

Part One: "The Place Assigned Them"¹

Chapter One The Tabeaux/Lay Model

The Study

In the 1540's a series of pamphlets denigrating women surfaced in print. Pauline doctrine had decreed women's silence, and from that theocratically defined silence descended English common law, under which women could not "hold office, pleade a case at law, be guardians or tutors, or preach God's word."² In the eyes of common law, single women did not exist: women were classified either "married" or "going to be married."³ Under that law, "a woman was considered a *feme covert* -- 'veiled,' as it were, clouded and overshadowed," as soon as she married.⁴ These strictures severely limited women's writings, restricting them to devotions, translations of ecclesiastical works, maternal advice, and works addressed to children.⁵ Women, and women writers, were allowed to pursue their own pefections, as daughters, wives, mothers, and writers, only in terms of chastity, obedience, and humility.

Despite and within those constraints, in 1611 Emilia Lanyer published *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum*,⁶ a work considered to be the first feminist work published in England that imagines and addresses women as a community, separate and distinct from the community of men.⁷ With constant reference to her woman's weakness and inability to perform the male act

of writing, Lanyer addresses the "carping tongue"⁸ of hostile male and male-defined⁹ audiences at the same time she entreats a female audience to redefine itself.

In a recent study of the rhetorical strategies used by over one hundred Tudor and Jacobean women writers between 1526-1640 that examined the content, style, and rhetorical situation in which these women wrote, and that analyzed the rhetorical strategies they developed to evade or to address hostile audiences, Elizabeth Tabeaux and Mary M. Lay found that

1. Published women writers were usually members of the upper classes who had families who believed that women needed classical and/or religious education.
2. Most possessed a high level of composition skill both in English and Latin.
3. They were quite cognizant of and accepted in varying degrees the entrenched theological and social prejudice against women and women writers and thinkers.
4. Their tools and genres for expression were culturally dictated and limited, but their perceptions were often different from those of men.
5. Those who wrote for publication often struggled to maintain their confidence that what they said was worthy of written expression.¹⁰

Further, Tabeaux and Lay found in these early works published by Englishwomen

1. a sense of insecurity -- spiritually, socially, and emotionally
2. almost a calculated choice in content and phrasing that reflects these women writers' adherence to women's traditional place and her traditional virtues, such as chastity and humility
3. subtle and developing affirmation of the value of women's distinctive perspective
4. tension in the handling of ideas resulting from these learned women's growing expertise in composition which was stifled by their

awareness of low status in relation to men¹¹

They suggest that women writers' rhetorical choices were defined by the reading audiences of this particularly regressive era -- by a "gendered society, that is, one in which the societal definitions of behavior and expectations appropriate to the sexes are embedded in every institution of society, in its thoughts, its language, its cultural product."¹²

The Model and Lanyer

Æmilia Lanyer is counted among those first published women, and although she does not fit exactly the criteria established by Tabeaux and Lay's study, she and her upbringing approximate it.

Born in 1569, Æmilia Bassano (Lanyer) was not a member of the upper classes, but as the daughter of royal musician, Baptist Bassano, she was educated in Elizabeth I's court, perhaps under the pedagogical methods espoused and codified by Roger Ascham, the queen's own childhood tutor and later the royal Latin secretary. Ascham, a humanist educator, died in 1568, the year before Lanyer was born, but his book, *The Schoolmaster*, first published by his widow in 1570 -- through agency of Lord Burghley, William Cecil, Elizabeth's closest advisor -- was republished in 1571, 1573, 1578, and 1589.¹³

Lanyer was one of the many children schooled at court, possibly under the direct tutelage of the countess of Kent, Susan (Wingfield, Grey) Bertie, whom the poet addresses in a dedication prefacing the *Salve Deus*, "you that were the Mistris of my youth, / The noble guide of my ungovern'd dayes,"¹⁴ an address corroborated to some extent by Simon Forman's diaries.¹⁵ Textual evidence in *Salve Deus* indicates as well that Lanyer may have had some educational association with Margaret Russell Clifford, Countess of Cumberland, and her daughter, Anne Clifford, whom Lanyer attended during the halcyon days at Cooke-ham. Barbara Lewalski suggests that

At the least, Lanyer seems to have received some encouragement in learning, piety, and poetry in the bookish and cultivated household of the Countess of Cumberland. Quite possibly she was also supported by the countess in the unusual venture of offering her poems for publication.¹⁶

Lanyer's father died when she was seven. When her mother died a decade later, Lanyer was taken as mistress by Elizabeth's Lord Chamberlain, Lord Hunsdon, Henry Carey, who, according to Simon Foreman's diaries, kept her "well" for six years. If the Lord Chamberlain did not continue his paramour's education, he at least afforded opportunity for cultural enrichment.¹⁷

When the twenty three year old became pregnant in 1592 with Hunsdon's child, she was married "for colour's sake" to court musician Alphonso Lanyer, who had been preferred by Elizabeth's personal secretary, William Cecil.¹⁸ References

and rhetorical mimicry in the *Salve Deus* suggest that neither her education nor her connections with court ended with her marriage.

Admittedly, A. L. Rouse's assumption that Lanyer's association with the patron of Shakespeare's theater company implies that she had a romantic involvement with England's most famous dramatist is improbable. But the assumption that her paramour's relationship with the Tudor playwright suggests that she had some form of literary involvement with the author's works is less so. An educated gentlewoman on the periphery of court life, Lanyer was probably aware of the content of theatrical works performed during Hunsdon's lifetime, and may have followed Shakespeare's career after her relationship with the Lord Chamberlain ended. She was cognizant, at least, of familiar conceits employed by Shakespeare, mimicking his allegorical use of "stage" in her dedication "To the Ladie Anne, Countesse of Dorcet":

. this world is but a Stage
Where all doe play their parts, and must be gone¹⁹

If Lanyer did not attend a performance of *Macbeth* during the first years of James's reign, it is likely that she heard of it or read parts of it in a pirated version of the text. Like *Macbeth*, Lanyer realizes that "Here's no respect of persons, youth, nor age, / Death seizeth all, he never spareth one" ²⁰ It is far more difficult to believe that Lanyer, raised in Elizabeth's London court and mistress

to Shakespeare's patron, was unaware of the work of the Lord Chamberlain's Men.

Women who "believed that women needed classical and/or religious education" comprised Lanyer's milieu. More significantly, Lanyer herself indicates in the text of the *Salve Deus* that she believed in both classical and religious education for women. She praises her lost mentor Elizabeth I, in whose court she was raised and educated, complaining to the reigning Queen Anna that lack of knowledge clouds her vision, and claims that it is only through the intercession of Anna, recipient of Elizabeth's humanist legacy, that Lanyer can obtain knowledge²¹ necessary to her task. It is Anna, claims Lanyer,

Whose powre may raise my sad dejected Muse,
From this lowe Mansion of a troubled mind;
Whose princely favour may such grace infuse,
That I may spread Her Virtues in like kind:
But in this triall of my slender skill,
I wanted knowledge to performe my will.

For even as they that doe behold the Starres,
Not with the eie of Learning, but of Sight,
To find their motions, want of knowledge barres
Although they see them in their brightest light:
So, though I see the glory of her State,
Its she that must instruct and elevate.²²

In her second dedication, Lanyer enjoins Anna's daughter, the fourteen year old Lady Elizabeth, to emulate her namesake, Elizabeth I, in the improvement of her mind and the enrichment of her soul:

Most gracious Ladie, faire Elizabeth,
Whose Name and Virtues puts us still in mind,
Of her, of whom we are depriv'd by death;
The *Phoenix* of her age, whose worth did bind

All worthy minds so long as they have breath,
In linkes of Admiration, love and zeale,
To that deare Mother of our Common-weale.

Even you faire Princesse next our famous Queene,
I doe invite unto this wholesome feast,
Whose goodly wisdom, though your yeares be greene,
By such good workes may daily be increast,
Though your faire eyes farre better Bookes have seene;
Yet being the first fruits of a womans wit,
Vouchsafe you favour in accepting it.²³

She asks the princess to validate as well the unacceptable notion of women teaching women.²⁴

In "The Authors Dreame to the Ladie *Marie*," Lanyer praises Mary Sidney, who "[directs] all by her immortal light" while she,

In virtuous studies of Divinitie,
Her pretious time continually doth spend.²⁵

In fact, Lanyer exhorts her feminine audience throughout the dedications to devote its time to learning, both intellectual and spiritual, offering Philip Sidney's sister, not as an extension of her famous brother,

So that a Sister well shee may be deemd,
To him that liv'd and di'd so nobly;²⁶

but as an example of female ability, a virtuous intellect in her own right:

And farre before him is to be esteemd
For virtue, wisdom, learning, dignity.²⁷

Sidney's brother Philip, exalted by contemporary pundits, becomes, in Lanyer's estimation, simply a normative standard of moral and intellectual excellence that the Countess of Pembroke has easily surpassed.

Clearly, Lanyer valued "classical and/or religious education," and believed that women were intellectually qualified to excell. Her message suggests that she, and her circle of intended patrons, are, in truth, not only on a vastly higher moral and spiritual plane than men, but also that they outdistance them intellectually.

Oblique reference to Lanyer's composition skill may be found in the title poem, "Salve Deus Rex Judæorum," as she begins her epic proper with a request for pardon from the Countess of Cumberland, Margaret Clifford Russell, for not having written a solicited poem:

And pardon (Madame) though I do not write
Those praisefull lines of that delightful place,
As you commaunded me in that faire night²⁸

Lanyer's skill, it may be extrapolated, was such that one of the most renowned patronesses of the day requested it be put to use in praise of her own beloved country-house, Cooke-ham:

Yet you (great Lady) Mistris of that Place,
From whose desires did spring this worke of Grace.²⁹

Lanyer's conspicuous intellectual ability and the education she received at Elizabeth's court suggest that she would have been practiced in the formal languages. If it may be assumed that children educated within court circles were versed in the disciplines encouraged in Ascham's book -- grammar (the study of Latin and Greek), rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy,³⁰ then it may also be assumed that those children were also schooled in Ascham's preferred pedagogical

techniques as they are described in *The Schoolmaster*, of *translatio linguarum* for the beginning student and *imitatio*³¹ for the scholar. Lanyer, then, would have been versant in the formal languages and exposed to works of the great classic poets, including those of Homer and Virgil. At least one textual reference -- "The eie of Reason did behold her there / Fast ti'd unto them in a golden Chaine,"³² indicates she was acquainted with Plato's theory of the bonds of love.³³

Whatever her formal education, the mythological references in Lanyer's work indicate that she was well-versed in the classics. From her dream guide Morpheus to the congregation of muses, court ladies, and the deity who have gathered at the poet's Pierian spring to consider and render verdict on the Art/Nature, Male/Female, revelation/intuition controversies reintroduced during James I's reign, to her scriptural extrapolations of female heroism, Lanyer parades her adequate knowledge. Lewalski, in *Writing Women in Jacobean England*, suggests that while there are no formal records of Lanyer's education, her work in its multiple genres and verse forms indicates familiarity with the literate discourse of her day:

her poems and their sources admit the inference that in her own family or with the Berties she learned Italian, at least a smattering of Latin and classical literature, the Bible, the principles of rhetoric and poetics, and (no doubt) music.³⁴

It is also evident that Lanyer was acquainted with the works of her competitors, those male writers favored by the coterie to which the *Salve Deus* petitions. Allusions to and echoes of contemporary authors are scattered throughout her work. Edmund Spenser, who had published the first book of *the Faerie Queene* by 1590, was held in high esteem by Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, and Margaret Russell Clifford, Dowager Countess of Cumberland. Spenser announces his intention for his work in a letter written to Sir Walter Raleigh, which he included in its preface:

I haue followed all the antique Poets
historicall, first Homere, who in the Persons
of Agamemnon and Vlysses hath ensampled a good
gouernour and a vertuous man, the one in his
Ilias, the other in his Odysseis: then Virgil,
whose like intention was to doe in the person
of Aeneas: after him Ariosto comprised them
both in his Orlando: and lately Tasso
disseuered them againe³⁵

Spenser wishes to create the "image of a braue knight, perfected in the twelue morall vertues, as Aristotle hath deuised, the which" he tells Raleigh, "is the purpose of these first twelue bookes."³⁶ He chooses the character of Arthur to embody the Aristotelian virtures

So in the person of Prince Arthure I sette
forth magnificence in particular, which vertue
for that (according to Aristotle and the rest)
it is the perfection of all the rest, and
conteineth in it them all, therefore in the
whole course I mention the deedes of Arthure
applyable to that vertue, which I write of in
that booke.³⁷

And to embody the Natural and Divine virtues, Spenser creates other characters:

But of the xii. other vertues, I make xii.
other knights the patrones, for the more
variety of the history.³⁸

Lanyer, too, has "followed all the antique Poets
historically," but most closely observes Tasso, who has
"disseuered them againe." She, like Spencer, "ensampled"
good "governour's" and "vertuous" women in the images of
Christ and Eve, in the images of queens Elizabeth I and Anna,
in the images of Mary Sidney and Margaret Russell Clifford,
and in the images of her other dedicatees. "Looke in this
Mirrour of a worthy Mind, / Where some of your faire Virtues
will appeare,"³⁹ she tells Anna, as she presents her with the
image of Christ, the *most good* governor and *most vertuous*
man. As Arthur is for Spenser the embodiment of
"magnificence in particular," Christ, "the mightie Monarch
both of heav'n and earth," the "Crowne and Crowner of all
Kings",⁴⁰ is Lanyer's particular hero. In the mirror Lanyer
holds, her "little booke," England's queen may see the
paradigm of heroic virtue: "Here may your sacred Majestie
behold / That mightie Monarch both of heav'n and earth."⁴¹
And in that paradigm, that reflected image of goodness, the
queen may see herself: "sith all royall virtues are in you,
/ The Naturall, the Morall, and Divine."⁴² Like Spenser, she
creates the "image of a braue knight, perfected in the twelue
morall vertues," with which to instruct her readers. While,
for Lanyer, Christ (and his reflections) manifests *all*

virtues, "for the more variety of the history," Lanyer, too, includes other representations of virtue, such as Pilate's wife, Deborah, and Judith.

Textual similarities may also be found in the works of Sir Philip Sidney, who wrote for his sister "The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia," in which he describes Mary Sidney as the lady of May, arising "Aurora like new out of bed."⁴³ Similarly, Lanyer calls "To the Ladie Arabella," "Come like the morning Sunne new out of bed,"⁴⁴ entreating the king's cousin to rise, Phoenix-like, and join her community of women.

Ben Jonson, the primary author of most of the queen's masques, found patronage also in the salons of Mary Sidney and Lucy Harington Russell, the Countess of Bedford. The many similarities between Jonson's "To Penshurst,"

And no one empty-handed, to salute
Thy lord, and lady, though they have no sute,⁴⁵

and Lanyer's "Description of Cooke-ham,"

They had appeared, your honour to salute,
Or to preferresome strange unlook'd for
sute,⁴⁶

are often noted.⁴⁷ Such textual similarities further suggest the level of Lanyer's education and intellectual pursuits.

There are indications, also, that Lanyer was well-acquainted with the *querelle des femmes* writings. Esther Ritchie in "'To Undo the Book': Cornelius Agrippa, Aemilia Lanyer and the Subversion of Pauline Authority," notes the

similarities between Agrippa's "Of the Nobility and Excellency of Womenkind" (published in England in the early part of the sixteenth century and republished several times during Lanyer's lifetime) and Lanyer's "To the Vertuous Reader."⁴⁸

Lanyer diverges from the Tabeaux/Lay model in their third finding -- that Renaissance women were "quite cognizant of and accepted in varying degrees the entrenched theological and social prejudice against women and women writers and thinkers."⁴⁹ While she was "cognizant" of "the entrenched theological and social prejudice against women and women writers and thinkers," her work, taken in its parts and in its entirety, *directly confronts* those prejudices, and although Lanyer excessively employs the modesty trope, drawing attention to her feminine weakness as a writer over thirty times in the *Salve Deus*, her *humilitas topoi* do not ring true: even as she apologizes for her authorial inadequacy, Lanyer provides obvious display of expertise with poetic and rhetorical discourse, disproving even in her manner of claiming any inability or lack of mastery of traditionally masculine forms. Her protestation in stanza twenty-five of her first dedication, "To the Queenes most Excellent Majestie,"

And pardon me (faire Queene) though I presume,
To doe that which so many better can;
Not that I Learning to my selfe assume,
Or that I would compare with any man:⁵⁰

is followed by the rationale explaining exactly why she does, in fact, compare, and compare favorably, "with any man":

But as they are Scholars, and by Art do write,
So Nature yeelds my Soule a sad delight.

And since all Arts at first from Nature came 150

Her talent, she explains, comes directly from the well-spring.

Lanyer frequently returns to the Art versus Nature, man versus woman theme, but does so most notably in "The Authors Dreame to the Ladie Marie, Countess Dowager of Pembroke," in which the "Author" has Art and Nature decide to live "in perfit unity," "equall in sov'raintie," "Equall in state, equall in dignitie."⁵¹ Her belief that men and women were equals and should live as equals is clear. However, Lanyer's most vociferous objection to "the entrenched theological and social prejudice against women and women writers and thinkers" may be found in her prose dedication "To the Vertuos Reader," to be discussed at length in Chapter Two.

While Lanyer works within the culturally dictated strictures limiting subject matter that Tabeaux and Lay describe, she appropriates historically "male tools and male genres,"⁵² lacing permitted scriptural narrative with traditionally masculine Aristotelian logic. But her perceptions, as Tabeaux and Lay note, are distinctly female

and pro-female, and they dramatically oppose the prevailing religious and political hegemony.

Lanyer's views, clearly stated in the religiously clothed *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum*, were not those of the literary discourse community in general, nor were they the public views of the discourse community of patronage to which she aspired.

As previously mentioned, Lanyer employs the modesty trope excessively. Nonetheless, Tabeaux and Lay's findings, that "those who wrote for publication often struggled to maintain their confidence that what they said was worthy of written expression,"⁵³ again make a less than perfect fit. It is more probable that Lanyer extended her *humilitas* in another spirit. Susanne Woods thoughtfully notes that

it was the expected ritual for the lowerborn poet to acknowledge unworthiness in speaking to his social betters, and to request and at the same time claim the forgiveness that sends the grace of worthiness to the poet from the exalted subject of his verse. By acknowledging social distance the poet bridges it, and by expressing humility the poet receives the grace of excellence. This is precisely what Lanyer does in her dedicatory verses, though her stance is complicated by her status as a woman as well as a commoner. It leads her to claim special identity with her dedicatees, and to allow their dignity and high birth to assert the dignity and merit of all women. By collapsing her unworthiness as a woman into the general unworthiness all poets must acknowledge in their dedications to the high born, she renders the happenstance of gender as visible - - and as ultimately inconsequential -- as the male poet's happenstance of birth.⁵⁴

Tabeaux and Lay's first two correlative findings are only partially applicable to the image of Lanyer emergent in

her work. The first, "a sense of insecurity -- spiritually, socially, and emotionally," must be limited to Lanyer's preoccupation with social status because Lanyer's modesty tropes seem insincere -- in that the scope of her endeavor is bold both in idea and form, the poetic execution of her project is bold, and her ideological messages are so bold as to seem treasonous. It is a sense of social inferiority, documented in Forman's diaries, which permeates her work. That she mentions so often her lack of "Titles of honour which the world bestowes" suggests a deep sense of inadequacy. However, this lack of standing does not debilitate her. Lanyer just as often reminds her audience how little worldly station matters because "God makes both even, the Cottage with the Throne."⁵⁵ Each time she calls attention to the meanness of her birth or state, she reminds the reader that position, power, and treasure on earth signify nothing, and that in Christ's royal court, she has reason to expect the position of honor denied her in this life. The barbed references she makes about rank, however, are, perhaps, significant for another reason. Lanyer's thinly veiled bitterness may have arisen from the unspoken truth about her son, Henry, who was, in reality, the biological grandson of Henry VIII. When Lanyer asks pointed questions about lineage, she has good reason to do so.

Or who is he that very rightly can
Distinguish of his birth, or tell at all,

In what meane state his Ancestors have bin,
Before some one of worth did honour win?

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?⁵⁶

Until his death in 1596, Lanyer may have entertained some hope that her erstwhile paramour, the Lord Chamberlain, would tacitly recognize and elevate their son as Henry VIII had tacitly recognized his own illegitimate son. For while Henry VIII did not legitimize the child he fathered with Mary Boleyn, it is evident from the favors bestowed upon Carey's legal father, William, and the preferment young Henry received, that he was not forgotten by his sire.⁵⁷

Tabeaux and Lay's second correlative finding, that the writings of Englishwomen during James' reign contained an almost

calculated choice in content and phrasing that reflects these women writers' adherence to women's traditional place and her traditional virtues, such as chastity and humility,⁵⁸

does not describe Lanyer. While Lanyer's choice of content and phrasing often does reflect adherence to women's "traditional virtues, such as chastity and humility,"⁵⁹ more significantly it often rejects woman's "traditional place," and does so consciously.

In the first stanza of her work, Lanyer openly defies patriarchal tradition and the Pauline injunction against feminine ministration, imploring Anna of Denmark, James I's

"veiled" queen, to "Vouchsafe to view that which is seldome seene, / A Womans writing of divinest things,"⁶⁰ and, by so favoring and approving Lanyer's defiant action, to participate in her rhetorical rebellion. Woods notes that

For a woman to write authoritatively on so sacred a subject is unusual, but for her to revise fifteen hundred years of traditional commentary in the process is unheard of.⁶¹

Clearly, the poet's recognition in the opening lines of her creation that she is usurping a male place indicates that Lanyer was aware of the remarkable breach of convention she undertook as she set out in *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum* to extend the definition of "virtue" to include the heroic qualities of women.

Tabeaux and Lay's third correlative finding, a "subtle and developing affirmation of the value of women's distinctive perspective," does not at all describe Lanyer, for her wording in the statement of her purpose is direct rather than subtle: "this have I done, to make knowne to the world, that all women deserve not to be blamed."⁶² Equally direct is Lanyer's injunction for women to recognize their "distinctive perspective." Some of Lanyer's "Vertuous Readers," she scolds, forgetting that

they are women themselves and in danger to be condemned by the words of their own mouthes, fall into so great an errour, as to speake unadvisedly against the rest of their sexe; which if it be true, I am perswaded they can shew their owne imperfection in nothing more: and therefore could wish (for their owne ease, modesties, and credit) they would referre such

points of folly, to be practiced by evill
disposed men⁶³

Her admonition that women should resist the hegemony of patriarchal opinions is quite clear. Rather than adopt the unwarranted condemnations of their gender, Lanyer insists, women should examine and reject the prevailing masculine view of womankind.

Tabeaux and Lay's fourth finding is equally inapplicable: although the authors of the study found "tension in the handling of ideas resulting from these learned women's growing expertise in composition which was stifled by their awareness of low status in relation to men,"⁶⁴ Lanyer's expertise is not stifled. There is tension in her work, but it is not in the handling of ideas, which she does deftly. The tension, rather, originates in the subversive power of Lanyer's ideas themselves: sexual equality, democracy, and female heroism.

Notes

¹ Lewalski *Writing Women* 4.

² Woodbridge, Linda. *Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 43.

³ Lisa Hopkins. *Elizabeth I and her Court*. (London: Vision Press, 1990), 30-1.

⁴ Anne M. Haslekorn and Betty S. Travitsky, *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print* (University of Massachusetts Press: Amhurst, 1971), 224.

⁵ Elizabeth Tabeaux and Mary M. Lay. "The Emergence of the Feminine Voice, 1526-1640: The Earliest Published Books by English Renaissance Women." (*JAC: A Journal of Composition Theory* 15.1, 1995) 55.

⁶ Lanyer's book, *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum*, is herein italicized. The title poem, "Salve Deus Rex Judæorum" is herein entered within quotation marks.

⁷ Lewalski *Writing Women* 213.

⁸ Tabeaux and Lay 53.

⁹ The patriarchal hegemony defined belief much as the "politically correct" hegemony defines belief today. Lanyer's female primary audience may or may not have been sympathetic to her ideologies. Having been raised within a culture that taught the merits of feminine subjection, silence, and obedience, Jacobean women might well have been as threatened by Lanyer's rebellious notions as Jacobean men. For further explanation, see Gary F. Waller, "The Countess of Pembroke and Gendered Reading" in Hazelkorn and Travitsky, *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1990.)

¹⁰ Tabeaux and Lay 54.

¹¹ Tabeaux and Lay 54.

¹² Gerda Lerner. *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness: From the Middle Ages to Eighteen-seventy*. (New York: Oxford UP, 1993), 168.

¹³ Roger Ascham, V. Lawrence, ed. *The Schoolmaster (1570)*, by Roger Ascham. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1967), xl.

¹⁴ "To the Ladie Susan, Countesse Dowager of Kent, and Daughter to the Duchesse of Suffolke" 1-2.

¹⁵ Rouse 11.

¹⁶ Lewalski "Of God and Good Women" in Margaret Hannay *Silent But for the Word*. (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1985), 207.

¹⁷ Rouse 11, 13.

¹⁸ Rouse 11, Woods, *The Poems of Aemilia Lanyer: Salve Deus Rex Judæorum*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1993) xviii.

¹⁹ "To the Ladie Anne, Countesse of Dorcett" 122. The motto of the Globe theatre, *Totus mundus agit histrionem* (All the world plays the actor), affirms that the "stage" conceit was a popular one, used by many Tudor/Jacobean writers, such as Guillaume de Salluste, Seigneur du Bartas (1554-90):

the world's a stage, where God's omnipotence,

His justice, knowledge, love, and providence
Do act the parts
(*Divine Weeks and Works*, trans. J. Sylvester, 1606.)
I take the world to be but as a stage
Where net-maskt men do play their personage....
(Du Bartas, *Dialogue Between Herclitus and Democritus*)

but Lanyer's use of the stage conceit is more like Shakespeare's, in that it incorporates a sense of the temporary, trivial, and melancholy nature of existence.

All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players.
They have their exits and their entrances
.
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything.
(*As You Like It* II.vii. 138-65 1600)

I hold the world but as the world, Gratiano, --
A stage, where every man must play a part;
And mine a sad one.
(*Merchant of Venice* I.i.77, 1598)

Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
And then is heard no more
(*Macbeth* V.v. 18, 1606)

²⁰ "To the Ladie Anne, Countesse of Dorcet" 124.

²¹ This particular knowledge Lanyer asks for seems to include an understanding of the "Starres," the present royalty, whom she sees in all their glory but whose "motions" she cannot read.

²² "To the Queenes most Excellent Majestie" 138.

²³ "To the Ladie *Elizabeths* Grace" 14.

²⁴ 1 Corinthians 14: 34-35

Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law.

And if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church. Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection.

1 Timothy 2:11-14

Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed; then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in transgression.

²⁵ "The Authors Dream to the Ladie *Marie*" 148.

²⁶ "The Authors Dream to the Ladie *Marie*" 150.

²⁷ "The Authors Dream to the Ladie *Marie*" 152.

²⁸ "Salve Deus Rex Judæorum" 17-9.

²⁹ "The Description of Cooke-ham" 11-2.

³⁰ Ascham xxv. In addition to Elizabeth I, Ascham counted Lady Jane Grey and William Cecil among his students. In his introduction to *The Schoolmaster*, Lawrence Ryan identifies Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Governour* (1531) and Ascham's *The Schoolmaster* as the two most enduring educational treatises of the 16th and 17th centuries. Both went through multiple reprintings and were ideologically humanist, based upon the works of Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Cicero, and Quintillian (xi-xlii).

³¹ *Translatio linguarum* or "double translation," consisted of translations from Latin (preferably Cicero) into English and a short time after, from English back into Latin (Ascham 15). *Imitatio*, "similar treatment of dissimilar matter and also dissimilar treatment of similar matter" ("as Virgil followed Homer, but the argument to one was *Ulysses*, to the other *Aeneas*"), was meant to "[shape] one's own style upon the finest models." Both techniques, Ascham believed, encouraged "the daily use of writing, which is the only thing that breedeth deep root, both in the wit for good understanding and in the memory for sure keeping" (Ascham 15, 83).

³² "The Authors Dreame to the Ladie Marie, the Countess Dowager of Pembroke" 6-7.

³³ Plato

³⁴ Lewalski *Writing Women*, 214.

³⁵ Letter to Raleigh prefacing the *Faerie Queene*. *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Edmund Spenser* (Grosart, London, 1882).

³⁶ Letter to Raleigh prefacing the *Faerie Queene*.

³⁷ Letter to Raleigh prefacing the *Faerie Queene*.

³⁸ Letter to Raleigh prefacing the *Faerie Queene*.

³⁹ "To the Queenes most Excellent Majestie" 37-8.

⁴⁰ "To the Queenes most Excellent Majestie" 43, 48.

⁴¹ "To the Queenes most Excellent Majestie" 43-4.

⁴² "To the Queenes most Excellent Majestie" 67-8.

⁴³ *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia, The Second Booke* 24.

⁴⁴ "To The Ladie Arabella" 8.

⁴⁵ Ben Jonson. "To Penshurst" 49-50.

⁴⁶ "The Description of Cooke-ham" 70.

⁴⁷ While it has been suggested that Lanyer's "Description of Cooke-ham" may predate Jonson's "Penshurst," it is more likely that she saw his work than that he saw hers, or that they both saw someone else's country-house poem that has not survived or not been found.

⁴⁸ Esther Richie. "To Undo the Book": Cornelius Agrippa, Aemilia Lanier and the Subversion of Pauline Authority." (*English Literary Renaissance* 27, 1, 1997).

⁴⁹ Tabeaux and Lay 53.

⁵⁰ "To the Queenes most Excellent Majestie" 147.

⁵¹ "The Authors Dreame to the Ladie Marie" 91-4. Unlike the Wife of Bath, who insists that woman want "sov'raintie," Lanyer clearly indicates equality as her goal.

⁵² Tabeaux and Lay 53.

⁵³ Tabeaux and Lay 53.

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- ⁵⁴ Suzanne Woods. *Dictionary of Literary Biography, Volume One Hundred Twenty-One*, Edited by M. Thomas Hester, North Carolina State University. (Seventeenth-Century British Nondramatic Poets, First Series Copyright © 1992, Gale Research, Inc.) 4.
- ⁵⁵ "To the Ladie Anne, Countesse of Dorcet" 20.
- ⁵⁶ "To the Ladie Anne, Countesse of Dorcet" 37-41.
- ⁵⁷ Susanne Woods, *The Poems of Aemilia Lanyer: Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1993), xviii; Rouse 14.
- ⁵⁸ Tabeaux and Lay 53.
- ⁵⁹ Tabeaux and Lay 54.
- ⁶⁰ "To the Queenes most Excellent Majestie" 4.
- ⁶¹ Woods, *DLB* 5.
- ⁶² "To the Vertuous Reader" 10-11.
- ⁶³ "To the Vertuous Reader" 11-9.
- ⁶⁴ Tabeaux and Lay 54.