JEMS - Journal of Early Modern Studies

Firenze University Press
www.fupress.com/bsfm-jems

Citation: S.B. Valles (2026) Locating Aemilia Lanyer: Mapping Transformation in 'The Description of Cooke-ham'. *Jems*. 15: pp. 91-109. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.36253/JEMS-2279-7149-17192

Data Availability Statement: All relevant data are within the paper and its Supporting Information files.

Competing Interests: The Author(s) declare(s) no conflict of interest.

Editors: D. Pallotti, P. Pugliatti (University of Florence)

Locating Aemilia Lanyer Mapping Transformation in 'The Description of Cooke-ham'

Sarah Banschbach Valles
Independent Scholar (<sarah.b.valles@gmail.com>)

Abstract

The article interrogates the assumption that Aemilia Lanyer's poem 'The Description of Cooke-ham' describes a classic country house. Utilizing early modern maps, it expands the definition of Cookham and questions the importance of the alleged 'country house' to Lanyer, thereby enriching discussions of Lanyer's unique proto-feminist poetics. Understanding the place and space of Cookham allows readers to properly position Lanyer and her companions, Margaret and Anne Clifford, in an elided literal and spiritual landscape where autonomous female religious community thrives. The article contends that Lanyer's poems must be read as tightly interwoven pieces which have the place of Cookham as the unifying, palimpsested theme. Restoring the context of Lanyer's book and returning to the context of her writing are a means of moving beyond tokenism to study Lanyer as a talented, innovative writer keenly in tune with her social, religious, and physical environments.

Keywords: Country House, Female Community, Geography, Religio-Political Resistance, Topopoetics

In 1604,[1] Aemilia Lanyer accompanied Margaret Clifford Countess of Cumberland and her daughter, Anne, to Cookham in Berkshire. In 1600, Clifford had separated from her husband, George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, due to his extramarital affairs and financial profligacy. Despite the separation and despite having been a former favorite of Queen Elizabeth, the scandal from George's actions as well as his debts affected Margaret and Anne's ability to remain in London; thus, they frequently retired to Cookham to enjoy the hospitality of her

[1] Or 1605. There is some disagreement as to when Lanyer accompanied the Cliffords to Cookham. Based on manuscript evidence, Malay offers a convincing reconstruction of the Clifford's movements in 1604 and 1605 to determine that Margaret and Anne would have resided at Cookham from late August to late October of 1604 (2013, 253).

brother William Russell of Thornhaugh.[2] Due to these regular peregrinations, the area became a favorite retreat for the Cliffords (Woods 1999, 117). It is on this territory, once part of the dowry of the queens of England,[3] that Aemilia Lanyer wrote her mini-epic on the passion of Christ: 'Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum'.[4]

Though 'Salve Deus' was written around 1604, it was not published until 1611. Bound together in a single volume called *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*, the poem is prefaced by nine dedication poems and two epistles, and is appended with what is considered the first 'country house' poem: 'The Description of Cooke-ham'. While most scholars have focused on the dedication poems as significant for Lanyer's bid for patronage and literary cache in a patriarchal world, on the text of 'Salve Deus' as an anthem for female legitimacy of personhood, or on 'The Description of Cooke-ham' as creating a new genre of English poetry, the Cookham poem is often treated as unconnected to the dedications and to the text of 'Salve Deus'. It is regularly considered a sort of vestigial tail that Lanyer oddly tacked on to her 'more important' poems. While the dedications and mini-epic are often read in tandem by scholars interested in how women feature in *Salve Deus*, the role of Cookham as the *place* where the poem was written is neglected. It is this critical neglect and separate treatment of the poems that I challenge in my reading of the texts. I propose that 'The Description of Cooke-ham' and 'Salve Deus' must be read together as companion pieces since Lanyer's experiences in the place generated the circumstances and, in certain ways, the material conditions for her mini-epic.

Because 'Salve Deus' from its inception is a text that explores female agency, its creation was reliant upon the devotional practices of the female community of Cookham.[5] The ritual ways in which women transform an outdoor space into an agential place form the crux of the Cookham poem, which in turn acts as the palimpsested backdrop of 'Salve Deus'.[6] The biblical women in 'Salve Deus' among whom Clifford is anachronistically numbered enter into the ritual sacrifice of Christ and thereby they – and Lanyer – rediscover the power of female spaces and female communities. Reading 'Salve Deus' through the lens of the Cookham poem is essential for unpacking the 'feminist poetics' (Mueller 1994, 210-211) of Lanyer's verses. On this premise, I argue that 'Salve Deus' and 'The Description of Cooke-ham' were written in a specific, ritually constructed place; that the place of the writing matters in the interpretation of the poems' religio-political import; and, finally, that female communities as/at sacred sites matter to our understanding of early modern women's negotiations of power. To this end, I first present evidence for identifying the influence of ritually encoded space and place on Lanyer's poetic endeavors. I then suggest that because Lanyer's poems elide real and imaginative spaces and places, her poetics is acutely poised to protest gender configurations in religious and political arenas. And finally, I discuss the tripartite structural divisions of her book as existing in symbiotic relationships with each other rather than in isolation – relationships that are founded on experiences of place.

[2] Anne Clifford's memoir of 1603 mentions stopping through Cookham 'where my uncle Russell, his wife and son then lay' (Malay 2018, 24).

[3] 'The manor formed part of the dowry of the Queens of England from the reign of Edward I, who assigned the manor in 1281 to his mother Eleanor, until the end of the reign of Henry VIII' (Ditchfield and Page 1923, 124-133). For further reading on the history of Cookham and its important houses, see Darby 1980 and Tyack 1998.

[4] For the sake of clarity, I will refer to the passion poem in quotation marks ('Salve Deus') and the work as a whole in italics (*Salve Deus*).

[5] My working definition of community draws from Snijders' definition of ideational community as 'a practice-based social group whose identity is based on shared performances of a repertoire that is in constant flux' (2019, 17).

[6] The imagery of a palimpsest, or parchment manuscript that has been scraped in order to be reused but where traces of the original writing remain, seems an apt metaphor for the layered fashioning and refashioning of identity and place evident in *Salve Deus*.

1. *Place Matters: The Cliffords and Cookham*

'The Description of Cooke-ham' is a valedictory poem in which Lanyer not only bids farewell to the Cookham environs, but also to her patrons, Margaret Clifford and her daughter Anne. Written at Margaret's request, Lanyer eternizes the place, memorializes the past pleasures experienced at Cookham, and venerates the virtues of Margaret and Anne. The poem moves from exposition, to description of the landscape, to representation of the Cliffords' movements in the landscape. The poem adopts a somber tone when Lanyer discusses Anne's espousal to the Earl of Dorset for this event, which in effect, terminates the female dynamic of the Cookham residency. Lanyer concludes by describing the negative effects that the Cliffords' final departure had on Cookham. The outdoor religious and scholarly pursuits of the Clifford women provide the movement in the poem and carry the reader from place to place in the Cookham imaginary.

As a description not only of the Cookham geography, 'The Description of Cooke-ham' poem operates as a lyric *itinerarium* of Margaret Clifford's meditative perambulations in the Cookham locale. At this time, Lanyer was possibly employed by Clifford, and in the poem, she describes Margaret walking the terrain of Cookham, scripture in hand, and pausing at certain significant locations to meditate upon biblical passages. A metamorphosing cross of Christ under which Lanyer and Anne sit companionably together becomes an anchoring point in the landscape and in the poem. In this way, Margaret's ritual circuit through the landscape as iterated in 'The Description of Cooke-ham' represents the physical 'pilgrimage' she undertook even as the text of 'Salve Deus' narrativizes her pilgrimage of the spirit in her meditations on the Gospels. Thus, in 'The Description of Cooke-ham', Lanyer describes the effect a female community has on the natural world and vice versa. In her valorization of the 'sweet Place' (1993, 7) or *locus amoenus* of Cookham, she presents the possibility that the ritual, religious actions of female communities can participate in the redemptive work of Christ and can act as restoratives to a post-lapsarian world.[7] By doing so, Lanyer proposes that Edenic social and spiritual harmony is attainable in non-patriarchal spaces.

Because the place of Cookham was vital to the Cliffords' spirituality and to Lanyer's creative process, it is relevant to further investigate this location. Place-based poetry has recently received renewed interest, and scholars have striven to form definitions, classifications, and subcategories to describe poetry about place. Older terms such as 'nature poetry', 'pastoral', and 'georgic' have been joined by 'ecopoetics', 'geopoetics', and 'topopoetics'. Topopoetics offers a useful framework in this discussion of place for it seeks to encompass both the work of poetry as creating place and the influence of place on making poetry. The drive to define 'place' has a long academic lineage that most simply culminates in the idea that place is socially constructed space infused with meaning through communal interaction and memory.[8] However, topopoetics unites an Aristotelian *topos* with Heidegger's concept of 'being-in-place' (Cresswell 2017, 17) with the idea of *poesis* as 'making'.[9] The making of being is the making of place is the place of the making is poetry of place. In other words, 'Poems of place are not simply poems about places, rather they are a species of place with a special relationship to what it is to be in (external) place' (20).

[7] Mendelson and Crawford note that 'Apart from informal settings… there were no female religious associations in England after the Reformation until the separate Quaker Women's Meetings of the 1670s' (1998, 225). And further, they claim that 'Women's exclusion from the formal church hierarchy directed them into personal modes of worship that transcended parochial and other institutional boundaries' (230-231).

[8] See Lefebvre 1992 and Tuan 2001.

[9] Etymologically, *topos* simultaneously means 'place', 'rhetorical pattern of naming', and 'shape of place'.

It is with this relationship in mind that I propose to investigate the physical places of Lanyer's poems that form the substrata of her oeuvre.

Based on fair copies of Margaret Clifford's letters of fall 1604, we know her precise locations: in August she and Anne traveled from Clerkenwell to Bedford House (Portland MS 23, 24v-26v). There are two letters in September that simply state her location as 'Cookham in Berkshire', while her letters from November find her in London residing specifically at Austin Friars.

Present day maps of the royal county of Berkshire name the town of Cookham near Maidenhead. Cookham is located roughly 30 miles west of London and borders the river Thames. The premise that the Cliffords and Lanyer resided in or around the town Cookham in 1604 situates them in an area which consisted of open commons, moors, wastes, fishing grounds, and woodlands. While the town of Cookham presently exists and is easily found on a map, there is another formulation for the location of Lanyer's poem – a formulation that cannot be found on modern maps. On the 1676 and 1665 maps of Berkshire (Figures 1 and 2), the old Cookham Hundred adjacent to Windsor Forest is outlined, while Cookham town near Maidenhead is omitted. In fact, Cookham Hundred formed one of the Seven Hundreds of Windsor Forest and seems to perhaps be of more import than the town (Ditchfield and Page 1923, 117-118).

Figure 1 – John Speed, 'Barkshire Described', in *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine*, London, printed for Thomas Bassett and Richard Chiswell, 1676.
David Rumsey Map Collection, David Rumsey Map Center, Stanford Libraries[10]

[10] CC BY-NC-SA 3.0, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~285221~90057894:Barkshire-?sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort&mi=1&trs=3&qvq=q:Barkshire%20Described;sort:Pub_List_No_InitialSort;lc:RUMSEY~8~1>, accessed 1 December 2025.

Figure 2 – Joan Blaue, 'Bercheria Vernacule Barkshire', in *Atlas Maior sive Cosmographia Blaviana, quae Solvm, Salvm, Coelvm, accvratissime describntvr*, Amsterdam, 1665.
David Rumsey Map Collection, David Rumsey Map Center, Stanford Libraries[11]

A potential issue to confront is why Clifford did not locate her Cookham letters to a more specific place. Thus, the elusive phrase 'Cookham in Berkshire' points to two possibilities: either the Cliffords resided in unnamed accommodations in the town of Cookham, or they lived somewhere in the rural Cookham Hundred and neglected to name the residence in the letters. In either instance, two major points are relevant: historic maps are vital to contemporary research and, in either geographic scenario, the Cliffords' dwelling place was not a particular focal point for either Lanyer or the Cliffords.

2. *Space Matters: Countryside Community*

The absence of a domestic centerpiece in Cookham town or the greater area is significant when studying Lanyer's 'The Description of Cookham'. Lanyer scholars have made the assumption that Lanyer and the Cliffords resided at some kind of 'country house' in the Cookham vicinity and even call Cookham an 'estate' with manicured gardens and grounds.[12] However, the frequent claim that 'The Description of Cookham' is the foundational poem of the 'country house' poetic genre is called into question by the uncertainty surrounding the location and

[11] CC BY-NC-SA 3.0, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~281520~90053035:Bercheria-Vernacule-Barkshire?sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort&mi=0&trs=1&qvq=q:Bercheria%20Vernacule%20Barkshire;sort:-Pub_List_No_InitialSort;lc:RUMSEY~8~1>, accessed 1 December 2025.

[12] See Grossman 1998; Lewalski 1998; McBride 2001; Munroe 2008; Molekamp 2012; Noble 2015. Guimaraes (2012) even claims to describe the house and gardens, but with no documentary evidence or citations.

prominence of the habitation, as well as the lack of details in Lanyer's own poem.[13] Because the poem does not emphasize a house, but rather the unimmured outdoors and the devotions of the female inhabitants who populate and 'cultivate' the landscape by their presence and with the imagined presence of biblical figures, it does not in fact set the precedent for country house discourse, for how could Lanyer establish a genre and yet break every 'rule' of the genre she is said to have invented? Rather than diminishing Lanyer's stature, acknowledging that she does not write a 'country house poem' liberates her from the constraints of comparison with other poets to reveal the uniqueness of her poem. It also offers a way of reading the poem that is more in tune with the *place* of Cookham and with Lanyer's proto-feminist poetics.

With the 'rediscovery' of Aemilia Lanyer in the 1970s came the realization that her poem 'The Description of Cooke-ham' predates Ben Jonson's 1616 country house poem 'To Penshurst'. According to definitions of the country house poem genre based on Jonson's treatment, such poems celebrate the social and domestic hierarchies evident in a household predicated upon male landowner rights. Descriptions of the houses themselves do form part of the poetic theme, but poems typically focus on the great hall of the house as a symbol of enclosed, domestic, hospitable space. The agricultural networks of class-based economics which support the hospitality of the landed gentry are celebrated as contributing to the value of the country house. In this way, 'Country house discourse … is profoundly defined by a sense of time and place' of a particular estate and a particular family in contrast to the generalness of pastoral poetry (McBride 2001, 7). However, subsequent explorations of Lanyer's descriptions of Cookham focus not so much on the abode itself, but rather on the activities of the Cliffords in the landscape surrounding their residence.[14] Instead of domestic space and social stratification, Lanyer portrays an outdoor space wherein hierarchies can be leveled due to intimacy, religious fervor, and appreciation of female creativity.[15]

Though the association of women with nature is a longstanding trope, Lanyer's choice to remove the Cliffords from the interior of a house and to consider them in the open outdoors is not just a method of again positioning women as negatively impacted by enclosed space. Instead, she demonstrates that female communities thrive in spaces that eliminate social conventions. As a sort of pastoral poem, Lanyer tacitly positions the open countryside as a place where real religion can be found as opposed to the enclosure of an urban church. Purity of worship can thus be recovered in the idealized country life of a society of ladies who meditatively populate the landscape with the lamb of God and his flock. The elegiac turn in the latter half of the poem derives its genesis from Lanyer's allusion to Anne's impending marriage – an event that serves to hasten the demise of the female community. In mourning the end of community, she also mourns the loss of the place which rendered possible the formation of that community. In both 'The Description of Cooke-ham' and 'Salve Deus' Cookham, then, serves as the touchstone place in Lanyer's literal and spiritual dramas featuring the rituals of female communities.

The poem is addressed to Margaret as the 'Mistris of that Place, / From whose desires did spring this worke of Grace' (1993, ll. 11-12). The Cookham poem as a 'work of grace' written at Margaret's prompting is an echo of the opening lines:

[13] See Lewalski 1998; Woods 1999; Song 2010; Beskin 2017.

[14] A few examples among many are Noble 2015; Beskin 2017; Hadfield 2018; Zirker 2019; Netzley 2022.

[15] Lewalski proposes that the differences between Lanyer and Jonson point to differences in female and male conceptions of space and 'an idealized social order' (1998, 235). Additionally, Woods hypothesizes a (unlikely) situation wherein Lanyer and Jonson met and exchanged ideas, which ultimately led to Jonson copying Lanyer's idea (1999, 116).

Farewell (sweet *Cooke-ham*) where I first obtain'd
Grace from that Grace where perfit Grace remain'd;
And where the Muses gave their full consent,
I should have powre the virtuous to content:
Where princely Palace will'd me to indite,
The sacred Storie of the Soules delight. (ll. 1-6)

Lanyer implies that the habitation in Cookham, the 'princely Palace', had a will of its own and pushed her to 'indite' (write) her 'sacred Storie' of the passion of Christ. In this way, she speaks of the 'palace' itself as a sort of *genius loci* or 'spirit of the place'. Calling their residence a 'palace' could be hyperbole born of fondness, or it could be a more literal claim. In either case, the place of Cookham, when combined with female community, enables Lanyer to make a bold poetic assertion. She writes that the Muses 'consent' to her poetic plans. Instead of the trend in masculine poetics to think of the muses as external forces or personae who implant poetic ideas in a man worthy of writing, Lanyer casts the muses as agreeing to the *place's* idea to write a poetic passion narrative while the place itself derives its presence from the female community's ritual engagement with the landscape.

The importance of Cookham to the Cliffords and to Lanyer's poetry is also evident in the third stanza of 'Salve Deus'. This stanza addresses Margaret's desire that Lanyer write a poem about Cookham. However, there seems to be a conflict of interest between the two ladies. Lanyer apologizes for prioritizing the passion narrative poem over the Cookham poem:

And pardon (Madame) though I do not write
Those praisefull lines of that delightful place,
As you commaunded me in that faire night,
When shining *Phoebe* gave so great a grace,
Presenting *Paradice* to your sweet sight,
Unfolding all the beauty of her face
With pleasant groves, hills, walks and stately trees,
Which pleasures with retired minds agrees. (ll. 17-24)

In these passages, she claims that Margaret Clifford commanded her to write about Cookham, and we also see that Lanyer's experience at Cookham prompted her to write the passion narrative. The female community and the sensory experiences of place found in the Cookham poem are thus literally the foundation and backdrop for 'Salve Deus'. As a third iteration of Lanyer's inspiration and justification for writing, she appends a final defense for her poetry in a note 'To the doubtfull Reader'. Appearing on the page immediately following the conclusion of 'The Description of Cooke-ham', Lanyer claims that the title *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* 'was delivered unto me in sleepe many yeares before I had any intent to write in this maner, and was quite out of my memory, untill I had written the Passion of Christ, when immediately it came into my remembrance … and thinking it a significant token, that I was appointed to performe this Worke, I gave the very same words I received in sleepe as the fittest Title I could devise for this Booke' (1993, 139). Her claim to have received a divine message in sleep resonates with biblical precedent, but also with the tradition of visionary women of medieval England. If we take Lanyer at her word that she received the title in her sleep and that she was appointed by God to write her passion narrative, then it is at Cookham and at the prompting of the *place* that she recognized and stepped into her role as 'that which is seldome seene, / A Womans writing of divinest things' (ll. 3-4).

In describing the Cookham landscape as a holy place that engendered holy writing and holy living, Lanyer proposes that place and objects in space are vital to spiritual life. In this sense,

she departs from a puritan or reformist abjuration of material objects as aids to spirituality. Anticipating George Herbert's poetry of meditation, Lanyer, too, concedes that places and spaces can accentuate religious fervor. By envisioning nature as an aid to devotion, she transforms the Cookham area into the prelapsarian garden of Eden. At the outset of the poem, she mentions the house, the walks, and the plants all 'did seeme some new delight to frame!' (l. 18), while a few lines later she writes 'each plant, each floure, each tree / Set forth their beauties then to welcome thee' (ll. 33-34). The Cookham terrain becomes a new paradise where the trees, the paths, the streams, the birds, the hills, and the winds all gladly temper themselves so that 'Pleasure in that place might more abound' (l. 42). Even man-made elements express an agential enjoyment in conforming to the Cliffords: 'Each Arbor, Banke, each Seate, each stately Tree, / Thought themselves honor'd in supporting thee' (ll. 45-46). In this scenario, nature recognizes the Cliffords as a type of organizing principle due to their virtuous femininity.

After describing the new Eden of female community, Lanyer suddenly imposes a deixical present tense imperative that shifts the poem from describing the natural elements to investing the landscape with supernatural significance. She brings the Cliffords to the oak-crested hill at a high point in the Cookham topography:

Now let me come unto that stately Tree,
Wherein such goodly Prospects you did see;
That Oake that did in height his fellowes passe,
As much as lofty trees, low growing grasse:
Much like a comely Cedar streight and tall,
Whose beauteous stature farre exceeded all:
How often did you visite this faire tree,
Which seeming joyfull in receiving thee,
Would like a Palme tree spread his armes abroad,
Desirous that you there should make abode: (ll. 53-62)

Here Lanyer compares the favored oak tree of British historical resonance to a perfect cedar of Old Testament Lebanon before transforming it again into the palm tree of New Testament significance (Wilcox 2014, 55). The oak-turned-palm tree as an emblem of the cross of Christ further metamorphizes into a lover whose open 'armes' invite, a l*á* the bridegroom of the *Song of Songs*, the Cliffords' presence. It is here at the foot of the cross in the arms of Christ the lover that the Clifford women realize the harmonious possibilities of female community. In their protected, panoptic position at the crest of the hill, Lanyer writes:

Where beeing seated, you might plainely see,
Hills, vales, and woods, as if on bended knee
They had appeared, your honour to salute,
Or to preferre some strange unlook'd for sute:
All interlac'd with brookes and christall springs,
A Prospect fit to please the eyes of Kings:
And thirteene shires appear'd all in your sight,
Europe could not afford much more delight. (1993, ll. 67-74)

These lines provide specifics of place that perhaps point a reader to decode location. The references to oak and cedar recall that the area of Windsor Forest was predominantly composed of those trees. Further, the view from the hill is pleasing 'to the eyes of Kings' and is extensive enough to encompass a very specific 'thirteen shires'. If the Cliffords and Lanyer were in the

Cookham Hundred segment of Windsor Forest they could have overlooked Windsor Castle on their walks. Thus, it seems possible to think of the Cliffords and Lanyer viewing Windsor Castle and subversively receiving honor and respect from the king's own landscape.

At the foot of the 'cross', the Cliffords use nature to meditate upon the providence of God in terms that reintroduce the concepts of nature as a mirror of God and of the material world impacting the spiritual:

While you the time in meditation spent,
Of their Creators powre, which there you saw,
In all his Creatures held a perfit Law;
And in their beauties did you plaine descrie,
His beauty, wisdome, grace, love, majestie. (ll. 76-80)

Lanyer clearly states that the Cookham woods provide the situation and setting for productive meditation. The tree returns at the conclusion of the poem where it acts as a leveler of social status. Lanyer describes Margaret traversing the land bidding farewell to the plants and birds and 'Placing their former pleasures in your heart' (l. 154). However, the tree receives special attention because it was the 'first and last you did vouchsafe to see' (l. 158) and it was where Margaret and Anne read and scanned 'many a learned Booke' (l. 161). Lanyer seems to be included in all these activities as an equal for 'To this faire tree, taking me by the hand, / You did repeat the pleasures which had past, / Seeming to grieve they could no longer last' (ll. 162-164). The ritual female space at the foot of the cross which the faithful biblical women inhabited and in which contemporary women enter through meditation is created by collapsing hierarchies while pilgrimaging through the landscape. Socio-economic status affected a woman's ability to enter into the masculine world with typically 'The lower the social level, the more common it was for women to control their own cultural, physical, and ritual space, and to share, dispute, or invade space which was under the nominal control of men' (Mendelson and Crawford 1998, 210-211). In the unstructured rural landscape where the Cliffords' social status did not have the same caché as in town, Lanyer notes that social orders are reconfigured in the creation of religious space.

Once the method has been established, the fruit of the Cliffords' meditation in the Edenic landscape becomes the subject of the next ten lines of the poem. It is in these lines that Lanyer combines movement with meditation in a kind of physical and spiritual pilgrimage. She writes:

In these sweet woods how often did you walke,
With Christ and his Apostles there to talke;
Placing his holy Writ in some faire tree,
To meditate what you therein did see:
With *Moyses* you did mount his holy Hill,
To know his pleasure, and performe his Will.
With lovely *David* you did often sing,
His holy Hymnes to Heavens Eternall King.
And in sweet musicke did your soule delight,
To sound his prayses, morning, noone, and night.
With blessed *Joseph* you did often feed
Your pined brethren, when they stood in need. (1993, ll. 81-92)

Lanyer describes the Cliffords as walking in the open outdoors *in order to* converse with Christ. In this way, the countryside pilgrimage becomes essential to the Cliffords' spirituality. While pilgrimage to shrines had been prohibited following the Reformation, the concept of life itself as a

pilgrimage of the spirit was still an essential one for puritan writers.[16] John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* is the most famous of these texts, but other puritan writers such as John Downame, Paul Bayne, and Francis Quarles also actively used the pilgrimage concept. In an autobiographical letter, Margaret Clifford describes her life as 'matching the name of a Dance to the Pilgrimage of Grief, because it holds in nothing more like, for still I change and yet the Dance, or thing that makes the sound is sorrow still to me' (quoted in Williamson 1920, 285). She identifies her life with the journey motif in the dance of death. Her literal pilgrimage around the Cookham landscape where she walks in the woods with Christ, traverses hills with Moses, marks the time of day with David, and feeds the poor while in exile with Joseph is reminiscent of the medieval pilgrimage accounts written for cloistered female communities by male pilgrims. The *Sionpilger* accounts of the fifteenth century allowed cloistered women and even lay people without the means to travel to 'experience' the Holy Land in an imaginative way. Using guided meditation, description, and physical movement around a garden space, women could go on a 'virtual' pilgrimage. In a less stringently formulaic way, walking in the Cookham countryside is significant for inducing the material conditions for the Cliffords' mind's eye journey.

Margaret Clifford's valuation of the spiritual investing the physical is evident in Lanyer's expression that Margaret figured herself among the apostles walking with Christ and resting her bible in trees while she meditates. Lanyer points to the power of meditation to collapse time with:

In these sweet woods how often did you walke,
With Christ and his Apostles there to talke;
Placing his holy Writ in some faire tree,
To meditate what you therein did see: (1993, ll. 81-84)

Margaret Clifford had a deep and active interest in alchemy and natural philosophy, even going so far as to compile her own book of alchemical observations.[17] Paracelsan alchemy framed Nature as feminine, as the shadow of God, and as a book that could be read for spiritual and physical healing. For true believers, 'the Book of Nature was, in effect, a second work of divine revelation (after Holy Scripture), and the devout Renaissance philosopher was thus duty bound to seek out nature's treasures which became hidden after man's expulsion from the Garden of Eden' (Healy 2013, 81). By literally placing the book of scripture on the 'book' of nature, Clifford unites the spiritual with the physical world. In doing so, she demonstrates the importance of physical place to a vibrant spirituality. By placing scripture on or in a tree in order to 'see' Christ, Margaret imitates another pilgrim devotion of the Holy Land, the *via crucis* or *via dolorosa*. The *via* was a devotional practice that followed the footsteps of Christ on the way to Calvary from Mary's perspective. When enacting the *via*, one moves from one station to another while meditating on different aspects of Christ's passion. In many ways, Lanyer's 'Salve Deus' is a seventeenth-century retelling of the *via*. Since Margaret plays a role in the female communities of the passion narrative in 'Salve Deus', Lanyer's discussion of meditative rituals that enable Margaret to enter into the biblical story transforms 'The Description of Cooke-ham' from simply a valedictory nature poem, to a guide for successful meditation. By taking her cue from Margaret's female-centric meditations, Lanyer claims that her inspiration for the proto-feminist poetics of *Salve Deus* came from Margaret's ritual reimaginings in the place of Cookham.

[16] Hebrews 11:13-16 was the most influential text in establishing the pilgrim concept. See Hambrick-Stowe 1986, 55.

[17] Bayer (2005) has done extensive and exciting work connecting Margaret Clifford with John Dee and Paracelsan paradigms. See also Matheson 2004.

3. *Structure Matters:* Salve Deus *as Triptych*

The structure of the *Salve Deus* book as a whole has invited scholars to comment upon the positioning of the poems as a reading experience. Though the work is titled *Salve Deus Rex Judeorum*, the poem of the same name is placed after 9 dedication poems and 2 epistles. This kind of placement has encouraged scholars to read the women addressed in the dedication poems either as Lanyer's pandering for patrons or as her attempt to create a society of 'good women' (Lewalski 1991, 102, footnote 44) who could be 'spiritual heirs to the biblical and historical good women her title poem celebrates' (1998, 220).[18] Additionally, these poems have been read as commenting on the systemically disenfranchised and persecuted personal lives of the dedicatees, and thus as Lanyer's bid to expose the injustices of the policy of *femme couverture*.[19] Some critics postulate that the entire volume can be understood in terms of women's loss of land rights due to marriage (Munroe 2008, 76-80 and 84-85).[20] Due to the roughly seven year gap between the time Lanyer wrote the passion poem and her publication of the book in 1611, Malay has postulated that she published the text for the purpose of assisting Anne Clifford in her bid for regaining her inheritance (2013, 253).[21] While the dedication poems do constitute a buffer or 'mirror' of/for princesses before the passion narrative, their importance to the reading of the passion poem has not been questioned. Because an epistle to Margaret and a poem to Anne Clifford are included in the dedications, and because Margaret features as anachronistically present in 'Salve Deus', the dedicatees form part of the crowd of holy women – the brides of Christ – accompanying Him on the way to His death.[22] In this vein, if Lanyer's dedication poems are viewed as bids for patronage and recognition, she is in essence crafting a poetic similitude of a medieval donor portrait.[23] However, her book can also be read as a commentary on how ritually and spatially constructed community is essential to unraveling detrimental cultural narratives about gender. While the dedication poems create a society of ladies who spiritually accompany Christ to the cross, the mini-epic validates female devotion to Christ to refute long-standing misogynistic interpretations of scripture. And finally, the evidence of female community in the Cookham poem underpins the creative efforts of the entire book. The genesis of the book as a whole relies on the construction of female community in a ritual space.

If we consider the structure of the book as a triptych donor portrait with the central feature being the middle text on the death of Christ, the unifying feature of the book as a whole is the ritually mediated presence of women in the sacred Presence. [24] Lanyer herself advocates for the affective piety of visual images within her verses. This theme of presence and picture creating

[18] Lewalski lists the political affiliations of the women in the dedications as a rational for Lanyer's appeals to them (1998, 220).

[19] Wilcox's research into the personal histories of the dedicatees reveals that most of them were widows deprived of their land rights, or were single women whose marriageability was being disastrously manipulated (2014, 57-67). Garrison also discusses the transgressive, destabilizing women of the dedication poems as Lanyer's means of offering visibility and 'recuperation of lost freedom or power' to the dedicatees (2012, 310).

[20] Hodgson writes that 'patronage space is deliberately built on the power of grief' (2014, 51).

[21] Longfellow argues that Lanyer and her husband worked together to promote her book in a 'pooling of joint social capital' (2009, 64).

[22] In 'To all vertuous Ladies in generall', Lanyer writes 'Put on your wedding garments every one, / The Bridegroome stayes to entertaine you all' (1993, ll. 8-9).

[23] The desire to provide a shape or container to the *Salve Deus* volume in order to understand its organization is evident from Wilcox's characterization of the volume as nesting 'Chinese boxes' (2014, 50) of love, to Hodgson's sense that it is a rosary (2014, 50).

[24] Knoppers (2024) has also noticed and explored the triptych configuration of Lanyer's book.

community can be seen in passages in each of the divisions of the *Salve Deus* text. The first dedication poem addressed to Queen Anne clearly indicates Lanyer's plan. First, she refers to the 'Salve Deus' poem as a holy work written in honor of women. The purpose of the poem is to bring the queen and all women to a feast which she describes as:

For here I have prepar'd my Paschal Lambe,
The figure of that living Sacrifice;
…
This pretious Passeover feed upon, O Queene,
Let your faire Virtues in my Glasse be seene. (1993, ll. 85-86 and 89-90)

Lanyer trades in the visceral, ritually loaded imagery of Christ as the Paschal lamb who feeds the virtuous with His body. She specifically invites women as brides of Christ to this Paschal feast as a call to communion, and as a call to community with other women. The dedicatory epistle to Margaret Clifford again emphasizes the role of Christ in the unitive, affective piety of women. Lanyer boldly writes 'I present unto you even our Lord Jesus himselfe' (34). In presenting Christ, she emphasizes the power of gazing on Christ and tells Clifford 'Therefore good Madame, to the most perfect eyes of your understanding, I deliver the inestimable treasure of all elected souls, to be perused at convenient times; as also the mirrour of your most worthy minde' (35). Lanyer proposes that gazing on Christ through her poem creates a unified aid to affective devotion. *Salve Deus* thus assumes a sacramental nature as a material aid or sign of inward, communal devotion.

The visual nature of devotional practice and the ensuing community is explored in the additional dedication pieces. In the poem addressed to the Lady Susan, Lanyer urges her to

Receive your Love whom you have sought so farre
Which heere presents himselfe within your view;
…
And in his humble paths since you do tread,
Take this fair Bridegroome in your soules pure bed. (ll. 37-38 and 41-42)

The poem to Lucy, Countess of Bedford, also takes up this affective reading tactic. Lanyer urges Bedford to 'unlocke the closet of your lovely breast' (l. 2) in order to admit the suffering Christ 'In whose most pretious wounds your soule may reade / Salvation, while he (dying Lord) doth bleed' (ll. 13-14). Lanyer urges her to 'Vouchsafe to entertaine this dying lover' (l. 16) who is 'sweetly seated in your brest' (l. 21). Once presence is accomplished, 'There may your thoughts as servants to your heart, / Give true attendance on this lovely guest' (ll. 22-23). Lanyer's push for meditative communion with Christ as a means of creating community among women contains an erotic element which images Christ in the feminized terms of the Song of Songs. The erotic imagery of enfolding the dying Christ in the arms of the soul or the closet of one's heart is present in the dedication poems to Anne Clifford and to Lady Katherine.[25] This latter poem especially emphasizes Lanyer's perceived divine right to write of Christ as well as the transformative power of gazing on Christ through her meditative passion poem. The poem states:

[25] Patricia Phillippy (2001) has observed that Mary Magdalene is not present in the 'Salve Deus' poem even though she is among the Biblical women at the foot of the Cross. Phillippy thus proposes that the dedicatees themselves are the Magdalenes who 'embalm' Christ in their hearts.

Heere I present to you the King of kings:
Desiring you to take a perfit view,
Of those great torments Patience did indure;
And reape those Comforts that belongs to you,
Which his most painfull death did then assure:
Writing the Covenant with his pretious blood,
That your faire soule might bathe her in that flood.
And let your noble daughters likewise reade[26]
This little Booke that I present to you;
On heavenly food let them vouchsafe to feede;
Heere they may see a Lover much more true
Than ever was since first the world began,
This poore rich King that di'd both God and man. (ll. 42-54)

After describing the dead Christ in sensual terms, Lanyer then calls Him 'all that Ladies can desire' (85) and follows this claim with two stanzas describing the characteristics of a true lover. The purpose of this erotic frame narrative is to emphasize the value of contemplating Christ as a means of creating spiritual community among women on earth and of ultimately reaching spiritual community in heaven.

The earthly spiritual community that Lanyer envisions is premised on the idea of women as the brides of Christ. In 'To all vertuous Ladies in generall', Lanyer calls all women to 'Put on your wedding garments every one, / The Bridegroome stayes to entertaine you all' (ll. 8-9). Lanyer describes these garments as 'purple scarlet white, / Those perfit colours purest Virtue wore', (ll. 15-16). One of the interpretive, printed marginal notes[27] hammers home the significance of these colors as being the same as 'The roabes that Christ wore before his death'. After a literal 'putting on of Christ',[28] Lanyer radically advocates for the community of women to join into a priesthood. She writes,

Annoynt your hair with *Aarons* pretious oyle,
And bring your palmes of vict'ry in your hands,
…
Sweet odours, mirrhe, gum, aloes, frankincense,
Present that King who di'd for your offence. (ll. 36-37 and 41-42)

Aaron was the first Jewish high priest who, with Moses, brought the Israelites forth from Egypt and who established the rituals of Jewish worship. Furthermore, the invocation of ritual worship using sense-based material objects is reminiscent of pre-Reformation modes of worship. After ritualistically preparing for Christ's arrival, Lanyer calls the women to be 'transfigur'd with our loving Lord' (l. 51). In this phrase, she alludes to the story of the transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor where, flanked by a similarly transfigured Moses and Elias, he revealed His divinity to some of His apostles.[29] Lanyer's implication that women can similarly take on the roles of Moses and Elias in an outdoor setting away from temple or church worship is a powerful deviation from contemporary notions of women's religious character. On top of Mount Tabor, as

[26] Lanyer here repeats her desire expressed in the epistle to Margaret Clifford that *Salve Deus* should serve in perpetuity as a means of female meditative practice.

[27] For discussion of the authorial nature of the marginalia, see Simon 2018.

[28] 'But put on the Lord Jesus Christ' (Romans 13:14).

[29] Matthew 17:1-8; Mark 9:2-8; Luke 9:28-36.

upon the oak-topped hill of Cookham, Lanyer discovers the transcendent possibilities of female communities which can more fully enable women to enter into their potential in the absence of masculine modes of worship, of masculine organization of space, and of male social restrictions on women. Additionally, in the dedication poem to Anne Clifford, Lanyer again imbues physical objects with religio-political significance by granting Anne apostolic and redolently papal powers:

He is the stone the builders did refuse,
Which you, sweet Lady, are to build upon;
He is the rocke that holy Church did chuse,
Among which number, you must needs be one;
Faire Shepheardesse, tis you that he [Christ] will use
To feed his flocke, that trust in him alone
All worldly blessings he vouchsafes to you,
That to the poore you may returne his due. (ll. 129-136)

In all these dedication pieces, to actively call upon all virtuous ladies to enter into the passion of Christ through the use of physical objects and to ritually worship Him with priestly performances is a religiously and politically radical move. On the one hand, it aligns women with Christ and elevates women to an active role in formal, religious worship; on the other, it creates a parallel between virtuous women and male figures of political and religious emancipation. In essence, Lanyer creates an affectively pious precedent for women's religio-political involvement which involves a female community of interiority across time and space.

If the dedication poems demonstrate that women become sanctified and united in the ritual process of themselves becoming places to house Christ, the text of 'Salve Deus', again emphasizes meditative interiority as a means of organizing female community around the *place* of the passion of Christ. After some 300 lines of rhetorically addressing Margaret Clifford and of rationalizing her decision to write of the passion, a marginal comment notes that now Lanyer will write 'A preamble of the Author before the Passion'. In this preamble, she displays her awareness of the connections between story and place:

A Matter farre beyond my barren skill,
To shew with any Life this map of Death,
This Storie; that whole Worlds with Bookes would fill,
In these few Lines, will put me out of breath,
To run so swiftly up this mightie Hill,
I may behold it with the eye of Faith; (ll. 313-318)

Speaking of the story of the passion as a 'map' emphasizes the spatial element of the story for the narrative that can be mapped onto a physical place and time, while also being mapped onto the interior space of the pious reader. Additionally, the act of writing is itself compared to physical activity. While the 'eye of Faith' may act as the poetic muse, Lanyer must metaphorically run up a hill in order to accomplish the promptings of the muse. Metaphors used to explain the laborious nature of writing are not uncommon, but it is unique to Lanyer's personal context that she chose this particular image. The hill of Cookham on which she and the Cliffords meditated on the passion is recalled and she gestures toward the concept that contemplative interiority is rooted in spatial environment.

It is not lost on Lanyer that Christ's passion itself begins with outdoor, place-based, meditation. In fact, her representation of Christ's meditation in the garden of Gethsemane constitutes the longest section of the poem that occurs in a single location. In the garden, Lanyer sets up

the dichotomy between those who meditate and pray, and those who do not. Christ, in His spiritual interiority, is cast as a 'Watchman' (l. 467), while the sleeping apostles who had failed to engage in prayer with Christ had 'shut those Eies that should their Maker see' (l. 420). The band of soldiers that arrive in the garden to apprehend Christ 'could not know him, whom their eyes did see' (l. 504), and the Jewish high priest Caiphas before whom Christ is initially brought cannot apprehend Christ's 'Glory' for his 'Owly eies are blind, and cannot see' (ll. 711-712). Lanyer contrasts the blindness of men to the clear-eyed vision of Christ and of women. Pilate's wife begs him to spare Christ and urges Pilate to:

Open thine eies, that thou the truth mai'st see
Doe not the thing that goes against thy heart,
Condemne not him that must thy Saviour be;
But view his holy Life, his good desert. (ll. 755-758)

This speech which asks for mercy for Christ and which opens with an invocation for sight, is followed by the famous 'Eves Apologie' portion of the poem wherein Lanyer overtakes Pilate's wife's voice and asks readers to re-view the cultural narrative imposed on the biblical story of Adam and Eve – a narrative that affects how women as a community are treated. After defending Eve and reducing the gravity of her sin compared to Adam's, the speaker deftly demonstrates that the condemnation of Christ is a far greater sin than the sin of the Genesis story, and it's a sin 'To which … we [women] never gave consent, / Witnesse they wife (O *Pilate*) speakes for all; / Who did but dreame, and yet a message sent' (ll. 833-835). In taking on the role of spokesperson for women, Pilate's wife creates solidarity among women while also demonstrating that this community is blameless. The private dream-vision of Pilate's wife urges her to action, while Christ's own apostles are called 'Heavy Spectators' (l. 482). The passive, uncomprehending band of apostles can be contrasted with the community of weeping women of Jerusalem who find 'favour in your Saviors sight' (l. 986) since they identify with and mourn his suffering. Their emotional affiliation with Christ gives them 'Eagles eyes' (l. 991).

The powerful accuracy of female sight is especially present at the moment of the crucifixion. After all the descriptive details of all other moments of the passion, the crucifixion of Christ occupies a mere two stanzas before Lanyer defers to the superiority of affective meditation over poetry. At the moment of Christ's death, Lanyer returns to her frame narrative of mediation and pens an address to Margaret Clifford. Instead of describing His death, Lanyer shies away and writes

This with the eie of Faith thou maist behold
Deere Spouse of Christ, and more than I can write;
And here both Griefe and Joy thou maist unfold,
To view thy Love in this most heavy plight,
Bowing his head, his bloodlesse body cold;
Those eies waxe dimme that gave us all our light, (ll. 1169-1174)

Lanyer's deixical move places Clifford at the foot of the cross. She narratively occupies this feminine place with the community of John, Mary Magadelene, Mary Cleophas, and Mary the mother of Christ – as a result of her clear-sited meditative practices at Cookham. Her comprehending 'eie of Faith' is able to transcend the physical environment, even as it is rooted in place-based, situational events. Clifford's emotional, affective 'presence' at Calvary where she experiences conflicting emotions of 'Griefe and Joy' is what enables her to have her vision-based religious conviction. Her identification with Christ affords her an apostolic role in the continuing work of redemption. In a radical move, Lanyer grants Clifford pastoral powers and casts her as the leading apostle:

These are those Keyes Saint *Peter* did possesse,
Which with a Spirituall powre are giv'n to thee,
To heale the soules of those that doe transgresse,
By thy faire virtues; which, if once they see,
Unto the like they doe their minds addresse,
Such as thou art, such they desire to be:
If they be blind, thou giv'st to them their sight;
If deafe or lame, they heare, and goe upright. (ll. 1369-1376)

Rather than effecting miracles of healing at the physical level, Clifford's powers are spiritual. She is a mirror for others, a book to be read and meditated upon and followed. Because Clifford identifies with and houses Christ, she can be a vessel of spiritual healing to others.

The continuing message of interiority concludes 'Salve Deus'. In doing so, Lanyer hearkens back to the imagery in the dedication poems that bodies should be read as texts as a means of attaining affective unity with Christ. Lanyer devotes two stanzas to blazoning the body of the risen Christ and casting Him as the bride of the Song of Songs.[30] Reading the risen body of Christ in feminine language brings Him into the private circle of ladies as a means of finding a balance to and refuge from male-dominated social and religious arenas. Lanyer concludes the poem on this same theme. In terms reminiscent of a reliquary, she addresses Margaret Clifford:

Ah! give me leave (good Lady) now to leave
This task of Beauty which I tooke in hand,
…
Therefore (good Madame) in your heart I leave
His perfect picture, where it still shall stand,
Deepely engraved in that holy shrine,
Environed with Love and Thoughts divine.
There you may see him as a God in glory,
And as a man in miserable case;
There you may reade his true and perfect storie,
His bleeding body there you may embrace (ll. 1321-1322 and 1325-1332)

In the creation of an interior shrine, Lanyer again emphasizes that women become sanctified in the ritual process of becoming places to house Christ. While Lanyer includes her own poem as part of the ritual meditative process, she still maintains that reading the lineaments of Christ engenders real sight of and real union with Christ. Her book thus serves a sacramental purpose as an outward sign of an inward grace. In this inward place, female communities united as clear-sited lovers of Christ can thrive across space and time. And behind this inward place lies the palimpsested, enigmatic Cookham – the physical *topos* that contoured the blossoming spiritual and poetic practices of three visionary women.

4. *Conclusion*

Revisiting Lanyer in a geographic space has illustrated several key points for early modern scholarship. First, material culture and book history are intimately related to the study of literature. In the digital age where libraries offer scanned archival images, pieces of the material world

[30] Lanyer writes Christ's face is like 'Snowe' and His cheeks and lips like 'skarlet' while his curled hair is 'Blacke as a Raven' (see ll. 1305-1320).

of a bygone age are a click away. New Criticism's pristine texts existing in silent voids are no more. The clutter and clamor and cursory effulgence of everyday life surround a text and exert an influence that gives a fourth dimension to a page. A writer's psychological strata can begin to be mapped onto promontories and parts of the main. The mapping impulse, the spatial turn, book history – all are means of piercing the veil that separates readers from the world of a text. Secondly, studying Aemilia Lanyer in her own context rather than by comparison to other poets allows her to be celebrated as a notable poet worthy of study. Lanyer scholarship has neatly followed Susan Bassnett's postulation that early feminist studies of women initially focused on misogynist representations of women, while a second wave of study 'focused on texts produced by women, with a view to revising traditionally male determined literary history' (Bassnett 1993, 116). Much of this phase emphasizes comparison between male and female authors. The deep desire to cast Lanyer as the inventor of the country house genre as opposed to Ben Jonson speaks to this trend, as does A. L. Rowse's unfounded attribution of Lanyer as Shakespeare's Dark Lady. That Lanyer must be proved to be significant via contrast was a useful tack in introducing her to the canon. And yet, male poets seem to rarely undergo this sort of comparative reinforcement. They can be said to be part of a 'school' of poetry – a much less patronizing method of introducing a writer and fitting them into a category. The comfortableness and helpfulness of categories is perhaps why Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judeorum* has been treated in separate pieces for so long instead of as an organic whole. Restoring the context of the book, restoring the context of the writing, are a means of moving beyond tokenism to study Lanyer as a talented, innovative writer keenly in tune with her social, religious, and physical environments.

Works Cited

Manuscript Source

Longleat House and Library, Wiltshire, Portland MS 23, fols. 24v-26v.

Printed Sources

Bassnett Susan (1993), *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction*, Malden, Wiley-Blackwell.

Bayer Penny (2005), 'Lady Margaret Clifford's Alchemical Receipt Book and the John Dee Circle', *Ambix* 52, 3, 271-284.

Beskin Anna (2017), 'The Birds of Aemilia Lanyer's "The Description of Cooke-Ham" ', *Modern Philology* 114, 3, 524-551.

Cresswell Tim (2017), 'Towards Topopoetics: Space, Place and the Poem', in B.B. Janz, ed., *Place, Space and Hermeneutics*, New York, Springer, 319-331.

Darby Stephen (1980), *Chapters in the History of Cookham,* Maidenhead, Maidenhead Archaeological & Historical Society.

Ditchfield P.H. and William Page, eds (1923), *A History of the County of Berkshire: Volume 3*, *British History Online*, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/berks/vol3>, accessed 1 December 2025.

Tuan Yi-Fu (2001 [1977]), *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience,* Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

Garrison John (2012), '*Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* and the Production of Possibility', *Studies in Philology* 109, 3, 290-310.

Grossman Marshall (1998), *Aemilia Lanyer: Gender, Genre, and the Canon*, Lexington, University Press of Kentucky.

Guimaraes P.A. (2012), 'Refashioning English Estate as Feminine Paradise: Aemilia Lanyer's Country-house Poem "The Description of Cookham" (1610)', *Diacritica* 25, 3, 151-171, <https://rep-dspace.uminho.pt/entities/publication/87059d56-411b-47c2-b675-bc2fe9828854>, accessed 1 December 2025.

Hadfield Andrew (2018), 'Chorography, Map-Mindedness, Poetics of Place', in Catherine Bates, ed., *A Companion to Renaissance Poetry*, Chichester, Wiley Blackwell, 485-497.
Hambrick-Stowe C.E. (1986 [1982]), *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New England*, Chapel Hill, Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture and the University of North Carolina Press.
Healy Margaret (2013), 'Paracelsian Medicine and Female Creativity: Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance Et Réforme* 36, 2, 75-103.
Hodgson Elizabeth (2014), *Grief and Women Writers in the English Renaissance*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
Knoppers L.L. (2024), 'Aemilia Lanyer', in Ead., ed., *The Oxford History of Poetry in English: Volume 5. Seventeenth-Century British Poetry*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 321-338.
Lanyer Aemilia (1611), *Salve Devs Rex Ivdæorvm*, London, Printed by Valentine Simmes for Richard Bonian.
Lanyer Aemilia (1993), *The Poems of Aemilia Lanyer: Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*, ed. by S. Woods, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press.
Lefebvre Henri (1991), *The Production of Space*, trans. by D. Nicholson-Smith, Malden, Wiley-Blackwell.
Lewalski B.K. (1991), 'Re-writing Patriarchy and Patronage: Margaret Clifford, Anne Clifford, and Aemilia Lanyer', *Yearbook of English Studies* 21, 87-106.
Lewalski B.K. (1998 [1993]), *Writing Women in Jacobean England*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
Longfellow Erica (2009 [2004]), *Women and Religious Writing in Early Modern England*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
Malay J.L. (2013), 'Positioning Patronage: Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* and the Countess of Cumberland in Time and Place', *Seventeenth Century* 28, 3, 251-274.
Malay J.L., ed. (2018), *Anne Clifford's Autobiographical Writing, 1590-1676*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.
Matheson Sue (2004), 'Religious Reconstruction of Feminine Spirituality: Reading Past the Praise in *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*', in K.K. Groover, ed., *Things of the Spirit: Women Writers Constructing Spirituality*, South Bend, University of Notre Dame Press, 51-68.
McBride K.B. (2001), *Country House Discourse in Early Modern England: A Cultural Study of Landscape and Legitimacy*, Burlington, Ashgate.
Mendelson Sara and Patricia Crawford (1998), *Women in Early Modern England: 1550-1720*, New York, Oxford University Press.
Molekamp Femke (2012), 'Reading Christ the Book in Aemilia Lanyer's "Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum" (1611): Iconography and the Cultures of Reading', *Studies in Philology* 109, 3, 311-332.
Mueller Janel (1994), 'The Feminist Poetics of Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*', in L. Keller and C. Miller, eds, *Feminist Measures: Soundings in Poetry and Theory*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 208-236.
Munroe Jennifer (2008), *Gender and the Garden in Early Modern English Literature*, Burlington, Ashgate.
Netzley Ryan (2022), 'Managed Catastrophe: Problem-Solving and Rhyming Couplets in the Seventeenth-Century Country House Poem', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 52, 1, 147-173.
Noble Louise (2015), 'Bare and Desolate Now: Cultural Ecology and "The Description of Cookham" ', in J. Munroe, L. Bruckner, and E.J. Geisweidt, eds, *Ecological Approaches to Early Modern English Texts*, Abingdon, Routledge, 99-108.
Phillippy Patricia (2001), 'Sisters of Magdalen: Women's Mourning in Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*', *English Literary Renaissance* 31, 1, 78-106.
Simon Margaret (2018), 'Glossing Authorship: Printed Marginalia in Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*', in J. Pearce and W.J. Risvold, eds, *Renaissance Papers 2017*, Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, 125-138.
Snijders Tjamke (2019), 'Communal Learning and Communal Identities in Medieval Studies', in M. Long, T. Snijders, and S. Vanderputten, eds, *Horizontal Learning in the High Middle Ages*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

Song Eric (2010). 'The Country Estate and the Indies (East and West): The Shifting Scene of Eden in *Paradise Lost*', *Modern Philology* 108, 2, 199-223.
The Conservation Studio (2010), 'Conservation Area Appraisal – Wick's Green, Binfield', *Bracknell Forest Council Review,* <https://www.bracknell-forest.gov.uk/sites/default/files/2021-08/binfield-conservation-area-appraisal.pdf>, accessed 1 December 2025.
Tyack Geoffrey (1998), 'Country Houses c. 1500-c.1750', in J. Dils, ed., *An Historical Atlas of Berkshire*, Reading, Berkshire Record Society.
Wilcox Helen, ed. (2014), *1611: Authority, Gender & the Word in Early Modern England*, Malden, Wiley Blackwell.
Williamson G.C. (1920), *George, Third Earl of Cumberland: His Life and His Voyages*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
Woods Susanne (1999), *Lanyer: A Renaissance Poet*, New York, Oxford University Press.
Zirker Angelika (2019), 'Aemilia Lanyer: "The Description of Cooke-ham" ', in I. Berensmeyer, ed., *Handbook of English Renaissance Literature*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 478-495.