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Speculation and Multiple Dedications in *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*

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Scholars have treated Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611) as a feminist book, as a failed attempt to earn patronage, and, most unfortunately, as a book that is interesting only because of its author's gender.¹ But in spite of being contemporaneous with a number of other printed poetry books of which, in many cases, Lanyer seems to have been aware, scholars have not treated it as a publication that Lanyer's publisher, Richard Bonian, hoped would be profitable in the expanding market for printed poetry books. This oversight has led to a fundamental misunderstanding of the book's most remarkable feature: its eleven dedicatory and prefatory poems. *Salve Deus* is not a particularly short book, but nearly half of the volume is made up of what seems to be dedicatory material.

In this essay, I argue that Lanyer's extensive prefatory poems were not merely attempts to solicit patronage for the author, as the publisher would not have had an incentive to make such a large investment in material without a tangible benefit to him. Nor were the prefatory poems there to authorize the book's content, as religious and moral subjects were among the limited range of acceptable topics for women's writing and, indeed, the most popular for both male and female authors.² Rather, Bonian included Lanyer's expansive paratextual material because, in addition to

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making a bid for patronage, it recommended the book to upwardly mobile, educated female readers and helped identify *Salve Deus* as a useful religious work. Because the prefatory poems doubled his investment in the book, Bonian must have bet that the additional six sheets per copy would entice potential readers to buy Lanyer's book.³

The earliest surviving reference to *Salve Deus* is Bonian's unremarkable entry in the Stationers' Register, dated 2 October 1610: "Entred for his Copye under th[e] [h]andes of Doctor MOKETT and Th'wardens, A booke called, *Salve DEUS Rex Judaeorum*."⁴ Although the mention of an ecclesiastical license is not unusual, it does suggest that the book's retelling of biblical history was not thought to be controversial or dangerous. The licenser, Richard Mockett, had served as a chaplain for George Abbot, Bishop of London, and had licensed eighty-seven books for the Stationers' Company between March 1610 and June 1614, when he was elected warden of All Souls College, Oxford and thus discontinued his licensing activities. Aside from Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612), it is striking how few nominally literary works one finds in the entries under Mockett's hand.⁵ Instead, he primarily licensed sermons and other religious works, and while the proportion of religious books among Mockett's licenses may simply reflect the popularity of religious texts in general within the English book trade, Mockett's license may also indicate that Bonian considered *Salve Deus* a religious, rather than strictly literary, work.⁶ *Salve Deus* was published in quarto a few months later; despite the 1611 date on the title page, the Chapin Library copy bears an inscription stating that it was a "guift of Mr. Alfonso Lanyer" on ".8.No 1610."⁷ Although only one edition is known to have been printed—that is, the text was set in type and printed in its entirety only once—two versions of the title page exist: one with a four-line imprint and one with a five-line imprint that offers the additional information that Bonian's St. Paul's shop could be found "at the Signe of the Floure de Luce and Crowne" (see figures 1 and 2).⁸ It is likely that the book was published initially with the four-line imprint and that this title page was subsequently cancelled and the book reissued with the title page bearing the five-line imprint.⁹

Nine copies survive, and while this is not an unusually low number—*Shake-speares Sonnets* (1609) survives in only thirteen copies—critics have speculated about possible mishaps in the book's publication and sale. Lisa Schnell, for instance, believes that the apparent dearth of copies "might suggest that for some reason the published volume was pulled, perhaps because it of-

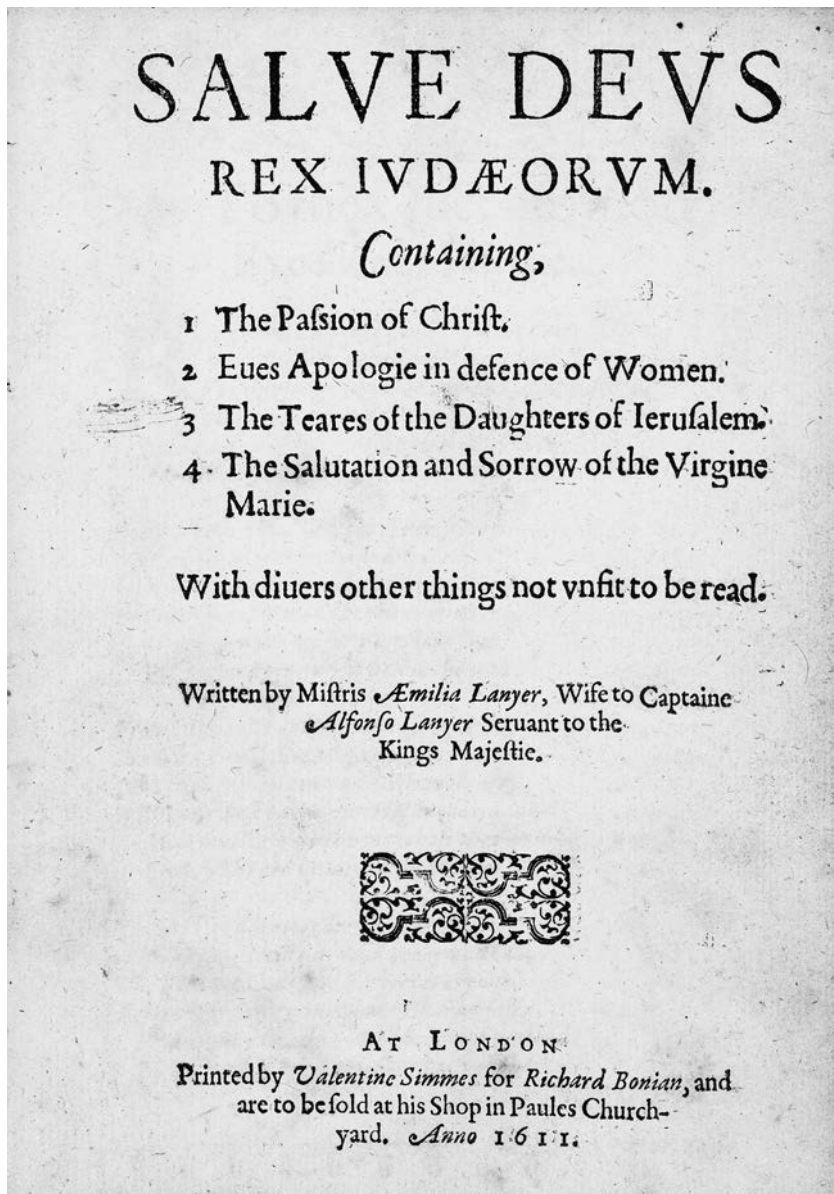


Figure 1. Title page with four-line imprint (STC 15227), HN 62140, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

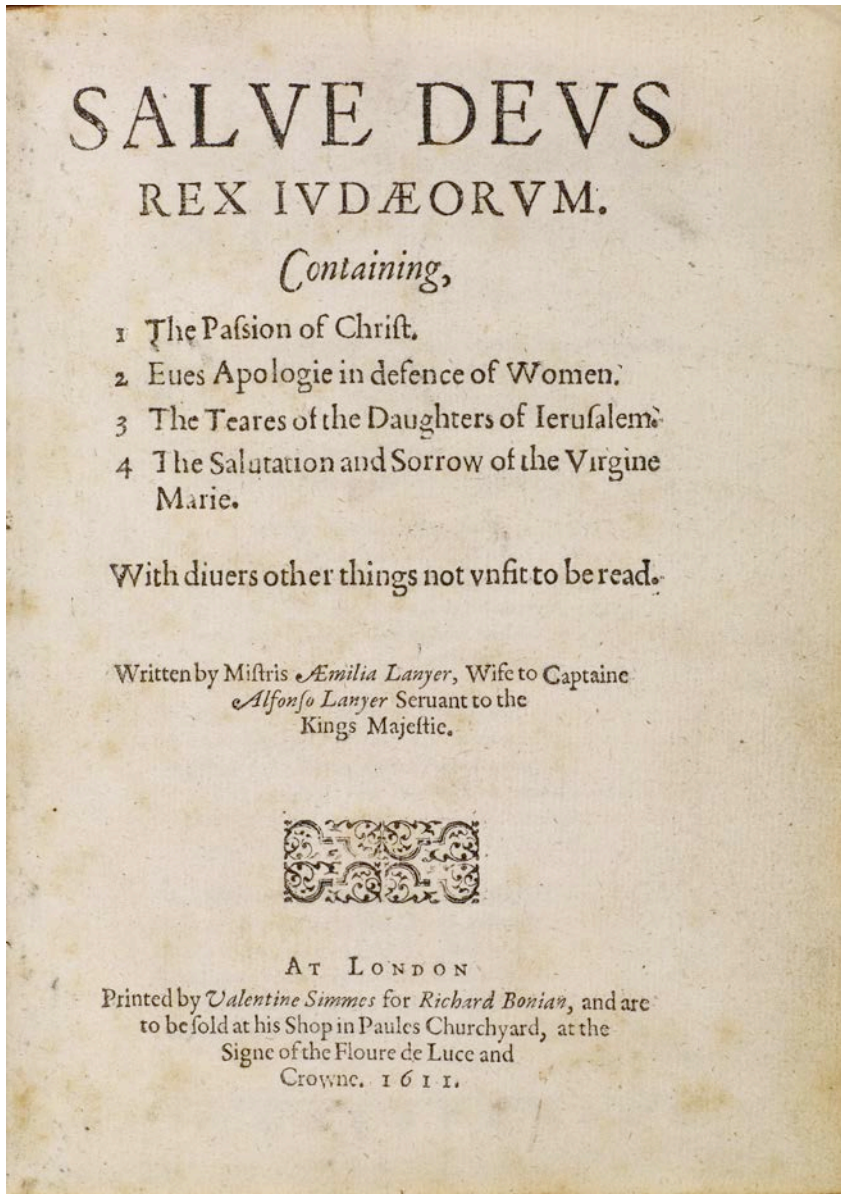


Figure 2. Title page with five-line imprint (STC 15227.5), HN 62139, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

fended some of its addressees by falsifying relationships.”¹⁰ Individuals who believed that they had been libeled could, and did, seek to have books suppressed by the High Commission; Cyndia Susan Clegg notes that George Wither’s *Abuses Stript, and Whipt* (1613) and Lady Mary Wroth’s *The Countess of Montgomery’s Urania* (1621) represent “two well-known efforts to suppress printed books” that “grew out of perceived personal affronts.”¹¹ Of course, Wither and Wroth were accused of more than simply “falsifying relationships.” Wither’s satires were perceived as attacks on Henry Howard, the Earl of Northampton, and Edward Denny, Baron of Waltham, alleged that Wroth’s romance slandered him and members of his family.¹² In contrast, there is no evidence that anyone attempted to suppress *Salve Deus*, and it is unlikely that Lanyer’s generally flattering tributes would have prompted accusations of libel or other malfeasance. The dedications tend toward hyperbole at times, but, as Erica Longfellow has suggested, they are no more exaggerated than other seventeenth-century patronage poems.¹³

Complete copies of the book contain nine dedications to individuals, including Queen Anne; Princess Elizabeth; Lady Arbella Stuart; Susan Bertie, Countess of Kent; Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke; Lucy Harrington Russell, Countess of Bedford; Margaret Russell Clifford, Countess of Cumberland; Katherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk; and Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset and Montgomery. It also includes a dedicatory poem addressed “To all vertuous Ladies in generall” and a prose epistle “To the Vertuous Reader.” Although only five of the nine surviving copies of the book are complete, six contain all of the prefatory material, which is continuously signed and seems to have been intended for inclusion in all copies.¹⁴ Another partial copy, now held at the Bodleian Library, lacks the last three leaves, including “The Description of Cooke-ham” and “To the Doubtfull Reader,” but their absence is at least as likely to have been caused by physical damage to the volume as by deliberate excision.¹⁵ Three copies lack the dedication to Stuart, an easily explained omission; Stuart’s fall from favor in 1610 made the dedication’s inclusion distasteful, particularly in the Victoria and Albert Museum’s Dyce copy, which had been presented to Prince Henry after his cousin’s unsanctioned marriage to William Seymour.¹⁶ Barbara K. Lewalski has argued that “the British Library copy may be a unique book prepared for the Countess of Cumberland or the Countess of Dorset” and that dedications to Stuart and to other countesses may have been part of an effort to appeal to the Cliffords.¹⁷ Nevertheless, there are no clear or obvious explanations for the omission of

dedications to the Countesses of Kent, Pembroke, and Suffolk or the prose address “To the Vertuous Reader” elsewhere. Susanne Woods only remarks that “presumably Lanyer had reason to omit the others from some copies as well,” while Lynette McGrath speculates that the dedications “could have been construed as politically controversial.”¹⁸ Neither Woods nor McGrath offers any specific explanations or evidence for their conclusions, and no one has attempted to explain why most surviving copies actually do include all of the prefatory material.

That Lanyer would have cast a wide net in her search for patronage is not surprising. As Mary Ellen Lamb points out, by 1610 Lanyer’s motive would have been uncomplicated: “She needed money.”¹⁹ Lanyer had been the mistress of Lord Chamberlain Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, who was more than forty years her senior and cousin to Elizabeth I. According to astrologer Simon Forman, Carey had ensured that Lanyer “was maintained in great pride” during their relationship, which probably began around the time of her mother’s death and lasted for several years.²⁰ When Lanyer became pregnant with Carey’s child in 1592, however, he quietly married her off to the Court musician Alfonso Lanyer.²¹ Court musicians were members of the minor gentry and were fairly well compensated, but, even in spite of attempts to earn additional money through piracy and other schemes, including a patent for the weighing of hay and grain awarded in 1604, Alfonso Lanyer was unable to provide for his wife at the same level Carey had.²² Worse, Alfonso Lanyer apparently spent his wife’s money; on 2 September 1597, Forman recorded that “her husband hath delte hardly with her and spent and consumed her goods and she is nowe ... in debt.”²³ It is, therefore, probable that Lanyer found herself unable to enjoy the lifestyle to which she had become accustomed.

Unfortunately, writing poetry was unlikely to earn her enough money to do so. Though Spenser may have been disappointed with his Irish outpost, a government post or a permanent position in a noble household was the best possible outcome for an early modern patronage seeker and, by the early seventeenth century, there were not enough positions to go around.²⁴ Opportunities for long-term employment dwindled, even as would-be poets multiplied; nevertheless, as Paul J. Voss notes, “hundreds of prefaces and dedications asking for rewards, directly and indirectly, exist in books printed decades after the 1590s,” suggesting that poets did not stop trying to acquire patronage despite increasingly fierce competition.²⁵ Although a female poet would have faced an even

more limited range of opportunities, Lamb argues that Lanyer's "assertion of a lifetime commitment" to the dowager Countess of Cumberland may indicate that she sought a position in the household of Margaret or Anne Clifford.²⁶ Lanyer may also have hoped that at least a few of her other dedicatees would offer her a one-time reward. But because, as Michael Brennan has shown, such rewards were typically £2 or £3, she would have needed fourteen or more such gifts each year to recoup her former £40 per annum pension from Carey.²⁷ Furthermore, the nominal fee an author would receive from a publisher—if the publisher elected to pay her at all—would have been roughly equivalent to what she would have received from a single patron, as she had no hope of receiving a share of the profits from the book's sale.²⁸ Even under the terms of Milton's unprecedented contract, the author was only due payment from his publisher, Samuel Simmons, upon the sale of the first three editions of his epic, after which Simmons was free to keep any of the revenues from subsequent editions of Milton's work.²⁹ Lanyer thus found herself, like many early seventeenth-century poets, caught between the reciprocal gift economy of patronage and the cash-based, transactional book trade with little hope of reaping a significant reward from either.³⁰

Multiple dedications were by no means the norm, but they did offer one way to negotiate the increasingly difficult search for patronage. My examination of 183 of the 205 poetry books identified by Lukas Erne and Tamsin Badcoe as published in 1590, 1595, 1600, 1605, 1610, 1615, and 1620 (see Table 1) revealed that the mean number of dedications in this sample was just over one (1.27, rounded to the nearest hundredth), while the median and mode were both one.³¹ Ninety-eight of these books (53.6%) had only one dedication; the next largest category, with fifty-six books (30.6%), included no dedications whatsoever. The rate of dedicationless poetry books is significantly higher than the percentage of all books that appeared without dedications, which H. S. Bennett estimates was about 10%, suggesting that the cultural status of poetry was in flux—not quite established as an autonomous literary pursuit, but no longer purely a status-seeking activity.³²

Thus, a poetry book would usually only have one dedication if it had a dedication at all, though there are some notable exceptions. Henry Lok, in his *Ecclesiastes* (1597), offers sixty dedicatory poems called "Extra Sonnets" to various figures whom he considered, in James Doelman's phrase, "potential brokers of the queen's favor."³³ Josuah Sylvester's translation of *Bartas: His*

Devine Weekes and Workes (1605) includes thirteen dedicatory poems addressed to King James at the beginning of the book and epistles to other patrons elsewhere.³⁴ Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1596) famously has seventeen dedications, including one to a group of ladies.³⁵ George Chapman's translation of the *Iliad* (1598) adds twenty dedicatory sonnets to the address to his principal dedicatee, Henry, Prince of Wales, and these are also included in Chapman's collected works along with new dedications specifically for that volume.³⁶ These books are all, however, much bigger than *Salve Deus*, and dedications do not make up half of their contents. Though multiple dedications were a useful way of, as Kevin Sharpe puts it, "identify[ing] and construct[ing] a community of readers," the amount of dedicatory material included in Lanyer's book was out of proportion to the ambition of the book as a whole.³⁷ Rather than including six quires of dedications, it would be more cost-efficient for the publisher, and likely more effective for the patronage-seeking author, to attach specific patrons to parts of the work, as in Michael Drayton's *Englands Heroicall Epistles* (1597) or Ben Jonson's *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson* (1616), to leave blanks to address specific patrons, as in Abraham Darcie's *The Honour of Ladies* (1622), or to insert dedications into individual copies.

Whatever Lanyer had intended or may have hoped for, from a business perspective, it would seem to be in the publisher's financial interest to encourage Lanyer to pursue a more modest dedicatory strategy. As Erne and Badcoe have shown, the average poetry book was made up of approximately 8.3 sheets of paper.³⁸ Lanyer's dedications take up six of the twelve sheets used for *Salve Deus*. Moreover, if we follow Kimberly Anne Coles's suggestion and count "The Description of Cooke-ham" as a dedicatory text, the extra sheet makes the book consist of more than half dedicatory material.³⁹ Because paper was the most expensive element in early modern printing, it was a particularly large investment on the publisher's part to consume essentially an entire second poetry book's worth of paper for an author's preliminaries.⁴⁰ Dedications would not earn a publisher any kind of patronage. Therefore, in order to justify the publisher's investment, these pages would have to serve some purpose other than or in addition to advancing the author's search for patronage. Otherwise, the financial risk would not be commensurate with the potential reward.

Bonian seems to have developed some business savvy during his brief publishing career. Freed by the Stationers' Company in the summer of 1607, Bonian disappears from the Registers of

the Stationers' Company after 19 February 1610/1, and the last known book with his imprint is dated 1612.⁴¹ For two years, he worked with a partner, Henry Walley, and the two jointly published a total of eleven books. Zachary Lesser has argued that their four literary works, including the 1609 first edition of Shakespeare's *Historie of Troylus and Cresseida*, evince a clear strategy of appealing to an "elitist emphasis on wit and classicism" on title pages and in preliminaries.⁴² Lesser observes that "Bonian and Walley thus seem to be working within a broader relationship with their customers, tailoring their product to meet commercial demands and, at the same time, shaping future demand for similar [works]."⁴³

When Bonian's partnership with Walley ended in 1610, he moved from their shared shop at the Spread Eagle near the north door of St. Paul's to a new shop at the Fleur-de-lis and Crown.⁴⁴ This move may account for the reissue of *Salve Deus* with a five-line imprint that included more information about the location of Bonian's shop. From 1611 to 1612, Bonian published only four more books, all on religious topics: William Est's *The Mirrour of Mercy* and *Sathans Sowing Season*, a pair of treatises entered as one item but published separately in 1611; William Sclater's *A Key to the Key of Scripture* (1611), a commentary on Paul's epistle to the Romans; John Swift's *The Diuine Eccho* (1612), a book of prayers and meditations; and *Salve Deus*. Of these four books, only *Salve Deus* is in verse, but they share features that suggest that Bonian had adopted his own unique publication strategy. All of these books include a general epistle to readers as well as a direct appeal to a named patron, and all but *Sathans Sowing season* address more than one patron. The dedications explain the authors' rationales for writing their respective books and choosing dedicatees; Sclater tells his five dedicatees that he wants to leave a record of "sensible notices" in emulation of St. Peter, while Swift describes his work as "a little streame in respect of the whole Ocean of godly books that are gone before" but expresses hope that his two dedicatees "may refresh and comfort" themselves.⁴⁵ After the dedications, every book except *Salve Deus* salutes the "Christian Reader" and offers an overview of the volume's contents and use. Est explains that, at the encouragement of friends, he is elaborating upon his earlier work, *The Scourge of Securitie* (1609), for the "increase of true zeale and knowledge," and Sclater insists that his readers "conferre the Text with the glosse" so that they may better understand and learn from both.⁴⁶ Swift clearly describes how he expects that his text will be used:

Christian Reader, I have for thy good, set forth to thy view this my divine Eccho, with godlie preparations to the practise of repentance; that so thou mayest not onely meditate, but also imitate, & not onely prattle or talke thereon, but also practise it, the reward of vertue, with the ruine of vice, the ioyes of heauen, with the torments of hel, the world and its vanitie, with heauen and its felicity, also most sweet comforts both diuine and morrall for all Christians to increase their knowledge, in true godlines and pietie, with a sound caueat for sinners, and wicked wretches, to hasten speedy repentance, whereby hels terror may be escaped, and the punishment due for sinne, might likewise bee avoided. *Farwell*.⁴⁷

All four books similarly affirm the author's authority, explain his or her purpose, and offer suggestions for interpreting and using the book. *Salve Deus* is generally consistent with these practices but differs by making a special appeal to female readers.

The presentation of *Salve Deus* emphasizes the book's religious credibility and usefulness as much as Bonian's other post-Walley publications had, but it also highlights the book's suitability and desirability for female readers, suggesting that Bonian sought to enter the growing market for books designed for a female audience. Although the earliest female English readers were members of the nobility and religious orders, the Reformation spurred women's literacy by encouraging them to study the Bible and other religious materials and to instruct their children.⁴⁸ Consequently, as Femke Molekamp explains, "The Bible lay at the heart of early modern female reading culture, and women can be seen to have participated in multiple modes of reading it, which, in turn, fostered various kinds of literary writing."⁴⁹ Furthermore, Coles has demonstrated that England's "religious upheavals" allowed literate women to claim "heightened cultural agency."⁵⁰ This outpouring of religious writing complicates older notions of women's cultural marginality, as Micheline White has shown.⁵¹ Recent critics, including Patricia Pender and Susan Frye, have also demonstrated the ways in which women used the patriarchal rhetoric that worked to silence them as a means of authorizing their own creative production.⁵² Nevertheless, humanist educational theorists, religious leaders, and others continued to express moral and intellectual reservations about female literacy.⁵³ Despite, or perhaps because of, these lingering concerns, publishers offered an increasing number of books intended specifically for

women, which included guidebooks, literary works, controversial tracts, and dictionaries in addition to religious books.⁵⁴ As a religious book written by a woman for women, *Salve Deus* must have seemed like a timely investment to Bonian.

The dedications to *Salve Deus* mark it as a book for female readers. Lanyer, as Lewalski has shown, chose her dedicatees well, “reaching out to all the obvious female power brokers of the court.”⁵⁵ These ladies were not only powerful; they were also the most important female dedicatees of the first decades of the seventeenth century. Suzanne W. Hull notes that Queen Anne and Princess Elizabeth “were [each] addressed [in printed dedications] about 50 times,” and Mary Sidney, for a time the foremost female patron in England, does not lag far behind with thirty dedications.⁵⁶ Lucy Harington Russell patronized several poets, including Jonson and John Donne, and Stuart, despite her tumultuous personal life, was renowned for her learning. The Cliffords were personally acquainted with Lanyer, but Margaret was also an active patron whose support of translations and religious works garnered dedications from Anne’s former tutor, Samuel Daniel, and from Fulke Greville, among others.⁵⁷ Although they are not necessarily the ladies most in favor at Anne’s Court, Lanyer’s dedicatees represent an appealing range of prominent, influential, and so-called godly Protestant women—Queen Anne and Katherine Howard being the only real exceptions.⁵⁸ Lanyer presents her dedicatees accordingly as exemplary models for other readers.

Critics have long noted that Lanyer, in Lewalski’s phrase, “projects an imaginative vision of an enduring female community,” but I would like to stress that this community is not limited only to the women it features.⁵⁹ Nor is Lanyer’s organization of this community “unconventional, if not inexpert,” as Leeds Barroll and others have supposed.⁶⁰ Rather, *Salve Deus* is self-consciously inclusive, inviting readers to join, or at least acknowledge and support, a community of good Protestant women, and Bonian seems to have recognized this invitation—fortuitously, perhaps, as the book’s publication coincided with the beginning, in February 1610/1, of the negotiations that would lead to the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to Frederick, the Elector Palatine, an important and widely discussed alliance that increased England’s standing within the European Protestant community.⁶¹ The address “To all vertuous Ladies in generall” draws upon the conventions for addresses to readers of devotional texts established in the Middle Ages, especially direct addresses, and imparts them with a distinctly Protestant resonance.⁶² By praising readers’ active

virtue and piety, the poem helps determine their inclusion in the community of readers:

Each blessed Lady that in Virtue spends
 Your pretious time to beautifie your soules;
 Come wait on hir whom winged Fame attends
 And in hir hand the Booke where she inroules
 Those high deserts that Maiestie commends:
 Let this faire Queene not unattended bee,
 When in my Glasse she daines her selfe to see.
 (sig. b3r, [lines 1–7])

Those found worthy are enrolled in a book, an allegorical type that both anticipates Lanyer's own book commending virtuous ladies and highlights its desired effect. The final couplet, encouraging potential readers to join the community of virtuous ladies so that they might appear alongside the queen in her glass, may initially seem to mix incongruously the metaphor of Fame's book and the image of a mirror. However, Lanyer is not describing a literal reflecting glass but rather a textual glass in the devotional tradition. Such texts, as Rayna Kalas has observed, offered "both a reflection of divine ideation, and a practical instrument through which that ideal might be emulated," and Molekamp argues that such meditative reading was a distinctly female practice.⁶³ *Salve Deus* likewise implicates its readers in the text itself so that they may use it for devotional purposes.⁶⁴

Most of the poem encourages "vertuous ladies" to join the speaker, to anoint themselves "with Aarons pretious oyle" (sig. b3v, [line 36]), effectively making themselves priests, and to dress themselves in ceremonial robes (sig. b3r, [line 15]) and laurel crowns (sig. b3v, [line 22])—all class-effacing actions.⁶⁵ In the final stanzas, Lanyer conventionally bids adieu to her readers: "Where worthy Ladies I will leave you all, / Desiring you to grace this little Booke" (sig. b4r, [lines 71–2]). The next five lines, however, have vexed readers and editors. Lanyer hesitates,

Yet some of you me thinks I heare to call
 Me by my name, and bid me better looke,
 Lest unawares I in an error fall:
 In general tearmes, to place you with the rest,
 Whom Fame commends to be the very best.
 (sig. b4r, [lines 73–7])

Although Woods glosses these lines as an apology to ladies who “deserve more specific praise” but are excluded because “time and humility allow her only to praise them in general,” I contend that something quite different is happening here.⁶⁶ Lanyer imagines that some of her readers are warning her not to include them among the other illustrious ladies because it would constitute an “error” in judgment, on par with encouraging readers in an earlier stanza to put on robes of “purple scarlet white” (sig. b3r, [line 15]). Though the colors of the robes have religious significance, these colors were also restricted to the highest classes, and to encourage these ladies to wear them is to ask them to transgress class divisions by joining Lanyer’s other dedicatees—a radically inclusive invitation.⁶⁷

In the final two stanzas, Lanyer explains that Fame “didst recite by name” a list of ladies who “should remembred bee,” but if she “should presume to undertake” the task, her “tired Hand for very feare would quake” (sig. b4v, [lines 80, 81, 83, and 84]). Instead, she says,

Onely by name I will bid some of those,
 That in true Honors seate haue long bin placed,
 Yea euen such as thou hast chiefly chose,
 By whom my Muse may be the better graced;
 Therefore, unwilling longer time to lose,
 I will inuite some Ladies that I know,
 But chiefly those as thou hast graced so.
(sig. b4v, [lines 85–91])

Because she cannot possibly commend every worthy lady “by name,” Lanyer writes, she will instead name a select handful of long repute who readily inspire poetic tributes. However, the others will still be celebrated in “general tearmes” (sig. b4r, [line 76]). Significantly, Lanyer describes her plans to praise the ladies as an intention to “inuite” them to the Passover feast that is thematized throughout the book.

Lanyer’s dedicatory verses draw upon tropes introduced in the general epistle to the ladies, but they often turn on what might seem to be in-group knowledge for the noble ladies she praises. In this way, readers are sold the illusion of access to an exclusive sphere. Queen Anne, for instance, is repeatedly figured as Pallas, an identification that refers to her performance of the role in Samuel Daniel’s *The Vision of the 12. Goddesses* on 8 January 1604, shortly after her arrival in England. Though the masque was

not well liked at Court, it was printed twice: once in a supposedly pirated edition and again the same year in an authorized edition with an epistle from Daniel.⁶⁸ In the epistle, Daniel claims that Anne was involved in the casting of the masque, at least insofar as “*Pallas* ... was the person her Maiestie chose to represent.”⁶⁹ As Lewalski notes, “Juno or Venus might have seemed more obvious (and acceptable) choices,” especially because “*Pallas*, the virgin warrior and goddess of wisdom, would evoke Queen Elizabeth to a contemporary audience, carrying associations of female power and militant internationalism that were anathema to James.”⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the association between Anne and *Pallas* persisted for the rest of her life; the queen was figured unflatteringly as *Pallas* in Jonson’s epitaph on Cecilia Bulstrode and was addressed as *Pallas* again, presumably more positively, in *Cupid’s Banishment* (1617).⁷¹ Lanyer makes use of this courtly conceit in the address “To All Vertuous Ladies in Generall” when she encourages readers to join the queen and her train: “And let the Muses your companions be, / Those sacred sisters that on *Pallas* wait” (sig. b3v, [lines 29–30]). The notion of Anne as *Pallas* and the Muses as her attendants appears again in the dedication to Stuart, as Lanyer invites her addressee to take her place among the other readers:

Come like the morning Sunne new out of bed,
 And cast your eyes vpon this little Booke,
 Although you be so well accompan’ed
 With *Pallas*, and the Muses, spare one looke
 Vpon this humbled King, who all forsook,
(sig. c1r, [lines 8–12])

Conflating, as Wendy Wall has demonstrated, the book with the body of Christ, Lanyer encourages Stuart to look upon the book-as-Christ with *Pallas* and the others.⁷² By addressing Stuart in the second person and as part of a larger group of women, Lanyer also gestures toward her other unnamed readers and invites them to look too.

“The Authors Dreame to the Ladie *Marie*, the Countesse *Dowager of Pembroke*” similarly promotes the idea of an inclusive female utopia. The poem draws upon the dream vision tradition to offer a prophetic statement about Sidney’s godliness, literary skill, and enduring impact on those lucky enough to read her work:

She files the eies, the hearts, the tongues, the eares
 Of after-comming ages, which shall reade
 Her loue, her zeale, her faith, and pietie;
 The faire impression of whose worthy deed,
 Seales her pure soule vnto the Deitie.

(sig. d2r, [lines 160–4])

As Coles observes, Lanyer here “self-consciously situates her own poetic project in the context of a religious literary tradition that Herbert enabled.”⁷³ In the process, though, Lanyer highlights significant differences between the circulation of the two poets’ works. “[F]aire impression” may pun on printing, recalling Sidney’s resistance to the many efforts to print her psalms despite their wide manuscript circulation. Lanyer conversely expresses hope that future readers will be able to read *Salve Deus*. She goes on to contrast Sidney’s achievement with her own, declaring that in *Salve Deus* she is “Presenting her the fruits of idle houres; / Thogh many Books she writes that are more rare” (sig. d3r, [lines 194–5]). Whatever shortcomings Lanyer’s poems have, however, are mitigated by their accessibility. She claims,

Yet there is hony in the meanest flowres:
 Which is both wholesome, and delights the taste:
 Though sugar be more finer, higher priz’d,

(sig. d3r, [lines 196–8])

Just as those who cannot afford sugar can be satisfied with honey, Lanyer’s poem offers a useful devotional guide even if it is not as rarified as the Sidney Psalter.

Lanyer also acknowledges the possibility that, while her book is intended for a female audience, it is likely that men will read it too. In the prose epistle “To the Vertvovs Reader,” Lanyer announces her purpose: “I haue written this small volume, or little booke, for the generall use of all virtuous Ladies and Gentlewomen of this kingdome; and in commendation of some particular persons of our owne sexe, such as for the most part, are so well knowne to my selfe, and others, that I dare undertake Fame dares not to call any better” (sig. f3r). Although women have long been maligned in writing, even by other women, Lanyer declares her intention to write in praise of some women to provide an example to and instruction for all women. Indeed, Lanyer’s emphasis on the book’s usefulness aligns it with a tradition of devotional writing and the

emerging genre of religious lyric. Furthermore, in what Wall has characterized as a “proto-feminist statement,” Lanyer expresses a desire to unite her whole sex.⁷⁴ This inclusiveness can also be read as a general appeal to readers, and Lanyer notably does not overtly exclude male readers. Following a catalog of women who have been good, often in spite of bad men, she says that she hopes these examples will improve women’s standing in the world, intimating for the first time that she hopes to persuade male readers too: “All which is sufficient to inforce *all good Christians and honourable minded men* to speake reuerently of our sexe, and especially of all virtuous and good women. *To the modest sensures of both which, I refer these my imperfect indeauours*, knowing that according to their owne excellent dispositions, they will rather, cherish, nourish, and increase the least sparke of virtue where they find it, by their favourable and best interpretations, than quench it by wrong constructions. To whom I wish all increase of virtue, and desire their best opinions” (sig. f3v, emphasis added). In addition to the nine named female dedicatees and the legions of “virtuous Ladies and Gentlewomen,” Lanyer submits her book to the judgment of male readers in the epistle’s closing lines, which are opposite the first page of the title poem. Raising the possibility of male readers also serves as a reminder of the early modern book-buying public’s presumptive gender. In this moment, Lanyer effectively inverts the conventions of what Juliet Fleming has described as “cross-dressed” texts, texts that gesture toward a female readership in ways that appear to mock women for the entertainment of men.⁷⁵ In *Salve Deus*, Lanyer appears to take seriously Robert Greene’s satirical observation that “*Mars* will sometime bee prying into *Venus* papers, and gentlemen desirous to heare the parlie of Ladies.”⁷⁶ Acknowledging the reality that men very well may read her book in spite of—or even because of—its address to ladies, Lanyer invites them to read it favorably.

For all of the prominence given to noble dedicatees, particularly the Countess of Cumberland, general readers (especially women) are included in the title poem through subtle deictic shifts that implicate readers in the poem’s action and make them co-subjects in biblical history. In the section glossed “*Eues Apologie*,” Lanyer, through the voice of Pilate’s wife, uses plural first-person pronouns to include all women in her defense of Eve:

Till now your [men’s] indiscretion sets vs free,
And makes our former fault much lesse appeare;
Our Mother *Eue*, who tasted of the Tree,

Giving to *Adam* what shee held most deare,
 Was simply good, and had no powre to see,
 The after-comming harme did not appeare:
 The subtile Serpent that our Sex betraide,
 Before our fall so sure a plot had laide.

(sig. D1r, [lines 761–8])

Linking Eve, Pilate's wife, and, by extension, female readers into something like a collective consciousness, the speaker argues that the serpent did not only betray Eve, who simply wanted to share her discovery with Adam, but all women. As the speaker goes on to explain that Adam is more culpable for the Fall than Eve, she again implicates her readers:

And then to lay the fault on Patience backe,
 That we (poore women) must endure it all;
 We know right well he did discretion lacke,
 Beeing not perswaded thereunto at all;

(sig. D1v, [lines 793–6])

Women, according to Pilate's wife, must suffer the consequences for an act that they could have anticipated and that they understand uniquely well. Similarly, when the nameless speaker's voice subsumes that of Pilate's wife, she conflates all of the women at the crucifixion into a homogenous group, saying, "The *Maries* doe with pretious balmes attend, / But beeing come, they find it to no end" (sig. F1r, [lines 1287–8]). By treating these women as a group of indefinite number but of definite gender, the speaker encourages readers to align with and join the collective identity.

Notably, the final words of the book address the "doubtfull Reader" rather than a specific person (sig. I1v). While "doubtfull" is often glossed as "doubting" or "curious," there is another sense that may apply in this case: unknown or indeterminate. Though this usage is recorded in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it remained current in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries before falling out of favor in the nineteenth.⁷⁷ In *Hamlet*, for instance, the priest describes Ophelia's death as "doubtfull."⁷⁸ Lanyer opens by addressing the anonymous person as "Gentle Reader," again treating her reader as an immediately sympathetic audience, before explaining that she received the title of her book in a dream and thereby placing herself within a line of female prophets authorized to write publicly (sig. I1v).

The fact that there is only one surviving edition of *Salve Deus* has led many to believe that it was a failure, that it was unpopular, or that, as McGrath has remarked, “the whole work, before the end of the seventeenth century, had disappeared into that special oblivion reserved for most Renaissance women writers.”⁷⁹ Of course, single editions are not necessarily failures, and most male poets’ work was relegated to the same “oblivion” as women’s. As Erne and Badcoe have shown, while poetry books comprised “a remarkable fraction” of the early modern book trade, “the interest in most of these poetry books was not great enough for them to reach a second edition,” and only 19.7% reached a second edition within twenty years of their initial publication.⁸⁰ It does, however, seem clear that Lanyer did not earn the financial support she needed, since she had to open a school after her husband’s death and the subsequent loss of the income from their hay and grain patent. She ran the small school for a time, and then lived with her son Henry, a successful Court musician, until her death in 1645. Lanyer must eventually have secured some kind of steady income, as her burial record lists her as a “pensioner.”⁸¹

Lanyer’s dedications are best understood, therefore, not simply as a product of the author’s gender but also as the product of a postpatronage, preprofessional literary system that provided few viable avenues for individuals of either gender to support themselves by writing. As Martin Butler points out, during the second decade of the seventeenth century “Chapman’s hopes were crushed, Donne finally went into the church, and Campion was questioned for complicity in Overbury’s murder ... Jonson, on the other hand, weathered the transition [between patronage and professionalism] triumphantly, and his Folio is one testament to that success.”⁸² There were, in other words, few opportunities for poets to make a living writing poetry at this time. Bonian, however, bet that Lanyer’s appeals to potential patrons would also be interesting to other readers, anticipating Gérard Genette’s observation that “dedicating a work is a public act that the reader is, as it were, called on to witness.”⁸³ *Salve Deus* emphasizes the performative nature of printed dedications more than other early modern poetry books, but the volume’s permeable boundary between text and paratext anticipates the replacement of dedicatory poems with commendatory verses in the coming decades. Bonian’s inclusion of Lanyer’s dedications in an effort to attract print readers was an early attempt at what became the dominant strategy by the end of the seventeenth century.

Table 1.
Dedications in printed poetry books, 1590–1620 (years ending in 0 and 5)

STC#	Year	Format	# Dedications
5633.3	1590	4o	0
6363	1590	4o	0
7520.5	1590	4o	1
11287.5	1590	4o	0
13692	1590	4o	0
19546	1590	4o	1
21669	1590	4o	—
23080	1590	4o in 8's	17
24383	1590	4o	2
24590	1590	4o	0
25121	1590	4o	1
1060	1595	4o	0
1467	1595	4o	1
1483	1595	4o	1*
1484	1595	4o	1
4268	1595	8o	1
4274.5	1595	4o	—
4985	1595	4o	1
4999	1595	8o	1
5245	1595	4o	2
5638.3	1595	8o	1
6243.5	1595	8o	1
6244	1595	4o	0
6324	1595	8o	1
7192	1595	4o	1
7214.5	1595	8o	0
7525	1595	4o	2
12096	1595	4o	0
13973	1595	12o in 6's	1
16658	1595	4o	1
17385	1595	8o	4
21088	1595	8o	0
21105.5	1595	8o	—
21535	1595	4o	1
21536	1595	4o	1
21537	1595	4o	1
21658	1595	4o	1
21662	1595	4o	1
22356	1595	8o	—
22955	1595	4o	0
22955.5	1595	4o	0
22955.7	1595	4o	1
22956	1595	4o	0
22957	1595	4o	1

* EEBO notes, "Bodleian Library copy identified as STC 1483 on UMS microfilm."
 This is the copy examined here.

Table 1. Continued.

STC#	Year	Format	# Dedications
23076	1595	8o	1
23077	1595	4o	1
24296	1595	4o	—
378	1600	8o	1
775.5	1600	4o	1
3189	1600	8o	2
3191	1600	4o	2
3666	1600	4o	1
3675	1600	4o	0
3675.5	1600	4o	—
3677	1600	4o	—
3677.5	1600	4o	1
3678	1600	4o	1
3679	1600	4o	1
7196	1600	8o	9
7434.7	1600	4o	1
7523	1600	4o	0
11491	1600	4o	1
15190	1600	4o	1
16883.5	1600	4o	1
17395	1600	4o	0
17415	1600	4o	1
17486.5	1600	8o	0
17868	1600	4o	1
17885.5	1600	8o	1
18546	1600	4o	1
18642	1600	4o	1
18944	1600	8o	1
18974	1600	4o	1
19154.3	1600	4o	1
21307.7	1600	4o	0
21392.7	1600	8o	1
21393	1600	8o	0
21393.5	1600	8o	0
22347	1600	8o	1
22348	1600	8o	1
22960	1600	4o	0
23698	1600	fol.	1
24152	1600	8o	1
24804	1600	4o in 8s	1
25225	1600	4o	1
25642	1600	4o	0
1486	1605	4o	1
1808	1605	4o	0
1809	1605	4o	0
3659	1605	4o	1
3660	1605	4o	—
3701	1605	4o	1

Table 1. Continued.

STC#	Year	Format	# Dedications
3996	1605	4o	1
5460.4	1605	4o	2
5460.7	1605	4o	1
6239	1605	8o	2
6344	1605	4o	2
6457	1605	4o	1
7216	1605	8o	12
7606	1605	4o	2
11497	1605	4o	1
12200.5	1605	4o	—
15107.7	1605	8o	—
15664.7	1605	4o in 8's	—
17135	1605	4o	1
21385	1605	4o	0
21385.5	1605	8o	0
21394	1605	4o	0
21408	1605	4o	0
21649	1605	4o in 8's	29
24519	1605	4o	1
25093	1605	4o	1
25756	1605	4o	1
25967	1605	4o	1
1810	1610	4o	0
1992	1610	4o	0
3190	1610	8o	2
5112	1610	4o	1
5566	1610	4o	1
7220	1610	8o	11
11058	1610	4o	1
11526	1610	4o	1
13018	1610	8o	0
13246	1610	8o	1
13446	1610	4o	3
15665	1610	4o	0
15680	1610	4o	0
18307	1610	4o	1
21005	1610	4o	0
21395.5	1610	4o	—
22360b	1610	8o	—
22379	1610	4o	0
24388	1610	4o	2
25222.5	1610	128o	1
587	1615	4o	1
3588	1615	8o	3
3704.7	1615	4o	0
4792	1615	8o	0
5567	1615	4o	1
10594	1615	8o	1

Table 1. Continued.

STC#	Year	Format	# Dedications
10783	1615	8o	0
12775	1615	4o	—
12775.5	1615	4o	1
17841.9	1615	8o	—
18523	1615	4o	2
19333	1615	4o	0
19514	1615	4o	2
21369	1615	4o	0
21369.5	1616	4o	0
21401	1615	4o	0
21401.5	1615	4o	—
22638	1615	4o	1
22962	1615	4o	1
23084	1615	fol.	—
23582	1615	8o	1
23741	1615	8o	0
23752	1615	4o	1
23775	1615	8o	1
23804	1615	8o	1
23806	1615	8o	2
24043	1615	8o	1
24593	1615	4o	2
25896	1615	8o	1
25905	1615	12o	0
25917	1615	8o	3
25917.5	1615	8o	3
25920	1615	8o	1
25921	1615	8o	1
25922	1615	8o	1
595.8	1620	8o	0
970	1620	8o	0
1379	1620	8o	0
4652	1620	8o	1
6030	1620	4o	0
6497	1620	4o	1
6611.5	1620	8o	1
6769.5	1620	8o	—
11253	1620	8o	1
13153	1620	8o	0
14674	1620	8o	0
17814	1620	8o	0
18975	1620	8o	0
19080.5	1620	4o	—
19483	1620	4o	0
19515	1620	8o	1
19824	1620	4o	2
20544	1620	4o	1
21256	1620	8o	0

Table 1. Continued.

STC#	Year	Format	# Dedications
21378.3	1620	4o	1
21402	1620	4o	0
21404	1620	4o	0
22137.5	1620	8o	—
22362	1620	8o	1
22965	1620	12o	5
23575	1620	8o	—
23583	1620	8o	2
23751	1620	4o	1
23770	1620	8o	1
23788	1620	4o	1
24390	1620	4o in 8's	2
24810	1620	4o	1
24818	1620	4o	1
25890	1620	8o	1
26078.5	1620	fol.	—
24805a	1620	4o in 8s	1

NOTES

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¹ Aemilia Lanyer, *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (London: V. Simmes for R. Bonian, 1611); EEBO STC (2d edn.) 15227.5. All subsequent references to *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*, hereafter *Salve Deus*, are from this edition and will appear parenthetically in the text by signature. Bracketed line numbers are based on Lanyer, *The Poems of Aemilia Lanyer*, ed. Susanne Woods (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1993).

² See Lisa Schnell, "Breaking 'the rule of *Cortezia*': Aemilia Lanyer's Dedications to *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*," *JMEMSt* 27, 1 (Winter 1997): 77–101, esp. 80; Elaine V. Beilin, *Redeeming Eve: Women Writers of the English Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1987), pp. 180–1; Margaret P. Hannay, introduction to *Silent but for the Word: Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*, ed. Hannay (Kent OH: Kent State Univ. Press, 1985), pp. 1–14, 4; and Kimberly Anne Coles, *Religion, Reform, and Women's Writing in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2008), p. 6.

³ H. S. Bennett has also suggested that dedications were sometimes included to entice potential readers (*English Books and Readers 1558 to 1603: Being a Study of the History of the Book Trade in the Reign of Elizabeth I* [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1965], p. 37).

⁴ Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Stationers of London, 1554–1640 A.D.*, 5 vols. (London and Birmingham, 1875–77), 3:201.

⁵ Bertha Porter and Glenn Burgess, "Mocket, Richard (1577–1618)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford Univ. Press, 2004), accessed 14 February 2011, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/18866.

⁶ On the relative popularity of sermons and religious books, see Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, "The Popularity of Playbooks Revisited," *SQ* 56, 1 (Spring 2005): 1–32, esp. 21–3 and 31–2.

⁷ See Woods, in Lanyer, *Poems*, pp. xlvii–xlix.

⁸ Of the surviving copies, only HN 62140 has the four-line imprint. All of the others, including the Huntington Library's other copy (HN 62139), bear the five-line imprint. See Woods, in Lanyer, *Poems*, p. 1.

⁹ On the distinctions between the bibliographical concepts of "edition" and "issue," see Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1949; rpt. New Castle DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1994), pp. 39–41 and 80–4; and G. Thomas Tanselle, "The Bibliographical Concepts of *Issue* and *State*," *PBSA* 69 (1975): 17–66, esp. 27, 45–6, 52, and 65.

¹⁰ Schnell, p. 82.

¹¹ Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001), p. 92.

¹² See Allan Pritchard, "Abuses Stript and Whipt and Wither's Imprisonment," *RES* n.s. 14, 56 (November 1963): 337–45, esp. 340–1; and Paul Salzman, "Contemporary References in Mary Wroth's *Urania*," *RES* 29, 114 (May 1978): 178–81, esp. 178.

¹³ Erica Longfellow, *Women and Religious Writing in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), p. 65.

¹⁴ Woods, in Lanyer, *Poems*, pp. xlvii–l.

¹⁵ On the binding practices that could have led to such loss, see Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), esp. p. 4; Bodleian Library, Univ. of Oxford: Vet.A2 f.99.

¹⁶ See Lynette McGrath, "'Let Us Have Our Libertie Againe': Amelia Lanier's Seventeenth-Century Feminist Voice," *WS* 20, 3/4 (January 1992): 331–48, esp. 345–6.

¹⁷ Barbara K. Lewalski, "Re-Writing Patriarchy and Patronage: Margaret Clifford, Anne Clifford, and Aemilia Lanyer," *YES* 21, "Politics, Patronage and Literature in England 1558–1658 Special Number" (1991): 87–106, 98n.

¹⁸ Woods, in Lanyer, *Poems*, pp. xlvii–li, xlviii; McGrath, p. 331. See also Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (Cambridge MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1993), pp. 321–2.

¹⁹ Mary Ellen Lamb, "Patronage and Class in Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*," in *Women, Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain*, ed. Mary E. Burke, Jane Donawerth, Linda L. Dove, and Karen Nelson (Syracuse NY: Syracuse Univ. Press, 2000), pp. 38–57, 40. See also Pamela Joseph Benson, "To Play the Man: Aemilia Lanyer and the Acquisition of Patronage," in *Opening the Borders: Inclusivity in Early Modern Studies; Essays in Honor of James V. Mirollo*, ed. Peter C. Herman (Newark: Univ. of Delaware Press, 1999), pp. 243–64.

²⁰ Bodleian Manuscript Ashmole 226, f. 95v, qtd. in Woods, *Lanyer: A Renaissance Woman Poet* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1999), p. 16.

²¹ See Woods, *Lanyer*, pp. 16–8.

²² See Woods, *Lanyer*, pp. 8 and 19–20.

²³ Bodleian Manuscript Ashmole 226, f. 201, qtd. in Woods, in Lanyer, *Poems*, p. xviii.

²⁴ Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1993), p. 8; Alistair Fox, "The Complaint of Poetry for the Death of Liberality: The Decline of Literary Patronage in the 1590s," in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, ed. John Guy (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 229–57; and Lamb, pp. 40–1.

²⁵ Paul J. Voss, "Books for Sale: Advertising and Patronage in Late Elizabethan England," *SCJ* 29, 3 (Autumn 1998): 733–56, 734n.

²⁶ Lamb, p. 41.

²⁷ Michael Brennan, *Literary Patronage in the English Renaissance: The Pembroke Family* (New York: Routledge, 1988), p. 13.

²⁸ See Lamb, pp. 40–1; and Peter W. M. Blayney, "The Publication of Playbooks," *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1997), pp. 383–422, 395–6.

²⁹ See Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton: A Critical Biography* (Malden MA: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 453–4.

³⁰ See Andrew Zurcher, "Getting It Back to Front in 1590: Spenser's Dedications, Nashe's Insinuations, and Raleigh's Equivocations," *SLitl* 38, 2 (Fall 2005): 173–98, esp. 192; Lamb, p. 40; and Jason Scott-Warren, *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2001), p. 15.

³¹ The sample of poetry books listed in Table 1 includes every entry in Lukas Erne and Tamsin Badcoe's table of poetry books that was published in a year ending in zero or five ("Shakespeare and the Popularity of Poetry Books in Print, 1583–1622," *RES* 65, 268 [February 2014]: 33–57, 56–7). As Farmer and Lesser caution, years ending in zero and five "contain a higher than average number of entries with inferred dates," but these years comprise a representative cross section of poetry book publication (p. 30). My dedication counts as presented in Table 1 are based upon my personal examination of EEBO facsimiles of each edition. I have attempted to distinguish dedications directed to individuals and specific corporate identities (e.g., guilds, clubs, members of specific colleges, etc.) from epistles addressed to large, impersonal groups (e.g., ladies, gentlemen, learned readers, etc.). These distinctions are necessarily a matter of judgment, but I have endeavored to limit my counts to dedications of the first kind only. Where EEBO includes more than one issue of the first edition, I have consulted the first issue listed in the STC.

³² Bennett, p. 51.

³³ James Doelman, "Seeking 'The Fruit of Favour': The Dedicatory Sonnets of Henry Lok's *Ecclesiastes*," *ELH* 60, 1 (Spring 1993): 1–15, 1.

³⁴ Josuah Sylvester, *Bartas: His Devine Weekes and Workes Translated: and Dedicated to the Kings Most Excellent Maestie by Iosuah Syluester* (London: H. Lownes, 1605); EEBO STC (2d edn.) 21649.

³⁵ See Zurcher, pp. 174–5.

³⁶ See John A. Buchtel, "Book Dedications and the Death of a Patron: The Memorial Engraving in Chapman's *Homer*," *BoH* 7, 1 (2004): 1–29, 2.

³⁷ Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2000), pp. 53–4.

³⁸ See Erne and Badcoe, p. 45.

³⁹ Coles, p. 152.

⁴⁰ See Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press,

1997), p. 15; and Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003), p. 39. Scholars recently have begun to challenge the assumption that paper was inordinately expensive; see, for example, Grace Ioppolo, "Early Modern Handwriting," in *A New Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. Michael Hattaway, 2 vols. (Malden MA: Blackwell, 2010), 1:177–89, 186–7.

⁴¹ Arber, vol. 3.

⁴² Lesser, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication: Readings in the English Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), pp. 1–4, esp. 3.

⁴³ Lesser, *Renaissance Drama*, p. 4.

⁴⁴ *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, ed. A. W. Pollard, G. R. Redgrave, rev. by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Pantzer, 2d. edn., 3 vols. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91), 3:25.

⁴⁵ William Sclater, *A Key to the Key of Scripture: Or an Exposition with Notes, vpon the Epistle to the Romanes; the Three First Chapters Begun at Walsall in Staffordshire, Continued at Pitmister in Somerset* (London: T. S[nodham] for R. Bonian, 1611), sig. A3v; EEBO STC (2d edn.) 21839; and John Swift, *The Diuine Echo, or, Resounding Voice from Heaven Moralized Betwixt a Christian and his Soule, with Short and Effectuall Directions How to Liue and Die Well* (London: [W. Stansby] for R. Bonian, 1612), sig. A3r–v; EEBO STC (2d edn.) 23545.

⁴⁶ William Est, *Sathans Sowing Season* (London: N. Okes for R. Bonian, 1611), sig. A4r–v; EEBO STC (2d edn.) 10536.5; and Sclater, sig. A4v.

⁴⁷ Swift, sig. A5v.

⁴⁸ See Anne Clark Bartlett, *Male Authors, Female Readers: Representation and Subjectivity in Middle English Devotional Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 6–13; Frances Teague, "Judith Shakespeare Reading," *SQ* 47, 4 (Winter 1996): 361–73, esp. 366; and Danielle Clarke, *The Politics of Early Modern Women's Writing* (London: Pearson, 2001), p. 33.

⁴⁹ Femke Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England: Religious Reading and Writing* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2013), p. 1.

⁵⁰ Coles, p. 7.

⁵¹ Micheline White, "Introduction: Women, Religious Communities, Prose Genres, and Textual Production," in *English Women, Religion, and Textual Production, 1500–1625*, ed. White (Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 1–16, esp. 1–2.

⁵² Patricia Pender, *Early Modern Women's Writing and the Rhetoric of Modesty* (New York: Palgrave, 2012), pp. 1–4; and Susan Frye, *Pens and Needles: Women's Textualities in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), p. 25.

⁵³ See David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1980), p. 128; Hilda L. Smith, "Humanist Education and the Renaissance Concept of Woman," in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1500–1700*, ed. Helen Wilcox (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996), pp. 9–29, esp. 16–22; Jacqueline Pearson, "Women Reading, Reading Women," in *Women and Literature in Britain*, pp. 80–99, esp. 85; Eve Rachele Sanders, *Gender and Literacy on Stage in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998),

pp. 13–6; Sasha Roberts, *Reading Shakespeare's Poems in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), p. 63; Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005), p. 84; Marta Straznicky, "Reading through the Body: Women and Printed Drama," in *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. Straznicky (Boston: Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 2006), pp. 59–79, esp. 68–9; and Sharpe, pp. 297–300.

⁵⁴ See Hull, pp. 1 and 9; Juliet Fleming, "Dictionary English and the Female Tongue," in *Enclosure Acts: Sexuality, Property, and Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Richard Burt and John Michael Archer (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1994), pp. 290–325, esp. 300; Straznicky, p. 59; White, p. 1; and Molekamp, pp. 53–4.

⁵⁵ Lewalski, *Writing Women*, p. 220.

⁵⁶ Hull, pp. 20–1; Pamela Joseph Benson, "The Stigma of Italy Undone: Aemilia Lanyer's Canonization of Lady Mary Sidney," in *Strong Voices, Weak History: Early Modern Women Writers and Canons in England, France, and Italy*, ed. Benson and Victoria Kirkham (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 2005), pp. 146–75, esp. 147; and David M. Bergeron, *Textual Patronage in English Drama, 1570–1640* (Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2006), p. 85.

⁵⁷ See Richard T. Spence, "Clifford, Margaret, Countess of Cumberland (1560–1616)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford Univ. Press, 2004), accessed 14 February 2011, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/5655.

⁵⁸ Queen Anne was openly Catholic and even found it difficult to welcome her daughter's Protestant suitors. See Maureen M. Meikle and Helen Payne, "Anne [Anna, Anne of Denmark] (1574–1619)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford Univ. Press, 2008), accessed 14 February 2011, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/559. Katherine Howard was privately Catholic and the recipient of a substantial Spanish pension. See Helen Payne, "Howard, Katherine, Countess of Suffolk (b. in or after 1564, d. 1638)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. (Oxford Univ. Press, 2008), accessed 14 February 2011, doi:10.1093/ref:odnd/70618. Aside from Stuart, who, despite rumors and speculation, seems never to have seriously considered converting to Catholicism, all of the other dedicatees were forward Protestants. On Stuart, see David N. Durant, *Arbella Stuart: A Rival to the Queen* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1978), pp. 69 and 173; and Ian McInnes, *Arabella: The Life and Times of Lady Arabella Seymour, 1575–1615* (London: W. H. Allen, 1968), pp. 92–100, 141, 154–5, and 158.

⁵⁹ Lewalski, *Writing Women*, p. 241. See also Achsah Guibbory, "The Gospel According to Aemilia: Women and the Sacred," in *Aemilia Lanyer: Gender, Genre, and the Canon*, ed. Marshall Grossman (Lexington: Univ. Press of Kentucky, 1998), pp. 191–211, esp. 193.

⁶⁰ Leeds Barroll, "Looking for Patrons," in *Aemilia Lanyer: Gender, Genre, and the Canon*, pp. 29–48, 39.

⁶¹ On *Salve Deus*, see Lewalski, *Writing Women*, p. 227; and Beilin, pp. 183–4. On Elizabeth, see Mary Anne Everett Green, *Elizabeth: Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia* (London: Methuen, 1909), p. 31; and Josephine Ross, *The Winter Queen: The Story of Elizabeth Stuart* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979), pp. 24–5.

⁶² See Bartlett, p. 19.

⁶³ Rayna Kalas, *Frame, Glass, Verse: The Technology of Poetic Invention in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2007), p. 113; and Molekamp, p. 191. See also Kalas, pp. 111–4.

⁶⁴ See Beilin, pp. 183–4.

⁶⁵ On the class dimensions of *Salve Deus*, see Lamb, esp. pp. 40–1; and Schnell, esp. p. 79.

⁶⁶ Woods, in Lanyer, *Poems*, p. 15n.

⁶⁷ See Frances Elizabeth Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1926), pp. 121 and 294.

⁶⁸ Samuel Daniel, *The True Description of a Royall Masque Presented at Hampton Court, upon Sunday Night, Being the Eight of Ianuary. 1604. And Personated by the Queenes Most Excellent Majestie, Attended by Eleuen Ladies of Honour* (London: E. Allde, 1604); EEBO STC (2d edn.) 6264; and Daniel, *The Vision of the 12. Goddesses Presented in a Maske the 8. of Ianuary, at Hampton Court: by the Queenes Most Excellent Maiestie, and Her Ladies* (London: T. C[reede] for S. Waterson, 1604); EEBO STC (2d edn.) 6265.

⁶⁹ Daniel, *Vision*, sig. A4v.

⁷⁰ Lewalski, *Writing Women*, p. 30.

⁷¹ Lewalski, *Writing Women*, p. 109; Robert White, *Cupid's Banishment*, in *Renaissance Drama by Women: Texts and Documents*, ed. S. P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 83–9, line 313.

⁷² Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1993), pp. 324–5.

⁷³ Coles, p. 156.

⁷⁴ Wall, p. 321.

⁷⁵ Juliet Fleming, “The French Garden: An Introduction to Women’s French,” *ELH* 56, 1 (Spring 1989): 19–51, 19. See also Lori Humphrey Newcomb, “‘Social Things’: The Production of Popular Culture in the Reception of Robert Greene’s *Pandosto*,” *ELH* 61, 4 (Winter 1994): 753–81.

⁷⁶ Robert Greene, “To the gentlemen readers health,” in *Penelopes Web: Wherein a Christall Myrror of fæminine perfection represents to the viewe of every one those vertues and graces, which more curiously beautifies the mynd of women, then eyther sumptuous Apparell, or Iewels of inestimable valew: the one buying fame with honour, the other breeding a kynd of delight, but with repentance*. (London: [T. Orwin?] for T. C[adman] and E. A[ggas], [1587]), sig. A3v; EEBO STC (2d edn.) 12293. For a discussion of Greene’s strategy, see Derek B. Alwes, “Robert Greene’s Duelling Dedications,” *ELR* 30, 3 (Autumn 2000): 373–95.

⁷⁷ OED, 2d edn., s.v. “doubtful, *adj.*”

⁷⁸ Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, in *The Complete Works*, 2d. edn., ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005), V.i.221.

⁷⁹ McGrath, p. 331.

⁸⁰ Erne and Badcoe, pp. 45 and 44.

⁸¹ Woods, in Lanyer, *Poems*, pp. xxvii–xxx.

⁸² Martin Butler, “Jonson’s Folio and the Politics of Patronage,” *Criticism* 35, 3 (Summer 1993): 377–90, 380–1.

⁸³ Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997), p. 134.