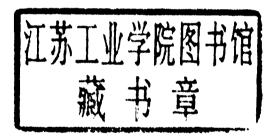


# READING RENAISSANCE ETHICS

Edited by Marshall Grossman

# Reading Renaissance Ethics

Edited by Marshall Grossman





First published 2007 by Routledge 270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016

Simultaneously published in the UK by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2007 Marshall Grossman, contributors for individual chapters

Typeset in 10/11½pt Baskerville by Book Now Ltd, London Printed and bound in Great Britain by Antony Rowe Ltd, Chippenham, Wiltshire

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data Reading Renaissance Ethics/[edited by] Marshall Grossman.

1. Ethics in literature. 2. English literature–Early modern, 1500–1700–History and criticism. 3. Literature and morals. 4. Ethics–England–History–16th century. 5. Ethics–England–History–17th century. 6. Literature and society–England–History–17th century. 7. Literature and society–England–History–17th century. I. Grossman, Marshall.

PR428.E85R43 2006 820.9'353-dc22

2006027742

ISBN 10: 0-415-40634-X (hbk) ISBN 10: 0-415-40635-8 (pbk) ISBN 10: 0-203-96264-8 (cbk)

ISBN 13: 978-0-415-40634-5 (hbk) ISBN 13: 978-0-415-40635-2 (pbk) ISBN 13: 978-0-203-96264-0 (ebk)

### Contributors

- Sharon Achinstein is currently Lecturer in English at Oxford University, and she has taught at the University of Maryland and Northwestern University. She is the author of Milton and the Revolutionary Reader (Princeton, 1994), winner of the Milton Society of America Hanford Prize, and Literature and Dissent in Milton's England (Cambridge, 2003). Her current work includes editing Milton's Divorce Tracts for The Oxford Milton and a book on Literature and Toleration.
- Harry Berger, Jr., Professor Emeritus at the University of California, Santa Cruz, a critical West Coast octogenarian untrained in topics he writes about in order to know better, is the author most recently of Situated Utterances: Texts, Bodies, and Cultural Representations (2005) and Manhood, Marriage, and Mischief: Rembrandt's "Night Watch" and other Dutch Group Portraits (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006).
- Angus J. S. Fletcher is Distinguished Professor Emeritus of English and Comparative Literature, CUNY Graduate School. Harvard published his Time, Space and Motion in the Age of Shakespeare (Spring 2007). His New Theory for American Poetry: Democracy, the Environment and the Future of Imagination, also from Harvard, won the 2005 Truman Capote Prize for Literary Criticism.
- Marshall Grossman is Professor of English at the University of Maryland, College Park. His publications include 'Authors to themselves': Milton and the Revelation of History (1987) and The Story of All Things: Writing the Self in English Renaissance Narrative Poetry (1998), an edited collection, Aemilia Lanyer: Gender, Genre and the Canon (1998), and numerous articles on Renaissance literature and literary historiography.
- Victoria Kahn, Professor of English and Bernie H. Williams Professor of Comparative Literature, University of California, Berkeley, is the author of Rhetoric, Prudence, and Skepticism in the Renaissance (1985) and Machiavellian Rhetoric from the Counter-Reformation to Milton (1994). She is co-editor (with

- Lorna Hutson) of *Rhetoric and Law in Early Modern England* (2001) and (with Albert Russell Ascoli) of *Machiavelli and the Discourse of Literature* (1993). Her previous work has addressed the relations between rhetorical form and social function in the renaissance.
- **Theodore B. Leinward** is Professor of English at the University of Maryland, College Park. He is the author of *The City Staged: Jacobean Comedy*, 1603–1613 (1986) and *Theatre, Finance and Society in Early Modern England* (1999). He is currently writing a series of essays on Keats, Coleridge, Woolf, and Ted Hughes (among others) reading Shakespeare.
- **David Lee Miller**, Professor of English and Comparative Literature at the University of South Carolina, is the author of *Dreams of the Burning Child: Sacrificial Sons and the Father's Witness* (2003) and is one of four general editors of the *Collected Works of Edmund Spenser*, in preparation for Oxford University Press.
- David Norbrook is Merton Professor of English Literature at the University of Oxford. He is the author of Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance (revised edition, 2002) and Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics 1627–1660 (1999) and has edited Lucy Hutchinson's Order and Disorder (2001).
- Anita Gilman Sherman is an Assistant Professor of Literature at American University in Washington, D.C. She has published essays on Shakespeare, Donne, Montaigne, Thomas Heywood, and Garcilaso de la Vega. She is completing a book entitled The Art of Doubt: Skepticism and Memory in Shakespeare and Donne.
- **Richard Strier**, Frank L. Sulzberger Professor, University of Chicago, is the author of *Love Known: Theology and Experience in George Herbert's Poetry* (1986) and *Resistant Structures: Particularity, Radicalism, and Renaissance Texts* (1995); he has co-edited a number of cross-disciplinary collections, and published essays on Shakespeare, Donne, Luther, Montaigne, and Milton, and on twentieth-century critical theory.
- Gordon Teskey, Professor of English at Harvard, is author of Allegory and Violence and Delirious Milton (2006). He is editor of the Norton edition of Paradise Lost (1996).
- Vivienne Westbrook is an Associate Professor of Renaissance Literature at National Taiwan University. She specializes in English Reformation Bibles and culture. She has published articles on a range of Reformation issues and culture from biblical translation through to Reformation historiography and contributed articles to the British Academy John Foxe on-line project, the NEW DNB and the Yale Milton Encyclopedia. Her first book, Long Travail and Great Paynes: A Politics of Reformation Revision (2001),

#### x Contributors

was a study of neglected Reformation Bible translators. She is currently preparing two books for publication: Richard Taverner, Reformation Humanist and Marginal Text and English Tudor Bibles.

Paul Yachnin is Tomlinson Professor of Shakespeare Studies and Chair of the English Department at McGill University. He is also Co-Director of the Shakespeare and Performance Research Team and Director of the Making Publics project. His first book is Stage-Wrights: Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton, and the Making of Theatrical Value (1997); his second, co-authored with Anthony Dawson, is The Culture of Playgoing in Shakespeare's England: A Collaborative Debate (2001). He is an editor of the forthcoming Oxford edition of The Works of Thomas Middleton and is editing Shakespeare's Richard II, also for Oxford. Work-in-progress includes a co-edited edition of The Tempest for Broadview Press and a book-length study, Making Theatrical Publics: A Social History of Drama in Early Modern England.

## Acknowledgments

I would like to gratefully acknowledge the support and suggestions of the contributors to this volume as a group, with special thanks to Sharon Achinstein, David Norbrook and Theodore Leinwand who indulged my obsession during extended discussions of the project at the University of Maryland, and Dyanne Tsai, who assisted in the preparation of the manuscript. Also, at Maryland, Gary Hamilton and Irene Sanchez offered material help and moral support. Thanks are also due to Liz Thompson and Polly Dodson at Routledge, for their support of the project and their patience. I thank the Department of English and the Graduate Research Board of the University of Maryland for their generous help with the cost of the volume's many illustrations, which I gratefully acknowledge permission to reproduce as follows:

- 3.1 Jan Steen, Cardplayers (c. 1660), private collection. Reproduced by permission of the owner.
- 3.2 Jan Miense Molenaer, *The Duet* [1] (c.1630–31). Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation. Reproduced by permission of the Seattle Art Museum.
- 3.3 J.W. Delff, Arquebusiers of the Fourth Squad (1592), reproduced by permission of Delft, Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof.
- 3.4 Dirk Jacobsz., Civic Guard Group Portrait (1529); 3.6. Werner van den Valckert, Four Regents of the Amsterdam Leprosenhuis (1624); 3.8 Jan Steen, The Burgher of Delft (1655). Reproduced by permission of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.
- 3.5 Frans Pietersz Grebber, Banquet of the Officers and Subalterns of St George Civic Guard (1619); 3.9. Frans Hals, Regents of St. Elizabeth Hospital (1641); 3.10. Frans Hals, Regents of the Old Men's Alms House (c.1664); 3.11. Frans Hals, Regentesses of the Old Men's Alms House (c.1664). Reproduced by permission of the Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem.

### xii Acknowledgments

- 3.7 Cornelis van der Voort, *Regents of the Old Men's and Women's Home* (1618), reproduced by permission of the Amsterdams Historisch Museum.
- 6.1 "The Martyrdome and Burning of Mayster William Tyndall, in Flaunders by Filford Castle." Woodcut illustration from: Foxe, John, *Actes and Monuments*, 1580, p. 1229, sig. DDDiiii. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of York.

## **Contents**

	List of figures	V11
	Notes on contributors	viii
	Acknowledgments	xi
PAJ	RTI	
Int	roduction	1
1	Introduction: reading Renaissance ethics	3
	MARSHALL GROSSMAN	
PA	RT II	
Γh	e ethics of Renaissance forms	17
2	Gender, justice and the gods in The Faerie Queene, Book 5	19
	DAVID LEE MILLER	
3	The ethics of posing: visual epideixis in some seventeenth-century	
Ü	Dutch group portraits	38
	HARRY BERGER, JR.	
· ā		0.5
4	Textual ethics: reading transference in Samson Agonistes  MARSHALL GROSSMAN	85
	MARSHALL GROSSMAN	
5	Aesthetics as critique: tragedy and Trauerspiel in Samson Agonistes	104
	VICTORIA KAHN	
PΔ	RT III	
	storicizing Renaissance ethics	129
6	The ethics of Renaissance bible translation	131
O	VIVIENNE WESTBROOK	131
	VIVIENNE WESTDROOK	

vi	Contents		
7	Eating Montaigne PAUL YACHNIN		
8	Marvell's "Scaevola Scoto-Brittannus" and the ethics of political violence DAVID NORBROOK	173	
	RT IV ilosophy and Renaissance ethics	191	
9	The ethics of inspiration GORDON TESKEY	193	
10	Shakespeare against morality RICHARD STRIER	206	
11	The skeptical ethics of John Donne: the case of Ignatius his Conclave ANITA GILMAN SHERMAN	226	
12	Winning the initiative ANGUS J. S. FLETCHER	246	
	RT V sessments	261	
13	Ethics or politics?: an exchange passing through the <i>Areopagitica</i> SHARON ACHINSTEIN AND MARSHALL GROSSMAN	263	
14	Afterwords: reading Reading Renaissance Ethics "with modesty enough" THEODORE B. LEINWAND	277	
	Index	285	

# **Figures**

3.1	Jan Steen, Cardplayers (c.1660)	45
3.2	Jan Miense Molenaer, The Duet [1] (c.1630–31)	49
3.3	J.W. Delff, Arquebusiers of the Fourth Squad (1592)	52
3.4	Dirk Jacobsz., Civic Guard Group Portrait (1529)	53
3.5	Frans Pietersz Grebber, Banquet of the Officers and Subalterns	
	of St George Civic Guard (1619)	55
3.6	Werner van den Valckert, Four Regents of the Amsterdam	
	Leprosenhuis (1624)	57
3.7	Cornelis van der Voort, Regents of the Old Men's and Women's	
	Home (1618)	59
3.8	Jan Steen, The Burgher of Delft (1655)	60
3.9	Frans Hals, Regents of St. Elizabeth Hospital (1641)	65
3.10	Frans Hals, Regents of the Old Men's Alms House (c. 1664)	67
3.11	Frans Hals, Regentesses of the Old Men's Alms House (c.1664)	68
6.1	"The Martyrdome and Burning of Mayster William Tyndall,	
	in Flaunders by Filford Castle" (1580)	134

# Part I Introduction

## 1 Introduction

## Reading Renaissance ethics

Marshall Grossman

After three decades in which historicist scholars have successfully reconnected Renaissance literature to its historical contexts, and formalist and rhetorical scholars have used improved historical resources to move closer to an understanding of how literary texts accomplish their cultural work, we think the time is right to question how Renaissance texts were read, how they were put to use in their own time, and how they may have been and continue to be used in subsequent times, up to and including our own. Following Kenneth Burke, we now ask: what sorts of "equipment for living" do Renaissance texts represent?<sup>1</sup>

The ethics of writing and reading were a pervasive concern in the Renaissance. Following Horace's dictum that poetry should delight and instruct, Renaissance writers understood their work as part of an ethical pedagogy, and reading in the Renaissance was understood to be an ethical performance. The right text might fashion a gentleman, build a citizen, or clevate the soul to the adoration of God.<sup>2</sup> But the wrong text might corrupt, enervate or confuse the reader.<sup>3</sup> Stringent censorship and an industrious polemical underground seeking to circumvent it assumed, implicitly and explicitly, the potency of renaissance texts as ethical agents.<sup>4</sup> Renaissance writers, appropriating classical forms for contemporary polemical purposes, were keenly aware of the ideological proclivities of given genres.

Our recent "culture wars" attest to the continued vitality of the old notion that what and how we read matters to who and what we are. Renaissance writers pursued the formative power of literature beyond explicit themes to include questions of genre, language and rhetoric with far greater nuance and precision than we have seen in our present debate. The "culture warriors" of the twenty-first century assume that our "values" are produced or conditioned by traditions that may or may not pass them down through generations, and across changing material and technological environments. Attention to the work of Renaissance writers not only raises the level of our own political discourse but also suggests a vocabulary and style of thought that allows us to move beyond the mere assumption that writing and reading matter and begin to articulate with greater clarity what is at stake when

#### 4 Marshall Grossman

canon-formation, aesthetic evaluation and curricular reform are questioned and revised.

This question of what is at stake is distinct from the related questions of how canons, evaluations and curricula come to be shaped by material forces. We set about to question the nature and mechanics of cultural agency. To take seriously the question of what to read, we must first consider what we do when we read and when we write about our reading. We ask what sorts of events took place when Renaissance texts were read in various contexts and what sorts of events take place when we read them - and teach them - now? Our method for approaching these questions is inductive. The essays collected here implicitly work toward a phenomenology of reading, but not necessarily of reading in general. First, for the reasons stated above, we have chosen to read texts from a rather broadly defined English Renaissance, ranging from the early English bibles of the Tudor reign through the restoration poems of John Milton. Our attention extends also into the overlapping classical, neo-Latin and continental linguistic worlds of humanism and its descendents. Second, each of us has begun with questions arising out of the specific writing we discuss. Some of these questions are contextual, but in accordance with our interest in reading as an act, each of us has undertaken to read from the inside out rather than from the outside in. That is, we have attempted to let the texts we study speak first and last.

Understanding the sources and protocols of Renaissance textual ethics is a historical undertaking. Understanding the rhetoric of Renaissance texts requires sophisticated formal analysis. This analysis cannot take place without close reading. *Reading Renaissance Ethics* aims to restore the centrality of close reading to the task of assessing the ethical performance of Renaissance texts as historical agents in their own time and in ours. Doing so, we work against the naïve assumption that political speech is speech about politics, ethical speech, speech about ethics. Renaissance writers understood and engaged the formative power of literature beyond explicit themes to include considerations of genre, language and rhetoric more nuanced and precise than we have seen in our present cultural politics. This is another reason for addressing Renaissance texts in particular. Attention to them will, we hope, not only raise the level of our own discourse, but also suggest a vocabulary and style of thought that allows us to articulate with greater clarity what was felt to be at stake in Renaissance writing and what might be at stake in our reading of it.

This volume undertakes, then, specifically and self-consciously, to bring together two critical practices that have lately been at odds with or neglected by each other to acquire an improved apprehension of "the content of the form" exemplified in Renaissance discursive practices.<sup>5</sup> We aim to theorize and to set by example a protocol for future critical practice. To understand the scope and context of this proposed agenda, it is necessary to distinguish the historicist and formalist components of these essays from the "New Historicism" of the past 30 years and the "New Criticism" that preceded it.

As historicists, the New Historicists saw the need to dissociate their activity from a historicist tradition that, in their view, failed to recognize the nuanced content of literary form. Reading consistently from the ideological position of the powerful, the older historicists confused the material conditions in which a text is produced with the fictions represented within it — mistaking, for example, the "Elizabethan World Picture" for a picture of the Elizabethan world. New Historicists sought instead to reconnect the texts they studied not to an unmediated and reified version of the social world represented in them, but to a world as uniformly discursive and heteronymous as the texts themselves. They sought instead to formulate a uniform cultural field in which discursive practices could be seen in relation to material arrangements on the one hand, and literary historical contexts on the other. But it has become increasingly apparent in its second and third generations that New Historicism approaches two limits, one internal and necessary, the other external and contingent.

The internal limit, evident from the beginning, has been its inability to adequately theorize the notions of culture and text on which it depends. The external limit is rooted in the history of New Historicism as a reaction against the pedagogical dominance of the New Critics. New Critical close reading brought not just a failure to historicize, but a positive resistance to it: the ideological fiction that what was most valuable in literature was autonomous and universal. To reach the art of literature one had to disencumber it of all that tied it to the time and place of its production. The New Historicists' primary mission of re-embedding the literary work in its culture reacted against the New Critics' "art-for-art's-sake" hermeticism, rather than against their interest in and facility with literary form.

But it has become apparent that diminished attention to close reading followed on from the attempt to treat discourse as a virtual total under the rubric "culture." The turn from text to context is implicated in the New Historicists' inability to derive and sustain protocols of reading that adequately recognize the literary historical and formal rhetorical contexts of Renaissance writing. In so far as New Historicism reacts less against the close reading of New Critics than against their isolation of the work of art from its material contexts, New Historicists worked to reconnect texts to a broader and more interactive social discourse. But the failure to recognize the heterogeneous and contradictory nature of even a synchronic discourse leaves New Historicist scholarship with an untheorized structuralist model that misses the resistance of the signifier – the unsystematic collaboration of historical intent and the intractable semantic effects asserted by linguistic, generic and literary historical forms that remain heteronymous to intention and contingent with respect to context.

It is the aim of this volume to explore and exemplify modes of reading that neither ignore nor privilege an extra-textual, material history putatively prior to the texts in question. The essays here presented insist rather that

#### 6 Marshall Grossman

material history itself is already inhabited and colonized by literary form. By understanding history itself as a literary-rhetorical form and extending its close reading in all directions, this volume aspires to produce a criticism that is formally attentive, aesthetically sensitive and historically engaged.

The essays in this collection are further bound together by their fore-grounding and attending to ethos as the – belatedly constructed – ground of the literary subject. The founding moment of this endeavor is Aristotle's insight, at the beginning of the *Poetics*, that *mythos* precedes *ethos* – that we derive the story of a character from his or her actions:

Tragedy is an imitation not of persons but of action and life, of happiness and misery. Now happiness and misery take the form of action; the end at which the dramatist aims is a certain kind of activity, not a quality. We have certain qualities in accordance with character but it is in our actions that we are happy or the reverse. . . . Consequently the end of a tragedy is its action, i.e. its fable or plot; and the end is in all things paramount.<sup>7</sup>

What Aristotle says about tragedy is true of literature more generally. The activity of narration presents an action from which an ethos is deduced. The priority of action is easily confirmed by a simple thought experiment. Imagine a story constructed so as to create dissonance between character and action by attributing certain qualities to its characters but ascribing contradictory actions to them: "A \_\_\_\_ was a good son and an exemplary husband. He stole his mother's medications and frequently beat his wife." In such a case, readers invariably accept the action and dismiss the character description as unreliable or ironic. The narrator may be taken as a fool or a psychopath for misrepresenting the ethos, but only with a good deal of supporting narrative are the actions taken to be untrue. My example is outlandish, but an extant case in point would be *Othello*, in which Iago is consistently described as honest, dependable and trustworthy by the other characters, but easily identified as a villain by the things he does.

The nexus between character and action is choice. Ethos is not developed by what happens to a character but by what he or she chooses to do. Readers too make choices. One can choose to accept that Iago has been unfairly passed over for promotion, and share his suspicions that Othello and Cassio have had sex with his wife, and still be appalled at the revenge he chooses to exact. The reader's or spectator's own choices become more nuanced and perhaps more challenging when attention shifts from Iago to Othello. In the *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle conceives virtue in terms of habitual action. Here again ethos is deduced from mythos. A virtuous man is one who can be expected to choose actions conducing to the good. In these terms Othello appears to be a virtuous man until, put upon by Iago, he murders his wife. Do we then construe his evil act as an anomaly, a momentary lapse of otherwise customary virtue?