's place in the world' (A Bennett 'Performativity' 302). On the other hand, Mariam is completely self-aware and she deliberately manipulates her 'outwardness' so that it does not reflect her 'inwardness' to exact revenge on Herod under the 'shelter' (III, iii, l.171) of innocence. Mariam's 'inwardness' of desiring revenge remains fixed, and she is not doomed but destined to 'secure [her] place in the world' (A Bennett 'Performativity' 302) as one who can overthrow Herod while seeming to be innocent of treachery against her husband. In other contemporary dramas the character who invokes much suspicion in his/her appearance is usually the villain, such as Iago who boasts: 'I am not what I am' (*Othello*: 1,1, l.65). By contrast, Cary's achievement here is to create the Mariam character who is duplicitous like a villain but instead is an outstanding tragic heroine.

Francis Bacon comments that 'a man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal and do well' ('Of Revenge', ll.30-1). Mariam keeps her 'own wounds green' when she hears the false rumour at the opening of the play that Herod has died. She reminds herself that she must still grieve for her brothers and grandfather who died at the hands of Herod:

Then why grieves Mariam Herod's death to hear?
Why joy I not the tongue no more shall speak,
That yielded forth my brother's latest doom: ...
And, worthy grandsire, ...
... he murder'd thee ...
(I, i, ll.38-40, 43, 45)

Moreover, she persuades herself that she must push aside the memory of 'the tender love that he to Mariam bare' (I, i, l.32) and instead remembers that she 'had rather still be foe than friend, / To him that saves for hate, and kills for love' (I, i, ll.61-2). Mariam's references to Herod's wrongdoing reinforce the concept that he is a villainous tyrant and the reader/audience is invited to believe that her hate is, therefore, justified. When Herod and Mariam meet for the first time in the drama it is clear that Mariam intends to hold onto her anger and pain caused by the monstrous crimes that Herod has committed against her family:

I neither have of power nor riches want,
I have enough, nor do I wish for more:
Your offers to my heart no ease can grant,
Except they could my brother's life restore.
No, had you wish'd the wretched Mariam glad,
Or had your love to her been truly tied:
Nay, had you not desir'd to make sad,
My brother nor my grandsire had not died.
(IV, iii, ll.109-16.)

Nonetheless, Mariam's constant reinforcement of her memory of past injuries alone does not offer evidence that she wants to enact revenge on Herod. She claims at this first meeting with Herod that 'I cannot frame disguise' (IV, iii, l.145); however, it is the change in Mariam's 'outwardness', with an unchanged 'inwardness', that is the key. Although Mariam is accustomed to using her voice to defend herself against Salome and Doris, she offers no voice in her own defence when she is accused of poisoning Herod. Instead, she replies sardonically, expressing a realization that suffering and martyrdom are her destiny:

'Did I? Some hateful practice this will prove,
Yet can it be no worse than Heavens permit.
(IV, iv, ll.161-2)

Mariam appears to acquiesce and assume a silence instead of a verbal defence against calumny. Straznicky comments that '[a]s a philosophy that transforms patience in suffering into a heroic trait, stoicism precludes political change' (Straznicky *Profane* 131). Furthermore, the Chorus at the end of Act IV of Cary's drama advocates that stoicism in the face of suffering can overcome repression. This Chorus suggests that Mariam is justified in adopting a stoic disposition as victim whilst not yielding to Herod. It promotes the concept of martyrdom and silent victimhood as a means of avenging the deaths of her family, thereby, in Straznicky's words, 'preclud[ing] political change':

Great hearts are task'd beyond their power but seld,
The weakest lion will the loudest roar.
(IV, Chorus, ll.643-4)

Most importantly, Cary can be read to construct her Chorus in line with writers such as Wyatt who, as discussed earlier, 'reconciled Stoic withdrawal and defiant anger' (Luckyj *Gender* 32). As a consequence, silence can present a means by which Mariam can 'capitalise on its inherently subversive possibilities' (Luckyj *Gender* 158). By desisting from using her voice, which has been inadequate in communicating her 'discontent' and effecting change, Mariam's choice of silence is a more powerful tool with which to exact her revenge. Cary manipulates the idea of feminine silence as an apparent acquiescence to authority in the same way as examined by Shakespeare in *Othello*. Bartels' analysis represents Desdemona's death as a 'submissive counter-narrative that challenges and changes the order of things' (Bartels 430). Although claiming that she has been 'O falsely, falsely murdered' (*Othello*: 5, 2, l.115) Desdemona apparently remains silent on accusing Othello of her murder, claiming 'Nobody. I myself' (*Othello*: 5, 2, l.123) has killed her. As Bartels argues, Desdemona is not submitting to Othello's authority but instead prompts him to contradict her as he thinks of her as a liar and to confess to the crime, which he does: 'She's like a liar gone to burning hell: 'Twas I that killed her' (*Othello*: 5, 2, l.129) (Bartels 430). Similarly, Mariam turns her strident 'outwardness' to an apparently compliant 'outwardness' whilst her

'inwardness' for revenge remains and, at the time of her death Mariam has the opportunity to avenge the deaths of her brothers and grandfather. It can be argued that she does this by changing her self-presentation from habitual, strident verbal attacks to silent, self-reverential martyr without a change in her inward feelings of need to revenge her family's suffering, and the text suggests that she is justified in doing so.

The Chorus offers no consolation for Mariam's strategy of revenge against Herod. It warns that by keeping her 'own wounds green', Mariam allowed herself to be governed by passion and not the reason of her rational soul to exact revenge. Desire and appetite were seen as 'deeply threatening to human selfhood and control whereas 'purpose and intention' were seen as 'a sign of human power and selfhood' (Heale 171). But describing a passion for vengeance overwhelming Mariam's reason reveals the Chorus' emphasis on the stereotypical presumption of a woman's inability to resist such an imbalance of the humours.¹³ The Chorus concludes that she deserved execution as a punishment:

To fix her thoughts all injury above
Is virtuous pride. Had Mariam thus been prov'd,
Long famous life to her had been allow'd.
(IV, viii, ll.662-4)

The Chorus also appears to sanction some kind of revenge. It acknowledges that even if revenge is against God's law it cannot be eliminated; that is, wrongs must have some kind of revenge. The Chorus advocates that if the action of revenge cannot be avoided then forgiveness should be given:

But if for wrongs we needs revenge must have,
Then be our vengeance of the noblest kind:
Do we his body from our fury save,
And let our hate prevail against our mind?
What can 'gainst him a greater vengeance be,
Than make his foe more worthy far than he?
(IV, viii, ll.653-8).

¹³ For a full discussion on the study of the complexity of early modern psychophysiological theory in the field of historical phenomenology see McDowell 786.

Weller and Ferguson comment that ‘proverbially the noblest vengeance is forgiveness’ (Weller, Ferguson *Elizabeth Cary* 173: n654). And so ‘vengeance of the noblest kind’ is an ambiguous notion of forgiveness offered by the Chorus as an act of revenge, where virtuous behaviour can be used for malevolent ends. Findlay comments that Cary offers the suggestion that ‘virtuous behaviour could include mental resistance’ (Findlay 77). Conversely, the Chorus implies that subversive behaviour (such as revenge) can be performed in an apparent virtuous behaviour (such as forgiveness). The Chorus, therefore, endorses Mariam’s assumption to *seem* virtuous in order to *be* vengeful. Mariam is sanctioned to create the powerful re-invention of the self into a passive/subversive Griselda-like figure. But Mariam’s shaping of herself as a virtuous female tragic heroine at her death, who is a victim of patriarchy, might seem to undermine the argument that she achieves self-realization as an avenger of the deaths of her brothers and grandfather. However, this idea may not be as anomalous as it at first appears.

Kelly suggests that Mariam qualifies as a virtuous martyr at her death. She is described as ‘guiltless’ (V, i, l.12) and goes to her death peacefully (Kelly ‘Martyrdom’ 34-5). Kelly highlights Mariam’s similarities with early modern females who had recently become martyrs, labelling Mariam as rebellious in the eyes of the original reader/audience. Thereby, Kelly credits Cary with ‘expos[ing] the gender-related anxieties present in accounts of their lives and deaths’ (Kelly ‘Martyrdom’ 44-5). Building on Kelly’s argument, a view of Mariam’s portrayal, not so much in the context of contemporary religious incidents, but in a literary context, can be posited thus. Cary can be said to draw on the Senecan traditions of closet drama, portraying Mariam with the stoicism found typically in main female characters who have suffered. It is also important to note that there is a long literary tradition of portrayals of the martyr-virgin-wife imitating the suffering of the religious ascetic in order to appear as a passive victim: for example, Griselda in Chaucer’s ‘The Clerk’s Tale’.¹⁴ The figure of Griselda is thought to have been appropriated by plays and ballads of the

¹⁴ Chaucer. ‘The Clerk’s Tale’. *The Riverside Chaucer*. Ed. Benson. 138-153. All subsequent references are to this edition.

English Renaissance which have been read to project the image of the perfect early modern wife (Bronfman 211-23). Although it can never be proven that Cary was influenced by the tale of Griselda, Mariam can be favourably compared with Griselda: both suffered at the hands of cruel, unreasonable husbands; both offer apparent passivity in the face of this cruelty; and both are popular with the general public. Whilst women's ascetic practice, apparently evident in the story of Griselda, has often been interpreted as an 'internalisation of misogyny' Bynum suggests that it is more adequately described as an act of self-empowerment in conceiving a female religious role within a patriarchal Church (Bynum 218). As a peasant, Griselda has a 'rype and sad corage' (The Clerk's Tale', l.220) which she uses when enduring the cruelty of the husband, Walter. In her acceptance of suffering she is transformed into a saint-like figure whose 'wise and rype words' ('The Clerk's Tale', l.438) resonate with the people:

And juggementz of so greet equitee,
 That she from hevne sent was, as men wende,
 Peple to save and every wrong t'amende.
 ('The Clerk's Tale', ll.439-41)

Griselda's agency in translating herself from virtuous peasant to wise counsel is neither disobedience nor passivity in the face of a dominant patriarchy, but a powerful reinvention. Mariam also performs a powerful reinvention of a self and she can be seen to revel in the idea of becoming a sacrificial victim to Herod. This is particularly clear when Mariam is confronted with the accusation that she loves Sohemus and is threatened with death. Mariam reinvents herself with a silence that she did not practise at the opening of the drama and she refuses to mount a defence or be perturbed. Instead, she chooses to be silent:

Is this a dream?..
 They can tell
 That say I lov'd him, Mariam says not so.
 (IV, iv, ll.184,193-4).

Luckyj has commented that a woman's 'silent body is often beyond simple translation'(Luckyj *Gender* 71) and so whilst Mariam's silence might be interpreted as a passivity it can also be read as an appropriation of

a defiant silence which evinces her passion for vengeance, equivalent to that of Hieronimo at the end of *The Spanish Tragedy*. As Hieronimo reinvents himself as the vengeful Senex, Mariam also reinvents herself so as to seem to be the perfect silent wife, whereas she can also be read as appropriating a complex location of vengeance. Mariam's composure is evident when her response is compared with another dramatic victim of patriarchy, Hermione in *The Winter's Tale*, who is also unfairly accused of adultery. Hermione's defence of herself is far more forceful and intense than Mariam's seemingly feeble reply. Hermione's response is an approach that the reader/audience might expect from Mariam who has previously in the past 'let her public voice run on':

Should a villain say so
(The most replenish'd villain in the world)
He were as much more villain: you my lord,
Do but mistake...
You scarce can right me thoroughly, then, to say
You did mistake.
(*The Winter's Tale*: 2, 1, ll.80-3, 101-2)

Even when led away Hermione, although noble, is still defiantly vocal: 'I never wish'd to see you sorry; now / I trust I shall.' (*The Winter's Tale*: 2, 1, ll.125-6). By contrast, Mariam's characterization is drawn more from the neo-classical tradition of noble suffering. Her virtuous acquiescence in death is reported by Nuntio as a display of the Stoic:

The stately Mariam not debas'd by fear:
Her look did seem to keep the world in awe,
Yet mildly did her face, this fortune bear. ...
And after she some silent prayer had said,
She did as if to die she were content,
And thus to Heav'n her heav'nly soul is fled.
(V, i, ll.26-8, 84-6)

Heller comments that Mariam's innocence is somewhat overplayed by Nuntio, to the extent that it is easy for the reader/audience to overlook the fact that Mariam has committed the 'abhorrent crime' of contemplating revenge on Herod (Heller 425, 437). Weller and Ferguson emphasize that in her submission to death Mariam takes on a typical *imitatio Christi* as 'a figural role as Christ-like victim or martyr' (Weller, Ferguson

'Introduction' 39). However, Mariam's stoicism cannot be read in such simplistic terms.

The reader/audience is alerted to the possibility that Mariam's performance is not entirely sincere but is cynically crafted in her response to her mother. Nuntio reports that Alexandra deserts her daughter in an extraordinary treacherous *volte face* claiming support for Herod in accordance with Josephus' depiction of her (Weller, Ferguson 'Appendix A' 281):

She told her that her death was too too good,
And that already she had liv'd too long;
She said, she sham'd to have a part in blood
Of her that did the princely Herod wrong.
(V, i, ll.41-5)

This typical betrayal by Alexandra initially serves to highlight the saintliness of Mariam in Herod's response: 'Why stopp'd you not her mouth? Where had she words / To [darken] that, that Heaven made so bright?' (V, i, ll.41-5). Moreover, Callaghan makes an interesting point in her study of racial issues in Cary's drama, that Mariam becomes less sexualized at the time of her death (Callaghan 'Re-reading' 109). If so, then it might be said that Cary is presenting Mariam according to a stereotypical image of women; when Mariam is vocal her chastity is brought into question but as soon as she assumes a silence she is considered to be chaste. On the other hand, the report of Mariam's response to her mother, invented by Cary, gives the reader/audience a hint that Cary presents her with a saintly composure which is ambivalent and might be manipulative and cynically crafted rather than a sincere expression of her goodness:

She made no answer, but she look'd the while,
As if thereof she scarce did notice take,
Yet smil'd, a dutiful, though scornful, smile.
(V, i, ll.50-2)

Such a shaping of a female protagonist with a similar duplicity in a contemporary revenge tragedy is also seen at the end of Webster's *The White Devil*, where Flamineo forms a suicide pact with his sister Vittoria,

and Zanche, her servant. The two women feign their compliance but then 'They shoot and run to him and tread upon him'¹⁵:

Zanche: [*Aside*] Gentle madam
Seem to consent. Only to persuade him teach
The way to death; let him die first.
Vittoria: [*Aside*] 'Tis good, I apprehend it
[*Aloud*] To kill oneself is meat that we must take
(*The White Devil*, V, vi, ll.70-4)

Similarly, at the moment just before her death, Mariam seems to feign compliance. Her duplicity is evident in the use of her voice to give a message to Herod. Shrewdly, she does not use a 'froward humour' (IV, iii, l.140); instead, she capitalizes on her knowledge that she could 'lead him captive with a gentle word' (III, iii, l.164). Consequently, in death she becomes what he wanted her to be in life; that is, his 'commandress ... sovereign guide' (IV, iii, l.98) through acquiescence with his death warrant and a 'gentle word' rather than her strident 'public voice'. She is reported to say,

"Tell thou my lord thou saw'st me loose my breath." ...
"If guiltily, eternal be my death" ...
"By three days hence, if wishes could revive,
I know himself would make me oft alive."
(V, i, ll.73, 75, 77-8)

In doing so, Mariam emphasizes the pathos of her situation especially by mentioning that after three days Herod would ensure that she was resurrected. This is a clumsy reference to Christ's death and subsequent resurrection, too glaring to be evidence of a sincere intent to submit herself to Herod's will. It is more likely that she is taking on the mantle of *Imitatio Christi* in order to perform as an ideal martyr. Reference to coming back to life after three days was a typical motif by those seeking martyrdom. Mariam's final speech is given to be reported to Herod and creates the maximum guilt in him. Consequently, her 'outwardness' can be understood as a means with which to dismantle Herod's power rather than as a sincere 'inwardness' of genuine self-sacrifice and compliance with Herod's

¹⁵ Webster. *The White Devil*. Ed. Luckyj. Stage direction following V, vi, l.116. All subsequent references are to this edition.

demands. By adopting a stoical disposition Mariam is able to 'preclude political change' (Straznicky *Profane* 131) more effectively than by allowing her 'public voice to run on' (I, i, l.1). By contrast, Mariam's 'outwardness' differs from that exhibited by Vittoria in *The White Devil*, who shows the same composure in the face of death but is still vocal in her defiance:

Lodovico: Thou dost tremble-
Methinks fear should dissolve thee into air.
Vittoria: O thou art deceived, I am too true a woman:
Conceit can never kill me. I'll tell thee what-
I will not in my death shed one base tear,
Or if look pale, for want of blood, not fear.
(*The White Devil*, V, vi, ll. 218-223)

Holdsworth comments as part of his evidence to substantiate social links between Cary and Middleton that Mariam was presented as a typical Middleton 'figure of the heroically chaste female, whose chastity is threatened or traduced by a male villain' (Holdsworth 380). But such a figure was typical of many early modern tragedies: for example, Desdemona, whose downfall traduces the male villain.

In her analysis of Lear's response to Cordelia's death, Goddard concludes that grief at the death of a loved one, especially an innocent loved one, was an important self-conscious performance (Goddard 47-74). In the real world outside of the theatre space, such excessive grief was deemed to be self-indulgent in early modern times (Goddard 52) but in dramaturgical terms it was typical for revenge tragedies and the tradition of neo-classical drama. Such a performance is evident in Herod's immediate response on hearing of Mariam's death. The announcement of her death has an illocutionary force to produce guilt in Herod and disruption to his kingdom. He is tormented by his guilt and hence feminized by his revenge on Mariam for her apparent disloyalty:

The more my shame: I was her lord,
Were I not mad, her lord I still should be:
But now her name must be by me ador'd.
(V, i, ll.68-70)

Findlay comments that '[f]or male revengers, the illusion of agency is always shadowed by the danger of self-annihilation, a dissolution of the

masculine self into the feminine task' (Findlay 61-2). Herod exhibits a similar response to Mariam's death and this can be interpreted as a self-conscious display of tormented grief and guilt: 'And therefore may I curse myself as cruel' (V, i, l.121). However, Findlay's comment that '[Mariam's] plan of non-aggressive and non-violent revenge is [...] unsuccessful' (Findlay 78) is not entirely substantiated. Herod descends into the stereotypical mad Herod of medieval cycle plays, desiring death and oblivion: 'Retire thyself, vile monster' (V, i, l.249). This overwrought manner and the immediacy of Herod's grief leaves the reader/audience to question if Herod is really penitent. Herod blames others and not himself for Mariam's death and as a result there is little potency to his claim of 'Retire thyself, vile monster' (V, i, l.249):

But, oh, I am deceiv'd, she pass'd them all
 In every gift, in every property:
 Her excellencies wrought her timeless fall,
 And they rejoic'd, not griev'd, to see her die.
 (V,i, ll.227-30)

Interestingly, Mariam has also shifted the blame onto Herod for her seemingly wayward behaviour, for encouraging her to acquire a voice in the first place. There is also a suggestion of insincerity when Herod's grief is compared with a seemingly more genuine remorse, that expressed by Othello and Leontes after they have been the perpetrators of the death of their wives. Othello punishes himself by acknowledging his guilt at the point of dying: 'no way but this, / Killing myself, to die upon a kiss' (*Othello*: 5, 2, l.369) and Leontes is reported to have 'saint-like sorrow' (*The Winter's Tale*: 5, 1, l.2). Both Othello and Leontes have the opportunity for redemption and the audience can experience catharsis at the end of the plays, something which cannot be said for Herod. As 'The Argument' shows, Herod only had a claim to the throne through Mariam's heritage and so as a result of her death he is no longer the legitimate king, and according to 'traditional theoretical distinctions between king and tyrant [...]a usurper [...]might be (indeed must be) lawfully overthrown' (N Perry 'Silence' 112).

McGrath concludes that Cary's drama does not fulfil its promise of catharsis of pity and fear and that Herod's penance offers no resolution to

the tragedy for the reader/audience (McGrath *Subjectivity* 184). However, Cary's original reader/audience would have noted that, although Mariam is dead and her voice is forever silenced, her dead body would enliven cultural anxieties generated by the presence of a corpse and 'the long tradition of its mysterious, semi-animate status [and] the preoccupation in Renaissance iconography with the sexual/reproductive power of the female corpse' (Zimmerman 129). Therefore, through the eroticization of the dead female body, Mariam would *be* dead but still *seem* to have a power over Herod that is now from beyond the grave. Mariam had wanted revenge by removing Herod and his kin from the throne: 'For I could overthrow them all ere long' (III, iii, l.170). Nevertheless, it is not Mariam's public voice that has aided her revenge but her silence that leads to the disintegration of Herod's mental state and presumably the end of his reign; the righteous overthrow of a usurper. The absence of a sense of catharsis points to explaining Herod's performance of grief as an attempt at reclamation of patriarchal power over Mariam who is as subversive dead as she was alive.

It is Cary's presentation of the dead Mariam that indicates the influence of revenge tragedy conventions more suited to the commercial Elizabethan or Jacobean stage than to a typical neo-classical drama. For example; early modern revenge tragedies often reflected religious controversies, such as the Catholic acknowledgement of the dead and the living 'officially inhabit[ing] the same community', whereas Protestants thought that 'the dead were officially beyond the grave' (Rist pt 8). Drawing on Rist's comments, it can be argued that Cary manipulates the idea of staging the dead as part of the community in a way very similar to Webster's portrayal of his Duchess of Malfi.¹⁶ Webster presents 'a simultaneous presence and absence of the dead' (Rist pt 19) in the graveyard scene, where Antonio thinks he hears the Duchess's voice from her grave but concluded that it is just an echo, although one that seems to have an independent voice and prophesies Antonio's death:

¹⁶ Webster. *The Duchess of Malfi*. Ed. Brennan. All subsequent references to this play are to this edition.

Antonio: 'Tis very like my wife's voice.
 Echo: Ay, wife's voice.
 Antonio: ...you'll find it impossible
 To fly your fate.
 Echo: O fly your fate.
 Antonio: Echo, I will not talk with thee;
 For thou art a dead thing.
 Echo: Thou art a dead thing.
 (*The Duchess of Malfi*. V, III, ll. 26-7, 34-5, 37-8)

Rist suggests that Cary also presents 'a simultaneous presence and absence of' the dead Mariam through Herod's commemoration of her (Rist pt 19).

It seems paradoxical that the monument that Herod builds to commemorate Mariam is in fact primarily a memorial of his own death: '*Here Herod lies, that hath his Mariam slain*' (V, i, l.258). Therefore, in the midst of his performance of guilt-driven grief at the death of the innocent and virtuous Mariam at his hands, Herod is masochistically taking centre stage as the villain and taking on the role of further performing Mariam's martyrdom by grieving so excessively for her. As a consequence, Herod's monument to himself and his wife can be clearly differentiated from Hermione's statue in *The Winter's Tale*. Her statue has the power to remind the populace that Leontes arranged Hermione's death; it is a symbol of female and not patriarchal agency. Paulina takes centre stage alongside the statue revealing it to Leontes. Paulina increases Leontes' torment: 'I like your silence, it the more shows off / Your wonder: but yet speak' (*The Winter's Tale*: 5, 3, ll.21-2). By contrast, in Cary's drama there are no females to defend Mariam's memory. Instead, Mariam's enforced silence is appropriated by Herod as he takes patriarchal control, making the monument a sign of his authority and creating a cultural collective memory of Mariam while crucially giving a mythical status to both of them. After all, as Constabarus says, quoting Proverbs 12:4, 'A virtuous woman crowns her husband's head' (I, vi, l.396). This quotation was widely used in conduct books and sermons as the basis upon which a woman should build her ideal behaviour as a wife: '[a] good wife, then, is a mark of her husband's achievement' (K Newman *Femininity* 15). Thus, Herod uses the monument to commemorate them both, to bolster the collective memory of

himself as the husband of a virtuous woman even though he was the villain who killed her. A more generous reading might draw on Herod's comment that neither he nor Salome can live without Mariam. Herod questions Salome, 'But can you live without her? ... I'm sure I cannot' (IV, vii, ll.382, 384) which implies that he thus aims to preserve the memory of his wife. Consequently, this memorial is a punishment for Salome, leaving her at the end of the drama with the deification of Mariam, despite Salome's efforts to destroy her.

Tombs were built in medieval and early modern times to 'preserve the memory of virtuous members of society, this helping to ensure the harmony of the commonwealth' (Llewellyn 223-4). But Herod's monument does not guarantee any harmony for the kingdom. There is just the uncertainty of a 'topsy-turvéd' world (I, vi, l.424), first observed by Constabarus, with no sense of catharsis. The scene is set for Herod's demise to signal a consequential meltdown in the royal leadership, creating the 'topsy-turvéd' world that Constabarus feared, where 'Hebrew women [are] now transformed to men' (I, vi, l.421). There is a distinct disruption of the gender hierarchy which can be directly attributed to Mariam's self-imposed silence, which hastened her sacrificial death. After the end of the drama and the presumed death of Herod, the rest of the female characters (Salome, Doris and Alexandra) would be left to fight over Herod's throne. The only man likely to fight for power would be Pheroras, Herod's brother. If he were to take power Graphina, his wife, who had been born a slave, would become queen. Consequently, Mariam's self-imposed martyrdom has created a world where a slave could potentially become queen. Amidst the chaos left by Herod's downfall the memory of the supposed innocence of Mariam remains constant thanks to the presence of the monument that Herod builds for her.

To compound the evocation of a dejected and uncertain atmosphere the last lines of the play-text display a slightly different tone. Kelly reads them as a reference to the Book of Wisdom with possible Catholic undertones on the value of martyrdom (Kelly 'Martyrdom' 46-7), whilst Shannon depicts the Chorus as offering 'a feminist or reforming wisdom' as a critique of 'the ultimate in competency of Moses' law to achieve and

maintain civil order because of its differential treatment of women' (Shannon 147). On the other hand, McGrath reads them as a commentary on the fascination of variability in life in the seventeenth century (McGrath *Subjectivity* 185-6). Drawing on McGrath's thoughts, it can be argued that the text has an overtly confident political tone which is the only evidence of didactics in the drama, alerting the reader/audience to a commentary on contemporary politics:

This day's events were certainly ordain'd,
To be the warning to posterity:
So many changes are therein contain'd,
So admirably strange variety.
(V, i, ll.289-92)

The 'so many changes' can be read as referring to the chaos created by the death of Mariam. If we are to accept that the Mariam play-text was written in the early years of James' reign, this textual location of chaos may be a didactic message, a 'warning to posterity', and possibly a reflection of a publicly perceived turmoil left after Elizabeth I's death in 1603. However, it seems unlikely that Cary is offering any personal views regarding Catholicism which she may have embraced by the time *Mariam* was printed, and indeed she may perhaps have secretly converted when she wrote the play-text. As discussed earlier, the idea of Catholic overtones in the original printed title page of Cary's drama is seductive; nonetheless, the narrative and characters in the *Mariam* play-text do not offer any particular account of Catholicism versus Protestantism. As discussed earlier, textual references to the memory of Elizabeth I were common in the early years of James I's reign but such texts were not always oppositional to James (C Perry 154). On the other hand, it can be argued that Elizabeth's reign had produced 'admirably strange variety': she had beheaded a rightful Catholic queen (Mary, Queen of Scots); she was succeeded by Mary's son, the Protestant James, from whom Catholics nonetheless probably expected a degree of toleration; and England and Scotland were unified, which would have led to a sense of societal unease. It is perhaps this societal turmoil of '[s]o many changes ... therein contain'd' that Cary may be referring to.

As discussed earlier, Cary's drama has been read as being informed by issues regarding the divorce of Henry VIII (Weller, Ferguson 'Introduction' 30-5), and there are also aspects of the national and cultural reception of Anne Boleyn that may inform some features of Mariam (innocence of the charge of adultery) and Salome (shaped as a lustful woman); however, these readings are not entirely convincing. To extend these readings one would have to shape Doris (Herod's first wife) as Katherine of Aragon (Henry's first wife), who was a sympathetic character for Catholics. If Cary had Catholic allegiances when she wrote her drama then they are probably not expressed in her portrayal of Doris, who is scheming and vengeful. Similarly, Mariam (Herod's second wife) would be read as Anne Boleyn, seen as the villain of the Reformation and the cause of England's split with Rome, which would be an unlikely source of characterization for the heroine Mariam. Consequently, religious influences underpinning Cary's drama are not entirely corroborated. Similarly, arguments that Cary is expressing some kind 'feminist or reforming wisdom' (Shannon 147) are not completely substantiated unless one reads that Mariam is at the end defeated and not the victor in achieving her aims of revenge. In contrast, Hamlin's argument that the Chorus expresses a 'thoughtful reflection on what we might call *necessary* experience [...] if humanity is to become wise, individual humans must undergo such wrenching trials as those depicted in the play' is more convincing (Hamlin pt 20).

Conclusion

The textual content of the typography of Cary's title page and dedicatory poem can be read to *seem* to present Cary as an ideal modest woman from elite society so that she can *be* a writer who is able to reach her elite readers and the anonymous readers of the printed word. In this respect, Cary is presented in similar fictive terms to other early modern women writers reviewed in my survey, and her drama is positioned as other closet drama, that is 'self-consciously ... within an elite literary culture' (Straznický *Privacy* 4). My textual analysis of her drama also suggests that the drama

itself can claim to *be* one thing (a closet drama) but can also *seem* to be another (a possible stage drama). This dichotomy can be seen as a sophisticated strategy enabling Cary to reach her readers. In this respect Cary was no different from other contemporary women writers who, Lewalski suggests, contributed to literary and cultural discourses without recognizing them as 'exclusively male preserve[s]' (Lewalski *Jacobean* 314). By adopting this strategy of *be and seem*, Cary ensures that she can construct herself as an appealing writer for readers of printed play-texts and her presentation on the title page by the printer and/or publisher/bookseller supports her agency in this. As argued, her dedicatory poem can be read as a blatant advertisement for Cary's work in general and so, in contrast to Lanyer, Cary seems not to betray any lack of confidence in her ability to convey her work to her reader. As previously concluded, Lanyer's despondent view might point to her struggle with social as well as gendered constraints. Such restrictions may not have applied to Cary, who was socially higher placed, in her efforts to be successful as a writer in the world of the printed word, governed by the early book trade.

My textual analysis of the front matter and play-text of the *Mariam* play-book reinforces the idea that Cary constructed her drama as an exploration of gender as a performance and the early modern cultural anxieties around *be and seem*. In her drama she constructs her main protagonist as a woman whose self-presentation, like that of many early modern women writers, cannot always simply be read at face value. Cary describes the seventeenth-century world in microcosm and as a textual location of performativity in the presence and absence of the female voice. Cary deconstructs the idea of feminine silence and chasteness whilst illustrating the complexities and power of the silent female. *Mariam* is a woman who is compelled to change her 'outwardness' from self-expression in forthright vocalization to a powerful silence as a more effective means to articulate and achieve the aims of her fixed 'inwardness'. *Mariam* is executed for duplicity against Herod even though she is innocent of adultery. She was, however, guilty of another kind of duplicity: deliberate mismatching of her 'inwardness' and her self-presentation of an 'outwardness', performing as a martyr while all the time being a revenge

heroine. Therefore, the drama is an exploration of the consequences of mismatching appearances with inner feelings and an analysis of silence as subversion, not just an illustration of the stoicism found in typical contemporary neo-classical dramas and public theatre plays. However, it is also clear that Cary does not simply draw on traditions of the sixteenth century's so-called 'domestic tragedy', where there is a simple plot about strife between a husband and his wife with no display of 'inner conflict' in any of the characters' (Hallett, Hallett 190). This contradicts previous findings suggesting that Cary is simply exploring gender relations within her own marriage in her play-text. The drama is not so much a polemic for the right to speak but a commentary on how women could negotiate with social and cultural forces in the seventeenth century in order to produce a nuanced application of the feminine voice that is effective, and that is encompassed in the motto of *be and seem*. Cary's achievement is to exploit the seventeenth century's 'universal suspicion of appearances' to produce not a villain but a heroine (Maus 210).

With regard to Scott-Baumann's maxim of 'reading for form is reading for influence' (Scott-Baumann "'New" Formalism'), my textual analysis of Cary's text offers evidence that Cary may have been influenced by a variety of literary conventions and themes that were used in popular contemporary public theatre plays. The *Mariam* play-text indicates that Cary soaked up the literary currency of the commercial theatre and included in her play-text dramaturgical aspects of stage tragedy, a genre that was not accessible to her as a writer but certainly was as a member of the audience. Thus, *Mariam* should be recognized as a 'multifaceted female hero' (J A Roberts 'Sex' 214) whose character develops and becomes more complex throughout the drama, specifically because all of the characters interact to drive the plot. The reader/audience's perception of *Mariam*'s character changes due to her interaction with the other characters and, most importantly, *Mariam* speaks directly to the reader/audience through her soliloquies, requesting judgement on her past behaviour and providing a justification for her future transformed behaviour. *Mariam*'s use of her voice and then deliberate withdrawal of it at the end of her life can be read to indicate that she endeavours to *be* anything she wants to be and, at the

same time, *seems* to be other in order to achieve her aims; much the same strategy as probably played out by women who wanted to be writers of printed texts in early modern times.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Waller states that there is a ‘distinction between silence and absence ... a distinction ... crucial for our understanding of women writers in this period’ (Waller ‘Discourse’ 252). However, where I depart from Waller’s thesis is when he asserts ‘[t]hat with so much writing by women in this period, it is the struggle from silence – a struggle that often ends in absence’ (Waller ‘Discourse’ 252). Conducting a survey of women writers and their texts, together with analyses of typographical presentation and textual content of title pages and front matter from the late sixteenth century until the early years of the seventeenth century in England, has provided me with sufficient evidence to identify definite female writerly presences which emerge in many guises in the ‘gaps [and] silences’ of patriarchal discourse (Waller ‘Discourse’ 246). In particular, my case studies support this notion. Cary’s drama provides an example of a female writerly presence which is necessarily absent in public theatre writing but not silent in playwriting. While Cary may not disrupt the dominant literary discourse of the day by being allowed to be the first woman to have an original drama printed in England, she was nonetheless able to seize textual agency and create ‘wiggle-room’ (Callaghan ‘Introduction’ 10) within the dominant contemporary literary discourse of dramatic writing by using aspects of commercial theatre. Lanyer’s book provides evidence that a woman could achieve a writerly presence and reach a ready-made audience of religious readers. Moreover, there is possible evidence in typographical presentation of both women and their writing by their printers and/or booksellers/ publishers to indicate some agency by Cary and Lanyer. This is not necessarily support for these writers as pioneers of some kind but suggests that they were recognised as writers of marketable books.

Nonetheless, my findings go some way to support previous scholarship suggesting that the world of print was more accessible to writers with higher social status in the late sixteenth compared with the early seventeenth century. Therefore, it is probably reasonable to suspect that Cary, with an elite background, might have found it easier to publish her work than Lanyer, from the fringes of elite society. However, it is

beyond the scope of this thesis to decipher the relative importance of status for women writers and to extricate it from the significance of the subject matter of their books, both of which had valuable implications for bookseller/publishers in attracting them to invest in any text. There is much more to learn about the significance attached to women's writing by the book trade with regard to the status of the writer and subject matter of the book. Although, unsurprisingly, the majority of texts written by women were of a religious nature, women also contributed to other genres and participated in the writing process in a variety of roles, either by producing complete texts of books, or texts that were included in compilations alongside writings by men. Nonetheless, the prevalence of the relatively few reprintings of texts written by women compared with those written by men deserves further study to identify whether there are any gendered differences in the socio-historical and literary value attached to these women's texts. These questions will be answered by detailed analyses of the writerly roles played by women alongside their male counterparts, together with the genres and forms of writing they were able to contribute to, enabling us to place women's writing more convincingly within the milieu of the printed word rather than in some kind of separate gendered literary sphere.

The results of my survey have also provided a historical context of typographical presentation and textual construction in which to place the Lanyer and Cary case studies, enabling analysis of these women's books to be made with reference to their original cultural moment. These case studies have offered an indication of the dominance of the book trade's input into the typographical presentation of books and, hence, the presentation of each writer to her reader. It seems reasonable to suggest that bookseller/publishers and/or printers position the writer and the text with a view to secure a market share for the book. Moreover, results suggest that there are possible roles for bookseller/publishers and/or printers as third-party intrusions between writer and reader, as seen in the presentation of printed marginalia on Margaret Tyler's 1578 printed book of her translation of *The Mirrour of Princely deedes and Knighthood* (Askey). For example, if interference in the combination of Lanyer's

dedications within any copy of her book is because of customer request, it can be suggested that her textual aims in hoping to attract some patronage from the elite were probably overridden by Bonian's likely concerns in maximizing sales to the anonymous public. But this third-party intrusion between writer and reader is by no means exclusively experienced by female writers. A likely point of gendered tension between the book trade and the woman writer is illustrated by the finding that even if the women in my survey were agents in their own textual self-presentation, they were also probably used by the book trade as 'marketing device[s]' with "woman" as subject-matter and [a] marketable commodity' (M Bell 'Writing' 431, 451). Available information indicates that the bookseller/publishers and printers of Lanyer's and Cary's books had no particular preferences in the texts they produced despite previous suggestions by Lesser that bookseller/publishers specialized in certain types of text as specific publishing strategies (Lesser *Renaissance* 8). However, both Bonian and Hawkins were inexperienced bookseller/publishers who employed experienced printers to print Lanyer's and Cary's texts respectively. Further studies of the business activities of bookseller/publishers of women's printed books in the early years of the century through to the years after 1640, when there were increased numbers of women's texts in print (M Bell 'Writing' 433), will help in clarifying the early book trade's views on women's printed works as marketable commodities.

My study of certain extant copies of Lanyer's book and my review of the present knowledge of the physical presentation of extant copies of Cary's play-book have indicated that it is important to acknowledge the practice of cannibalizing early printed books. Previous scholars have not given enough attention to this practice, which is clearly an obstructive issue, hampering the uncovering of the original state of books. Scholars also need to be especially wary when analysing textual content with reference to the physical presentation of extant copies in order to identify original writers' intentions. This is particularly important in the study of the textual content of Cary's dedicatory poem, together with the study of physical presentation of extant copies of the play-book, in order to make conclusions about the

state of original publications. Nonetheless, a study of the physical presentation of extant copies of early modern books can help to gauge the possible cachet attached to them in their original form while the disturbance of their state may indicate the value attached to the book by subsequent generations.

Although my work has gone some way towards providing more detail concerning women writers' texts in the early years of print, I would agree with Bell when she calls for more work to 'quantify women-authored texts for the period as a whole' and to identify 'hidden and embedded texts' by women (M Bell 'Writing' 437). As a consequence, my study will complement further studies aimed at identifying, first, how early printed women-authored texts 'contributed to a climate in which increasing numbers of women ... came to be printed' after 1640 and, secondly, any direct association with the increase in 'women-directed and women-related texts' from the 1570s (M Bell 'Writing' 437), particularly with reference to the apparent dip I noted in numbers of extant texts by women printed between 1551 and 1570. Further work needs to focus, as I have in my survey, not just on the quantity of women's texts but also on the details of how women writers presented themselves and were presented by a predominantly male book trade in comparison with male writers. This approach would provide us with indications of any possible changes and/or trends in the textual self-presentation of women writers with respect to the different publishing climate later in the seventeenth century. Moreover, further work on women's self-presentation in their printed works would also dovetail neatly with current nuanced approaches to the study of early modern women's writing of the self and 'the gendering of selfhood' in the early modern period.¹

Lanyer's text, published in the early years of the seventeenth century, is clearly influenced by the tradition of using language which invokes the *Song of Songs*, extending the concept of self-annihilation to the extent that she dissolves into an ethereal presence as narrator. Similarly, Heale has described Isabella Whitney, published at the end of the sixteenth

¹ For example, Longfellow 'Self' 3.

century, as ‘a ghost-like absence’ who nonetheless is also ‘able and willing to assert that self publicly through her pen’ (Heale 40). Although there is no verifiable evidence for any definite progress in the dismantling of female stereotypes throughout the century,² further study of the self-presentation of women writers who wrote lyrical religious poetry later in the seventeenth century, such as An Collins in her *Divine Songs and Meditations* (1653), would illuminate any subtle differences in the presentation of a religious female voice by the middle of the seventeenth century compared with earlier writers such as Lanyer. Later in the seventeenth century, during the Civil Wars, women’s writing practices are known to have ‘reflected the fragmentations in society ... rather than any sense of a unified female tradition’ (E Clarke ‘Legacy’ 72) in a historical moment when ‘private conscience blend[ed] with national’ and a sense of public duty was felt as ‘a civic monitory of one’s neighbours’ (Matchinske *Gender* 157). Although there was no official arena in which women could convincingly engage in social and political critique, Clarke affirms that since the private nature of the religious lyric acquired political currency in the mid-seventeenth century, women writing of private religious experience offered access to public political debate (E Clarke ‘Muse’ 132-3). For example, one could argue that Lanyer was influenced by the Elizabethan use of the pastoral tradition to explore ‘a rhetoric of inwardness’ (C Perry 55), conversely, by the mid-seventeenth century, ‘[t]exts that represent gardens [were not] concerned so much with self-fashioning as with coming to terms with acute disruptions to the English political and physical landscape’ (Munroe 121). As a consequence, one might expect that mid-century women writers would present themselves in accordance with these cultural and political influences; for example, a blending of this notion of reaching beyond the imaginative space of a fictive garden in order to fulfil a woman writer’s perceived duty in nurturing and advising her reader. By the mid-seventeenth century many women writers were female visionaries who were seen as ‘receptors for the divine, spiritual energy emanating from heaven’ (Mack *Visionary Women*

² Information supplied by Nadia Bishai in a private communication on early modern attitudes to the female voice.

33). Moreover, many mid-century women writers presented themselves by using the traditional trope of *corpus debiles*; a weakness of body used to the point of erasing a sense of a real self (Robin 196). Some scholars read descriptions of bodily ailments as evidence of real suffering;³ however, self-presentation as a suffering woman who writes can also be seen as an example of a rhetorical act. A full evaluation of such a rhetorical self-construction throughout the early modern era is needed to fully identify its worth to women writers in reaching their readers. As a consequence, further study would need to be wary in determining whether these mid-seventeenth century self-presentations were still routinely underscored by negotiations with the implicit and deep-rooted cultural expectations of feminine probity and piety as a means to enter the world of published writings.

Further evaluation of the shaping of readers throughout this period is also needed. It is clear that the writers of the *Salve* book and the *Mariam* play-book anticipated their readers being flattered to feel part of an exclusive elite audience. Lanyer appears to speak to an exclusive community fictively suggested by her patronage poems while Cary's drama reminds the reader of closet dramas were circulated in manuscript form amongst elite private circles. However, given that during and after the turmoil of the Civil Wars 'there was a great overturning, questioning, revaluing, of everything in England' (Hill 14, 158) one might expect to find that writers working later in the seventeenth century shaped their readership perhaps differently from writers who were published earlier in a more stable social environment.

I conclude from my study of Cary's drama that not only did Cary explore contemporary anxieties around *be and seem* which were often evident in women writers' self-presentations but, most importantly, she produced a drama that claimed to *be* a closet drama and *seemed* to have qualities of a stage drama, in order to ensure that she could carve herself a literary niche in appealing to readers of printed play-texts. However, by the mid-seventeenth century there were societal changes which affected the

³ For example, L Bennett 'Medicinal Verse'.

production of drama. It is known that '[t]he closing of the theatres by parliamentary ordinance in 1642 had the unintended effect of closeting all plays for nearly two decades' (Straznicky *Privacy* 68), while printed plays 'were not subject to any form of regulation' at this time (Straznicky *Privacy* 68). Consequently, ways in which elite women who, earlier in the century were bound by social strictures in their production of drama, might present themselves and their work at this time deserve further study, especially in comparison to their male counterparts, who were also routinely contributing to the same literary milieu. Nonetheless, it is useful to remember that Margaret Cavendish expresses an apparent rhetoric of unwillingness to have her work printed in her 1653 *Poems and Fancies*, similar to that expressed by women writers earlier in the century. Therefore, Cavendish's self-presentation in her printed play-books of the 1660s, the decade when theatres were reopened, would offer another appropriate comparison with Cary's rhetorical self-construction, with the aim of comparing aristocratic women writing and publishing dramas in remarkably different publishing climates and cultural environs. Given also that women actresses first appeared on the English stage during the 1660s (Kellett 420), an evaluation of Cavendish's construction of female protagonists compared with that of earlier women writers of drama, such as Cary, would be beneficial in helping to understand how readers and audiences were anticipated throughout 'the period as a whole' (M Bell 'Writing' 437). Such study would place mid-century dramas firmly in their cultural and political moment because it is known that 'the theatricalization of private reading is, for the first time, politically charged', with plays used for propaganda during the English Civil Wars (Straznicky *Privacy* 68, 71); there is even an example of a play sponsored by Parliament, George Buchanan's *Tyrannicall-Government Anatomized* (1642/3) (Sauer 80-95).

Most importantly, my survey and the case studies show clear negotiation with the patriarchal order through the use of common rhetorical self-constructions and strategies positioning these women's writings culturally and religiously within the realm of their literary contemporaries rather than in some kind of separate literary sphere. Consequently, my approach supports Scott-Baumann's maxim that 'reading for form is

reading for influence' (Scott-Baumann "'New' Formalism') and Sasha Roberts' assertion that 'amid the textuality of history and the history of textuality, materialist feminist criticism should not abandon the distinctiveness of literary writing' (S Roberts 'New Formalism' 87). Moreover, scholarship now needs to identify how male writers may have influenced texts written by women and, of course, the possibility of women writers influencing writings by male writers even though it is probably 'difficult to invest in a progress narrative' (Chedgzoy 'Aemilia Lanyer'). We can, and must, continue to challenge ourselves to rethink our assumptions about early modern women writers. We need to recognise their possible strategies of *be and seem* in using fictive constructions of the self to fulfil readers' expectations of what an ideal woman would write in order to negotiate their way to publication and how members of the book trade responded to ensure sales of their books.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

TABLE I

Categories of Genre Employed in Survey of Women's Printed Texts, 1551-1630

These genre categories for texts are based on those used by Crawford.¹ The categories have been adapted to encompass the texts that have been reviewed for this time period.

Religious: Polemic, Prayers, Confessions of Faith, Religious Poetry, Religious Translations, Mother's Religious Advice.

Polemic: Apocalyptic writing, Religious Polemic Prose and Poetry

Prayers: Prayers, Meditations in Poetry or Prose, Confessions of sins, Religious Exhortations in Poetry or Prose

Confessions of Faith: Religious Conversions and Expositions, Calvinist versions of *ars moriendi* tradition, Emblems

Religious Poetry: Narrative Religious Poems

Religious Translations: Translations of Polemic, Sermons, Prayers or Prose, Recusant Translations.

Mother's Religious Advice: Mother's Advice, Mother's Advice in Polemic form.

Miscellaneous: Letters, General Moral Advice, Mother's Domestic Advice, Formal Document, Practical Advice, Specific Requests for Patronage.

Literary: Closet Drama, Secular Poems including Poetry of Mourning and Testimonial Poetry, Translations of Secular Poetry or Prose.

Political: Parliamentary Petitions, *Querelle des femmes* debates, (Possible) Proto-Feminist Commentary, Political Commentary.

¹ Crawford 'Writings' 269.

TABLE II

Categories of Genre Employed in Graphs of the Portfolio of Printed Publications by Lanyer's and Cary's Printer and Bookseller

These genre categories for texts are a simplified variation of those given in Table 1, with the separate subdivision of drama/theatre texts included for applicable comparison purposes for this data. The categories have been adapted to encompass the texts that have been reviewed.

Religious: Polemic, Prayers, Confessions of Faith, Religious Poetry, Religious Translations, Mother's Religious Advice.

Miscellaneous: Letters, General Moral Advice, Biography, Lives, Formal Document, Practical Advice, Parliamentary Petitions, *Querelle des Femmes*, Proto-Feminist Commentary, Political Commentary.

Literary: Romance, Secular Poems including Poetry of Mourning and Testimonial Poetry, Translations of Secular Prose, Ballads, Songs.

Drama/Theatre: Plays, Closet Drama.



APPENDIX II

LISTING OF WOMEN WRITERS AND TEXTS INCLUDED IN, OR EXCLUDED FROM, THE SURVEY OF PRINTED TEXTS BY EARLY MODERN WOMEN WRITERS

Format of Entries

For each entry: name, text: title, STC number and date (where data is available). The titles of texts are given with the following: normalised capitalisation; abbreviations of a long title; transcriptions retaining old spelling including i/j and u/v; and both title of a book and text are given if the woman's text is included within another writer's book.

Inclusion and exclusion of texts by women writers are in accordance with the survey methodology and the judgement I have made if there is disparity between details from previous scholars and relevant sources. The term 'Collected Writings' refers to a collection of more than one text by a woman writer in a compilation.

Women Writers and Texts Included in The Survey

A.H. *Another Godly Letter* (1625, STC 12561.2).

Abergavennie, Frances 'The Praiers made by the Right Honourable Ladie Frances Aburgauennie' in Thomas Bentley *Monuments of Matrones* (1582, STC 1892).

Arnold, Elizabeth (language trans) 'The Inuestiue of Docter Andreas de Laguna' in Thomas Tuke *A Discourse against Paintng [sic] and Tincturing of Men and Women* (STC 24316, 1616); 'The Inuestiue of Docter Andreas de Laguna' in Thomas Tuke *A Discourse against Painting and Tincturing of Women* (STC 24316a, 1616).

Ascham, Margaret, in Roger Ascham *The Scolemaster* (1570, STC 832) (1571, STC 834) (1573, STC 835) (1579, STC 835.5) (1589, STC 836).

Askew, Anne *The First Examination of the Worthy Seruant of God...* (1560, STC 853) (1585, STC 849). 'Collected Writings' in Thomas Bentley *Monuments of Matrones* (1582, STC 1892). 'Collected Writings' in John Foxe *Actes and Monuments* (1563, STC 11222) (1570, STC 11223) (1576, STC 11224) (1583, STC 11225) (1589, STC 11229) (1596, STC 11226) (1597, STC 11226a) (1610, STC 11227).

Bacon, Anne (language trans) *Fourteene Sermons of Barnardine Ochyne....* (1551, STC 18766) (1551, STC 18767) (1570, STC 18768); John Jewel *Apologie or Answere in Defence of the Church of England* (1564, STC 14591); Bacon's translation as an embedded text in John Jewel *A Defence of the Apologie of the Churche of Englande, an Answere to a Certaine Booke by M. Hardinge* (1567, STC 14600.5) (1570, STC 14601) (1571, STC 14602).

- Bassett, Mary Roper Clarke (language trans) Thomas More's *De Tristitia* ('An exposition of a parte of the passion of our saviour Jesus Christe...') in *The Workes of Thomas More* (1557, STC18076).
- Bradford's Mother, Maister 'The Praier that Maister Bradfords Mother said and offered vnto God in his behalfe, a little before his Martyrdome' in Thomas Bentley *Monuments of Matrones* (1582, STC 1892).
- Berners, Juliana *The Booke of Hawking, Hunting and Fysshing* (1556, STC 3310.7) (1556, STC 3311) (1556, STC 3312); *Hawking, Hunting, and Fishing* (1586, STC 3313); *A Booke of Fishing with Hooke & Line* (STC 1590, 17572); *The Gentlemans Academie* (1595, STC 3314); *Hawking, Hunting, Fouling and Fishing* (1596, STC 12412); *A Jewell for Gentry* (1614, STC 21520).
- Berry, Dorothy 'To the Excellent Lady, the Composer of this Worke' in Diana Primrose *A Chaine of Pearle* (1630, STC 20388).
- Brabantina, Charlotte, Duchess of Tremoille *The Conuersion of a Most Noble Lady of Fraunce* (1608, STC 11262).
- Cary, Elizabeth *The Tragedie of Mariam* (1613, STC 4613), (language trans) *The Reply of the Most Illustrious Cardinall of Perron* (1630, STC 6385).
- Clinton, Elizabeth, Countess of Lincoln *The Countess of Lincolnes Nurserie* (1622, STC 5432).
- Colville, Elizabeth Melvill *Ane Godlie Dreame* (1603, STC 17811), *A Godly Dreame* (1604, STC 17812), *A Godlie Dreame* (1606, STC 17813) (1620, STC 17814).
- Dale, Elizabeth *A Brief of the Lady Dales Petition to the Parliament* (1624, STC 6191.5).
- Davies, Lady Eleanor *A Warning to the Dragon* (1625, STC 904).
- Darcie, Lady Grace *To the Honourable Assembly of the Commons House in Parliament* (1624, STC 6273.7).
- Downam, Anne 'A Confession of Faith' in Robert Hill *The Pathway to Prayer and Pietie* (1617, STC 13476).
- Dowrich, Anne *The French Historie* (part prose trans) and afterword poem (2 texts) (1589, STC 7159), Prefatory Poem, in Hugh Dowriche *The Iaylors Conuersion* (1596, STC 7160).
- Princess Elizabeth (language trans) Marguerite of Navarre *A Godlie* (1568, STC 17320.5) (1580, STC 17321) (1590, STC 17322.5). 'Collected Works' in Thomas Bentley *Monuments of Matrones* (1582, STC 1892).
- Saint Elizabeth of Schonau *Liber Viarum Dei* (1557, STC 7605.5).
- Ez.W. *The Answere of a Mother unto hir Seduced Sonnes Letter* (1627, STC 24903), *A Mother's Teares over hir Seduced Son* (1627, STC 24903.5)

Greenbury Catherine (language trans) Francois Paludanus *A Short Relation, of the Life, Virtues, and Miracles, of S. Elizabeth* (1628, STC 19167).¹

Grey, Anne 'To her Soule-loued Sister, M^{rs} E.M.' in James Martin *Via Regia, The Kingsway to Heaven With a Letter of that late Miracle of Learning, Mr Is. Casaubon*. (1615, STC 17509.5).²

Grey, Mary 'On the Decease of my Incomparable Sister, Mistresse Elizabeth Martin' in James Martin *Via Regia, The Kingsway to Heaven With a Letter of that late Miracle of Learning, Mr Is. Casaubon*. (1615, STC 17509.5).

Grey, Penelope 'Parodia' in James Martin *Via Regia, The Kingsway to Heaven With a Letter of that late Miracle of Learning, Mr Is. Casaubon*. (1615, STC 17509.5).

Grey, Lady Jane Dudley *Iane, by the Grace of God Quene of England...* (1553, STC 7846), *An Epistle of the Ladye Iane...* (1554, STC 7279), Here in this Booke ye haue a Godly Epistle... (1554, STC 7279.5), *The Life, Death and Actions of the Most Chaste, Learned, and Religious Lady, the Lady Iane Grey...* (1615, STC 7281). 'Collected Writings' in Thomas Bentley *Monuments of Matrones* (1582, STC 1892). 'Collected Writings' in John Foxe *Actes and Monuments* (1563, STC 11222) (1570, STC 11223) (1576, STC 11224) (1583, STC 11225) (1589, STC 11229) (1596, STC 11226) (1597, STC 11226a) (1610, STC 11227).

Grymeston, Elizabeth *Miscelanea. Meditations. Memoratiues*. (1604, STC 12407) (1606, STC 12407.5) (1608, STC 12408) (1618, STC 12410).

Hoby, Elizabeth Cooke, Lady Russell, *A Way of Reconciliation of a Good and Learned Man...* (1605, STC 21456).

Jocelin, Elizabeth *The Mothers Legacie, to her Vnborne Childe* (1624, STC 14624) (1624, STC 14624.5) (1625, STC 14625).

Labé, Louise 'The Debate betweene Follie and Loue translated out of the French by Robert Greene, Maister of Artes' in Robert Greene *Greenes Carde of Fancie* (1584, STC 12262) (1587, STC 12262.5) (1608, STC 12264).

Lanyer, Aemilia *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611, STC 15227).

Leigh, Dorothy *The Mother's Blessing* (1616, STC 15402) (1618, STC 15403) (1618, STC 15403a) (1621, STC 15404) (1627, STC 15405) (1629, STC 15405.5) (1630, STC 15406).

Livingston, Eleanor, Countess of Linlithgow *The Confession and Conuersion of the Right Honorable, Most Illustrious, and Elect Lady, my Lady C. of L.* (1629, STC 16610).

¹ See also Bell, Parfitt, Shepherd 91. Bell *et al* give the name as Catherine Greenway.

² *STC Volume II* has STC 17509 with 17509.5 as variant – but STC 17509 is not present on EEBO to view. A shortened variant has not been included in my survey: Anne, Mary and Penelope Grey's text in James Martin *A Letter of Mr Casaubon. With A Memorial of Mrs Elizabeth Martin, late deceased* (1615, STC 17509.5, Reel Position STC 1373.11) which was latterly noted as STC 4746, see *STC Volume I*. See also Travitsky 'Introductory Notes: Anne, Mary and Penelope Grey' xx-xxi.

- Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Parma *A Brief Request or Declaracion Presented vnto Madame ...and other Writynges* (1566, STC 11028).
- Martin, Dorcas (language trans) 'An Instruction for Christians, containing a Fruitfull and Godlie Exercise' in Thomas Bentley *Monuments of Matrones* (1582, STC 1892).
- Médicis, Marie de *Newes out of France ...Contauned in the Letters of the said Queene Mother* (1619, STC 11284).
- Montenay, Georgetta de *A Booke of Armes, or Remembrance, Wherein ar One Hundered Godly Emblemata* (1619, STC 18046).
- Newport, Frances *An Epytaphe, of the Godlye Consta[n]t, [and] Counfortable Co[n]fessor Mystres (Darothy[e] [sic] Wynnes)...*(1560, STC 18499).
- Parr, Catherine *The Lamentatio[n] of a Sinner* (1563, STC 4829), *Prayers or Meditacions* (1556, STC 4825) (1556, STC 4820) (1559, STC 4826) (1561, STC 4826.5), 'Queenes Praiers' in Saint John Fisher *The Psalmes or Prayers* (1568, STC 3009) (1571, STC 3010). 'Collected Works' in Thomas Bentley *Monuments of Matrones* (1582, STC 1892).
- Primrose, Diana *A Chaine of Pearle* (1630, STC 20388).³
- Prowse, Anne Lok (aka Anne Prowse, Anne Lok, Anne Lock, Anne Lock Prowse), Jean Calvin *Sermons of Jean Calvin* (language trans) and 'A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner' (poem) (2 texts) (1560, STC 4450), Jean Taffin *Of the Markes of the Children of God* (1590, STC 23652) (1591, STC 23652.3) (1597, STC 23652.5) (1599, STC 23652.7) (1608, STC 23653) (1609, STC 23654) (1615, STC 23655).
- Sidney, Mary, Countess of Pembroke (language trans) Philippe de Mornay, *A Discourse of Life and Death... Antonius A Tragædie...* (1592, STC 18138) Philippe de Mornay *A Discourse of Life and Death* (1600, STC 18139) (1606, STC 18140) (1607, STC 18141) (1608, STC 18141.5). Robert Garnier *The Tragedie of Antonie* (1595, STC 11623). (Poet) 'Dialogue betweene Two Shepherds...' in Francis Davison *A Poetical Rapsodie..* (1602, STC 6373) (1608, STC 6374) (1611, STC 6375) (1621, STC 6376). 'Ay me, to whom shall I my case complaine' in Edmund Spenser *Colin Clouts Come Home* (1595, STC 23077) (1611, STC 23077.3) (1617, STC 23077.7).
- Speght, Rachel *A Mouzell for Melastomvs* (1617, STC 23058) *Mortalities Memorandum with A Dreame Pre-fixed* (two texts: one religious, one political) (1621, STC 23057).
- Stubbes, Katherine in Phillip Stubbes *A Christall Glasse for Christian Women containing a most excellent discourse, of the godly life and Christian death of Mistresse Katherine Stubbes* (1591, STC 23381) (1592, STC 23382) (1600, STC 23382.3) (1603, STC 23382.7) (1606, STC 23383)

³ Cullen 'Introductory Notes: Diana Primrose' xix-xx. However, see Bell, Parfitt, Shepherd 240. Bell *et al* consider Primrose to be a false ascription despite commenting on what they consider to be 'fragmentary' evidence pointing to the identification of Primrose (161-2).

(1608, STC 23383.5) (1612, STC 23385) (1623, STC 23389) (1623, STC 23389.3) (1626, STC 23390) (1629, STC 23391) (1630, STC 23391.5).

Mother Theresa of Avila *The Lyf of the Mother Teresa of Iesvs* (1611, STC 23948.5).

Thomas, Joane *To the Honourable Assembly of the Commons House in Parliament* (1624, STC 24000.7).

Tyler, Margaret (language trans) Diego Ortunez *The Mirroure of Princely Deedes* (1578, STC 18859) (1580, STC 18860) (1599, STC 18861).

Tyrwhit, Elizabeth 'Morning and Euening Praiers' in Thomas Bentley *Monuments of Matrones* (1582, STC 1892).

Wheathill, Anne *A Handfull of Holesome (though Homelie) Hearbs* (1584, STC 25329).

Whitney, Isabella *A Copy of the Letter* (1567, STC 25439), *A Sweet Nosgay* (1573, STC 25440), 'Another by I.W.' in Thomas Morley's *A Plaine and easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597, STC 18133) (1608, STC 18134), 'The Lady Beloued exclaymeth of the Great Vntruth of her Louer' and 'The Lamentacion of a Gentilwoman' in Thomas Proctor's *A Gorgious Gallery* (1578, STC 20402), 'The Complaint of a Woman Louer' in Clement Robinson's *A Handfull of Pleasant Delites* (1584, STC 21105), 'Dido to Aeneas' and 'Aeneas to Dido' in Ovid's *Ouidius Naso His Remedie of Love* (1600, STC 18974).

Wroth, Mary *The Countesse of Moutgomeries Urania...* (1621, STC 26051).

Excluded Women Writers and Texts

Queen Elizabeth I as a Woman 'Writer' leading to Doubtful Attribution in Numerous Publications⁴

Official publications referencing Queen Elizabeth I as writer; for example, Acts of Parliament and Speeches.

Texts said to have been written by Queen Elizabeth I; for example, Prayers in Thomas Bentley, *Monuments of Matrones* (1582, STC 1892).

⁴ These texts have been excluded as they may be a reflection of sixteenth- and seventeenth- century politics rather than of Elizabeth I as a woman writer comparable with other women writers.

Popular Literature Which Specifically Shape the Protagonist leading to Doubtful Attribution⁵

Askew, Anne *A Ballad of Anne Askew* (1624, STC 853.5).⁶

Caldwell, Elizabeth in Gilbert Dugdale *A True Discourse of the Practises of Elizabeth Caldwell...A Most Excellent Exhortorie letter, written by her own self...* (1604, STC 7293).⁷

Grey, Lady Jane Dudley *The Lamentacion that Ladie lane made saiyng for my fathers proclamacion now must I lese [sic] my heade.* (1562, STC 7280).⁸

Turner, Anne *Mistris Turners Farewell to All Women* (1615, STC 24341.5).⁹

Doubtful Attribution

Bacon, Anne (trans) John Jewel *The Apologie of the Church of England* (1600, STC 14592).¹⁰

Bulstrode, Cicely extraneous material in Sir Thomas Overbury *A Wife now the Widow of Sir Thomas Overbury...* (1614, STC 18904-7) and extraneous material in Sir Thomas Overbury *New and Choise Authors together with that Exquisite and Unmatcht Poem The Wife* (1616-1630, STC 18908-17).¹¹

⁵ See Sharpe 148 and 156. Sharpe says that little is known of the writers of this type of literature although some of the men and women who were accused were often 'the willing central participants in a theatre of punishment'. Also these comments are supported by unpublished papers delivered at Early Modern Women and Poetry Conference, 17th and 18th July 2009, Birkbeck College by Ros Smith: "'A goodly sample": Exemplarity, Rhetoric and Female Gallows Confessions' and Judith Hudson: "'The nine-liv'd Sex": Criminal Women in 17th Century Popular Poetry'. Both papers comment that these narratives were often 'ventriloquized self-enmity' and intended to be didactic in function for other women, leading to doubtful attribution to the stated authors.

⁶ Travitsky *Paradise* 172-3 specifically discusses this ballad as being authored by Askew.

⁷ Elizabeth Caldwell poisoned her husband and was executed in 1603. I have judged this text to have a doubtful attribution. However, see Bell, Parfitt, Shepherd 38 and Crawford 'Writings' 240. Bell *et al* and Crawford include Caldwell as a woman writer.

⁸ On EEBO this text is attributed to 'Anon' but *STC Volume I* attributes it to Lady Jane Dudley Grey.

⁹ Bell, Parfitt, Shepherd (198) include Turner as a woman writer; however, see Crawford, 'Writings' 262. Crawford doubts that Turner wrote this moral text. Anne Turner was implicated in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury and was executed in 1615. See Purkiss *The Witch*. Purkiss recommends that one should read "'Anne Turner" as a set of competing constructions of wayward femininity fashioned by herself and by her interlocutors' (220). Purkiss reviews intertextual discourses reflecting cultural and literary impact by Turner's interrogation, trial and execution (215-225). Purkiss refers to this broadside as 'a piece of morally exemplary tale-telling' (224).

¹⁰ In her considered commentary on Bacon, Wayne does not offer any indication that this edition was translated by Bacon (Wayner 'Note' xii-xiii). However, Bell *et al* attribute translation of this edition to Bacon (15). On balance I have decided to exclude this edition.

¹¹ *Orlando Women's Writing in the British Isles from the Beginnings to the Present* states: '[v]ery little has survived of Cicely Bulstrode's writing... and none attributed without doubt.' However, the web site suggests that Sir Thomas Overbury's book contains 'extraneous material, some of it written by several women who probably included CB.' On balance I have decided to exclude this text.

Cary, Elizabeth *The History of The Most Unfortunate Prince King Edward II. With Choice Political Observations on Him and his Unhappy Favourites....* (1680, Wing 314).¹²

Crashaw, Elizabeth *The Honour of Virtue...* (1620, STC 6030).¹³

Grey, Lady Jane Dudley, Writings in Otto Werdmuller *A Moste Fruitefull, Pithie...* (1555, STC 25251) (1555, STC 25252) (1574, STC 25253) (1595, STC 25254).¹⁴

Vere, Anne de 'Four Epitaphes made by the Countes of Oxenford after the death of her young sonne The Lord Bulbecke' in John Southern *Pandora, The Masque of the Beautie of his Mistresse Diana* (1595, STC 22928).

Médici, Marie de *The Remonstrance made by the Queene-Mother of France* (1619, STC 17555).¹⁵

M.R. *The Mothers Counsel...* (1630, STC 20583).¹⁶

Mary Sidney (trans) Phillipe de Mornay *Six Excellent Treatises of Life and Death* (1607, STC 18155).¹⁷

Young, Elizabeth Writings in John Foxe *Actes and Monuments* (1563, STC 11222) (1570, STC 11223) (1576, STC 11224) (1583, STC 11225) (1589, STC 11229) (1596, STC 11226) (1597, STC 11226a) (1610, STC 11227).¹⁸

***Querelle Des Femmes* Publications by Writers using Possible Pseudonyms leading to Doubt of the Gender of the Writer**

Anon *A Letter sent by the Maydens of London* (1567, STC 16754.5).¹⁹

Anon *Hic Mylier* (1620, STC 13374, 13375, 13375.5).²⁰

Anon *Haec-Vir* (1620, STC 12599).²¹

¹² There is much debate and disagreement in assigning this text to Cary. See Ferguson 'Note' xi-xii.

¹³ Bell *et al* doubt this text's inscription (236).

¹⁴ *STC Volume III* states for STC 25254 (only): 'With the author's preface omitted, and a dedication by Blackwell added, attributing authorship of the whole to Lady Jane Dudley'. However, Levin notes that it is known that immediately after her death, Lady Jane became a 'symbol of Protestant heroism and martyrdom' and so her story was retold by a succession of various writers (97). Consequently, actual authorship by Lady Jane does not appear to be unequivocal in the case of Werdmuller's texts.

¹⁵ Crawford lists Marie de Medici as the writer of this text. However, the text is written in the third person giving rise to the possibility that this text is reportage of actions by de Medici rather than an example of her own writing ('Writings' 252).

¹⁶ Crawford doubts this text's inscription ('Writings' 262).

¹⁷ Both Crawford ('Writings' 253) and Travitsky (*Paradise* 273) state that this text is translated by Sidney. However, the prefatory address called 'The Translator to the Reader' casts doubt on Sidney's involvement in the translation of the text: 'Here knowe that the first Discourse mentioned in the Advertisement ensuing, is none of these sixe here set down; but another precedent to these, and formerly translated by the Countesse of Pembroke'.

¹⁸ Robin Larsen, Levin consider Elizabeth Young to be a reader and collector of books not a writer (315).

¹⁹ Benson comments that the writer is likely to have been a male ('Note' xxi).

²⁰ Benson states that the writer is unknown and does not offer the suggestion that the writer is a woman ('Note' xxvi-xxvii).

²¹ Benson states that the writer is unknown and does not offer the suggestion that the writer is a woman ('Note' xxvii).

Anger, Jane *Iane Anger her Protection for women ...* (1589, STC 644).²²
Munda, Constantia *The Worming of a Mad Dogge ...* (1617, STC 18257).²³
Sowernam, Ester *Ester hath hang'd Haman ...* (1617, STC 22974).²⁴

Imprecise Attribution in Inclusions in Thomas Bentley, *Monuments of Matrones* (1582, STC 1892)

For example:

A Godlie Harted Gentlewoman, 'Other Godlie Praiers taken out of the Psalmes' (215).

E.T. 'Certaine Godlie Sentences written by the Ladie E.T.' (137).²⁵

Work Possibly Written Prior to 1630 but Published Later than 1630

Cary, Elizabeth *The History of The Life, Reign, and Death of Edward II. King of England and Lord of Ireland ... Written by E.F. in the year 1627. And printed Verbatim from the Original.* (1680, Wing 313).²⁶

Absent from EEBO although Present in STC Volumes

Blount, Lady Amie/Anne *To the Honourable Assembly of the Commons House. The Humble Complaint of the Ladie Amie Blount daughter of George late Earl of Castle-Haven* (?1621, STC 3134.5).²⁷

Grey, Lady Jane Dudley *The Life, Death and Actions of the Most Chaste, Learned, and Religious Lady, the Lady Iane Grey ...* (1629, STC 7281.5).

Jenkinson, Anne (trans) *Meditation upon the Lamentation of Jeremy* (1608, STC 2784).

Leigh, Dorothy *The Mother's Blessing ...* (1616, STC 15402.5).

Parr, Catherine *Prayers or Meditations ...* (1574, STC 4826.6).

Stubbes, Katherine in Phillip Stubbes *A Christal Glasse for Christian Women ...* (1610, STC 23384; 1618, STC 23386; 1620, STC 23387; 1621, STC 23388; 1624, STC 23389.7; 1627, STC 23390.5).

Tyrwhit, Elizabeth *Morning and Evening Prayers* (1574, STC 24477.5).

²² Benson states that it is unknown whether the writer was 'a genuine woman or a female voice created by a male author' ('Note' xxi). In contrast, Bell *et al* suggests a possible identification of Anger (7).

²³ Benson states that the writer is unknown and does not offer the suggestion that the writer is a woman ('Note' xxvi). Bell *et al* note this as a possibly pseudonymous text (231). However, see also Crawford who includes Munda as a woman writer ('Writings' 252).

²⁴ Benson states that the writer is unknown and does not offer the suggestion that the writer is a woman ('Note' xxvi). Crawford includes Sowernam as a woman writer ('Writings' 255).

²⁵ It seems that this woman writer might be Elizabeth Tyrwhit; however, King comments that Tyrwhit only contributed one text to Bentley's volume ('Monument' 234).

²⁶ Ferguson 'Note' xi-xii.

²⁷ Bell, Parfitt, Shepherd 30.

Absent from EEBO and STC Volumes

Clinton, Elizabeth, Countess of Lincoln *The Countess of Lincolnes
Nurserie* (repr. 1628).²⁸

Whitney, Isabella 'The Lady Beloued exclaymeth of the Great Vntruth of
her Louer' and 'The Lamentacion of a Gentilwoman' in Thomas Procter, *A
Gorgious Gallery...* (1578, STC 20402.5).²⁹

²⁸ Bell, Parfitt, Shepherd 51.

²⁹ It is likely that the mention of STC 20402.5 is a typographical error as STC 20402 is only available.

**Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Public Theatre Play-Books
Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650)**

Key: CD=Closet Drama, T=Public Theatre, L=Literary, MA=Masque

Date	Title and STC	Genre	Dedication/ Epistle	Names of the Speakers/ Actors	Argument	Prologue/ Epilogue	Address to the Reader	Acts/Sce nes	Stage Directions	Type Face	Notes
1566	John Studley <i>The Eyyht Tragedie of Seneca</i> STC 22222	CD (Thomas Colwell)	X	X	—	—	X	X	—	Black Letter	Acts only. Chorus present.
1577	Theodore de Beza (A.G. trans) <i>A Tragedie of Abrahams Sacrifice</i> STC 2047	CD (Thomas Vautroullier)	—	X	X	X	X	—	X	Roman Italics Black Letter	Prologue and Conclusion present.
1592	Robert Garnier (Mary Sidney trans) <i>A Discourse of Life and Death written in French by Ph. Mornay. Antonius A Tragœdie</i> STC 18138	CD (John Windet for William Ponsonby)	—	X	X	—	—	X	—	Roman Italics	Acts but no scenes. Chorus present.
1594	Robert Garnier (Tho.Kyd trans) <i>Cornelia</i> STC 11622	CD (James Roberts for Nicholas Ling & John Busbie)	X	X	X	—	—	X	—	Roman Italics	Chorus present.
1594	Samuel Daniel <i>Delia and Rosamond augmented Cleopatra</i> STC 6243.4	CD/L (James Roberts for S. Waterson)	X	X	X	—	X	X	—	Roman Italics	The address to the reader is erratum at the front of the volume. Chorus present.

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Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650)**

Key: CD=Closet Drama, T=Public Theatre, L=Literary, MA=Masque

Date	Title and STC	Genre	Dedication/ Epistle	Names of the Speakers/ Actors	Argument	Prologue/ Epilogue	Address to the Reader	Acts/Sce nes	Stage Directions	Type Face	Notes
1595	Robert Garnier (Mary Sidney trans) <i>The Tragedie of Antonie</i> STC 11623	CD (P. Short for William Ponsonby)	—	X	X	—	—	X	—	Roman Italics	Acts but no scenes. Short uses roman type where italics were used in <i>Antonius</i> and italics where roman type was used. Chorus present.
1598	Samvel Brandon <i>The Tragicomoedi of the Vertuous Octavia</i> STC 3544	CD (Printed for William Ponsonby)	X	X	X	X	—	X	—	Roman Italics	Acts only. Epilogue only. Chorus present.
1598	Samuel Daniel <i>Tragedie of Cleopatra</i> STC 6243.6	CD/L (Peter Short for Simon Waterson)	X	X	X	—	—	X	—	Roman Italics	Amended playtext. Chorus present.
1599	Anon <i>The Historie of the Two Valiant Knights</i> STC 5450a	T (Creede)	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	Roman Italics	
1599	William Shakespeare <i>The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedie of Romeo and Juliet</i> STC 22323	T (Creede)	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	Roman Italics	Prologue is subtitled as 'Corus'.

**Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Public Theatre Play-Books
Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650)**

Key: CD=Closet Drama, T=Public Theatre, L=Literary, MA=Masque

Date	Title and STC	Genre	Dedication/ Epistle	Names of the Speakers/ Actors	Argument	Prologue/ Epilogue	Address to the Reader	Acts/Scenes	Stage Directions	Type Face	Notes
1600	Anon <i>The Weakest goeth to the Wall</i> STC 25144	T (Creede)	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	Roman Italics	
1604	Samuel Daniel <i>The Vision of the 12 Goddesses</i> STC 6265	MA (Creede)	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	Roman Italics	
1605	Samuel Daniel <i>Certaine Small Poems lately printed with the Tragedie of Philotas</i> STC 6239	CD/(L) (G.Eld for Simon Waterson & Edward Blount)	X	X	X	—	—	X	—	Roman Italics	Dedication to: 'Ladie Margaret Countesse of Cumberland' (A2'). Volume also includes <i>The Tragedie of Cleopatra</i> Chorus present.
1607	Samuel Daniel <i>The Tragedie of Philotas</i> STC 6263	CD/T (Melch. Bradwood for Edw. Blount)	X	X	X	—	—	X	X	Roman Italics	Dedication to: 'the Prince' (A2'). <i>Philotas</i> was a public theatre drama that was printed as a literary drama. The text was not published when it was performed as a theatre play. Chorus present.

**Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Public Theatre Play-Books
Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650)**

Key: CD=Closet Drama, T=Public Theatre, L=Literary, MA=Masque

Date	Title and STC	Genre	Dedication/ Epistle	Names of the Speakers/ Actors	Argument	Prologue/ Epilogue	Address to the Reader	Acts/Sce nes	Stage Directions	Type Face	Notes
1608	Ben Jonson <i>The Characters of Two Royall Masques</i> STC 14761	MA (G.Eld for Thomas Thorp)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Roman Italics	
1609	William Shakespeare <i>The Famous Historie of Troylus and Cresseid</i> STC 22332	L/CD (G.Eld for R. Bonian & H.Walley)	X	—	—	—	X	—	X	Roman Italics	
1609	Fulke Greville <i>The Tragedy of Mustapha</i> STC 12362	CD (John Windet for Nathaniel Butter)	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	Roman Italics	Chorus present.
1612	William Shakespeare <i>The Merry Deuill of Edmonton</i> STC 7497	T (Creede)	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	Roman Italics	
1612	Thomas Dekker <i>If it be not Good the Diuel is in it</i> STC 6507	T (Creede)	X	—	—	X	—	—	X	Roman Italics	Both Prologue and Epilogue present
1613	Elizabeth Cary <i>The Tragedie of Mariam</i> STC 4613	CD (Creede & Hawkins)	X	X	X	—	—	X	X	Roman Italics	Chorus present.

**Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Public Theatre Play-Books
Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650)**

Key: CD=Closet Drama, T=Public Theatre, L=Literary, MA=Masque

Date	Title and STC	Genre	Dedication/ Epistle	Names of the Speakers/ Actors	Argument	Prologue/ Epilogue	Address to the Reader	Acts/Scenes	Stage Directions	Type Face	Notes
1615	Wentworth Smith <i>The Hector of Germanie</i> STC 22871a	T (Creede)	X	—	—	X	—	X	X	Roman Italics	
1615	Wentworth Smith <i>The Hector of Germany</i> STC 22871	T (Creede)	X	—	—	X	—	X	X	Roman Italics	
1628	Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher <i>Philaster</i> STC 1683	T (Hawkins)	—	X	—	—	X	X	X	Roman Italics	
1630	Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher <i>The Maids Tragedie</i> STC 1679	T (Hawkins)	—	X	—	—	X	X	X	Roman Italics	
1631	Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher <i>A King and No King</i> STC 1672	T (Hawkins)	—	X	—	—	—	—	X	Roman Italics	
1632	William Shakespeare <i>Mr William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies</i> STC 22274	T (Hawkins)	X	—	—	—	X	X	X	Roman Italics	
1634	Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher <i>Philaster</i> STC 1684	T (Hawkins)	—	X	—	—	X	X	X	Roman Italics	

**Appendix III: Survey of Closet Drama and Masque Play-books Compared with Public Theatre Play-Books
Printed by Creede or Published by Hawkins (1550-1650)**

Key: CD=Closet Drama, T=Public Theatre, L=Literary, MA=Masque

Date	Title and STC	Genre	Dedication/ Epistle	Names of the Speakers/ Actors	Argument	Prologue/ Epilogue	Address to the Reader	Acts/Scenes	Stage Directions	Type Face	Notes
1642	George Buchanan <i>Tyrannicall-Government Anatomized Wing/B5298</i>	CD (Printed for John Field)	—	X	—	—	—	X	—	Roman Italics	Divided into five Parts not Acts.

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