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The Cult of Ideal Friendship in Three Elizabethan Novels.

James Arthur Marino

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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THE CULT OF IDEAL FRIENDSHIP IN
THREE ELIZABETHAN NOVELS

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
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in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
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in

The Department of English

by

James Arthur Marino
B.A., Duquesne University, 1962
A.M., The University of Chicago, 1963
December, 1972

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ABSTRACT

Friendship provided Elizabethan writers with a human relationship that answered man's highest spiritual and intellectual aspirations. In Western literature, romantic love was usually portrayed as a passionate attraction that was based on shaky moral and psychological grounds. Friendship, on the other hand, as it appeared in a tradition of classical writings made popular by Renaissance humanists, was based on virtue and reason. A cult of ideal friendship developed and found widespread expression in Elizabethan literature. In particular, friendship is extensively and typically used in three Elizabethan novels: John Lyly's Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit and Euphues and His England and Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia. Both Lyly and Sidney use friendship in a major way for narrative content, thematic unity, and character development.

In Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit and Euphues and His England, the awareness of the true nature of friendship which Euphues and Philautus exhibit at any point in the narrative reflects their moral growth. At the beginning of The Anatomy of Wit, Euphues hastily enters into a league of friendship with Philautus, but soon he betrays his friend by stealing his fiancée. The demands of passionate love conflict with those of virtuous friendship, and Euphues suffers spiritual and psychological disorders. Eventually he comes

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to recognize the superiority of his relationship with his faithful friend to that with his fickle mistress. He re­pledges his friendship with Philautus in terms that indicate a new understanding of its basically rational and spiritual nature. His disillusionment with love, however, causes him to turn misogynist, and he abandons society to pursue his studies.

In *Euphues and His England*, Lyly arrives at a more balanced response to the conflict between friendship and passionate love. Philautus undergoes a spiritual and intellectual education similar to that of Euphues in *The Anatomy of Wit*, but, unlike Euphues, Philautus does not renounce women altogether. He learns of a higher form of love that resembles friendship in its rational and virtuous bases. The book ends with Philautus' marriage and Euphues' return to his scholarly pursuits. Their friendship remains intact, but it is lessened in intensity because of the different ways of life each friend has chosen.

Like Lyly, Sir Philip Sidney in the *Arcadia* uses friendship as a measure of character. In addition, friendship becomes the goad to heroic action and a major factor in achieving social and political stability. Prompted by their league of ideal friendship, Pyrocles and Musidorus engage in lives of heroic action. When they fall in love, they abandon their civic commitments to languish in the melancholy poses of romantic lovers. Sidney emphasizes the disparity between their actions as friends and their actions as lovers.

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by his narrative structure that reveals their heroic exploits when they are no longer able to act heroically and by the demeaning disguises which the heroes adopt. Eventually both of Sidney's heroes come to view love as a virtuous relationship with marriage as its proper end. Sidney also makes the heroines of his book friends. In this way marriage does not diminish friendship. To the selfless, heroic asexual love of friends is added the virtuous sexual love of husbands for wives. At the close of the Arcadia, all four characters, sustained intellectually and emotionally by both friendship and love, are prepared to accept the responsibilities of an active life. Sidney extends the value of friendship beyond the personal level to make it an essential force in the body politic. Thus, as the Arcadia so well demonstrates, the cult of ideal friendship provided the Elizabethans with one way of measuring man's potential for personal, social, and political perfection.
CHAPTER I

THE ELIZABETHANS AND THE TRADITION OF FRIENDSHIP

The literature of the Elizabethan period has long been noted for the numerous fine works which treat in one fashion or another the theme of love. There is, however, another theme that has not received as much critical attention as love but which rivaled it in popularity during the sixteenth century. This is the theme of friendship. Such major works in English literary history as Edmund Spenser's Faerie Queene, William Shakespeare's Sonnets and The Merchant of Venice, and Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia make extensive use of this theme. In addition there are hundreds of other works of the English Renaissance in which the theme appears.¹

The popularity of the theme of friendship at this period in English history stems from the classical renaissance which brought with it knowledge of ancient moral philosophy and a desire to imitate in life and art the ideals of the good life manifested in Greek and Roman culture. The attempt to inculcate classical ideals was a deliberate movement on the part of young humanists to displace the traditional Scholastic educational methods inherited from the Middle Ages.

¹ For a general survey of the theme of friendship in English literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Laurens J. Mills, One Soul in Bodies Twain: Friendship in Tudor Literature and Stuart Drama (Bloomington, Ind.: Principia Press, 1937).
They embarked on an extensive program of translations aimed at replacing "abject reverence for authority and immemorial custom" with the "rationalistic spirit of ancient literature." This spirit fostered a new way of looking at man's relationship to his government, his church, and his fellow man. Not the least of the fruits of this movement was the birth of a cult of ideal friendship that stressed the close personal relationship possible between two men. Friendship between women was also possible, but it was rarely treated by the writers of such male dominated cultures as Greece and Renaissance England.

The most influential of the ancient writers on friendship was Cicero, whose works were early and extensively introduced into England by a dynamic corps of humanistic translators. A translation of Cicero's De Amicitia, in fact, was the first classical translation to be published in England. The translator was the English humanist John Tipoft, Earl of Worcester, and it was printed by William Caxton in 1481. Another edition appeared in 1530. John Herrington published his translation of De Amicitia in 1550 with a second edition in 1562, and Thomas Newton made a new translation in 1577.

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4 Palmer, pp. 29-36.
There were also several Latin editions of the *De Amicitia* published in England as well as editions imported from the Continent. Cicero's *De Officiis*, which contains the story of Damon and Pythias, appeared in sixteen Latin and English editions by the end of the century and was widely used as a textbook.\(^5\) There can be no doubt about the widespread popularity of Cicero's treatment of friendship. The *De Amicitia* became the single most important literary work in reviving the theme in Elizabethan England.\(^6\) The *De Amicitia* contains all the major elements which appear in the friendship literature of the period. Its highly concrete but spiritualized presentation of friendship easily lent itself to the development of a cult of ideal friendship.

For Cicero friendship is a natural but extraordinary bond between men. Nature has provided man with many social relationships such as those between kinsmen or countrymen, but none is as strong as friendship. It is an exclusive, intimate bond between men who come together in good will, not merely through proximity: "We can best comprehend the power of friendship by considering the fact that nature has established social contact between countless numbers of men; yet friendship is so concentrated and restricted a thing


\(^6\) Mills, p. 10.
that all the true affection in the world is shared by no more than a handful of individuals.\(^7\)

Cicero claims that friendship is the greatest human good that there is. Not riches or fame or good health or power can compare to the rewards of friendship. These rewards are spiritual ones, so a man should not enter into friendship for material gain. One is moved toward another person by that person's demonstrations of virtue, and if this virtue is an essential quality of the friend, the friendship will be eternal. Perfect friendship is a rare thing. It requires the highest degree of constancy and loyalty in its adherents; therefore, one should test his companions before he pledges friendship. The man who is able to remain loyal to his friend in both prosperous times and in adverse situations is almost like a god: "And so, when anyone in either of these circumstances has shown himself a man of conviction, reliable, and loyal, we are bound to adjudge him one of a very rare species of men—a species virtually divine" (64).

Cicero continually differentiates between ordinary social relationships and perfect friendship. All men by their very nature enjoy some form of social intercourse, but ideal friendship is rare. Because it is rare, friendship is exalted, and those who are capable of attaining it are raised

to an exclusive class that admits only the few who are the most accomplished, the most virtuous, and the most highly esteemed: "Now the men who are worthy of friendship are those who possess within themselves something that causes men to love them. They are a rare species— but of course the really fine is always rare, and there is nothing harder than to find something which in all respects is perfect of its kind" (79). So fine and perfect a person as a true friend should be loved as one loves himself. Indeed, he should be reverenced. In ideal friendship there occurs a spiritual identification of a man and his friend, "for the true friend is, so to speak, a second self" (80). So spiritual is the union and so closely joined are two friends that their two souls mix together, and they can be considered as one person.

Founded on an awareness of virtue in another, friendship demands that the friend perform virtuously in all that he does for his friend: "Well then, let this be passed as our first law of friendship: that we ask of our friends what is honorable and do what is honorable for the sake of our friends" (44). If a friend should ask another to perform a dishonorable act, the friend should refuse and the friendship should be dissolved. It is evident that friendship for Cicero is intimately related to the quality of a man's character and his pursuit of the good life. He raises it beyond the level of a mere social bond to a spiritual force that informs all of a man's actions. He concludes the De Amicitia by reiterating the intimate connection between friendship
and virtue: "Virtue must be roused to the highest plane because without it, friendship cannot exist" (104).

The source of many of Cicero's ideas on friendship can be found in the works of the Greek philosophers, so it is not surprising that the Elizabethans also turned to the Greeks, particularly to Aristotle, for much of their friendship theory. The teaching of Greek at Oxford began in 1516 and at Cambridge two years later and continued throughout the sixteenth century, thereby making Aristotle accessible in the original language. In addition, his works were easily available during the Renaissance in Latin editions, the first complete edition having been published in Venice between 1495 and 1498. The *Nicomachean Ethics*, which contains his most extensive treatment of friendship, was translated into English in 1547. Aristotle's works were not only readily available, they were extremely influential in England during the Renaissance. University education in philosophy was still primarily based on the works of Aristotle throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Students of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* found a

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9 Sandys, II, 104.


discussion of friendship that is both concrete and comprehensive. For Aristotle friendship is a virtue and a virtue that is necessary to life itself: "For without friends no one would choose to live, though he had all other goods; even rich men and those in possession of office and of dominating power are thought to need friends most of all; for what is the use of prosperity without the opportunity of beneficence, which is exercised chiefly and in its most laudable form towards friends?" Friendship is a moral guide to the young and a comfort to the old who get aid in their weakness. It holds states together, and it provides the truest form of justice. All things considered, it is both a necessary and a noble quality.

After discussing friendship in general, Aristotle goes on to consider the various types of friendship and the moral character of those who are capable of forming friendships. The types of friendship are three, and they correspond to three reasons for forming a friendship: utility, pleasure, and virtue. Utility is the least stable basis for friendship because one's needs are always changing, and the friendship dissolves with the need. Pleasure, like utility, is not a very strong basis for friendship since the object of pleasure also continually changes. This form of friendship most resembles love, and it is often found in the young who fall in

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and out of love and in and out of friendship. The third form of friendship, that based on virtue, is the most secure:
"Perfect friendship is the friendship of men who are good, and alike, in virtue; for these wish well alike to each other qua good, and they are good in themselves. Now those who wish well to their friends for their sake are most truly friends; for they do this by reason of their own nature and not incidentally; therefore their friendship lasts as long as they are good" (8.4.1156-57).

For Aristotle perfect friendship is rare. It begins with goodwill between men and ripens into an intimacy in which the friend is willing to act for the benefit of the other. One should not enter into such friendship hastily but test his friend first to be certain that he possesses an upright character, which is the only sure basis of a lasting relationship. When this is discovered and the friendship is formed, a man should enjoy it more for the sake of loving his friend than for being loved: "Now since friendship depends more on loving, and it is those who love their friends that are praised, loving seems to be the characteristic virtue of friends, so that it is only those in whom this is found in due measure that are lasting friends, and only their friendship that endures" (8.8.1159a). The true friend wishes good for his friend, he wants continued life for his friend, he desires to live with him, he enjoys the same tastes as his friend, and he shares both sorrow and joy with him. All of these qualities of friendship are also indica-
tive of the good man's relationship to himself; therefore, for Aristotle, a man is related to a friend as to himself. In fact, the friend may be considered "another self" (9.4.1166a). Just as the good man loves his life for its own sake, so too he desires a friend for the friend's own sake. Friendship is so important to the good man that without it he cannot call himself happy.

Perfect friendship is not only rare, it is also exclusive. It is limited to the number of people with whom one can intimately share his life. All the illustrious friendships have been between two people only. By living together and sharing mutual interests, friends can improve one another both in their external pursuits and in their inner development. Friendship in this way becomes an important force for spiritual growth: "... the friendship of good men is good, being augmented by their companionship; and they are thought to become better too by their activities and by improving each other; for from each other they take the mould of the characteristics they approve—whence the saying 'noble deeds from noble men'" (10.2.1172b).

Aristotle's notion of friendship as a guide to virtue and a goad to the performance of noble deeds is very prevalent in the friendship literature of the sixteenth century. The English humanists of the period continually demonstrated in their lives and in their writings the necessity of leading a virtuous life of civic action. Aristotle's hierarchy of friendships in which the highest position is given to that
friendship which is based on the good and which leads to
moral improvement easily lent itself to an idealization of
perfect friendship. Those men capable of sustaining friend­
ship on this highest level could feel that they belonged to
the select class of men whose moral probity was of the high­
est and whose character was most admired. A similar attrac­
tion could be found in Aristotle's emphasis on the exclusive
nature of friendship, which in its most famous manifesta­
tions existed between two men alone, and in his emphasis on
the rarity of perfect friendship. Also the nature of his
discussion of friendship made it immediately relevant as a
source of conduct in every day life. He concentrates on
specific details of the origin, characteristics, and effects
of the relationship as it exists on a personal social level.
As a result, the treatment of friendship in the literature
of the Elizabethan period, insofar as it ultimately derives
from Greek thought, is more Aristotelian than Platonic.13

Plato influenced thinking about friendship in the
Renaissance, but his concentration on the universal and
transcendent in human relationships had less immediate appeal
than Aristotle to the early English humanists who were
searching for guides of conduct that could be applied to
everyday life. This is not to say that Platonism in general
was not an important factor in the thought of the period. The
Platonic strain was very widespread, deriving not only from

13 Mills, p. 5.
Plato himself but from such writers as Plotinus, St. Augustine, Dionysius the Areopogite, and the Italian Platonists, Marsillo Ficino and Pico della Mirandola. Ficino published a complete Latin edition of Plato's works as early as 1482. Of these works the most relevant for ideas of friendship are the *Lysis*, the *Phaedrus*, and the *Symposium*. 

In the *Lysis*, Plato deals directly with the origin and function of friendship. Although he never arrives at a definitive statement about it, he does indicate its general nature. Friendship is a reciprocal relationship that exists between one good man and another. The good man, however, is not perfect, because if he were he would be totally self-sufficient and in need of no one. In striving for perfection, the good man turns to his fellow man to correct his own deficiencies. This need is mutual and provides the basis for friendship. Friends are thus alike in their striving for perfection and in their ability to help one another in their spiritual growth. In commenting on the *Lysis*, A. E. Taylor points out how friendship could be an expression of selflessness in a culture that did not value conjugal love: "Love, as known to the classical writers, is a passion for taking, not for giving. Hence in life, as seen from the Hellenic point of view, there are just two outlets for the

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spirit of eager unselfish devotion. It can show itself in a high impersonal form, as absolute devotion to the 'city,' which is the common mother of all the citizens. For the man who, like most of us, needs a personal object of flesh and blood for passionate affection and self-sacrifice, there is the lifelong friend of his own sex, whose good is to him as his own." Socrates refers to this type of devotion in the Lysis, and he concludes the dialogue by asserting his friendship with his young disputants. Here, as in all of Plato's dialogues, the very method that he uses to express his philosophy glorifies friendship, for the relationship of teacher to pupil is one between friends.

In the Phaedrus and the Symposium, Plato does not deal only with friendship but with love in general. Since the word Plato uses for friendship is often used as a synonym for love, his theory of love is important to an understanding of his notion of friendship. Love is the desire to possess the good from which one will achieve happiness. It represents a longing for immortality that can be achieved through reproduction. In lesser men this is accomplished through procreation. In nobler men it is achieved through the productions of their minds, such as Homer's works and Solon's laws. This process may begin with the love of a beautiful

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man. The lover of wisdom recognizes behind the external beauty of a man the beauty of his soul manifested in his nobility, high-mindedness, and superior character. Inspired by the friend he will try to educate him by expounding the high ideals of conduct and achievement with which he, in a sense, has been pregnant. The two friends together produce noble ideas which they nourish and tend over the years. Friendship of this sort is superior to love between a man and a woman which leads to procreation, and the mental and spiritual issue of friends is superior to the reproduction of children. Love for a friend can be the first step in the rising scale of love. A friend can move from the love of a single person to the love of two and on to the love of all beautiful forms, from beautiful forms to beautiful habits and institutions, and from there to beautiful doctrines until he arrives at meditation of absolute beauty itself, in which contemplation he ultimately reposes. Because beauty and good are one in Plato's scheme, this process leads to the highest experience of virtue: "Remember how in that communion only, beholding beauty with that by which it can be beheld, he will be enabled to bring forth, not images of beauty, but realities (for he has hold not of an image but of a reality), and bringing forth and nourishing true virtue will properly become the friend of God and be immortal, if mortal men may." 18

What emerges ultimately from this notion of love is a highly refined and spiritual relationship between two men in which each man becomes the impetus towards absolute perfection in the other and a teacher of wisdom and virtue. The bond between them is a longing for the infinite. Friendship is thus far more than a practical everyday nicety that provides mutual benefits and companionship. It is the means by which man can achieve his highest potential and through which he can bring forth all that is most noble in human productions. Through friendship, moreover, he is able to initiate the process whereby he casts off finite limitations and satisfies the transcendent longings within the human soul. Such an elevated notion of friendship, particularly when wed to Christian eschatology, endows the relationship with religious and ethical significance that answered the highest aspirations of Renaissance idealists. That in its perfect form it is achieved only by the few gave an additional appeal to their intellectually elitist proclivities. It is no wonder that Douglas Bush in his study of Renaissance humanism asserts that it is impossible to overestimate the significance of Platonism in the thought of the English humanists.\footnote{The Renaissance and English Humanism, p. 73.} Thus although the writers on friendship do not generally echo direct borrowings from Plato as they do from Aristotle and Cicero, his influence is pervasive on the cult of ideal friendship that emerges in Elizabethan literature.
In addition to Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, many other classical writers dealt with friendship, and the introduction of their works in the Renaissance contributed to the store of knowledge available to users of the theme. The Epicureans thought of friendship as an adornment to life, a pleasant escape from the loneliness of existence and from the necessities of life. Friendship is a willing association among men, not a necessity, and it carries with it no obligations except those which the friend freely assumes for the pleasures they bring. Such a self-centered, utilitarian view of friendship seems contrary to the idealistic views of Plato and Aristotle, but for the sensible Epicureans friendship can be transformed into a pleasant habit that eventually becomes an end in itself. At this stage gross selfishness disappears, and friendship is elevated far above any practical concerns.

The Stoics thought of friendship as a natural development from man's essentially social being. It is instinctual, but it is also subject to the guidance of reason. Under reason's control friendship becomes an affection that is superior to all other affections, bringing together as it does the wise to the wise and the virtuous to the virtuous.

Plutarch is an especially influential writer on friendship for the men of the Renaissance. In 1515 Erasmus translated from Plutarch's *Moralia* his treatise "Distinction Between a Flatterer and a Friend" and dedicated it to

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20 Mills, p. 5. 21 Mills, p. 5.
Henry VIII. This work, along with Plutarch's "On Abundance of Friends," gives practical advice about choosing and testing a friend and enumerates the many benefits which can be derived from friendship. Beyond these utilitarian concerns is an awareness that friendship is a very precious thing to be preserved from the sycophants who would falsify the relationship for completely selfish and evil purposes. True friendship demands unwavering virtue, and if one is fortunate enough to discover a friend, he should treasure him dearly: "But friendship requires a steady, constant, and unchangeable character, a person that is uniform in his intimacy. And so a constant friend is a thing rare and hard to find."22

In addition to the influence of classical writers, friendship ideas in the Renaissance were bolstered by the prevailing Christian ethos of the period. Although Christian theology, with its emphasis on the other life, did not specifically encourage the type of strong temporal relationship that friendship entails, it did nonetheless emphasize the spiritual bond that exists between all men as children of God. Moreover, the ideal of perfect friendship stressed virtues that were necessary not only for a fulfilling life, but also for salvation after life. M. C. D'Arcy in The Mind and Heart of Love places friendship in the context of Christian thought. While reviewing the scholarly studies of classical

and Christian concepts of love, D'Arcy notes that friendship must be added to the two traditional classifications of love as eros, or egocentric love, and agape, or theocentric love: "Eros and Agape are not the only words for love. The Philia in which Aristotle discovered the richest endowment of human personality is strange neither to the Old Testament or to the New. It differs both from Eros and Agape in being a mutual relation, a bond which links two centres of consciousness in one; and the Bible knows it not only as a human relationship, like that which binds together a David and a Jonathan." It is also the unity of God's chosen people and of Christ's followers.

Scattered throughout the Bible there are references to friends and friendships. The Book of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus are almost a compendium of classical ideas on friendship. The phraseology differs, but the advice is the same: One should choose only the best men as friends ("He that walketh with the wise, shall be wise: but a companion of fools shall be afflicted." Prov. xiii.20); A friend may be closer and dearer than a relative ("A friend loveth at all times: and a brother is borne for adversitie." Prov. xvii.17); A friend must be tested before friendship is plighted ("If thou gettest a friend, prove him first, & be not hastie to credit him." Eccles. vi.7); Constancy is an essential characteristic of friendship ("Thine owne friend and thy fathers

friend forsake thou not. . . ." (Prov. xxvii.10); Beware of false friends or flatterers who use friendship only for selfish gain ("For some man is a friend for his owne occasion, and wil not abide in the day of thy trouble." Eccles. vi.8); A friend is to be valued above all other worldly possessions ("A faithful friend ought not to be changed for any thing, and the weight of golde & silver is not to be compared to the goodnes of his faith." Eccles. vi.15); A loyal friend is a source of comfort and strength ("A faithful friend is a strong defence, and he that findeth suche one, findeth a treasure." Eccles. vi.14). To these ideas, which are so familiar in classical friendship thought, the Bible adds the underlying theological principle that love between men reflects God's love for all men. True friends can be an aid to achieving godliness in this world and salvation in the next. For example, Christ admonishes his disciples: This is my commandement, that ye loue one another, as I have loued you. Greater loue then this hathe no man, when any man bestoweth his life for his friends. Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I commande you" (John xv,12-14).

The most famous Biblical friends are David and Jonathan. They were acclaimed along with classical heroes as one of the very few pairs of friends able to reach the highest perfection of ideal friendship. Spenser, for instance, in the

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Faerie Queene blends classical and Biblical friends without distinction when he reveals in the Temple of Venus the highest type of lovers, those chaste friends whose relationship spawned noble thoughts and deeds:

Such were great Hercules, and Hylas deare;  
Trew Ionathan, and David trustie tryde;  
Stout Theseus, and Pirithous his feare;  
Pylades and Orestes by his syde;  
Myld Titus and Gesippus without pryde;  
Damon and Pythias whom death could not sever:  
All these and all that ever had bene tyde,  
In bands of friendship, there did live for ever,  
Whose lives although decay'd, yet loves decayed never.  
(F.Q. 4.10.27)

As Spenser's list indicates, Biblical friends contributed to the lore of friendship, but the preponderance of friendship sources was classical. Ancient writers on friendship and their contemporary imitators enjoyed widespread popularity in the period. One of the most important ways in which classical thought was disseminated in the Renaissance was through collections of commonplaces, proverbs, and wise sayings. Of these collections the most popular and influential was Erasmus' Adages. Erasmus published the first edition in 1500 and sent 100 copies to England. The work was enormously popular, and Erasmus revised and enlarged it many times before his death in 1536. By the end of the sixteenth


century 130 partial or complete editions of the Adages were issued. The references to friendship in the work are numerous and far reaching, containing all of the major classical ideas on the subject. The 1525 edition, for example, contains sixty-two adages on friendship. The theme must have been very ripe in Erasmus' mind indeed, for he begins the very first edition of the Adages with two of the most famous classical sayings about friendship, "Friends have all things in common," and "A friend is another self." In his discussion of these two proverbs, he illustrates their meaning with references to Cicero, Socrates, Plato, Petrarch, Terence, and Meander among others. In England Sir Thomas Elyot as early as 1538 included selections of Erasmus in his Dictionary. In the next year Richard Taverner translated 230 of the adages under the title Proverbs or Adages. Subsequent editions appeared in 1545, 1550, 1552, and 1569. Taverner not only translated Erasmus' original classical maxims, but also often added English equivalents, thereby making the ideas even more readily accessible. The following proverb under the heading Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur is typical of the many he gives about friendship: "A friende certainty is espyed in a thing incertaine, that is to say, in adversitie, where a mans mat-

27 Mills, p. 90.


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ters are inconstant, doibtfull, and full of daunger. And therefore if thou wilt do wel, do as the english proverbe biddeth the. Prove thy friend, ere thou have neede. 30

In addition to Taverner, other writers made Erasmus' thoughts available to English readers. His adages appear in such works as Claudius Holyband's The French Littleton (1576), John Florio's Firste Fruites (1578), John Baret's Alvearie, or Quadruple Dictionarie (1580), and John Withals's Dictionarie (1584). 31 Besides Erasmus' Adages, other collections of proverbs and sayings which circulated in England during the Elizabethan period give evidence of the widespread interest in the theme of friendship. Sir Thomas Elyot's The Bankette of Sapience (1539) contains "wyse counceils" grouped by subjects, one of which is "Amitie." He includes under this heading aphorisms from such diverse writers as the Church Fathers Augustine, Ambrose, and Gregory and the Ancients Plato, Salust, and Cicero. 32

An even larger collection of sayings on friendship is found in William Baldwin's A Treatise of Morall Philosophie (1547). Henry Burrowes Lathrop, in his comprehensive study of English translations of the classics, calls Baldwin's book the "most popular of all books drawing from antiquity." 33 No doubt its role in disseminating ideas of friendship was considerable. The work, which went through twenty-three edi-

30 Taverner, pp. 64r-65v. 31 Taverner, p. vii.
tions, contains over forty entries in the section entitled
"Of Friends, Friendship, and Amitie." Baldwin sums up this
section with his own rather ragged verse in which he elevates
friendship above all other moral virtues:

Friendship, which is the agreement of mindes
In truth and loue, is the chiefest vertue
Of morall vertues, that in the world man findes:
Wherefore in the world to live who so mindes,
Ought Friendship to get, and got to ensue
By loue, not by lucre, that true Friendship blinds,
Knit with an heart where rancour never grew,
Which knot estates equalitie so binds,
That to dissolve in vaine may Fortune sue.
Though malice helpe, which two, all glory grinde:
So strong is Friendship as no stormy windes
Haue might to moue, nor feare force to subdue,
Where all these poynets be setled in their kindes.

The popularity of Baldwin's book was not limited to the aris­
tocratic class. Louis B. Wright in Middle-Class Culture in
Elizabethan England points out the importance of Baldwin's
Morall Philosophie and compilations like it as a convenient
source of instruction for the new rising middle class. With the attention Baldwin gives to friendship, the theme
must not have been the prerogative of an elite circle but
must have had very broad popular appeal.

Still other sixteenth-century collections which contain
friendship material include Anthonie Marten's Commonplaces
(1583), John Bodenham's Wit's Commonwealth (1598), Robert
Allott's Wit's Theater of the Little World (1599), and Robert

34 Facsimile of 1620 ed., introd. Robert N. Bowers
(Gainesville, Fla.: Scholars Facsimiles & Reprints, 1967),
p. 174-79.

35 (Chapel Hill: Univ. of N. Carolina Press, 1935),
p. 148.
Greene's *The Royal Exchange* (1590). The first entry from Greene's book under the heading *Amicitia* is typical not only of his comments on friendship but of the other works of this sort as well. After listing the four things that procure friendship—a benefit, familiarity, similitude of manners, and eloquence—Greene continues: "Amongst all other causes of perfect friendship, the likeness of manners and similitude of life is the chiefest, so that when the parts of the minde be homogenes, of one uniforme and mutuall disposition, then commonlie the friendshoppe is firme and endureth long: whereas disparitie of manners, may for a time maske under the collour of amitie, but at last proveth brittle: for it is a censure holden for an infallible principle, *Dissimulium infida est amicitia.*" The importance of such compilations of quotations for the dissemination of classical ideas in general and of friendship thought in particular cannot be overestimated. Their influence on the literature of the period is extensive. Scholars have uncovered these adages and proverbs in the literary productions of such important Elizabethan writers as Shakespeare, Jonson, Lyly, Nashe, Lodge, Chapman, and Pettie.

More elaborate treatments of the theme of friendship during the sixteenth century are found in the courtesy books,


37 *Taverner*, p. vii.
educational treatises, and moral tracts. Among these are Thomas Lupset's *Exhortation to Young Men* (1529), Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Book Named the Governor* (1531), Sir Thomas Hoby's translation of Castiglione's *Courtier* (1561), Thomas Breme's *The Mirrour of Friendship* (1584), Thomas Churchyard's *A Spark of Friendship and Warm Good-Will* (1588), and Walter Dork's *A Tipe or Figure of Friendship* (1589). Of these the *Governor* is by far the most significant for the idealization and popularization of friendship. The book was extremely popular, going through eight editions by 1580.  

Book two contains four chapters on friendship in which Elyot discusses the necessity of friendship to a gentleman in the familiar elevated terms of classical friendship theory. Friendship is a virtue that can exist only between good men. It depends upon the complete agreement of wills and desires and is most natural between those of similar interests and activities. The friend is "the other I" who rejoices in his friend's good fortune as if it were his own. Ingratitude is a damnable vice and particularly so in a friend. Just as true friends are to be cherished, false friends or flatterers are to be avoided.  

Elyot stresses the rarity of perfect friendship and regrets the scarcity of great friendships in his time. He

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gives as an example of ideal friendship "The wonderfyl his-
tory of Titus and Gisippus, and wherby is fully declared the
figure of perfect amity." The narrative, based on a tale in
Boccoccio's Decameron, is the first fully developed use of the
friendship theme in Elizabethan fiction. It tells of the
selfless devotion of Gissipus who willingly gives up his be-
trothed to his friend Titus when he discovers that Titus has
fallen in love with her. Later Titus reveals his own devo-
tion to the ideals of perfect friendship when he offers to
die for the sake of his friend. In Elyot's retelling of the
story, he clearly elevates the relationship of friendship be-
tween two men over the love of a man for a woman. Most like-
ly he drew his inspiration from his reading of Plato and
other classical writers who promulgated the Greek ideal of
friendship as a self-sacrificing devotion between men.

After Elyot's introduction of the friendship theme in
his story of Titus and Gisippus, its use in literary works
spread rapidly. By the end of the sixteenth century friend-
ship appeared prominently in all of the major genres. In
drama friendship can be found in such plays as Richard Ed-
wards' The Excellent Comedie of Two of the Moste Faithful-
lest Freendes, Damon and Pithias, John Lyly's Endimion,
Thomas Kyd's The Spanish Tragedy and Soliman and Perseda,
Christopher Marlowe's Edward II and The Jew of Malta, Robert

40 Mills, p. 105.

41 John M. Major, Sir Thomas Elyot and Renaissance

Friendship can be found extensively in the plays of Shakespeare. He uses it as a major theme in two of his plays and as an important element of plot complication or characterization in several others. The most important plays with friendship in them are *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. In both friendship is basic to the structure of the play. To Antonio and Bassanio and Valentine and Proteus must be added such famous Shakespearean friends as Hamlet and Horatio, Romeo and Mercutio, and Othello and Cassio. In addition Shakespeare gives us two portraits of female friends: Rosalind and Celia in *As You Like It* and Hermia and Helena in *Midsummer's Night's Dream*. Other plays of Shakespeare which contain friendship include *Julius Caesar*, *King Henry the Fourth, Parts I and II*, *Twelfth Night*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, and *Timon of Athens*.

In poetry friendship ideas appeared in a major work as early as Tottel's *Miscellany* (1557) in the poems of Nicholas Grimald and several unidentified authors. Besides Tottel's book other Elizabethan poetry collections containing friendship poems are Richard Edwards' *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576), Timothy Kendall's *Flowers of Epigrams* (1577), Thomas Proctor's *A Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions*.
(1578), Thomas Watson's *Passionate Century of Love* (1581), Robert Allot's *England's Parnassus* (1600), John Bodenham's *England's Helicon* (1600) and Belvedere (1600). The miscellanies were very popular and were reprinted continually throughout the period, so their influence on the spread of friendship material must have been considerable. The *Paradise of Dainty Devices*, for example, appeared in later editions of 1578, 1580, 1585, 1596 (two), 1600, and 1606. A listing of the titles of the friendship poems in this popular anthology will give some indication of the extent and treatment of friendship ideas in the poetic miscellanies:

"Nothing is comparable unto a faithfull freend," "The perfect tryall of a faythfull freend," "Trye before you trust," "No foe to a flatterer," "The fruites of fained frendes," "Of a Freend and a Flatterer," "Donec eris Felix multos numerabis amicos, Nullus ad amissus ibit amicus opes," "The fruites of feined Frendes," and three other poems that deal with the distinction between true and false friends, "Beware of had I wyst," "No woordes, but deede," and "Trye before you trust."

Other sixteenth-century poems which make use of the theme of friendship include Sir Philip Sidney's "Two Pastorals" and "Dispraise of a Courtly Life," Barnabe Googe's fifth and sixth "Eclogues," and George Turbervile's "That It Is Hurtfull to Conceale Secrets from Our Friends." In lyric verse of the last decade of the century, the theme of

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friendship is treated in the exaggerated rhetoric of love in sonnets and sonnet sequences. Richard Barnfield's *Cynthia* treats the male relationship of Daphnis for his friend Gany­mede in terms usually reserved for a lover and his mistress. A more conventional view of friendship is found in Michael Drayton's *Idea*, particularly "Sonnet 11" in which the concept of the identity of friends is explored in a paradoxical playing with the traditional metaphor of friends being one soul in bodies twain. Of course the most famous and controversial treatment of friendship in lyric poetry of the Elizabethan period is to be found in Shakespeare's *Sonnets*. His emphasis on the conflict between love and friendship reflects a central motif of friendship literature, and his highly idealized treatment of his friend is typical of the attitude toward friendship that pervades all of the literature on the subject during this period.

In narrative poetry there are several poems which take up the story of Titus and Gisippus which Elyot had introduced although sometimes the friends' names are changed. Among them are Edward Lewicke's *The Most Wonderful, and Pleasant History of Titus and Gisippus*, Edward Ienynge's *The Notable History of Two Faithfull Lovers Named Alfague and Archelaus. Wherein is Declared the True Figure of Amytie and Freyndshyp*, Thomas Deloney's ballad "Of the Faithfull Friendship that Lasted Betweene Two Faithfull Friends," and John Drout's *The Pityfull Historie of Two Loving Italians, Gaulfrido and Bernardo le Vayne*. The most important treatment of the theme
of friendship in narrative verse is found in Book IV of Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. The book, entitled "The Legend of Cambel and Triamond or of Friendship," contains in addition to the two nominal heroes a series of friendships, both true and false, that illustrate Aristotle's ethical equilibrium of the Golden Mean. Ultimately, however, Spenser in the *Faerie Queene* emerges with a vision of friendship that far transcends personal relationships between individuals. In the course of the book, Spenser subsumes friendship under the notion of a cosmic concord which binds all creation, animate and inanimate, in a divine harmony.

In prose fiction, in addition to Elyot's story in the *Governor*, friendship figures prominently in such important works as Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590) and John Lyly's *Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit* (1578) and *Euphues and His England* (1580). It is also central to two of Robert Greene's works *Ciceronis Amor* (1589) and *Philomela* (1592). Friendship appears to a lesser degree in his romances *Morando* (1587) and *Pandosto* (1588) and in his realistic prose narrative *A Disputation Between a Hee Conny-Catcher and a Shee Conny-Catcher* (1598). Thomas Lodge also uses the theme of friendship in his fiction, most notably in *Rosalynde* (1590), which has one of the few instances of friendship between women in literature, and in *Euphues' Shadow* (1592). Stephen Gosson makes extensive use of friendship in *The Ephemerides of Phialo* (1579). Shorter works of fiction which involve friendship are found in the tales of William Painter's *Palace of Pleas-
ure (1566). For example, the story entitled "The Love of Chariton and Menalippus" follows the pattern of Damon and Pythias with each of the two friends offering to sacrifice his life for that of his friend. Sir Geoffrey Fenton's Certain Tragical Discourses (1567), translated from Continental sources, also contains several tales with the theme of friendship.

Even a partial listing of the works in which friendship appeared in the sixteenth century reveals the general knowledge of friendship ideas and their widespread use in the literature of the period. Friendship is a significant element in major works in all genres—poetry, drama, and prose fiction. The range of literature in which it appears extends from the pithy sayings of the compendiums to the elaborate epic of Spenser. The range of the audience to whom it appealed is similarly broad, from the aristocratic readers of the sonnet sequences to the popular readers of the prose romances and realistic fiction of Greene. The many instances of passing references to such famous metaphors as "the other self" or "one soul in bodies twain" and the many allusions to such famous friends as Damon and Pythias and Titus and Gisippus indicate that the underlying doctrines and basic stories of friendship were so pervasive that they needed no elaboration. If the renowned actual friendships of the period, such as those between Sidney and Languet and Erasmus and More, are added to the list of literary friends, the impact of friendship on the lives and literature of the period
is remarkable. The interest in friendship, moreover, was an enduring one. The theme appears first in the translations and other writings of the early English humanists of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and it continues unabated into the seventeenth century in such famous works as Bacon's essay "Of Friendship."

A topic so important in the English Renaissance deserves greater attention than it has previously received. Mills has done a yeoman's service in identifying the works in which the theme appears, and he has adequately traced its development in the drama not only of the Elizabethan period but also into the Stuart period as well. Friendship in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* has been discussed in at least one full-length study and in several general works that deal with book four. The subject of the friend in Shakespeare's *Sonnets* has received more attention than anyone could hope for or want. Friendship in Elizabethan prose fiction, however, has not received the critical attention which it merits. A full discussion of its use in all of the prose works, both major and minor, of the period would not be fruitful. Mills has already identified them and commented briefly on each. His treatment is sufficient for those minor works in which

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friendship appears briefly and incidentally. For the major prose works of the period in which the theme plays a prominent part, a full-length study is needed to detail adequately its use and to place them in the tradition of friendship literature. In this study I will focus on three Elizabethan novels, John Lyly's Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit and Euphues and His England, and Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia. These works are particularly significant because the authors' treatment of the theme is typical of the writers of the period who use friendship, particularly in their idealization of friendship and its relation to romantic love, and because the works were so enormously influential on all the literature of the last and most productive decades of the sixteenth century as well as succeeding eras.

Euphues was popular from its first appearance, going through five printings during the first six years following its publication in 1578 and being reissued during the Renaissance in new editions until 1636. Imitations appeared immediately and proliferated for a dozen years. The enormous impact of Lyly's two novels on his time is stressed by Jusserand: "This period, however, was filled in a measure with the product of Lyly's brains or that of his imitators." And as Ernest Baker notes in The History of the English


45 Jusserand, p. 137.
Novel, it was not only the style of Euphues that was imitated but also its subject matter. The influence of Lyly's work on the period is surpassed in prose fiction only by Sidney's Arcadia (1590). Its popularity too was immediate and longer lasting than that of Euphues. Jusserand points out how Sidney's book came to occupy the position Lyly's had earlier held: "His book was, so to speak, a standard one; everybody had to read it; elegant ladies now began to talk 'Arcadianism' as they had been before talking 'Euphuism.'" Four editions of the Arcadia appeared before 1600, and fourteen more followed in the seventeenth century. In the development of prose fiction in England, its influence lasted even beyond the period of Richardson. The Arcadia affected the drama as well. Sidney's material has been posited as the source of plays by such important Renaissance dramatists as Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, John Webster, and James Shirley. Even a long narrative poem, Argalus and Parthenia, by Francis Quarles, draws directly upon the Arcadia for its subject matter and attests to the continuing influence of Sidney in the seventeenth century.

In addition to their influence on Renaissance English literature and their representative treatment of friendship,
there is a more important reason why I have chosen the Arcadia, Euphues, and Euphues and His England as the subject of this study. Friendship occupies a central position in them, touching on thematic concerns, plot complications, and character revelation and development. The importance of friendship in these three works has not yet been sufficiently recognized or adequately discussed. A study of friendship in Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit, Euphues and His England, and the Arcadia will throw new light on these particular works as well as illuminate a hitherto neglected aspect of Elizabethan literature in general.
CHAPTER II

JOHN LYLY'S EUPHUES: THE ANATOMY OF WIT

Most criticism of Euphues has centered on style. When narrative content has been mentioned at all, it has been only to dismiss it as insignificant. A few typical phrases of critics indicate how prevalent this attitude is: "a very slender thread;"¹ "the story is a trellis;"² "the thinnest of plots, which is, indeed, more a means to an end than an end in itself;"³ "the thread of the story is of the slightest, exciting hardly any interest in itself;"⁴ "of plot or story there is but little;"⁵ and "a thin thread of narrative."⁶ Violet M. Jeffery in John Lyly and the Italian Renaissance summarizes Lyly's critical reputation and concludes: "Thus Euphues is generally studied in our day, from the point of

⁴ Baker, II, 59.

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view of style alone, much to his detriment. His subject-matter has been neglected."  

To ignore the fable or matter of *Euphues*, however, is to ignore Lyly's admonition to Lord West in "The Epistle Dedicatory" to the first edition:

> Though the style nothing delight the dainty ear of the curious sifter, yet will the matter recreate the mind of the courteous reader. The variety of the one will abate the harshness of the other. Things of greatest profit are set forth with least price. When the wine is neat there needeth no ivy-bush. The right coral needeth no colouring. Where the matter itself bringeth credit, the man with his gloss winneth small commendation. It is therefore, methinketh, a greater show of a pregnant wit than perfect wisdom in a thing of sufficient excellency to use superfluous eloquence. We commonly see that a black ground doth best beseeem a white counterfeit. And Venus, according to the judgment of Mars, was then most amiable when she sat close by Vulcanus. If these things be true which experience trieth—that a naked tale doth most truly set forth the naked truth, that where the countenance is fair there need no colours, that painting is meeter for ragged walls than fine marble, that verity then shineth most bright when she is in least bravery—I shall satisfy mine own mind, though I cannot feed their humours which greatly seek after those that sift the finest meal and bear the whitest mouths.  

Since ironically the passage is written in a typically euphuistic style it is easy to dismiss it as only a conventional apology, but Lyly's emphasis on subject over style should not be ignored. *Euphues* does have a continuous narrative, and the characters assume roles in a functional, though simple, plot. The matter is prominent. And central to this matter is the theme of friendship.

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From the outset of the narrative, Lyly informs us that Euphues, though pregnant with wit, is lacking wisdom. The story of Euphues then becomes that of the prodigal son's return to the path of virtue, the young man's painful acquisition of wisdom. The measure of Euphues' progress will be his understanding of the true nature of love and friendship. It is made clear that the defects in Euphues' character at the beginning of his odyssey extend to his conception of friendship, for he "preferring fancy before friends and his present humour before honour to come laid reason in water, being too salt for his taste, and followed unbridled affection most pleasant for his tooth" (p. 11). As I hope to make clear later in this study, the conjunction of friendship with reason and affection with appetite is not an incidental one.

Once introduced, the theme of friendship is never far absent from the narrative. Within one hundred lines of the beginning of the book, in the first mention of Euphues' activities in Naples, Lyly focuses on it, and carefully lays the groundwork for Euphues' friendship with Philautus. At this point Euphues is surrounded not by friends but by "guests" and "companions": "Here he wanted no companions, which courted him continually with sundry kinds of devices whereby they might either soak his purse to reap commodity or sooth his person to win credit; for he had guests and companions of all sorts" (p. 12). The basis of this companionship is self-interest.
Such an association between men is described by Aristotle who warns of its dangers. Friendship for Aristotle may be of three kinds: that based on virtue, pleasure, or self-interest. These last two are inferior and very fragile relations:

Therefore those who love for the sake of utility love for the sake of what is good for themselves, and those who love for the sake of pleasure do so for the sake of what is pleasant to themselves, and not in so far as the other is the person loved but in so far as he is useful or pleasant. And thus these friendships are only incidental; for it is not as being the man he is that the loved person is loved, but as providing some good or pleasure. Such friendships, then, are easily dissolved, if the parties do not remain like themselves; for if the one party is no longer pleasant or useful the other ceases to love him. (Nicomachean Ethics, 8.3.1155b)

Such associations are traps for the unwary. The inexperienced youth thrust among congenial, but more worldly, men soon finds himself prey to their desires for material gain or physical pleasure. But Lyly's hero is not a country bumpkin whose innocence is threatened by the deceits of evil sophisticates. Euphues too is sophisticated, and his own self-interest prompts him to treat all men indiscriminately. Lyly, moreover, does not surround Euphues exclusively with vain men. Some of them are worthy of friendship:

There frequented to his lodging and mansion house as well the spider to suck poison of his fine wit as the bee to gather honey, as well the drone as the dove, as well Damocles to betray him as Damon to be true to him. Yet he behaved himself so wary that he singled his game wisely. He could easily discern Apollo's music from Pan his pipe, and Venus's beauty from Juno's bravery, and the faith of Laelius from the flattery of Aristippus. He welcomed all but trusted none; he was merry, but yet so wary that neither the flatterer could take
If it is prudent to shun a Damocles or an Aristippus, it is foolish to reject a Damon or a Laelius.

It is wrong to read Euphues as a *bilder roman*. Lyly never suggests that Euphues is an innocent. His is not a journey from ignorance to knowledge but from knowledge to wisdom. Euphues must reject false friends and flatterers, but also he must come to recognize the value of friendship, for by seeing it in its fullest spiritual and moral nature, he will strengthen his own vision of himself and of his role in life as a wayfarer on the path to eternity. In his initial commitment to Philautus, Euphues is not yet aware of the underlying significance of friendship and its relationship to virtue. Lyly indicates this by interrupting the narrative to show the defects of the young men who might be prospective friends. The "wits," including Euphues, compete with, not complement, one another: "Hereof cometh such great familiarity between the ripest wits when they shall see the disposition the one of the other, the *sympathia* of affections, and as it were but a pair of sheers to go between their natures; one flattereth an other in his own folly and layeth cushions under the elbow of his fellow when he seeth him take a nap with fancy; and as their wit wresteth them to vice, so it forgeth them some feat excuse to cloak their vanity" (p. 26). Such men are not friends but flatterers. Classical doctrines of friendship, which Lyly uses throughout
the work, are replete with admonitions about the false show of obsequious men who use compliments to bend a relationship to their advantage. Plutarch's essay "How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend" is typical in its contention that a true friend can be distinguished from a false one by the test of virtue: "To put it in few words, the flatterer thinks he ought to do anything to be agreeable, while the friend, by doing always what he ought to do, is oftentimes agreeable and oftentimes disagreeable, not from any desire to be disagreeable, and yet not attempting to avoid even this if it be better" (p. 295).

Lyly's amplification of the shallow relationship between "wits" who use their companions as sounding boards for their own displays of verbal dexterity and as camouflage for their moral shallowness suggests the nature of the relationship between Euphues and Philautus. As soon as Lyly returns to the narrative proper, he introduces their friendship:

Euphues having sojourned by the space of two months in Naples, whether he were moved by the courtesy of a young gentleman named Philautus or enforced by destiny, whether his pregnant wit or his pleasant conceits wrought the greater liking in the mind of Euphues, I know not for certainty; but Euphues showed such entire love towards him that he seemed to make small account of any others, determining to enter into such an inviolable league of friendship with him as neither time by piecemeal should impair, neither fancy utterly dissolve, nor any suspicion infringe. (p. 28)

The meeting of Euphues and Philautus as the narrator describes it is more typical of romantic lovers than of future friends. The commitment is so unpremeditated and extravagant that he ironically speculates whether it might not have...
been destined. While star-crossed lovers may meet and re­act instantly to Cupid's barbs in one another's eyes, men must pause and rationally test the merits of their companions before they affirm their affection with bonds of friendship. The romantic lover may respond immediately to the beauty of his beloved; the friend must discover the virtue of his friend, for it alone can be the basis of a lasting friend­ship, not the social qualities of "courtesy" or "wit" or elo­quence that attract Euphues to Philautus.

The quality of their "league of friendship" is left in doubt. In addition, the narration of the meeting of Euphues and Philautus must be considered in the context of the ex­hortation that immediately precedes it. It is a "sympathia of affections" not a sympathia of virtues which is the basis of Philautus' appeal to Euphues. Passionate love is primari­ly an affective relation, but friendship is primarily a ra­tional relation. As Lyly later informs us, the very name of Euphues' friend suggests a defect in character fatal to a true league of friendship. He is the "selfish man" whose self-love precludes the sacrifices needed for true friend­ship. Classical and Renaissance moral treatises abound in warnings about the moral dangers of philautia. But there is also irony in Lyly's use of the name "Philautus" for Euphues' friend. At least at the beginning of The Anatomy of Wit, Euphues not Philautus is the selfish one. In a sense Euphues' lack of wisdom inversely parallels Philautus' selfishness. As Euphues grows in wisdom, Philautus seems to become more
selfish. Their characters are almost reversed by the end of *Euphues and His England*. Euphues is wise; Philautus is foolish. But at the beginning of *The Anatomy of Wit* Philautus is a more admirable character than Euphues. As Mills points out, Lyly's treatment of friendship is directly related to this change in the moral and intellectual awareness of the two main characters: "The background of Euphues is formed by the friendship of Euphues and Philautus, which, as the names of the characters suggest, is not yet perfect. For Euphues must learn by sad experience to supplant wit by wisdom, and Philautus to be less selfish before they are ready for such a friendship as the classical examples illustrate. The ins and outs of the relations between the two, especially as they are modified by the friends' love experiences, form the outlines of the friendship material" (p. 182).

Euphues' precipitous vows of friendship reflect the overall impression of his character which Lyly has stressed from the outset. Euphues is not ignorant of friendship. He knows perfectly well, intellectually, the true nature of friendship, its obligations, and its rewards. But knowledge is the limit of Euphues' understanding of it. He lacks wisdom. He has not experienced friendship, and this experiential void causes him to misuse the friendship he has formed. To transfer intellectual knowledge to practical wisdom is the task of Euphues and the core of the work. He must, as the Renaissance philosopher and educator Juan Luis Vives writes, convert his studies and his experiences into a meaningful
pattern of living:

Practical wisdom, however, is the skill of accommodating all things of which we make use in life, to their proper places, times, persons, and functions. It is the moderator and rudder in the tempest of the feelings, so that they shall not by their violence run the ship of the whole man on the shallows, or on the rocks, or let it be overwhelmed in the magnitude of the waves. Practical wisdom is born from its parents judgment and experience. Judgment must be sound and solid, and at all times, quick and clear­sighted. Experience is either personal knowledge gained by our own action, or the knowledge acquired by what we have seen, read, heard of, in others. Where either of these sources is lacking a man cannot be practically wise.

If this growth from knowledge to wisdom through experience is the general, underlying theme of Euphues, its principal, specific instrument is Euphues' growing awareness of friendship. The theme is prominent in the narrative, and his progress in this respect marks his overall growth as a man. To the extent that Euphues understands friendship, to that extent he has grown in wisdom and understands all virtues. Thus Lyly, by using friendship in this way as the index to character, makes friendship, not prudence or magnificence, the central virtue. Man's moral nature, by implication, can be measured by and through his friends. By the end of the book Euphues has gained in his comprehension of friendship, but he never fully appreciates either the human, emotional nature of friendship or friendship in its larger, cosmic nature--friend­ship as it applies to the relationship of man to God, man to society, and man to the commonweal.

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This failure of Euphues to grasp the broader implications of friendship suggests his failure as a character. If we feel at the end of *The Anatomy of Wit* and *Euphues and His England* that Lyly has not succeeded in delineating a fully rounded, believable character the key to this failure may be found in Euphues' attitude toward friendship. This failure of Euphues as a character is a failure of self-knowledge. Euphues believes that he knows the meaning of friendship and that he has reached the pinnacle of wisdom, but he is mistaken, and this self-deception prohibits true growth.

Euphues' sermonizing on friendship misses the true nature of friendship, and by deleting the personal, emotional element in friendship, he reduces it to a sickly shadow of the real thing. Euphues' wisdom ultimately remains an intellectual quality only. This is why Euphues in the end becomes not the perfect citizen or courtier or lover or friend, but a recluse. Whatever wisdom he has attained produces no achievements in the world of men, and for the activists that the Renaissance humanists were, such wisdom is very limited, if indeed that which remains unproductive of action can be called wisdom:

"This then is the fruit of all studies, this is the goal. Having acquired our knowledge, we must turn it to usefulness and employ it for the common weal."\(^{10}\)

The notion of friendship that Lyly dramatizes in *The Anatomy of Wit* draws heavily on Cicero's *De Amicitia*. When

\(^{10}\) Vives, p. 283.
he has Euphues decide to profess friendship for Philautus, Lyly carefully indicates that Euphues has already studied the theories of friendship, for his speech reveals all the major tenets of classical thought on the subject:

'I have read,' saith he, 'and well I believe it, that a friend is in prosperity a pleasure, a solace in adversity, in grief a comfort, in joy a merry companion, at all times an other I, in all places the express image of mine own person; insomuch that I cannot tell whether the immortal gods have bestowed any gift upon mortal men either more noble or more necessary than friendship. Is there anything in the world to be reputed (I will not say compared) to friendship? Can any treasure in this transitory pilgrimage be of more value than a friend—in whose bosom thou mayest sleep secure without fear, whom thou mayest make partaker of all thy secrets without suspicion of fraud and partaker of all thy misfortunes without mistrust of fleeting, who will account thy bale his bane, thy mishap his misery, the prick- ing of thy finger the piercing of his heart? But whither am I carried? Have I not also learned that one should eat a bushel of salt with him whom he meaneth to make his friend? That trial maketh trust? That there is falsehood in fellowship? And what then? Doth not the sympathy of manners make the conjunction of minds? Is it not a byword, like will to like? Not so common as commendable it is to see young gentlemen choose them such friends with whom they may seem, being absent, to be present, being asunder, to be conversant, being dead to be alive. I will therefore have Philautus for my fere, and by so much the more I make myself sure to have Philautus, by how much the more I view in him the lively image of Euphues.' (pp. 28-29)

Euphues echoes Cicero but perverts his doctrine in order to rationalize his own hasty, irrational league with Philautus. The values in friendship which Euphues stresses are indeed traditional ones, but Cicero had subordinated worldly profit and pleasure to more spiritual rewards: "And, you know, I surely think that those who form friendships for the sake of advantage destroy the link in friendship that is
most productive of affection. It is not so much what we gain from our friend as the very love of the friend itself that gives us joy, and what we get from a friend gives us joy since it comes to us with love" (51). The concept of the "other I" which Euphues cites to demonstrate the value of friendship in enhancing his "self" is in Cicero a natural acceptance of one's own identity. A man opens himself to his friend in such a way that his identity mirrors the other's: "For a man loves himself not in order to exact from himself some pay for his affection, but simply because every man is by his very nature dear to himself. Unless this same principle is transferred to friendship, a man will never find a true friend, for the true friend is, so to speak, a second self" (80). Friendship is an end in itself, and the friend must be loved for himself alone.

Euphues' motives are self-directed. He takes no account of the needs of the other person or of one's own responsibilities in a friendship. Nor does he base his friendship for Philautus on virtue, the one indispensable condition for friendship: "Those who say that virtue is man's highest good, are of course very inspiring; but it is to this very virtue that friendship owes its beginning and its identity: without virtue friendship cannot exist at all" (Cicero, 20). Euphues' reflections indicate that he knows the theory of true friendship. He knows that caution must be exercised in forming friendships, but he chooses to ignore the need for caution. Mutual interests and similarity of conduct appear
to him to be sufficient grounds for befriending Philautus: "Doth not the sympathy of manners make the conjunction of minds?" But as Cicero clearly states, mutual ideals of virtue are the ultimate basis of friendship, and these can be recognized only over a span of time. Unlike passionate love which occurs suddenly and often without volition, friendship is a form of rational love that involves deliberate, considered choice: "And so—and this we cannot say too often—we must test and observe first, and then bestow our affections, and not first bestow our affections, and then test and observe" (Cicero, 85).

That Euphues at this point thinks of friendship in much the same way as romantic love is underscored by the narrator who uses the terminology of love to describe Euphues' friendship for Philautus: ". . . in the sequel of Euphues and Philautus you shall see, whose hot love soon waxed cold" (p. 29). The hot and cold flashes of the melancholy lover of Elizabethan sonnets should have no place in the breasts of friends, for if friendship can be distinguished in any one respect from other forms of love, romantic love in particular, it is in its source. Whereas romantic love is an affective response to another, friendship is a rational response. Affection, of course, is not absent in friends, but it is always subordinated to the higher faculty. John Ferguson in Moral Values in the Ancient World explains the classical distinction between erotic love and friendship in the thermal images that are continually reiterated in the literature of
romantic love: "Eros is passion. It has none of the coolness of philia. When a man is gripped by passion he seems to lose control of himself. The very word 'passion' suggests that he is an object, not a subject, a sufferer, not an agent."

Philautus' conception of friendship in this respect is no less deficient than Euphues'. He too is quick to pledge friendship with Euphues at the first mention of the word. His assertion of friendship includes the promise that "Trial shall prove trust" (p. 31), but actually trial must precede trust if friendship is to be rationally grounded. Philautus, like Euphues, speaks in the language of love. His words are more suited to the pleas of a hot-blooded lover newly stricken by Cupid's darts than to the cool, rational declaration of a man who recognizes in another the qualities of virtue that warrant a profession of friendship: "Here is my hand, my heart, my lands, and my life at thy commandment. Thou mayest well perceive that I did believe thee that so soon I did love thee, and I hope that thou wilt the rather love me in that I did believe thee" (p. 31).

The narrator points out the dangers to friendship when it is measured by the criteria of romantic love, and he clearly predicts the collapse of friendship between Euphues and Philautus: "Although there be none so ignorant that doth not know, neither any so impudent that will not confess

friendship to be the jewel of human joy; yet whosoever shall see this amity grounded upon a little affection will soon conjecture that it shall be dissolved upon a light occasion; as in the sequel of Euphues and Philautus you shall see, whose hot love waxed soon cold" (p. 29). He cannot contain his amazement that these two young men would pledge such strong vows of friendship after such a short acquaintance:

"Either Euphues and Philautus stood in need of friendship or were ordained to be friends; upon so short warning to make so soon a conclusion might seem in mine opinion, if it continued, miraculous, if shaken off, ridiculous" (p. 31).

Euphues' confusion of the qualities of love with those of friendship is again shown when, shortly after professing undying amity for Philautus, he falls in love with Lucilla, Philautus' fiancée. Like his friendship for Philautus, Euphues' attachment to Lucilla is immediate and overwhelming when he first meets her at a banquet: "And so they all sat down; but Euphues fed of one dish which ever stood before him, the beauty of Lucilla. Here Euphues at the first sight was so kindled with desire that almost he was like to burn to coals" (p. 34). Love at first sight is appropriate; friendship at first sight is not. The speed with which Euphues is smitten by love and the intensity of his reactions to this experience parallel his initial experience of friendship for Philautus. Thus the parallel serves to emphasize Euphues' deficient understanding of friendship while at the same time it illustrates the irrationality of passionate love.
The defects of love are shown from several perspectives. Euphues' discourse on the problems of love, which follows his discovery of Lucilla, introduces the picture of the love-struck suitor of the sonnet sequences who is rejected by the virtuous, disdainful mistress:

'. . . they abhor the light love of youth which is grounded upon lust and dissolved upon every light occasion. When they see the folly of men turn to fury, their delight to doting, their affection to frenzy; when they see them as it were pine in pleasure and to wax pale through their own peevishness; their suits, their service, their letters, their labours, their loves, their lives seem to them so odious that they harden their hearts against concupiscence to the end they might convert them from rashness to reason, from such lewd disposition to honest discretion. Hereof it cometh that men accuse women of cruelty because they themselves want civility, they account them full of wiles in not yielding to their wickedness, faithless for resisting their filthiness.' (p. 39)

Ironically Euphues breaks off his discourse at this point because he is overcome by the same lust that he is denouncing. The irony is carried further in the mental exercises of Lucilla which follow. In her uncontrollable passion for Euphues, Lucilla displays all of the qualities from which Euphues claims women are free. She burns with desire for Euphues, and her sophistical attempts to justify her fickleness and lack of faith to Philautus only reveal more clearly the irrationality of her love. She is led to reject the authority of her father and to practice deception:

'Let my father use what speeches he list, I will follow mine own lust. Lust, Lucilla? What sayest thou? No, no, mine own love I should have said: for I am as far from lust as I am from reason, and as near to love as I am to folly. Then stick to thy determination and show thyself what love can do, what love
dares do, what love hath done. Albeit I can no way quench the coals of desire with forgetfulness, yet will I rake them up in the ashes of modesty; seing I dare not discover my love for maidenly shamefastness, I will dissemble it till time I have opportunity.' (p. 42)

Lucilla's recognition of the destructiveness of love is echoed by Euphues. Employing the stock metaphors of the courtly lover, Euphues views love as a disease: "O ye gods, have ye ordained for every malady a medicine, for every sore a salve, for every pain a plaster, leaving only love remedi­less? Did ye deem no man so mad to be entangled with desire? Or thought ye them worthy to be tormented that were so misled? Have ye dealt more favourably with brute beasts than with reasonable creatures? . . . And can men by no herb, by no art, by no way procure a remedy for the impatient disease of love?" (pp. 43-44). But as Euphues realizes, it is a defect of reason that traps man in the throes of love. Passion overwhelms reason, and man chooses to indulge his appetite at the expense of the higher faculty: "Neither is it forbidden us by the gods to love, by whose divine providence we are permitted to love, neither do we want remedies to rescue our maladies, but reason to use the means" (p. 44).

It is precisely this defect of reason that distinguishes romantic love from friendship. Once Euphues has surrendered to passion, he is willing to practice any form of deceit to acquire his goal. True friendship, founded upon love of virtue and dependent upon virtuous conduct for its continuance, can not survive the onslaught of the ungov-
ernable, irrational force of love. The same perverted reason that caused Euphues to fall in love at first sight causes him to renounce his friend and to pervert friendship to gain the object of his desire:

'Shall I not then hazard my life to obtain my love? And deceive Philautus to receive Lucilla? Yes, Euphues, where love beareth sway, friendship can have no show. As Philautus brought me for his shadow the last supper, so will I use him for my shadow till I have gained his saint. And canst thou, wretch, be false to him that is faithful to thee? Shall his courtesy be cause of thy cruelty? Wilt thou violate the league of faith to inherit the land of folly? Shall affection be of more force than friendship, love than law, hurt than loyalty? Knowest thou not that he that loseth his honesty hath nothing else to lose?' (pp. 45-46)

Euphues is aware of the evil in his actions, but he begins to build a case for the priority of love over friendship because love, based on the affective appetite, is uncontrolable. Ultimately the argument depends upon the contention that love and reason are not reconcilable; consequently, virtue and friendship which are dependent upon reason, are sacrificed to the passion of love: "Tush, the case is light where reason taketh place; to love and to live well is not granted Jupiter" (p. 46).

Euphues decides to deceive his friend and use Philautus to achieve his goal of stealing Lucilla from him: "Let Philautus behave himself never so craftily he shall know that it must be a wily mouse that shall breed in the cat's ear, and because I resemble him in wit I mean a little to dissemble with him in wiles" (p. 46). Euphues knows that he will have to employ wiles, for the conventions of romantic
love decree an elaborate cat-and-mouse ritual between the disdainful lady and the lustful suitor: "If Lucilla be so proud to disdain poor Euphues, would Euphues were so happy to deny Lucilla; or if Lucilla be so mortified to live without love, would Euphues were so fortunate to live in hate" (p. 47).

True friend that he is, Philautus responds to Euphues' love melancholy with an offer to aid him, even to the point of death:

'Friend and fellow, as I am not ignorant of thy present weakness, so I am not privy of the cause; and although I suspect many things, yet can I assure myself of no one thing. Therefore, my good Euphues, for these doubts and dumps of mine either remove the cause or reveal it. Thou hast hitherto found me a cheerful companion in thy mirth, and now shalt thou find me as careful with thee in thy moan. If altogether thou mayest not be cured, yet mayest thou be comforted. If there be any thing that either by my friends may be procured or by my life attained, that may either heal thee in part or help thee in all, I protest to thee by the name of a friend that it shall rather be gotten with the loss of my body, than lost by getting a kingdom.' (p. 48)

Euphues deceives Philautus by telling him that he loves Lucilla's companion Livia. Both men then discuss love in terms of a malady. Renaissance psychological and physiological theories support the notion of passionate love as a disease. Such love begins with the emanation of spirits from the eyes of the lady to the eyes of the lover. From the eyes these vital spirits proceed to the liver and from the liver to the heart. There excessive blood and vital spirits produce the sanguine stage of the disease which causes the lover to feel as if he were on fire. In the next stage, that of melancholy,
he weeps, sighs and shivers with cold. Such disruption of
the natural balance of bodily humors could lead to insanity
or even death. Thus Euphues' contention that his love is
a "desperate disease" is not an idle exaggeration, and Phil­
autus, not knowing the true cause of this love-sickness, is
quick to propose as a cure for his friend a meeting with
Livia: "... my books teach me that such a wound must be
healed where it was first hurt, and for this disease we will
use a common remedy, but yet comfortable. The eye that
blinded thee shall make thee see, the scorpion that stung
thee shall heal thee, a sharp sore hath a short cure--let us
go." To the which Euphues consented willingly, smiling to
himself to see how he had brought Philautus into a fool's
paradise" (pp. 52-53). Driven by amorous desires, Euphues
willfully misuses the trust which a bond of friendship cre­
ates in order to deceive his rival. So blatant is Euphues'
dishonesty and lack of integrity that the narrator interrupts
the plot to comment on Euphues' violation of the league of
friendship: "Here you may see, gentlemen, the falsehood in
fellowship, the fraud in friendship, the painted sheath with
the leaden dagger, the fair words that make fools fain" (p.
53). In light of such calculated hypocrisy, commingled with
Euphues' sanctimonious public sermonizing, it is no surprise
that morally sensitive critics such as C. S. Lewis have con­
demned the morality of the book: "It is no kindness to Lyly

12 Mark Rose, Heroic Love (Cambridge: Harvard Univ.
to treat him as a serious novelist; the more seriously we take its actions and characters the more odious his book will appear. Whether Lyly's moralizing was sincere or no, we need not inquire: it is, in either case, intolerable."^13 Euphues puts into effect his plan to deceive his friend and secure his mistress. He accompanies Philautus to Lucilla's house where he resumes his discourse on love, now with new fervor and passion since he has been ensnared by love. The wit and formal rhetoric of his former speech with its playful irony give way to an extravagant and impassioned defense of love and women. Ironically Euphues stresses the superior loyalty and virtue of women over men. These are the very qualities Lucilla lacks. The discussions of love here and elsewhere are derived ultimately from the Italian tratti d'amore which contain conventional Renaissance neo-platonic views of love.\(^14\) Lyly, however, places these set speeches in a context that is dramatically appropriate to his narrative structure.

When Lucilla's father Ferardo returns home to request Philautus' company on a business trip which will cement the engagement of Lucilla to Philautus, Euphues seizes the opportunity to betray his friend. Philautus, trusting and naive, willingly leaves the two together. Even Ferardo abandons the usual caution of a father, for he assumes that the bonds of

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13 Lewis, p. 314.
14 Jeffery, p. 35.
friendship are sacred and inviolable. He entrusts Lucilla to the company of Philautus' "other self": "And seeing I must take Philautus with me, I will be so bold to crave you, gentleman (his friend), to supply his room, desiring you to take this hasty warning for a hearty welcome and so to spend this time of mine absence in honest mirth" (p. 56). After Ferardo's departure, Euphues ignores his offer of "honest mirth" and hastens to declare his love for Lucilla in the terminology of the love-struck lover of the sonnet sequences, but with Lyly's characteristic stylistic devices: "For as the hop, the pole being never so high, groweth to the end, or as the dry beech kindled at the root never leaveth until it come to the top, or as one drop of poison disperseth itself into every vain, so affection having caught hold of my heart and the sparkles of love kindled my liver will suddenly, though secretly, flame up into my head and spread itself into every sinew" (p. 57).

Lucilla's reaction to the passion of love is not less drastic, but in the fashion of the typical lady of the sonnets, she answers Euphues with an ambiguous combination of disdain and hope. The inexperienced Euphues is merely confused by her ambiguity, so she comes out directly and professes her love for him, provided that he keeps their love a secret (secrecy also being a convention of the romantic, courtly love tradition). The secrecy does not last long, however, since Ferardo returns home and brings the situation to a head by announcing Lucilla's marriage to Philautus. Lucilla

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defies her father, rejects Philautus, and reveals the true object of her love. In disclosing to her father that she loves Euphues not Philautus, Lucilla speaks of love as a compulsion. She clearly views it as an irrational affective response to another as opposed to a rational choice: "And I hope Philautus will not be my foe, seeing I have chosen his dear friend, neither you, father, be displeased in that Philautus is displaced. You need not muse that I should so suddenly be entangled, love gives no reason of choice, neither will it suffer any repulse. Myrrha was enamoured of her natural father, Biblis of her brother, Phaedra of her son-in-law. If nature can no way resist the fury of affection, how should it be stayed by wisdom?" (p. 73).

The compulsive nature of passionate love has been a dominant theme of the literature of love from the time of the Troubadours. Some cultural historians have traced such ideas to the Albigensian heresies of the Twelfth Century. Women were idealized while sexuality was degraded. What resulted was a conception of love that emphasized the passion at the expense of the person. Denis de Rougemont offers this theory in his study of Love in the Western World: "Passion means suffering, something undergone, the mastery of fate over a free and responsible person."\(^{15}\) Fated to love and loving love itself more than the object of love, the lover is doomed to suffer. The suffering is inevitable because the love is

essentially self-love and incapable of being satisfied by another: "But unhappiness comes in, because the love which 'dominates' them is not a love of each for the other as that other really is. They love one another, but each loves the other from the standpoint of self and not from the other's standpoint. Their unhappiness thus originates in a false reciprocity which disguises a twin narcissism."¹⁶ This aspect of love contrasts perfectly with the other-directed, selfless love of true friends. Aristotle's first definition of a friend is "one who wishes and does what is good, or seems so, for the sake of his friend," and his second definition is "one who wishes his friend to exist and live, for his sake" (Nicomachean Ethics, 9.4.1166a). This emphasis on the life sustaining nature of friendship contrasts with what de Rougemont sees as the ultimate motivation for romantic love. He speculates that it is in reality a concealed death wish. Whether or not one is willing to accept such an extreme hypothesis, one can still recognize in the paradoxes of passionate love the basically irrational and unsatisfactory nature of such a male/female relation. In consequence, friendship between men, by eliminating sexual passion, offers an attractive alternative relationship, though of course ultimately it can never replace a satisfactory sexual alliance, one that is governed by less contradictory forces than passionate love.

¹⁶ de Rougemont, pp. 54-55.
The importance of the theme of friendship in its relationship to love in Euphues is reflected in Philautus' response to the deception of Lucilla and Euphues. He is hurt by Lucilla's rejection of him, but he is even more disturbed by Euphues' infidelity:

'Ah most dissembling wretch Euphues! O counterfeit companion! Couldst thou under the show of a steadfast friend cloak the malice of a mortal foe? Under the colour of simplicity shroud the image of deceit? ... Shall my good will be the cause of his ill will? Because I was content to be his friend, thought he me meet to be made his fool? I see now that as the fish Scolopidus in the flood Araris at the waxing of the moon is as white as the driven snow and at the waning as black as the burnt coal, so Euphues which at the first increasing of our familiarity was very zealous, is now at the last cast become most faithless.' (pp. 73-74)

The zeal with which the two men had vowed friendship without first putting it to the test of virtuous action now results in a breach of these vows. Euphues discards Philautus the way a lover might discard a worn-out mistress. Philautus writes to Euphues bitterly accusing him of deceit, attacking passionate love, and warning of divine retribution:

'Although hitherto, Euphues, I have shrined thee in my heart for a trusty friend, I will shun thee hereafter as a trothless foe; and although I cannot see in thee less wit than I was wont, yet do I find less honesty. . . .

'But thou hast not much to boast of, for as thou hast won a fickle lady so hast thou lost a faithful friend. How canst thou be sure of her constancy, when thou hast had such trial of her lightness? How canst thou assure thyself that she will be faithful to thee, which hath been faithless to me?

'Ah Euphues, let not my credulity be an occasion hereafter for thee to practise the like cruelty. Remember this, that yet there hath never been any faithless to his friend that hath not yet also been fruitless to his God. . . . Though I be too weak to wrestle for a revenge, yet God, who permitteth no

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guile to be guiltless, will shortly requite this in­jury; though Philautus have no policy to undermine thee, yet thine own practices will be sufficient to overthrow thee! (p. 75)

This passage suggests that friendship is not just a classi­cal ideal or a philosophical concept. It is a religious re­lationship. Friends are part of a total Christian society linking God and man and man and man. Friendship is one mani­festation of the divine affinity among all created things and the Creator. Philautus chastizes Euphues for violating these sacred bonds:

'Couldst thou, Euphues, for the love of a fruit­less pleasure violate the league of faithful friend­ship? Didst thou weigh more the enticing looks of a lewd wench than the entire love of a loyal friend? If thou didst determine with thyself at the first to be false why didst thou swear to be true? If to be true, why art thou false? If thou wast minded both falsely and forgedly to deceive me, why didst thou flatter and dissemble with me at the first? If to love me, why dost thou flinch at the last? If the sacred bands of amity did delight thee, why didst thou break them? If dislike thee, why didst thou praise them?' (pp. 75-76)

Philautus' greater concern over the betrayal of his friend than that of his mistress underscores Lyly's main theme and puts into focus the conflict between love and friendship. Euphues has chosen the lower relationship over the higher. He has repudiated the spiritual rewards of friendship for the inferior pleasures of a passionate involvement.

Euphues' reply to Philautus only serves to validate Philautus' charges. Euphues claims that passionate love is superior to friendship and has priority over it: "Tush, Philautus, I am in this point of Euripides his mind, who

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thinks it is lawful for the desire of a kingdom to transgress the bounds of honesty and for the love of a lady to violate and break the bands of amity. The friendship between man and man as it is common so is it of course, between man and woman as it is seldom so is it sincere; the one proceedeth of the similitude of manners the other of the sincerity of the heart" (p. 78). Euphues deceives himself on three counts: first, his love for Lucilla as we have already seen is based on desire, not on "sincerity of heart"; second, friendship is based not on "similitude of manners" alone but more importantly on similitude of virtues; third, because it is the conjunction of virtuous men, true friendship is not common but rare. Concerning this last point, Cicero is very emphatic: "We can best comprehend the power of friendship by considering the fact that nature has established social contact between countless numbers of men; yet friendship is so concentrated and restricted a thing that all the true affection in the world is shared by no more than a handful of individuals" (20).

Euphues goes on to compound his misunderstanding of friendship and love by defending his betrayal of Philautus on the grounds that love is lawless:

'Love knoweth no laws. Did not Jupiter transform himself into the shape of Amphitryon to embrace Alcmene; into the form of a swan to enjoy Leda; into a bull to beguile Io; into a shower of gold to win Danae? Did not Neptune change himself into a heifer, a ram, a flood, a dolphin, only for the love of those he lusted after? Did not Apollo convert himself into a shepherd, into a bird, into a lion, for the desire he had to heal his disease? If the
The very qualities which Euphues cites to excuse his actions are those which helped to elicit the cult of ideal friendship. Passionate love is indeed lawless because it is not founded on reason and virtuous desires. In contrast, purer forms of love between men and women share the same qualities as friendship. According to Cicero, both have a common derivation:

... it is virtue, yes virtue, that initiates and preserves friendship. For it is virtue that is the source of the rational, the stable, the consistent element in life. When virtue raises herself up and displays her light, and sees and recognizes the same light in another, she moves toward it and shares reciprocally in that which the other possesses; from this a flame bursts forth, whether of love or of friendship. Both terms after all are derived from the verb 'to love' (amor, amicitia, amare), and 'to love' means nothing but to cherish the person for whom one feels affection, without any thought of advantage—although advantage in fact does grow out of friendship, even if one does not seek it. (27)

The form of love that is like friendship, however, is not the usual one in literature. From the time of the Troubadours passionate love was dominant. There were attempts to combine spiritual and passionate love, but for the most part they were unsuccessful. Dante and Petrarch came close to achieving such a synthesis. Each, however, by idealizing his love for a woman who was inaccessible, gained symbolic richness but made the relationship too ethereal to provide a
satisfactory solution to the moral and emotional problems inherent in sexual love. As a result the problems of passionate love between men and women remained throughout the literature of the Renaissance. In this context friendship as a type of purer love proved an attractive counterpoint to passionate love, and the cult of ideal friendship flourished.

Ironically after sacrificing his friendship with Philautus, Euphues does not get to enjoy any of the fruits of his love for Lucilla since her father's presence at home inhibits him from seeing her. When Euphues finally does get to see Lucilla again, she has already jilted him for Curio. She feels no need to defend her actions to Euphues since love is by nature irrational. She echoes the very same argument Euphues had used earlier to betray his friend for love:

"Lucilla not ashamed to confess her folly, answered him with this frump: 'Sir, whether your deserts or my desire have wrought this change it will boot you little to know. Neither do I crave amends, neither fear revenge. As for fervent love you know there is no fire so hot but it is quenched with water, neither affection so strong but is weakened with reason. Let this suffice thee that thou know I care not for thee" (p. 81). This summary dismissal draws forth from Euphues a bitter condemnation of women in general and Lucilla in particular. Recognizing too late the fleeting nature of sexual relationships, Euphues laments the loss of his friend Philautus: "Ah Euphues, into what a quandary art thou brought! . . . Oh the counterfeit love of women! Oh incon-
stant sex! I have lost Philautus, I have lost Lucilla, I have lost that which I shall hardly find again, a faithful friend" (p. 84).

This painful state in which Euphues finds himself leads him to investigate his own conduct and to accept the moral consequences of his decisions. He repents his dissipation in Naples and directs a diatribe against women:

'I addicted myself wholly to the service of women to spend my life in the lap of ladies, my lands in maintenance of bravery, my wit in the vanities of idle sonnets. I had thought that women had been as we men, that is, true, faithful, zealous, constant; but I perceive they be rather woe unto men by their falsehood, jealousy, inconstancy. I was half persuaded that they were made of the perfection of men and would be comforters, but now I see they have tasted of the infection of the serpent and will be corrosives. The physician saith it is dangerous to minister physic unto the patient that hath a cold stomach and a hot liver, lest in giving warmth to the one he inflame the other; so verily it is hard to deal with a woman whose words seem fervant, whose heart is congealed into hard ice, lest trusting their outward talk he be betrayed with their inward treachery.' (pp. 84-85)

The words of course are ironic in light of Euphues' own treachery to Philautus, but they accurately reflect an attitude toward women which was prevalent in contemporary thought. Anti-feminism, with a long tradition going back to Classical writers and the Church Fathers, was still very strong. Katherine Rogers in her history of misogyny points out the ambivalence toward romantic love which extends throughout the body of Renaissance literature. She identifies attacks on women, love, and the literature of love in the works of the English satirists, and indicates how extensively the themes occur:
"Rejection of love and women is found not only in the satirists of love poetry, but in the erotic writers themselves, most of whom—like their medieval predecessors—occasionally reacted against the courtly idolization of women, protesting against the degrading bondage of love or denouncing the unworthiness of womankind."17 Such an ambivalent attitude toward love and women bolsters the attractiveness of the relationship of friendship as an acceptable alternative to the inadequacies of passionate love. After his unhappy experience with Lucilla, Euphues need not become a misanthrope, only a misogynist. Trust can exist between men even though it is impossible between a man and a woman.

At this stage in Euphues' acquisition of wisdom, Lyly carefully focuses on the motif of friendship. He quickly dismisses the story of Lucilla and pointedly refuses to tell the readers of her subsequent fortunes: "But what end came of her, seeing it is nothing incident to the history of Euphues, it were superfluous to insert it, and so incredible that all women would rather wonder at it than believe it" (p. 89). Not only is Lyly concerned with returning to the hero of the narrative, but also to the dominant theme of friendship. Both Euphues and Philautus have profited from their unsuccessful experiences in love by gaining an increased awareness of the true nature and value of friendship:

Euphues and Philautus having conference between themselves, casting discourtesy in the teeth each of the other, but chiefly noting disloyalty in the demeanour of Lucilla, after much talk renewed their old friendship, both abandoning Lucilla as most abominable. Philautus was earnest to have Euphues tarry in Naples and Euphues desirous to have Philautus to Athens; but the one was so addicted to the court, the other so wedded to the university, that each refused the offer of the other. Yet this they agreed between themselves that though their bodies were by distance of place severed, yet the conjunction of their minds should neither be separated by the length of time nor alienated by change of soil. 'I for my part,' said Euphues, 'to confirm this league give thee my hand and my heart.' And so likewise did Philautus; and so shaking hands they bid each other farewell. (pp. 89-90)

Lyly does not dwell on the tenets of ideal friendship, but then he does not have to do this to show the growth of Euphues and Philautus. He chooses the most famous metaphor for ideal friendship, that of "one soul in bodies twain," to express the new wisdom of the pair. Neither Euphues nor Philautus at the start of their relationship had an adequate notion of friendship. At that time they thought of friendship mainly in terms of self-interest or simply as a similarity of manners. They even employed the terminology of courtly love in discussing it. The new pledge of friendship indicates that they realize that friendship transcends the presence of the individuals, that it is a spiritual relationship and as such will endure their separation. The narrative proper thus ends by showing the moral and intellectual development of Euphues as measured by the yardstick of friendship.

The remainder of the 1578 edition of Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit consists of expository not narrative matter.
"A Cooling Card for Philautus and All Fond Lovers," "To the Grave Matrons and Honest Maidens of Italy," "Euphues and His Ephebus," "Euphues to the Gentlemen Scholars in Athens," "Euphues and Atheos," and "Certain Letters Writ by Euphues to His Friends." Although these tracts and epistles are discontinuous with the narrative proper, in a general way each of these works continues the basic themes introduced in the narrative, either by extolling friendship directly or by attacking the inadequacies of passionate love. As we have seen, there is considerable antifeminism in Euphues, and much of the emphasis on friendship may be part of this anti­feminist movement. In "A Cooling Card for Philautus and All Fond Lovers," Euphues attacks women and contemporary notions of love. This tract echoes the arguments against passionate love which are dramatized in the narrative proper: love is unreasonable, unhappy, and ungodly. It is clearly inferior to the relationship between friends, so Euphues uses this address not only to point out the deficiencies of passionate love, but also to strengthen the newly re-formed bond of friendship between Philautus and himself. In this way Lyly is able to underscore the primary theme of Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, maintain continuity with the narrative sequence of the work, and introduce material borrowed whole cloth from Ovid's Remedia Amoris 18 without seriously damaging the unity of his work. Euphues begins his calling card by

reaffirming his friendship for Philautus and asserting that
by recognizing the folly of love one can appreciate the wis­
dom of friendship:

Musing with myself, being idle, how I might be well
employed, friend Philautus, I could find nothing
either more fit to continue our friendship or of
greater force to dissolve our folly than to write a
remedy for that which many judge past cure, for
love, Philautus, with the which I have been so tor­
mented that I have lost my time, thou so troubled
that thou hast forgot reason, both so mangled with
repulse, inveigled by deceit, and almost murdered by
disdain, that I can neither remember our miseries
without grief nor redress our mishaps without groans.
How wantonly, yea, and how willingly have we abused
our golden time and misspent our gotten treasure.
How curious were we to please our lady, how careless
to displease our Lord. How devote in serving our
goddess, how desperate in forgetting our God. Ah
my Philautus, if the wasting of our money might not
dehort us, yet the wounding of our minds should de­
ter us; if reason might nothing persuade us to wis­
dom, yet shame should provoke us to wit. (p. 91)

Euphues continues to recall the plot of the narrative
by characterizing Lucilla's new lover Curio as the typical
love-struck servant of Cupid who dotes on a disdainful mis­
tress and who ultimately will be betrayed by her. Lyly
abandons Ovid to present the paradox of love as it had de­
veloped in much of the traditional romantic literature of
the time. The lover professedly loves his mistress because
of her virtue; yet the primary aim of his love is sexual
consummation. If he achieves his objective, the lady loses
her virtue and is no longer a fit incentive to love, but if
she disdains his advances and remains chaste, the lover
suffers the agonies of his frustrated passionate arousal.
In either case he is doomed to suffer, and the relationship

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can not be mutually satisfactory. The dilemma admits of no easy solution. The lady can be further idealized and the relationship spiritualized as in Dante and Neoplatonic writers but only at the expense of a very real human quality. If the love is deprived of its idealized base, as in such Classical writers on love as Ovid or in the Troubadors, the spiritual qualities which could integrate love with the religious and civic virtues of the Christian man are eliminated, Mark Rose suggests that the ultimate solution is virtuous romantic love with marriage as the lover's objective. But until marriage had firmly emerged as an institution based on personal affective relations and not solely on economic, religious, and procreative imperatives, friendship offered a partial solution to the problem of finding a personal relationship which could combine the affective, rational, and moral needs of man. It could do this because it eliminated the cause of the failure of romantic love: sexual passion.

Before he offers his remedy of love, Euphues brings into focus the dilemma of passionate love. The lover might well ask himself,

'What shall I gain if I obtain my purpose? Nay rather, what shall I lose in winning my pleasure? If my lady yield to be my lover is it not likely she will be another's leman? And if she be a modest matron my labour is lost. This therefore remaineth, that either I must pine in cares or perish with curses. If she be chaste then is she coy, if light then is she impudent. If a grave matron who can woo her; if a lewd minion who would wed her? If one of the vestal virgins they have vowed virginity, if one

19 Heroic Love, p. 34.
of Venus' court they have vowed dishonesty. If I love one that is fair it will kindle jealousy, if one that is foul it will convert me into frenzy; if fertile to bear children my care is increased, if barren my curse is augmented; if honest I shall fear her death, if immodest I shall be weary of her life. To what end then shall I live in love, seeing always it is a life more to be feared than death? For all my time wasted in sighs and worn in sobs, for all my treasure spent on jewels and spilt in jollity, what recompense shall I reap besides repentence, what other reward shall I have than reproach, what other solace than endless shame?' (pp. 94-95)

Euphues continues in an antifeminist vein to paraphrase Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*. He lists all of the vices and wiles of women, counsels Philautus and all other "fond lovers" to seek honest labor instead of idle love, and urges them to find companionship not with a woman but with a faithful friend: "Yet, although I would have thee precise in keeping these precepts, yet would I have thee to avoid solitariness, that breeds melancholy, melancholy madness, madness mischief and utter desolation. Have ever some faithful fere with whom thou mayest communicate thy counsels, some Pylades to encourage Orestes, some Damon to release Pythias, some Scipio to recure Laelius" (pp. 105-106). Faithful friends are clearly more valuable than mistresses. Euphues moderates his misogyny to placate the honest women who may read his epistle, but for himself he takes leave of Philautus and Naples by renouncing women completely: "Thus, being ready to go to Athens, and ready there to entertain thee whensoever thou shalt repair thither, I bid thee farewell and fly women" (p. 107).

In "Euphues and His Ephebus," which is an educational
tract based on Aristotle and Plutarch, Euphues reveals his new wisdom by echoing the arguments of Eubulus, the wise man whose advice he had rejected at the beginning of his sojourn in Naples. Euphues here and in the other postnarrative material is able to write with a new moral fervor because he has had actual experiences that have converted intellectual knowledge into a meaningful acceptance of moral reality: "The persona of the experienced man that Euphues assumes as his right in these appendices is especially important in showing how experience brings ideas to life, so that what before he had heard he now knows. While Euphues returns to Eubulus' position, it is now an earned position endued with the strength of life, instead of being merely words mouthed by a good but dull man."^20 Lyly also uses narrative material to integrate this tract with the main work. He tells us that Euphues spends ten years in acquiring secular wisdom and becomes a Public Reader in the university. Then Euphues turns to divine studies and renounces secular pursuits, in particular, love: "Hereof it cometh that such vain ditties, such idle sonnets, such enticing songs are set forth to the gaze of the world and grief of the godly. I myself know none so ill as myself, who in times past have been so superstitiously addicted that I thought no heaven to the paradise of love, no angel to be compared to my lady" (p. 144).

Following the tracts and addresses are a series of let-

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ters. In them Lyly never wholly loses sight of the narrative proper. In his letter to Philautus, Euphues reveals his new perception of women. He writes to Philautus when he learns that Philautus has abandoned himself to the courtly life and "hath given over himself to all deliciousness, desiring rather to be dandled in the laps of ladies than busied in the study of good letters" (p. 164). Euphues assumes the role of a reformed idler and a faithful friend who must chastize his friend for his own good: "Thou wilt muse, Philautus, to hear Euphues to preach, who of late had more mind to serve his lady than to worship his Lord. Ah, Philautus, thou art now a courtier in Italy, I a scholar in Athens, and as hard it is for thee to follow good counsel as for me to enforce thee, seeing in thee there is little will to amend and in me less authority to command; yet will I exhort thee as a friend--I would I might compel thee as a father" (p. 163). Compulsion cannot be compatible with true friendship; nevertheless, the bond of friendship does require the friend to participate actively in the moral education of his friend. Cicero views this instruction as a primary obligation of friends: "Well then, let this be passed as our first law of friendship: that we ask of our friends what is honorable and do what is honorable for the sake of our friends. Let us not even so much as wait to be asked; let us always be ready and eager, and never hang back; and as for our advice, let us make bold to offer it freely" (44).

In the letter "Euphues to Philautus. Touching the
death of Lucilla," one strand of the narrative thread is tied. Euphues indicates that he is writing in response to Philautus' news that Lucilla had left Curio to lead a wanton life and had died ignominiously as a pauper. This calls forth from Euphues a sermon in which he warns Philautus to avoid the idle life of a courtier and to follow a virtuous path. The demands of friendship require that both men live exemplary lives. Indeed Cicero had warned that a friend may not even err for his friend's benefit and that the friendship may be dissolved if one friend's character degenerates: "Wrongdoing, then, is not excused if it is committed for the sake of a friend; after all, the thing that brings friends together is their conviction of each other's virtue; it is hard to keep up a friendship, if one has deserted virtue's camp" (37). Euphues accordingly threatens to end his league with Philautus if he does not reform by casting off the pursuit of illicit love: "If thou mean to keep me as a friend, shake off those vain toys and dalliances with women; believe me, Philautus--I speak it with salt tears trickling down my cheeks--the life thou livest in court is no less abhorred than the wicked death of Lucilla detested, and more art thou scorned for thy folly than she hated for her filthiness" (p. 171).

The following letter, "Livia from the Emperor's Court, to Euphues at Athens," ties up another loose strand of the narrative. The character of Livia had been dropped without explanation shortly after Euphues' betrayal of his friend.
This letter, supposedly in response to an inquiry from Euphues, is a further condemnation of court life. Livia tells of her vain life at court, a serious illness, and her resolve to abandon the court. She also reports on the beginning of Philautus' reformation. Philautus' conduct is again mentioned in the next and final letter of the series, "Euphues to his friend Livia." This is the concluding piece of the first edition of Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, and in it Lyly prepares for the sequel by anticipating Euphues' visit to England. The letter continues the attack on court life, reasserts Euphues' reformation from a witty courtier to a devout scholar, condemns Philautus' dissolute behavior, and offers hope for his amendment: "I would Philautus were of thy mind to forsake his youthful course, but I am glad thou writest that he beginneth to amend his conditions; he runneth far that never returneth and he sinneth deadly that never repenteth. I would have him end, as Lucilla began, without vice, and not begin as she ended, without honesty. I love the man well but I cannot brook his manners. Yet I conceive a good hope that in his age he will be wise, for that in his youth I perceived him witty" (p. 182). The foundation of all friendship is affection and similarity of manners, but ultimately those manners must be rooted in virtuous living. Euphues and Philautus had pledged friendship when both were living the lives of witty gallants. Now Euphues' manners have changed but not his affection for Philautus, so he resolves to help his friend improve his ways.
Here at the end of *Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit*, Lyly reminds us that the relationship between Euphues and Philautus is central to the entire work, and he prepares us for the direction that the narrative will take in the sequel, *Euphues and His England*. 
CHAPTER III

JOHN LYLY'S EUPHUES AND HIS ENGLAND

If Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit may be considered thematically as the growth in wisdom of Euphues through his deepening understanding of the true meaning of friendship and its relation to love and to virtuous living, Euphues and His England may be considered thematically as the growth of his friend Philautus to the same understanding of friendship, love, and virtue that Euphues had acquired in the original work. At the outset of Euphues and His England, Philautus is still afflicted with love melancholy. Euphues and Philautus are introduced aboard ship for England, and Euphues takes this opportunity to instruct his friend in the ways of virtue but to little avail: "Philautus, although the stumps of love so stuck in his mind that he rather wished to hear an elegy in Ovid than a tale of an hermit, yet was he willing to lend his ear to his friend who had left his heart with his lady—for you shall understand that Philautus, having read the 'Cooling Card' which Euphues sent him, sought rather to answer it than allow it."¹ The reference is to Euphues' "A Cooling Card for Philautus and All Fond Lovers," one of the moral and educational tracts that end The Anatomy of Wit.

The reference not only forms a narrative link with the earlier work, but also helps to establish Philautus' character. Philautus has not profited from the lessons about the dangers of passionate love which Euphues had learned through experience and which he had tried to impart to his friend through precept.

Euphues' character is also revealed to the readers in his attitude toward Philautus while they are at sea. Euphues is no longer the misanthrope of the closing pages of The Anatomy of Wit. His speech and actions are young in spirit even though he acts towards Philautus the part of an older and wiser mentor trying to instruct a young gallant:

'I cannot tell, Philautus, whether the sea make thee sick or she that was born of the sea; if the first thou hast a queasy stomach, if the latter a wanton desire. . . . And such, Philautus, is thy disease; who pining in thine own follies, chooseth rather to perish in love than to live in wisdom. But whatsoever be the cause, I wish the effect may answer my friendly care; then doubtless thou shalt neither die being seasick or dote being lovesick. I would the sea could as well purge thy mind of fond conceits as thy body of gross humours.' (p. 229)

Euphues' speech reflects the wisdom which he has gained, but the tone has shed its bitterness. He can smile at Philautus' folly as well as sermonize on it. The temperament of Euphues is close to that of the young man who left Athens for Naples at the start of The Anatomy of Wit. As a result the two men share a similarity of manner and affection that strengthens their friendship. After they arrive in England, it is with great pride that Euphues asserts their friendship when he introduces Philautus and himself to Fidus, a retired courtier,
in Canterbury: "Know you then, sir, that this gentleman my fellow is called Philautus, I Euphues; he an Italian, I a Grecian; both sworn friends by just trial, both pilgrims by free will" (p. 233).

Soon Fidus is telling his life story to the two friends. In it he tells of his father's advice to cling to virtuous friends and to shun wanton women and the passions of love which lead only to vice:

'But there is another thing, Fidus, which I am to warn thee of and, if I might, to wrest thee from; not that I envy thy estate, but that I would not have thee forget it. Thou usest too much (a little I think to be too much) to dally with women--which is the next thing to dote upon them. . . .

'What I speak now is of mere goodwill, and yet upon small presumption. But in things which come on the sudden one cannot be too wary to prevent or too curious to mistrust. For thou art in a place either to make thee hated for vice or loved for virtue, and as thou reverencest the one before the other, so in uprightness of life show it. Thou hast good friends which by thy lewd delights thou mayest make great enemies, and heavy foes which by thy well doing thou mayst cause to be earnest abettors of thee in matters that now they canvass against thee.' (pp. 249-250)

Fidus promptly rejects his father's advice and falls in love with Iffida. His tale of his love for Iffida emphasizes the paradox of passionate love and serves as a warning to Philautus to avoid its snares. His story is that of the typical unrequited lover. Fidus' profession of love for the Lady Iffida is met by mocking disdain, and he suffers the usual pangs of frustrated passion. In the course of their witty playing at love, both Fidus and Iffida, in the manner of court of love entertainments, pose questions designed to show the contradictions of trying to reconcile passion,
beauty, and virtue. Fidus in his query contrasts the basis of love and friendship:

'There was a lady in Spain who after the decease of her father had three suitors (and yet never a good archer). The one excelled in all gifts of the body, insomuch that there could be nothing added to his perfection, and so armed in all points as his very looks were able to pierce the heart of any lady; especially of such a one as seemed herself to have no less beauty than she had personage. For that as between the similitude of manners there is a friendship in every respect absolute, so in the composition of the body there is a certain love engendered by one look, where both the bodies resemble each other as woven both in one loom.' (p. 274)

Friendship is based on the similitude of manners, love on physical attraction. Such passages reveal how pervasive the theme of friendship is through the work. Lyly's awareness of the doctrines of friendship appears even when the narrative is not directly concerned with the theme of friendship.

In Fidus' courtly love problem, the lady's other two suitors are graced, one with wit, the other with wealth. Iffida is asked which of the three the lady should choose. She insists that a lady would demand all three: beauty, wit, and wealth, the last before all else. When she continues to disdain Fidus, he exhibits the conventional symptoms of love melancholy:

Ah, Philautus, what torments didst thou think poor Fidus endured, who now felt the flame even to take full hold of his heart! And thinking by solitariness to drive away melancholy and by imagination to forget love, I laboured no otherwise than he that to have his horse stand still pricketh him with the spur, or he that having sore eyes rubbeth them with salt water. At the last, with continual abstinence from meat, from company, from sleep, my body began to consume and my head to wax idle; insomuch that the sustenance which perforce was thrust into my mouth

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was never digested, nor the talk which came from my addle brains liked. For ever in my slumber methought Iffida presented herself, now with a countenance pleasant and merry, straightways with a colour full of wrath and mischief. (pp. 276-77)

This detailed account of Fidus' love disease is noteworthy because it accurately describes the debilitating physical and mental effects of passionate love considered as a pathology in Renaissance physiological and psychological theories. Such is the notion of love that appears again and again in Elizabethan literature, especially in the sonnet sequences and the prose romances.

Fidus begins to recover from his love melancholy after Iffida reveals that she is pledged secretly to another man; however, when Iffida suddenly dies, he retires from court to live the life of a hermit. Chastened by his unhappy experience with love, he warns Philautus of the dangers of surrendering oneself to passionate love:

You see what love is—begun with grief, continued with sorrow, ended with death; a pain full of pleasure, a joy replenished with misery, a Heaven, a Hell, a God, a Devil, and what not, that either hath in it solace or sorrow; where the days are spent in thoughts, the nights in dreams, both in danger; either beguiling us of that we had, or promising us that we had not; full of jealousy without cause, and void of fear when there is cause; and so many inconveniences hanging upon it as to reckon them all were infinite, and to taste but one of them intolerable. (p. 285)

The history of Fidus foreshadows the course of the narrative of Euphues and His England. Philautus, like Fidus, will reject all warnings about passionate love; he will suffer its pangs, deteriorate physically and mentally, and finally arrive at a clearer understanding about love and virtuous living.
After leaving Fidus in Canterbury, Euphues and Philautus travel to London. On the way Euphues continues the education of Philautus on the dangers of passionate love: "And thus I conjure thee, that of all things thou refrain from the hot fire of affection. For as the precious stone Anthracitis being thrown into the fire looketh black and half dead, but being cast into the water glisteth like the sunbeams; so the precious mind of man once put into the flame of love is as it were ugly and loseth his virtue, but sprinkled with the water of wisdom and detestation of such fond delights it shineth like the golden rays of Phoebus" (p. 288). Philautus objects that Euphues himself seems to be preoccupied with thoughts of love since every other word he utters is "love," but he agrees to mind his friend and defer to his wisdom. In a narrative link that reminds the readers of the unhappy love affair both men experienced with Lucilla in Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, Philautus declares his resolve to be more careful in his pursuit of love:

'But truly I must needs commend the courtesy of England, and old Fidus for his constancy to his Lady Iffida, and her faith to her friend Thirsus; the remembrance of which discourse did often bring in to my mind the hate I bore to Lucilla, who loved all and was not found faithful to any.

'But I let that pass, lest thou come in again with thy faburden and hit me in the teeth with 'love.' For thou hast so charmed me that I dare not speak any word that may be wrested to 'charity,' lest thou say I mean 'love'—and in truth I think there is no more difference between them than between a broom and a besom.

'I will follow thy diet and thy counsel; I thank thee for thy good will; so that I will now walk under thy shadow and be at thy commandment.' (p. 289)
Philautus' remarks indicate that he does not yet understand the distinction between erotic love and Christian caritas.

Moreover unlike Euphues, Philautus has not yet come to realize the true nature of friendship, nor does he value friendship as an unselfish relationship which profits a man by helping him to lead a virtuous life. Philautus will not heed the advice which Euphues as a true friend offers him to save him from the sufferings of an unfortunate precipitate passion. Instead Philautus deceives himself and hides a guilty conscience by accusing Euphues of being in love and of using his counsel to camouflage his own condition. Since he is unwilling to heed the advice of his friend and since he does not understand that friendship must be grounded on virtue, Philautus abandons Euphues for another friend, Reynaldo, one whose proclivity for the intricacies of passionate love play matches his own. Euphues is rightly angered at this lack of faith, and he predicts, correctly, that Philautus will again suffer from love, that his new friend will not remain faithful since their friendship is based on expediency not virtue, and that Philautus ultimately will sue for a renewal of their old friendship. Thus passionate love becomes a barrier to the true friendship which had developed between Euphues and Philautus, and the contrast between the debilitating life of love which saps a man's physical and moral energies and the virtuous life of friendship which aids man to direct his actions toward constructive spiritual and civic ends is emphasized. In The Anatomy of Wit, the same contrast
was made through the wayward actions of Euphues, whose passion led him to deceive his friend for the love of Lucilla; here in Euphues and His England the narrative structure is duplicated but with the roles reversed. Now it is Philautus who abandons his friend for the love of a woman. In the first book Euphues grows in wisdom through his understanding of the value of friendship; in this book Philautus will grow through his increased awareness of the need to choose the higher relationship over the lower one. Love, of course, need not be forsaken totally, but passionate love must be replaced by virtuous love, and the virtuous love between two men that is friendship is fitting preparation for virtuous conjugal love between man and woman.

In Euphues' denunciation of Philautus' breach of his oath of friendship, Lyly gives his fullest and clearest exposition of the friendship theme in the work, and he clearly links the actions of Philautus in betraying his friend to the unreasonable demands of passionate love:

'I see thy humour is love, thy quarrel jealousy; the one I gather by thine addle head, the other by thy suspicious nature. But I leave them both to thy will and thee to thine own wickedness. Prettily to cloak thine own folly thou callest me thief first; not unlike unto a curst wife who, deserving a check, beginneth first to scold. . . .

'But in truth, Philautus, though thy skin show thee a fox thy little skill trieth thee a sheep. It is not the colour that commendeth a good painter but the good countenance, nor the cutting that valueth the diamond but the virtue, nor the glaze of the tongue that trieth a friend but the faith. For as all coins are not good that have the image of Caesar, nor all gold that are coined with the king's stamp, so all is not truth that beareth the show of godli-
ness, nor all friends that bear a fair face. . . .

'But thy friendship, Philautus, is like a new fashion, which being used in the morning is accounted old before noon. . . .

'I speak this to this end, Philautus, that I see thee as often change thy head as others do their hats, now being a friend to Ajax because he should cover thee with his buckler, now to Ulysses that he may plead for thee with his eloquence, now to one, and now to another. And thou dealest with thy friends as that gentleman did with his felt; for seeing not my vein answerable to thy vanities thou goest about (but yet the nearest way) to hang me up for holidays, as one neither fitting thy head nor pleasing thy humour. But when, Philautus, thou shalt see that change of friendships shall make thee a fat calf and a lean coffer, that there is no more hold in a new friend than a new fashion, that hats alter as fast as the turner can turn his block, and hearts as soon as one can turn his back, when seeing everyone return to his old wearing and find it the best, then compelled rather for want of others than good will of me thou wilt retire to Euphues, whom thou laidest by the walls, and seek him again as a new friend; saying to thyself, "I have lived compass, Euphues' old faith must make Philautus a new friend." . . .

'Thou think'st an apple may please a child, and every odd answer appease a friend. No, Philautus; a plaster is a small amends for a broken head, and a bad excuse will not purge an ill accuser. A friend is long a getting and soon lost; like a merchant's riches, who by tempest loseth as much in two hours as he hath gathered together in twenty years. Nothing so fast knit as glass, yet once broken it can never be joined; nothing fuller of metal than steel, yet overheated it will never be hardened; friendship is the best pearl, but by disdain thrown into vinegar it bursteth rather in pieces than it will bow to any softness. It is a salt fish that water cannot make fresh, sweet honey that is not made bitter with gall, hard gold that is not to be mollified with fire, and a miraculous friend that is not made an enemy with contempt.' (pp. 305-08)

Euphues indicates in his speech that friendship depends upon a necessary test and that once friends have survived this initial test, the bonds which tie them together preclude an easy dissolution of this friendship. The rela-

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tionship is based on a man's concern with the spiritual growth of his friend; therefore, he who is unwilling to listen to the honest advice of his friend does not fully understand the nature of the relationship. Boon companions and acquaintances will serve to drink, carouse, and pass the time of day with. Their function is limited to that of sociability, and they are bound by no requirement to aid their companions in leading a good life and arriving at spiritual perfection. By changing friends as he would change hats, Philautus fails to see the essential difference between a companion and a friend. He feels that similarities of manners are sufficient and that as one changes his hobbies and recreations and interests so too is one free to change his friends to correspond with these new interests.

Philautus misses two important aspects of friendship: first, while it is true that friendship is begun by similitude of manners, these manners for the classical writers, whom Lyly follows, are moral virtues not matters of etiquette or interests; second, Philautus fails to understand the bond of affection which exists between friends. This bond of affection is not grounded on the whims of passion as is romantic love, but on rational grounds. Therefore, this affection is spiritual not physical in nature, and as a spiritual quality it transcends the particularities of time and place. New interests may weaken friendship, but they cannot destroy the affection, nor should the friend lightly exchange that which has been forged over a lengthy and deliberate test of
time. Euphues' and Philautus' friendship, founded upon affection and reason, was cemented together through the trial of Lucilla's love and rejection. Only after Euphues had come to realize his error and only after Philautus had come to abandon the wanton pursuit of passionate love had the two men arrived at the state of friendship in which one could speak truly of "one soul in bodies twain." It is this tested bond that Philautus does not fully comprehend and which he violates.

Euphues tries to correct these deficiencies in Philautus' understanding of friendship and love. He continues to chastize Philautus for trying to dissemble his love by attributing the passion of love to his friend instead of to himself. He indicates that this is a poor way to treat a sworn friend, and he refers Philautus to a contemporary treatise which deals with the theme of friendship: "Hast thou not read since thy coming into England a pretty discourse of one Phialo concerning the rebuking of a friend?" (p. 311). Lyly is referring here to a didactic narrative work that had been published only the previous year, Stephen Gosson's Ephemerides of Phialo. This is further indication that friendship was then a current and popular theme and one to which the educated men of the time turned their attention.

Gosson has a situation that parallels that of Euphues and Philautus in the first division of his book. This section is titled "A method which he ought to follow that desireth to rebuke his friend, when he seeth him swarve: with-
out kindling his choler, or hurting himselfe." In it Phialo is falsely accused by his friend Philotimo of leaving his studies to pursue lustful desires in Venice, a city that is a "colledge of Curtezans." Phialo is hurt by this harsh treatment from his friend, and he proceeds to lecture Philotimo on the proper manner of helping a friend to lead a moral life:

Signior Philotimo, your selfe is as welcome to me in Venice, as your words are unwelcome to mine eares. You admonish me as a friend, and dutie bindeth me to thank you for your good will: Nevertheless, sith you make your Plaister so sharp, and apply it to my wound in an ill time, for the one I cannot but accuse you of rashnes; for the other I am forst to reprove you of ignorance; meaning hence forth to take you as I find, which is other wise than I thought, a bad Apothecarie, and a worse Phisition. Plutarch forbiddeth you to rebuke your friends either in mirth or in miserie: in mirth; because it straiteneth the senses, choketh the heart, stops the passage of the spirits, and overcasteth the mind, with a cloude of sorow. In misery; because we have more neede to be restored than brought low; to be strengthened, than weakened; to be comforted, than corrected; to be raysed up, than hurled.

Euphues chastizes Philautus in similar terms. He recognizes the obligation of a friend to give his friend moral counsel, but he discerns in Philautus' attack a transference of Philautus' own immoral desires. He accuses Philautus of being afflicted with the disease of love melancholy and of desiring with women not a virtuous alliance but a lustful consummation: "But it grieveth not thee, Philautus, that they be fair, but that they are chaste; neither dost

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thou like me the worse for commending their beauty, but thinkest they will not love thee well because so virtuous" (p. 313).

Euphues is careful not to exclude the possibility of friends also having virtuous relationships with women. This point is important in *Euphues and His England*, for it will end not in a renunciation of women as Euphues had in *The Anatomy of Wit* but in the conjugal love which Philautus attains. It is only the pursuit of illicit passion that Euphues condemns in Philautus. He even praises love in women but only if they are virtuous:

'Thou sayest I eat mine own words in praising women. No, Philautus, I was never either so wicked or so witless to recant truths or mistake colours. But this I say, that the ladies in England as far excel all other countries in virtue, as Venus doth all other women in beauty. I flatter not those of whom I hope to reap benefit, neither yet so praise them but that I think them women. There is no sword made of steel but hath iron, nor fire made of wood but hath smoke, no wine made of grapes but hath lees, no woman created of flesh but hath faults. And if I love them, Philautus, they deserve it.' (pp. 312-13)

Euphues accuses Philautus of perverting the doctrine of ideal friendship by insisting that if he is in love, his friend must also be in love. But as it was noted previously, because reason and affection are both constituents of friendship, identity of interests is not absolutely required, only identical moral ideals. Consequently, Euphues sees Philautus' denial of their friendship as a deliberate violation of his knowledge of friendship and as an attempt to project his own unhealthy desires on his friends. Asserting that a
friend's loyalty cannot extend to any dishonest conduct, Euphues scolds Philautus and abandons him:

'But as all flowers that are in one nosegay are not of one nature, nor all rings that are worn upon one hand are not of one fashion, so all friends that associate at bed and at board are not one of disposition. Scipio must have a noble mind, Laelius an humble spirit; Titus must lust after Sempronia, Gy-sipps must leave her; Damon must go take order for his lands, Pythias must tarry behind as a pledge for his life; Philautus must do what he will, Euphues not what he should.

'But it may be that as the sight of divers colours make divers beasts mad, so my presence doth drive thee into this melancholy. And seeing it is so I will absent myself, hire another lodging in London, and for a time give myself to my book; for I have learned this by experience, though I be young, that bavins are known by their bands, lions by their claws, cocks by their combs, envious minds by their manners. Hate thee I will not, and trust thee I may not. Thou knowest what a friend should be, but thou wilt never live to try what a friend is. Farewell Philautus, I will not stay to hear thee reply but leave thee to thy list. Euphues carrieth this posy written in his hand and engraven in his heart, 'A faithful friend is a wilful fool.' And so I taking leave till I hear thee better minded, England shall be my abode for a season. Depart when thou wilt. And again farewell.' (pp. 315-16)

Euphues' reference to Philautus' "melancholy" is not incidental. According to contemporary psychology, Philautus suffers from an imbalance of the four basic humours of the body, resulting in his case in love melancholy. Love melancholy invariably leads to a violation of rational, virtuous principles. It represents the ascendancy of passion over reason. The conflict between reason and passion was the principal moral conflict for the Elizabethans. ³ In the

hierarchy of the elements that composed man's psycho-physical nature, the passions resided in the heart or the middle portion of man's body, the reason resided in the upper part of the brain which was the highest part of man. It was reason which allied man with God and with the angels and which separated him from all other creatures. Reason itself was composed of understanding and will through which man freely formed his moral choices. Because of the Fall, man was susceptible to errors of judgment or of will. He must apply his understanding to the evidence presented to him by his senses and will that which is right. To permit his senses to inflame his passions and to respond to those passions without the proper exercise of his understanding and will is for man to act like the beasts, and indeed to be lower than bestial, for animal nature excludes reasonable choice. The cosmological implications of such a view of man are significant, for the violation of the natural hierarchy of faculties in the microcosm, man, was a disruption of the macrocosm. In this perspective the claims of passionate love against the claims of friendship are related to the very nature of man himself. Romantic love perverts the natural hierarchy of human faculties by giving ascendancy to the passions rather than to reason. Love melancholy, thus, is

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not only a psychological order; it is also a moral disorder.

The contrast between friendship and passionate love is no more evident than when Philautus abandons his friendship for Euphues and blindly pursues Camilla, who, as one would expect, rejects all his overtures. Like Euphues in his pursuit of Lucilla in the Anatomy, Philautus in his pursuit of Camilla resorts to wiles and deceptions:

'If deserts can nothing prevail I will practise deceits, and what faith cannot do conjuring shall. . . . He that desireth riches must stretch the string that will not reach, and practise all kinds of getting. He that coveteth honour and cannot climb by the ladder must use all colours of lustiness. He that thirsteth for wine must not care how he get it, but where he may get it. Nor he that is in love be curious what means he ought to use, but ready to attempt any; for slender affection do I think that which either the fear of law or care of religion may diminish.

'Fie, Philautus, thine own words condemn thee of wickedness. Tush, the passions I sustain are neither to be quieted with counsel nor eased by reason.' (pp. 322-23)

The extent of the degradation to which Philautus is driven by his passionate love for Camilla and the distance he has regressed in his growth in wisdom and spiritual insights are underscored by his turning to black magic to attain the object of his passion. Such action is harshly condemned by the narrator: "Here, gentlemen, you may see into what open sins the heat of love driveth man, especially where one loving is in despair, either of his own imperfection or his lady's virtues, to be beloved again; which causeth man to attempt those things that are contrary to his own mind, to religion, to honesty. What greater villainy can there be
devised than to inquire of sorcerers, soothsayers, conjurers, or learned clerks for the enjoying of love?" (p. 323). Passionate love, thus, is not only irrational; it may also be immoral and irreligious.

In his sinful appeal to the conjurer to use his magic to acquire Camilla for him, Philautus stresses the suffering which is caused by an unsatisfied desire that is central to an attraction which is essentially sexual:

'O Psellus, the torments sustained by her presence, the griefs endured by her absence, the pining thoughts in the day, the pinching dreams in the night, the dying life, the living death, the jealousy at all times, and the despair at this instant can neither be uttered of me without floods of tears nor heard of thee without grief. No, Psellus, not the terrors of hell are either to be compared or spoken of in the respect of my torments; for what they all had severally, all that and more do I feel jointly. Insomuch that with Sisyphus I roll the stone even to the top of the hill when it tumbleth both itself and me into the bottom of hell; yet never ceasing I cannot end in life. What drier thirst could Tantalus endure than I, who have almost every hour the drink I dare not taste and the meat I cannot? Insomuch that I am torn upon the wheel with Ixion, my liver gnawed of the vultures and harpies; yea my soul troubled even with the unspeakable pains of Hêphaestus, Tisiphone, Alecto. Which secret sorrows although it were meet to enclose them in a labyrinth than to set them on a hill, yet where the mind is past hope the face is past shame.' (p. 325)

The bodily sufferings are the traditional ones of the courtly lover. More significant are the references to the pains of the soul, for passionate love is a sinful love. It is damaging spiritually. It distorts the reason and turns man from the virtuous life to one of suffering and despair. It is a tool of the devil to subvert man from his natural dignity and his high mission in life. Philautus' comparison of him-
self to the greatest of classical sinners emphasizes the enormity of his commitment to illicit love and the real dangers which passionate love offers to an upright man.

Moreover, Philautus sees love as a disease which must be purged by any means, no matter how dishonest and unlawful: "The disease of love, Psellus, is impatient, the desire extreme; whose assaults neither the wise can resist by policy, nor the valiant by strength... Insomuch as there is no reason to be given for so strange a grief, nor no remedy so unlawful but is to be sought for so monstrous a disease" (pp. 327-28). Psellus disclaims knowledge of a true aphrodisiac and denies Philautus' request. He does, however, list the traditional love potions and also poisons "for well you know, gentleman, that love is a poison, and therefore by poison it must be maintained" (pp. 331-32). He then goes on to chas­tize Philautus for his unchaste desires and his vicious motives: "No, no, Philautus, thou mayest well poison Camilla with such drugs, but never persuade her. For I confess that such herbs may alter the body from strength to weakness, but to think that they can move the mind from virtue to vice, from chastity to lust, I am not so simple to believe, neither would I have thee so sinful as to doubt it" (p. 334).

Based on sexual desire rather than virtuous admiration, passionate love leads the lover to employ any dishonorable means to achieve his illicit ends, and it is dangerous to the lady for it threatens her virtue and good name. Nevertheless men and women continue to "play" at love and risk their
honors and their souls in the process. The elaborate rituals of courtly love are mocked by Lyly. He breaks off the narrative to sermonize on the degeneration of the relationship between man and woman from their pre-lapsarian state. Artifice, vanity, lust and empty rhetoric have displaced honest affection based on virtue:

When Adam wooed there was no policy but plain dealing, no colours but black and white. Affection was measured by faith not by fancy. He was not curious nor Eve cruel; he was not enamoured of her beauty nor she allured with his personage; and yet then was she the fairest woman in the world and he the properest man. Since that time every lover hath put to a link, and made of a ring a chain and an odd corner, and framed of a plain alley a crooked knot, and of Venus' temple Daedalus' labyrinth. One curleth his hair, thinking love to be moved with fair locks, another layeth all his living upon his back, judging that women are wedded to bravery, some use discourses of love to kindle affection, some ditties to allure the mind, some letters to stir the appetite, divers fighting to prove their manhood, sundry sighing to show their maladies; many attempt with shows to please their ladies' eyes, not few with music to entice their ear; insomuch that there is more strife now who shall be the finest lover than who is the faithfulest. (p. 338)

Lyly concludes his tirade against lovers by contrasting love with friendship: "This, then, is my counsel, that you use your lovers like friends and choose them by their faith, not by their show but by the sound, neither by the weight but by the touch, as you do gold; so shall you be praised as much for virtue as beauty" (p. 339).

Friendship is never long absent from the book. When Lyly returns to the narrative of Philautus' pursuit of the love of Camilla, he does not lose sight of Euphues and the bond of friendship which Philautus had broken by yielding to
his passionate impulses. He introduces their friendship in incidental ways to keep it before the readers. For example, Philautus writes Camilla a love letter which he hides in a pomegranate, and when she accepts it she inquires about Euphues. She is surprised that the two friends should be parted for so long a time: "... thanking you once again both for your gift and good will, we will use other communication, not forgetting to ask for your friend Euphues, who hath not long time been where he might have been welcomed at all times; and that he came not with you at this time we both marvel and would fain know" (p. 344). Guiltily Philautus is forced to dissemble: "This question, so earnestly asked of Camilla, and so hardly to be answered of Philautus, nipped him in the head. Notwithstanding lest he should seem by long silence to incur some suspicion, he thought a bad excuse better than none at all, saying that Euphues nowadays became so studious (or as he termed it, superstitious) that he could not himself so much as have his company" (p. 344).

Philautus continues to pursue Camilla and is rejected at each attempt. His response to each rejection becomes more intense, and when she finally and emphatically denies his suit by threatening to expose him if he continues to harass her with his love pleas, Philautus is driven by his overwhelming passion to the brink of madness: "He tare his hair, rent his clothes and fell from the passions of a lover to the pangs of frenzy ..." (p. 360). In his distraught state he writes Camilla that he is resolved to die if she persists
in refusing him. At this point, the narrator intervenes and wittily condemns the wiles of women. When he returns to the story, he emphasizes that Philautus, still in a frenzied state of mind, is coming to realize that the true loss his irrational conduct has effected is not the loss of the disdainful Camilla, but that of the faithful Euphues. Out of the psychic distress caused by the violence of passionate love, Philautus comes to understand the higher values of friendship. Lyly quickly drops the narration of Camilla's activities to underscore this basic theme:

But let me follow Philautus, who now, both loathing his life and cursing his luck, called to remembrance his old friend Euphues, whom he was wont to have always in mirth a pleasant companion, in grief a comforter, in all his life the only stay of his liberty. The discourtesy which he offered him so increased his grief that he fell into these terms of rage, as one either in an ecstasy or in a lunacy.

'Now, Philautus, dispute no more with thyself of thy love, but be desperate to end thy life. Thou hast cast off thy friend, and thy lady hath forsaken thee; thou, destitute of both, canst neither have comfort of Camilla, whom thou seest obstinate, nor counsel of Euphues, whom thou hast made envious.'  

(pp. 361-62)

The climax of Euphues and His England is reached with Philautus' realization of the deficiencies of passionate love and the differences between it and friendship. He recognizes the folly of his love for Camilla, not merely because this love is one-sided, but because passionate love is a hindrance to a virtuous, constructive life. Friendship, on the other hand, because it is founded upon reason and nurtured by mutual acts of virtuous conduct is a superior relationship. His
earlier notion of friendship which viewed it as dependent only on similitude of manners is corrected, and he comes to realize that friendship depends essentially on moral correspondences. The new awareness of the true meaning of friendship marks a radical change in Philautus' character. Later when he falls in love again, it will be a virtuous attraction which is fulfilled in marriage.

The growth in wisdom which Philautus achieves parallels exactly that of Euphues in The Anatomy of Wit. For both men the understanding of the proper conduct of life is derived from an understanding of the values embodied in the relationship of friendship and through an understanding of the dangers of passionate love. It is this realization that is summed up in Philautus' choice of Euphues' love over Camilla's love: "Ah my good friend Euphues! I see now at length, though too late, that a true friend is of more price than a kingdom, and that the faith of thee is to be preferred before the beauty of Camilla" (p. 362). It is fitting that Philautus expresses his rejection of Camilla in terms of her beauty, for passionate love is essentially sensuous. He recalls the concern Euphues had shown for his moral welfare and the warnings which he had urged against a foolish abandonment to passion. Philautus recognizes the need that a man has for a friend, and he contemplates the necessity of suing to Euphues for a restoration of their friendship:

'Thou wast ever careful for my estate and I careless for thine; thou didst always fear in me the fire of love, I ever flattered myself with the bridle of
wisdom; when thou wast earnest to give me counsel I waxed angry to hear it; if thou didst suspect me upon just cause I fell out with thee for every light occasion. Now, now, Euphues, I see what it is to want a friend, and what it is to lose one; thy words are come to pass, which once I thought thou spakest in sport, but now I find them as a prophecy: that I should be constrained to stand at Euphues' door as the true owner.' (p. 362)

Philautus suggests that his escapade with Camilla was a test and trial of the depths of his relationship with Euphues:

"Try him, Philautus, sue to him, make friends, write to him, leave nothing undone that may either show in thee a sorrowful heart or move in him a mind that is pitiful. Thou knowest he is of nature courteous, one that hateth none, that loveth thee, that is tractable in all things. Lions spare those that couch to them, the tigress biteth not when she is clawed, Cerberus barketh not if Orpheus pipe sweetly; assure thyself that if thou be penitent he will be pleased, and the old friendship will be better than the new" (pp. 362-63). But the trial of friendship that strengthens it and forms it, of course, should precede not follow the vows of friendship.

The classical writers on friendship whom Lyly has been using emphasize this point repeatedly: "And so—and this we cannot say too often—we must test and observe first, and then bestow our affections, and not first bestow our affections, and then test and observe" (Cicero, 85). A period of testing did not come before the profession of friendship between Euphues and Philautus because at that time both men were deficient in wisdom. Through their experiences with passionate love, first Euphues and now here Philautus have grown intel-
lectually and spiritually. The relationship between the two men as it forms and grows and changes provides the framework within which the discussions of love gain broader meaning for the development of the central characters. Euphues, as the title character, gives unity to Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit and Euphues and His England, but more important thematically the work is unified by the relationship between Euphues and Philautus and the expanding conception of friendship that is developed.

After Philautus' realization of the deficiencies of passionate love and his growing awareness of the value of friendship to a constructive, virtuous life, there follow a series of letters between Euphues and Philautus in which the two men explore the nature of friendship and its relationship to love. The letters reflect the ideas that Lyly has been suggesting throughout the two books, and sum up the classical notions of friendship which inform all of the literature on the subject in the period. Friendship is a reasonable relationship that depends upon the mutual virtue of the participants. It cannot survive if one of the men strays from virtue, nor can it survive if its main purpose is to advance the interests of one of them at the expense of the other. Friendship should be fully tested before it is entered into, and the friends should work for the mutual advance in wisdom, both spiritual and intellectual, of each other.

As noted earlier, the original bond of friendship between Euphues and Philautus was based upon an inadequate un-
derstanding of the nature of friendship. Through his experiences in love, Euphues had come to a new realization of the bond, and now Philautus, in his letter to Euphues imploring him to renew their relationship, demonstrates externally the beginnings of the awareness which he had earlier acknowledged to himself: "The sharp north-east wind, my good Euphues, doth never last three days, tempests have but a short time, and the more violent the thunder is the less permanent it is. In the like manner it falleth out with the jars and crossings of friends, which, begun, in a minute, are ended in a moment" (p. 363). Philautus had indeed begun his friendship with Euphues "in a minute," and it was this initial lack of reasoned judgment and careful testing that had provided the basis for the dissolution of their friendship, whatever the immediate cause. The language of the letter, however, indicates that Philautus' moral growth is not complete. Philautus has not yet fully come to appreciate the depth of the relationship, and he tries to justify his actions on grounds that are more suited to passionate love. This confusion of the two relationships is crucial, for passionate love is founded primarily upon the senses and needs only the senses for its continuation. The elaborate games of love, indicated earlier in the book, depend upon this fact. Friendship, however, grounded on reason, cannot survive without the mutual respect and virtue of the participants. As Plutarch, one of the most quoted writers on friendship points out, the moral qualities of perfect friend-
ship must remain constant: "But friendship requires a steady, constant and unchangeable character, a person that is uniform in his intimacy. And so a constant friend is a thing rare and hard to find" ("On Abundance of Friends," p. 156).

Philautus tries to suggest that quarrels between friends, like lovers' quarrels, are inevitable and are a constructive force in the relationship:

Necessary it is that among friends there should be some overthwarting, but to continue in anger not convenient. The camel first troubleth the water before he drink, the frankincense is burned before it smell, friends are tried before they are to be trusted; lest shining like the carbuncle as though they had fire, they be found being touched to be without fire.

Friendship should be like the wine which Homer much commending calleth Maroneum, whereof one pint being mingled with five quarts of water, yet it keepeth his old strength and virtue, not to be qualified by any discourtesy. Where salt doth grow nothing else can breed, where friendship is built no offence can harbour. Then, good Euphues, let the falling out of friends be renewing of affection; that in this we may resemble the bones of the lion, which lying still and not moved begin to rot, but being stricken one against another break out like fire and wax green.

The anger of friends is not unlike unto the physician's cucurbitae, which drawing all the infection in the body into one place doth purge all diseases; and the rages of friends reaping up all the hidden malices or suspicions or follies that lay lurking in the mind maketh the knot more durable. For as the body being purged of melancholy waxeth light and apt to all labour, so the mind as it were scoured of mistrust becometh fit ever after for belief. (pp. 363-64)

Philautus is still ignorant of the real relationship of friendship to a virtuous life, and even though he confesses his folly and asks Euphues to forgive him and to renew their
league of friendship, Euphues is doubtful of his friend's sincerity and hesitates to pledge himself again. Instead Euphues lectures Philautus on the errors in his conception of love and friendship in order to teach Philautus that the constancy of friends can in no way be comparable to the fickleness of romantic lovers who thrive upon the toys of petty quarrels and separations. Euphues answers Philautus' arguments point by point showing him the errors in his reasoning and the deficiencies in his conception of love and friendship:

Thou beginnest to infer a necessity that friends should fall out, whenas I cannot allow a convenience. For if it be among such as are faithful there should be no cause of breach, if between dissemblers no care of reconciliation...

After many reasons to conclude that jars were requisite thou fallest to a kind of submission, which I marvel at. For if I gave no cause, why didst thou pick a quarrel; if any, why shouldst thou crave a pardon? If thou canst defy thy best friend what wilt thou do to thine enemy? Certainly this must needs ensue, that if thou canst not be constant to thy friend when he doth thee good, thou wilt never bear with him when he shall do thee harm; thou that seekest to spill the blood of the innocent canst show small mercy to an offender; thou that treadest a worm on the tail wilt crush a wasp on the head; thou that art angry for no cause wilt, I think, run mad for a light occasion. Truly, Philautus, that once I loved thee I cannot deny; that now I should again do so I refuse. For small confidence shall I repose in thee when I am guilty, that can find no refuge in innocency.

The malice of a friend is like the sting of an asp, which nothing can remedy; for being pierced in the hand it must be cut off, and a friend thrust to the heart it must be pulled out. I had as lief, Philautus, have a wound that inwardly might lightly grieve me, than a scar that outwardly should greatly shame me...

But to conclude, Philautus, it fareth with me now as with those that have been once bitten with the scorpion, who never after feel any sting, either of the

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wasp or the hornet or the bee; for I, having been pricked with thy falsehood, shall never I hope again be touched with any other dissembler, flatterer, or fickle friend. (pp. 366-67)

Philautus responds to Euphues' rejection by renewing with greater vigor his attempt to persuade Euphues that he has truly profited from his past experiences and that he has reformed sufficiently to merit the renewal of their friendship. He suggests that for Euphues to continue to withhold his friendship, Euphues himself would be deficient in the virtues which a true friend should possess: concern for the moral well-being of his fellow man and an obligation to counsel a friend and lead him in virtue when the opportunity presents itself. To maintain a grudge when one has been disappointed by his friends is to deny the very constancy which friendship demands. Philautus, of course, neglects the important qualification that fidelity in friendship cannot extend beyond the line of virtue and that a man is morally obliged to reject his friends whenever their conduct threatens the integrity of his own character. Nevertheless, Philautus presents a strong plea for the exercise of charity in friendship:

There is no bone so hard but being laid in vinegar it may be wrought, nor ivory so tough but seasoned with zytho it may be engraven, nor box so knotty that dipped in oil cannot be carved; and can there be a heart in Euphues which neither will yield to softness with gentle persuasions nor true perseverance? What canst thou require at my hand that I will deny thee? Have I broken the league of friendship? I confess it. Have I misused thee in terms? I will not deny it. But being sorrowful for either, why shouldest not thou forgive both?
Water is praised for that it savoureth of nothing, fire for that it yieldeth to nothing; and such should the nature of a true friend be that it should not savour of any rigour, and such the effect that it may not be conquered with any offence. Otherwise faith put into the breast that beareth grudges, or contracted with him that can remember griefs, is not unlike unto wine poured into fir vessels, which is present death to the drinker.

Friends must be used as the musicians tune their strings, who finding them in a discord do not break them but either by intention or remission frame them to a pleasant consent; or as riders handle their young colts, who finding them wild and untractable bring them to a good place with a gentle rein, not with a sharp spur; or as the Scythians ruled their slaves, not with cruel weapons but with the show of small whips. Then, Euphues, consider with thyself what I may be, not what I have been, and forsake me not for that I deceived thee; if thou do, thy discourtesy will breed my destruction. For as there is no beast that toucheth the herb whereon the bear breathed so there is no man that will come near him upon whom the suspicion of deceit is fastened. (pp. 368-69)

Euphues' cautious refusal to renew his friendship with Philautus until he has further tested the sincerity of the young man is well grounded, for, as the narrator indicates, Philautus' motives are very ambiguous: "Philautus did not sleep about his business, but presently sent this letter; thinking that if once he could fasten friendship again upon Euphues, that by his means he should compass his love, with Camilla. And yet this I durst affirm that Philautus was both willing to have Euphues and sorrowful that he lost him by his own lavishness" (p. 369). Philautus has learned the value of Euphues' friendship, but he has not yet abandoned his pursuit of Camilla. He has not reflected adequately on his unhappy experiences with love to realize that passionate
love inevitably is morally damaging if it is based solely on a sexual attraction. Not only does Philautus still hope to consummate his love for Camilla, but also he hopes to enlist his friend in this undertaking. In this respect he demonstrates that he has not yet attained that perfect friendship, of which Aristotle speaks, in which the friend is loved for his own sake and not for an advantage which he may confer: "Perfect friendship is the friendship of men who are good, and alike, in virtue; for these wish well alike to each other qua good, and they are good in themselves. Now those who wish well to their friends for their sake are most truly friends; for they do this by reason of their own nature and not incidentally; therefore their friendship lasts as long as they are good" (Nicomachean Ethics, 8.4.1156-57). Euphues recognizes that Philautus has not yet achieved this high degree of friendship, so he continues to lecture him on the nature of true friendship and to test the validity of his claim of reformation:

Thou settest down the office of a friend, which if thou couldst as well perform as thou canst describe, I would be as willing to confirm our old league as I am to believe thy new laws. Water that savoureth nothing (as thou sayest) may be heated and scald thee, and fire which yieldeth to nothing may be quenched when thou wouldest warm thee. So the friend in whom there is no intent to offend may, through the sinister dealings of his fellow, be turned to heat, being before cold, and the faith which wrought like a flame in him be quenched and have no spark. . . .

But learn, Philautus, to live hereafter as though thou shouldest not live at all; be constant to them that trust thee, and trust them that thou hast tried; dissemble not with thy friend either for fear to dis-

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please him or for malice to deceive him. Know this, that the best simples are very simple if the physician could not apply them, that precious stones were no better than pebbles if lapidaries did not know them, that the best friend is worse than a foe if a man do not use him. Ithridate must be taken inwardly, not spread on plasters; purgations must be used like drink, not like baths; the counsel of a friend must be fastened to the mind, not to the ear, followed, not praised, employed in good living, not talked off in good meaning. . . .

For answering thy suit I am not yet so hasty, for accepting thy service I am not so imperious; for in friendship there must be an equality of estates, and that may be in us, also a similitude of manners, and that cannot, unless thou learn a new lesson and leave the old. Until which time I leave thee, wishing thee well as to myself. (pp. 370-72)

Philautus continues to press his suit on Euphues for a resumption of their friendship. He indicates that he has repented his past actions, that he has been hurt in his pursuit of Camilla, that he has arrived at a true understanding of friendship, and that he has been tried sufficiently by Euphues to prove his steadfastness:

In music there are many discords before there can be framed a diapason, and in contracting of good will many jars before there be established a friendship; but by these means the music is more sweet, and the amity more sound. I have received thy letter, wherein there is as much good counsel contained as either I could wish or thou thyself couldest give; but ever thou harpest on that string which long since was out of tune, but now is broken, my inconstancy. Certes, my good Euphues, as I cannot but commend thy wisdom in making a stay of reconciliation, for that thou findest so little stay in me, so can I not but marvel at thy incredulity in not believing me, since that thou seest a reformation in me. . . .

This one thing touching myself I say, and before Him that seeth all things I swear, that hereafter I will neither dissemble to delude thee nor pick quarrels to fall out with thee. Thou shalt find me constant to one, faithless to none, in prayer devout, in manners reformed, in life chaste, in words modest,
not framing my fancy to the humour of love, but my deeds to the rule of zeal. And such a man as heretofore merrily thou saidest I was but now truly thou shalt see I am, and as I know thou art.

Then, Euphues, appoint the place where we may meet and reconcile the minds, which I confess by mine own follies were severed. And if ever after this I shall seem jealous over thee or blinded towards myself, use me as I deserve, shamefully. (pp. 372-73)

These admissions mark a significant change in the character of Philautus. Not only does he recognize his jealous behavior in alienating Euphues and admit his foolish abandonment to the "humour of love," but also he perceives the connection between his style of life and his spiritual condition. He promises now not merely an external change in manners, but an internal change in morals and spiritual disposition. Such a change is reflected in the very words which he uses to sue for a meeting with Euphues which may lead them to "reconcile the minds." At last he seems to see friendship as a spiritual relationship, not merely as a social bond or as a tool to further one's own advantage.

Euphues recognizes the new tenor of Philautus' rhetoric, and after suitable delay he agrees to restore their league of friendship, for he feels that his friendship is one way of bolstering Philautus' resolve to amend his ways and lead a virtuous life. In this respect Euphues' friendship is altruistic: It derives not from the advantages which he will accrue from the relationship but from the service which he can perform for the friend to whom he makes a commitment:
Euphues, seeing such speedy return of another answer, thought Philautus to be very sharp set for to recover him; and weighing with himself that often in marriages there have fallen out brawls, where the chiefest love should be, and yet again reconciliations, that none ought at any time so to love that he should find in his heart at any time to hate. Furthermore casting in his mind the good he might do to Philautus by his friendship, and the mischief that might ensue by his fellow's folly, answered him thus again speedily, as well to prevent the course he might otherwise take as also to prescribe what way he should take. (p. 373)

In his reply to Philautus, Euphues restores their friendship but warns that it can last only as long as Philautus' conduct remains honorable. Euphues goes on to underscore the folly of Philautus' unfruitful attempts at love with Camilla, and he chastizes Philautus for attempting to woo a lady who surpasses him in virtue and wisdom. He calls Philautus' motives into question, and after their actual meeting and reconciliation, he goes on to educate Philautus in the nature of virtuous love and its superiority to passionate love.

Once Philautus has been brought to understand the nature of a rational relationship such as friendship, he is ready to learn about and to accept a love for a woman based on virtue, not on sexual attraction. Thus, after Euphues has instructed Philautus about true love, he agrees to help him achieve love since he perceives that it is the natural bent of Philautus' "humour." Euphues insists, however, that the pursuit of love be approached rationally. He weighs the respective merits of Camilla and her friend Frances and compares them to the respective social positions of Philautus and Surius, Camilla's other suitor. His conclusion is that
by birth and temperament, Philautus is not equal to Camilla, so she cannot be won by him. Frances can be obtained by him, but she is not as beautiful as Camilla. Philautus is caught between the impulses of passionate love and the legitimate claims of friendship. He recognizes the wisdom of Euphues' advice to abandon all thoughts of Camilla, but he is still overwhelmed by desire. Passion and reason are locked in a struggle: "Philautus thus replied: 'O my good Euphues, I have neither the power to forsake mine own Camilla, nor the heart to deny thy counsel; it is easy to fall into a net but hard to get out. Notwithstanding, I will go against the hair in all things so I may please thee in anything. Oh my Camilla!'" (pp. 378-79). Recognizing Philautus' dilemma, Euphues leads him into a debate over the relative merits of physical and spiritual love. Euphues advocates a totally spiritual love between man and woman—a love that resembles in its nature the relationship between two men:

'The effect of love is faith not lust, delightful conference not detestable concupiscence, which beginneth with folly and endeth with repentance. For mine own part I would wish nothing, if again I should fall into that vein, than to have the company of her in common conference that I best loved, to hear her sober talk, her wise answers, to behold her sharp capacity, and to be persuaded of her constancy. And in these things do we only differ from the brute beasts, who have no pleasure but in sensual appetite.' (p. 380)

Euphues' position is that of the neoplatonists who subordinate sensual passion to beauty and beauty to virtue. Reason and discourse are the distinguishing marks of man. Euphues tells Philautus that a man should be content that his eyes
view a beautiful woman and his ears hear her wise speech:
"And why should not the chaste love of others be builded
rather in agreeing in heavenly meditations than temporal ac-
tions?" (p. 381). Castiglione has Bembo present just such a
conception of women and love in the fourth book of The Cour-
tier, a work which Lyly's editors theorize he may be drawing
on here. Bembo describes love as "nothing else but a cer-
taine coveting to enjoy beautie." When this beauty is per-
ceived in a beautiful woman's face, a man desires her, but
this desire must be spiritual not sensual:

When the soule then is taken with coveting to en-
joy this beautie as a good thing, in case she suffer
her selfe to be guided with the judgement of sense,
she falleth into most deepe erreours; and judgeth the
bodie in which beauty is discerned to be the princi-
pall cause thereof: whereupon to enjoy it she reck-
oneth it necessarie to joine as inwardly as she can,
with that bodie, which is false.

And therefore who so thinketh in possessing the
bodie to enjoy Beautie, he is farre deceived, and is
moved to it, not with true knowledge by the choice
of reason, but with false opinion by the longing of
sense. Whereupon the pleasure that followeth it, is
also false and of necesitie full of errors.

The true lover loves the essential spiritual beauty of this
particular woman. He then ascends the ladder of love to
understand the "universal beautie of all bodies" and from
there to a contemplation of "heavenly beauty." At this stage
of perfection the lover transcends the limitations of the
senses and passions: "Let us therefore bend all our force
and thoughtes of soule to this most holy light, that sheweth
us the way which leadeth to heaven: and after it, putting

Trans. Sir Thomas Hoby (London: Dent, 1928),
pp. 304-05. Subsequent references are to this edition.
off the affections we were clad at our coming downe, let us
climbe up the staires, which at the lowermost steppe have
the shadow of sensuall beautie, to the high mansion place
where the heavenly, amiable and right beautie dwellleth, which
lyeth hidden in the innermost secretes of God, lest unhalowed
eyes should come to the sight of it: and there shall we
finde a most happie end for our desires, true rest for our
travels, certaine remedie for miseries, a most healthfull
medicine for sicksnesse, a most sure haven in the troublesome
storms of the tempestuous sea of life" (pp. 320-21).

In his discussion with Philautus, Eunhues does not ex-
plicitly carry the theory to this ultimate stage, but he ren-
ders love sufficiently ethereal that Philautus cannot fully
accept his argument. Philautus insists upon the physical
consummation of love; however, the lessons he had learned in
the process of discovering the true nature of friendship--
one type of love--bear fruit in the larger conception of love
in general. Now for the first time, Philautus specifies that
the consumption of sexual love is to be achieved in the vir-
tuous context of marriage:

'I love the company of women well, yet to have
them in lawful marriage I like much better. If thy
reasons should go as current then were love no tor-
ment; for hardly doth it fall out with him that is
denied the sight and talk of his lady. Hungry stom-
achs are not to be fed with sayings against surfeit-
ings, nor thirst to be quenched with sentences
against drunkenness. To love women and never enjoy
them is as much as to love wine and never taste it,
or to be delighted with fair apparel and never wear
it. An idle love is that, and fit for him that hath
nothing but ears, that is satisfied to hear her speak,
not desirous to have himself speed. . . . And in one
word, it would do me no more good to see my lady and
not embrace her in the heat of my desire, than to see fire and not warm me in the extremity of my cold. 'No, no, Euphues, thou makest love nothing but a continual wooing if thou bar it of the effect, and then is it infinite; or if thou allow it and yet forbid it, a perpetual warfare, and then is it intolerable. From this opinion no man shall withdraw me, that the end of fishing is catching, not angling; of birding, taking, not whistling; of love wedding, not wooing. (pp. 380-81)

Marriage as the end of romantic love is a way of reconciling the conflicting claims of sexual desire and virtuous conduct. The lover's passions can be satisfied without damaging the honor of the lady or the lover's own spiritual well-being. Mark Rose points out in Heroic Love that the increased dignity placed on conjugal love in the Renaissance was a radical departure from the traditional perception of the institution of marriage. He traces this development in part to a growing awareness of the moral problems inherent in passionate love, and he sees this solution as one that was particularly suited to English culture (pp. 18-34). Philautus in Euphues and His England is transformed from a lustful gallant to a faithful husband, a process that results from his education in the relationship of romantic love to virtuous living. The instrument whereby he achieves this wisdom is his evolving friendship with Euphues. Once he has come to understand the nature of friendship as a virtue, he is morally strong enough to continue his education toward the ultimate resolution which leads him to abandon passionate desire for Camilla and achieve the wedding which he claims is the end of wooing.

Euphues' and Philautus' conversation is interrupted by Lady Flavia's invitation to supper. In the conventional
love debates that follow the meal, Philautus emerges with an even clearer understanding of the true nature of virtuous love. He is given the question whether secrecy or constancy is to be preferred in love, but he vacillates in his answer. It remains for Frances, who is soon to be the object of Philautus' love, to teach him some of the principles of virtuous love: "'There is no true lover, believe me Philautus—sense telleth me so, not trial—that hath not faith, secrecy, and constancy. If thou want either, it is lust not love; and that thou hast not them all thy profound questions assureth me!'" (pp. 401-02). Philautus at this point is still smarting from his passion for Camilla; thus, he is not yet able to put into practice the precepts of Frances.

The dialogue between Philautus and Frances is interrupted by Lady Flavia who calls upon Euphues to pass judgment on the love debates. As he had asserted to Philautus earlier in private, Euphues condemns all romantic love. He does, however, concede that love between a man and a woman is permissible if it is based on virtue. He carefully distinguishes between passionate love, which is lust, and spiritual love, which is an intellectual bond:

'Great hold there hath been who should prove his love best, when in my opinion there is none good. But such is the vanity of youth that it thinketh nothing worthy either of commendation or conference but only love; whereof they sow much and reap little, wherein they spend all and gain nothing, whereby they run into dangers before they wist, and repent their desires before they would. I do not discommend honest affection which is grounded upon virtue as the mean, but disordinate fancy which is builded upon lust as an extremity; and lust I must term that which

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is begun in an hour and ended in a minute, the common love in this our age, where ladies are courted for beauty not for virtue, men loved for proportion in body not perfection in mind.' (p. 405)

For Euphues, passionate love is dangerous because it is based solely on the affections and on sensuous impressions, not on reason and on mutual interests. As such it distracts the will from pursuits that lead to virtuous living:

'For as the earth wherein the mines of silver and gold are hidden is profitable for no other thing but metals, so the heart wherein love is harboured receiveth no other seed but affection. Lovers seek not those things which are most profitable but most pleasant, resembling those that make garlands, who choose the fairest flowers not the wholesomest; and being once entangled with desire they always have the disease, not unlike unto the goat who is never without an ague.' (p. 406)

True love as he describes it closely resembles his earlier description of friendship. Both relationships are based on reason, trial, and virtue, love adding the fourth quality of favour:

'True and virtuous love is to be grounded upon time, reason, favour, and virtue. Time, to make trial; not at the first glance so to settle his mind as though he were willing to be caught when he might escape, but so by observation and experience to build and augment his desires that he be not deceived with beauty but persuaded with constancy. Reason, that all his doings and proceedings seem not to flow from a mind inflamed with lust, but a true heart kindled with love. Favour, to delight his eyes, which are the first messengers of affection. Virtue, to allure the soul, for the which all things are to be desired.' (p. 406)

Almost as if to underscore Euphues' condemnation of passionate love and his praise of virtuous love, Philautus suddenly falls out of love with Camilla and in love with Frances. He attempts to hide from Euphues this transference
of his affections, but in keeping with his new awareness of friendship, he finally concludes that he must be open with his friend: "At the last, thinking it both contrary to his oath and his honesty to conceal anything from Euphues, he confessed that his mind was changed from Camilla to Frances" (p. 410). Philautus' new attraction for Frances does not disqualify him from the moral requirements of friendship since his love for Frances is a virtuous one. He is incapable, however, of sustaining his friendship with Euphues on the highest possible level, for he can no longer share totally in his friend's interests and pursuits:

But now came the time that Euphues was to try Philautus's truth. For it happened that letters were directed from Athens to London concerning serious and weighty affairs of his own, which incited him to hasten his departure. The contents of the which when he had imparted to Philautus, and requested his company, his friend was so fast tied by the eyes that he had found thorns in his heel—which Euphues knew to be thoughts in his heart—and by no means he could persuade him to go into Italy, so sweet was the very smoke of England. (p. 410)

It can be seen, then, in this context that love, even virtuous love, is not compatible with friendship in its most ideal form. Friends may also love women, and it is possible for a man to marry and still maintain a friendship. But perfect friendship demands a spiritual union that does not permit the distractions and separations which love demands. Philautus will be able to maintain a lifelong friendship with Euphues while he experiences virtuous love for Frances and later even after he marries her, but he is no longer able to survive the test of perfect friendship by putting his friend
above all others. He has learned honesty in friendship and the necessity of virtuous living, but he does not have it in his nature to renounce the demands of the flesh and devote himself exclusively to a relationship that is essentially spiritual.

Nevertheless, even though perfect friendship is precluded by the differing circumstances of life which the two men choose, at their parting they reveal an unusual depth of concern and affection for one another:

"Certify me of thy proceedings by thy letters; and think that Euphues cannot forget Philautus, who is as dear to me as myself."...

Philautus, the water standing in his eyes, not able to answer one word until he had well wept, replied at the last as it were in one word, saying that his counsel should be engraven in his heart and he would follow every thing that was prescribed him, certifying him of his success as either occasion or opportunity should serve. But when friends at departing would utter most, then tears hinder most; which brake off both his answer, and stayed Euphues' reply. So after many millions of embracings, at the last they departed. (pp. 413-14)

Later, after Philautus has informed Euphues of his marriage to Frances, Euphues is pleased for his friend's sake: "This letter being delivered to Euphues and well perused caused him both to marvel and to joy, seeing all things so strangely concluded, and his friend so happily contracted" (p. 455). Realizing that Philautus is limited in his capacity to sustain a completely spiritual relationship, Euphues rejoices that his pursuit of sensual pleasure has culminated in a virtuous marriage, not in a wanton affair, and he admonishes him to remain faithful: "Now thou art come to that honourable estate forget
all thy former follies, and debate with thyself that heretofore thou didst but go about the world and that now thou are come into it; that love did once make thee to follow riot, that it must now enforce thee to pursue thrift; that then there was no pleasure to be compared to the courting of ladies, that now there can be no delight greater than to have a wife" (p. 461). Euphues' letter to Philautus brings the narrative to a close.

Lyly concludes the work by pointing out to the readers the different life style each friend has chosen: "Gentlemen, Euphues is musing in the bottom of the mountain Silexsedra; Philautus married in the isle of England; two friends parted, the one living in the delights of his new wife, the other in contemplation of his old griefs" (p. 462). The two friends are parted, but the bond of friendship is not dissolved. Their interests are no longer the common pursuits of young men; each has forged a type of life that differs greatly from that of his fellow—Euphues, the life of a scholar, Philautus, the life of a courtier. But their maturation has included an awareness of the true nature of friendship and its relationship to virtuous living. Since both men remain virtuous and since both retain affection for one another, even though it cannot function on the highest spiritual level that is ideal friendship, their friendship endures.

From beginning to end, in Euphues and His England, as in Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, the theme of friendship is dominant. The narrative continuity of the two parts taken as
a whole depends upon the friendship relationship between Euphues and Philautus. Although much space is spent on the subject of love, the love matter is closely related to the friendship of Euphues and Philautus. Lyly shows the deficiencies of the relationship of passionate love by referring passionate love to the relationship of friendship. Passionate love, grounded in the senses and dependent upon sexual consummation for its ultimate fulfillment, proves detrimental psychologically and spiritually to the well-being of the participants. Friendship, on the other hand, provides a relationship that can combine man's affective and rational needs without the sexual component which would inevitably lead to an abandonment of virtue if satisfied in any way other than those sanctioned by law and religion. Lyly uses friendship as the measure of the moral and intellectual growth of man. As each of his two main characters comes to understand the underlying spiritual basis of friendship, he increases in wisdom.

The two parts of Lyly's work handle the theme of friendship in parallel fashion. The hero falls in love with an unworthy or inappropriate woman, the love is not reciprocated, the hero suffers physical, psychological, and moral degeneration, and he is finally restored through the agency of his friend. The conclusions of the two differ however. In Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, Euphues abandons love completely as an activity demeaning and dangerous to virtuous living and salvation. He later modifies his condemnation of
women and love in the sequel, but he retains the position that the celibate life is the superior one both spiritually and intellectually. In *Euphues and His England*, Philautus at the conclusion has abandoned not love *per se* but illicit passionate love. He resolves the conflicting demands of desire and virtue by marriage. Friendship in this way is not destroyed by love, for love of this sort does not distort virtue which is the foundation of friendship. Thus the friends can each choose a different way of life but keep their friendship intact. In this manner Lyly can end the two works by underscoring his basic unifying theme, that of friendship.
CHAPTER IV

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY'S ARCADIA

Sidney begins the Arcadia not with the introduction of its two heroes, Pyrocles and Musidorus, but with the two shepherds Claius and Strephon. Claius and Strephon parallel in their friendship the friendship of Pyrocles and Musidorus and in their unalloyed spiritual love for Urania anticipate the ultimate character of the love which Pyrocles will have for Philoclea, Musidorus for Pamela:

... hath not the onely love of her made us (being silly ignorant shepheards) raise up our thoughts above the ordinary levell of the worlde, so as great clearkes do not disdaine our conference? hath not the desire to seeme worthie in her eyes made us when others were sleeping, to sit vewing the course of heavens? when others were running at base, to runne over learned writings? when other marke their sheepe, we to marke our selves? hath not shee throwne reason upon our desires, and, as it were given eyes unto Cupid? hath in any, but in her, love-fellowship maintained friendship betweene rivals, and beautie taught the beholders chastitle?¹

These two shepherds, unlike the other pastoral characters later revealed to us and the pastoral life exhibited in the foolish conduct of Basilius and his entourage, represent the true pastoral ideal. Their love is similarly ideal. It is erotic love refined by reason to a high spiritual level. Symbolically the absent Urania is heavenly love. Her absence

places her, like Dante's Beatrice and Petrarch's Laura after their deaths, in a realm that admits only of spiritual adoration and that permanently prevents her from being the object of a love that is passionate or physically grounded.²

This spiritual love ennobles Claius and Strephon. Their actions are magnanimous, their speech is eloquent, and they achieve widespread fame as ideal friends: "... a couple of shepheards, who lived in those dayes famous; for that both loving one faire maide, they yet remained constant friends" (I, 162). Because their love is pure, their friendship, itself a spiritual relationship, is strengthened. The opening narrative of the friendship of Claius and Strephon and their ethereal love for Urania illustrates the operation of neoplatonic love. Its significance to the heroes of the Arcadia is discussed by Walter Davis: "The position of the story, as well as its symbolic overtones, indicates that it is a kind of general emblem of the possible transformations of the soul that love holds out to all men; and to Pyrocles and Musidorus in particular, it shows what may happen in Arcadia."³ When Pyrocles and Musidorus first fall in love with the two princesses, their love is passionate in nature.


Because of this passionate love the heroes' stature is diminished. It reduces their heroic actions to listless love melancholy, it changes their speech to self-pitying love laments, and it threatens on several occasions to destroy their bonds of friendship. Ultimately, however, Pyrocles and Musidorus progress from a love that originates in passion to a virtuous love that reconciles the spiritual and physical claims of love by having as its object not sexual consummation alone, but sexual consummation in the context of marriage. At this point they reassert their heroic stances and, like Claius and Strephon, strengthen their bond of friendship.

Claius and Strephon introduce not only the basic themes of the Arcadia but the action as well. They are the ones who discover Musidorus when he washes up on the shores of Arcadia. They revive him and try to comfort him, but Musidorus' only thoughts are for the welfare of his friend Pyrocles. His devotion to his friend is so great that he wishes to throw himself into the sea rather than live without him. The shepherds prevent Musidorus from drowning himself and set out with him in a boat to hunt for his friend. They see Pyrocles but are unsuccessful in their attempts to rescue him from the drifting debris. Musidorus' sorrow at the apparent loss of Pyrocles is appreciated by the two shepherds, for they too are similarly bound by ties of ideal friendship. Strephon and Claius "being themselves true friends, did the more perfectly judge the justnesse of his
sorrow" (I, 10). They press Musidorus to reveal his identity and offer to take him to a gentleman named Kalander. He again professes that his sole concern is for the welfare of his friend but that he will go to Kalander to seek his aid in recovering him, for without his friend he is "in deed nothing" (I, 14).

After welcoming Musidorus, Kalander gives him a history of Arcadia and explains the actions of King Basilius in fleeing to the countryside. Basilius has left his court because of an obscure oracle that seems to prophesy his death and the loss of his throne to a foreign power. Early in the Arcadia Sidney makes it clear that he does not approve of the abandonment of civic responsibility by an escape to a primitive pastoral society. Basilius' sojourn in Arcadia is presented as a rejection of the reasonable way of life which consists of the acceptance of one's naturally determined position in society and of the duties imposed by that ordained place. Kalander's history of Basilius' retreat to Arcadia includes a letter of admonition from the prince-regent Philanax, who is characterized as a devoted, selfless courtier. Philanax writes that if he had been asked his advice before Basilius had acted he would have counseled the king to remain at court. All that a prudent man can do in life is follow the dictates of his own wisdom and virtue:

These thirtie yeares you have so governed this Region, that neither your Subjectes have wanted justice in you, nor you obedience in them; & your neighbors have found you so hurtlesly strong, that they thought it better to rest in your friendshippe, then
make newe triall of your enmitie. If this then have proceeded out of the good constitution of your state, and out of a wise providence, generally to prevent all those things, which might encomber your hapines: why should you now seeke new courses, since your owne ensample comforts you to continue, and that it is to me most certaine (though it please you not to tell me the very words of the Oracle) that yet not destinie, nor influence whatsoever, can bring mans withe to a higher point, then wisdome and goodnes? . . . Let your subjects have you in their eyes; let them see the benefites of your justice dayly more and more; and so must they needes rather like of present sureties, then uncertaine changes. Lastly, whether your time call you to live or die, doo both like a prince. (I, 24-25)

Arcadia is not presented as an ideal retreat to be sought by all men. David Kalstone's study of Sidney's sources shows how Sidney transforms the pastoral world from an uncomplicated golden paradise to a battleground in which he "weighs the relative value that pastoral leisure and the heroic quest place upon love." The occasion which produces the dialectic of pastoral leisure vs. heroic action is provided by Basilius' refusal to follow the reasonable course of action outlined by Philanax in his letter. As Alan Isler points out, Basilius abrogates responsibility in his person, in his family, and in his state: "Responsibility means simply the dominance of reason over the passions, and to responsibility on all three levels can be attached the manifold contributory themes of the Arcadia, love, marriage, religion, war, peace, the varieties of government among men, and so on. For in all relationships man must exercise reason, by

which God has raised him above the level of the beasts."^5
As will be shown later, it is particularly in the relationship of friendship and love that the Arcadia stresses the necessity of the superiority of reason over passion.

Kalander points out the consequences of Basilius' refusal to heed the advice of his wise counselor: external threats to the state from foreign powers and internal threats from jealous, power-hungry courtiers:

But this experience shewes us, that Basilius judgement, corrupted with a Princes fortune, hath rather heard then followed the wise (as I take it) counsell of Philanax. For, having lost the sterne of his government, with much amazement to the people, among whom many strange bruits are received for currant, and with some appearance of danger in respect of the valiant Amphalus, his nephew, & much envy in the ambitious number of the Nobilitie against Philanax, to see Philanax so advanced, though (to speake simply) he deserve more then as many of us as there be in Arcadia: the prince himself hath hidden his head, in such sort as I told you... (I, 26)

By hiding his head under a shepherd's cap, Basilius threatens the stability of both the pastoral and the courtly worlds, for he has disrupted the natural political order:

"Sidney does not hold up the pastoral life of Basilius as a model; he does not find in it an admirable withdrawal from the cares of life; it is no idyllic existence in the forest of Arden, but a criminal evading of responsibility that will bring ruin to any state."^6 Moreover, the same corrupted

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judgment that leads him to abandon the responsibility of the court for the forest leads him to abandon virtue for illicit love. As will be discussed in detail later, Basilius' actions in the Arcadia center on his attempt to consummate an adulterous love affair.

Sidney contrasts the dangerous behavior of Basilius with the heroic actions of his exemplar king, Euarchus. In the final book of the Arcadia, after Basilius' foolish passion for the Amazon Zelmane (Pyrocles in disguise) has led him to apparent death from a love philtre, Euarchus arrives in Arcadia for the purpose of persuading his friend Basilius to put on the mantle of his kingship and assume the active civic role which his natural position demands. Euarchus is prompted by a "certaine vertuous desire to trie, whether by his authoritie he might withdraw Basilius from burying himselfe alive, and to imploy the rest of his olde yeares in doing good, the onely happie action of mans life" (II, 152). When he is informed of the death of Basilius and asked to assume the governorship of Arcadia, Euarchus rises to the obligations, which noble birth imposes, to act for the good of the common weal not for his own personal and private satisfaction. Basilius, in contrast, had chosen the private pursuit of love. Passionate love, insofar as it puts the self before all other considerations, including virtuous actions and salvation, is a detriment to the heroic life. Basilius' career in Arcadia amply demonstrates this. Euarchus' response when he is asked to govern the country reflects the
commitment of the Renaissance humanists, such as Sidney, to an active life. Euarchus has led a fruitful life and does not seek new responsibilities, particularly when he may be criticized as a usurper by some Arcadians, but he cannot deny the moral imperative to devote one’s divinely given talents to the public good:

But in the ende wisedome being essentiall and not an opinionate thing, made him rather to bend to what was in it selfe good, then what by evill mindes might bee judged not good. And therein did see, that though that people did not belong unto him, yet doing good which is not enclosed within any termes of people did belong unto him, and if necessitie forced him for some time to abide in Arcadia, the necessitie of Arcadia might justly demand some fruite of abiding. To this secrete assurance of his owne worthines (which although it bee never so well cloathed in modestie, yet alwaies lives in the wrothiest mindes) did much push him forward saying unto himselfe, the treasure of those inward guifts he had, were bestowed by the heavens upon him, to be beneficall and not idle. (II, 155)

It is important to understand Basilius' refusal of his natural role and his surrender to passion as it is contrasted with the heroic and reasonable actions of Euarchus, for the story of the young heroes of Arcadia is recorded in these same terms. Reduced to its simplest formulation, it is the traditional, familiar Renaissance conflict between reason and passion and between the active and the contemplative life. The successful resolution in the princes will depend upon their education and their experiences, and central to both will be two forms of human relationships: friendship and love.

The same notion of public service and of the duty to
employ natural gifts for good that Euarchus demonstrates informs the early careers of Arcadia's heroes, Pyrocles and Musidorus. As young men, they set out to aid Euarchus in battle and to seek adventure. Soon they have restored order to two kingdoms governed by tyrannical rulers, and they dedicate themselves to heroic service. In this pursuit they are prompted by their natural nobility, which had been carefully nurtured through a princely education and by their virtuous character, which is fostered by their relationship of friendship.

The foundations of the friendship between Pyrocles and Musidorus follow closely the traditional ideal that has already been noted in classical writers. They are cousins and are raised in close proximity. Each comes to recognize in the other true virtues. Eventually mutual regard, coupled with affection, tested over many years, causes them to plight friendship. Their education, which is carefully designed to make them heroic governors, gives them a deep understanding of the moral qualities which are the only true bases of ideal friendship:

... the beautie of vertue still being set before their eyes, & that taught them with far more diligent care, then Grammatical rules, their bodies exercised in all abilities, both of doing and suffering, & their minds acquainted by degrees with daungers; & in sum, all bent to the making up of princely mindes: so that a habite of commaunding was naturalized in them, and therefore the farther from Tyrannie: Nature having done so much for them in nothing, as that it made them Lords of truth, whereon all the other goods were builded.

Among which I nothing so much delight to recount,
as the memorable friendship that grewe betwixt the
two Princes, such as made them more like then the
likenesse of all other vertues, and made them more
neer one to the other, then the neerenes of their
bloud could aspire unto. . . . For Pyrocles bare
reverence ful of love to Musidorus, & Musidorus had
a delight full of love in Pyrocles. (I, 190)

Sidney continually reaffirms the importance of this bond of
friendship to the individual characters of the princes and
to their actions. So much does he emphasize this theme that
Edwin Greenlaw, one of the most influential modern critics
of the Arcadia, asserts that "the entire story of Pyrocles
and Musidorus is an example of the exaltation of friendship
between men so constantly found in Renaissance literature"
(pp. 332-33).

The friendship of Pyrocles and Musidorus is an exten­sion
and continuation of the friendship of their fathers,
Euarchus and Dorilaus:

He [Euarchus] had onely one sister, a Ladie (lest
I should too easilie fall to partiall prayses of
her) of whom it may be justly said, that she was no
unfit branch to the noble stock whereof she came.
Her he had given in mariage to Dorilaus, Prince of
Thessalia, not so much to make a frendship, as to
confirm the frendship betwixt their posteritie,
which betwene them, by the likenes of vertue, had
been long before made: for certainly, Dorilaus
could neede no amplifiers mouth for the highest
point of praise. Who hath not heard (said Pamela)
of the valiant, wise, and just Dorilaus, whose un­ripe
death doth yet (so many yeares since) draw
tearres from vertuous eyes? And indeede, my father
is wont to speake of nothing with greater admiration,
than of the notable friendshipppe (a rare thing in
Princes, more rare betwene Princes) that so holily
was observed to the last, of those two excellent
men. (I, 187-188)

Friendship between princes is of special importance
to the writers on friendship in the Renaissance because it
involves not only the individual's well being but the country's as well. The qualities which make friendship so pleasant for a private man are essential to a prince. He must possess virtues of honesty, constancy, and truth to rule his country justly, and he must inspire in others the trust that will elicit loyalty from them. Thomas Elyot in *The Governor* devotes four chapters to various aspects of friendship in his discussion of the traits necessary in a prince. He concludes by extolling friendship and lamenting its decline in his age: "This I trust shall suffice for the expressing of that incomparable treasure called amity, in the declaration whereof I have aboden the longer, to the intent to persuade the readers to ensearch therefor vigilantly, and being so happy to find it, according to the said description, to embrace and honour it, abhorring above all things ingratitude, which pestilence hath long time reigned among us ..." (p. 158). Castiglione in *The Courtier* debates the value of friendship to a nobleman, and he weighs the argument clearly in favor of the necessity of friendship: "I would have our Courtier therefore to finde him out an especiall and hartie friend, if it were possible, of that sorte wee have spoken off. Then according to their deserts and honestie, love, honour and observe all other men, and alwaies doe his best to fellowshippe himselfe with men of estimation that are noble and knowne to bee good, more than with the unnoble and of small reputation, so he bee also beloved and honoured of them" (p. 120). The treatment of friendship as it relates
to the public man and the importance of friendship to princes is continually stressed throughout Richard Edwards' Damon and Pithias, one of the most influential literary treatments of friendship in the Elizabethan period. At the play's climax, for example, Damon admonishes Dionysius for his tyrannical behavior and his association with flatterers:

That you may safely reign, by love get friends whose constant faith
Will never fail. This counsel gives poor Damon at his death.
Friends are the surest guard for kings.
Gold in time does wear away,
And other precious things do fade; friendship will never decay.
Have friends in store, therefore, so shall you safely sleep;
Have friends at home, of foreign foes so need you take no keep.
Abandon flatt'ring tongues, whose clacks truth never tells;
Abase the ill, advance the good, in whom dame virtue dwells;
Let them your playfellows be. But, O you earthly kings,
Your sure defence and strongest guard stands chiefly in faithful friends!
Then get you friends by liberal deeds.  

The importance to a prince of understanding the nature of true friendship and of forming wise friendships cannot be overestimated. For a governor, friendship is more than a personal, affective need and more than a private virtue. According to Fritz Caspari in Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England, friendship, along with love, is a practical political force necessary for the maintenance of responsible government: "A good state cannot exist without good men,

and good men are enabled to go through the hardships and
dangers necessary for the establishment and defense of such
a state by the strength that comes from their friendship for
each other and from their love for good women. Friendship
and love are thus not merely private affairs but are inti­
mately connected with the well-being of the community and,
therefore, they are of great political importance and con­
sequence."8 Friendship when it is exercised between princes
is a public virtue. As such it represents a harmony in the
political order that parallels that on the personal level.
Nations bound together in friendship prosper in peace and
harmony. The treatment of the theme of friendship in the
Arcadia focuses on its importance to the common weal. Indi­
viduals who plight friendship are prompted to follow dynamic
lives of heroic actions and civic responsibilities. Nations
whose princes plight friendship are assured freedom from the
caprices of tyrannical despots or vacillating, weak-willed
rulers. Musidorus and Pyrocles, who are destined by birth
to be governors, reflect in their unselfish friendship their
potential to rule wisely.

To emphasize the unselfishness of the friendship of
Pyrocles and Musidorus, Sidney uses a variation of the Damon
and Pythias story. Pyrocles is cast by a storm into the
kingdom of a tyrant. Like all tyrants, one mark of his
vicious nature is his inability to form true friendships.

Instead he is surrounded by flatterers or false friends:

This country whereon he fell was Phrygia, and it was to the King thereof to whom he was sent, a Prince of a melancholy constitution both of bodie and mind; wickedly sad, ever musing of horrible matters; suspecting, or rather condemning all men of evil, because his minde had no eye to espie goodness: and therefore accusing Sycophantes, of all men did best sort to his nature; but therefore not seeming Sycophantes, because of no evil they said, they could bring any new or doubtfull thing unto him, but such as alredie he had bene apt to determine; so as they came but as proofes of his wisedome: fearfull and never secure; while the feare he had figured in his minde had any possibilitie of event. A tode-like retyrdesse, and closenesse of minde; nature teaching the odiousnesse of poysone, and the daunger of odiousnesse. (I, 196)

A tyrant who is unable to form true friendships leaves his kingdom in danger, for it is always susceptible to broils from without and from within. The security of the state depends upon the moral strength of the ruler, and friendship is one gauge of a prince's character. The friendless and morally corrupt king of Phrygia condemns Pyrocles to death. But Pyrocles is saved through a "rare example of friendship" in Musidorus. Following the pattern of Pythias, he exchanges his life for that of his friend: "And so upon securitie of both sides, they were enterchanged. Where I may not omitte that worke of friendship in Pyrocles, who both in speache and countenance to Musidorus, well shewed, that he thought himselfe injured, and not releevd by him: asking him, what he had ever seene in him, why he could not beare the extremities of mortall accidentes as well as any man? and why he should envie him the glorie of suffering death for his friendes cause, and (as it were) robbe him of

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his owne possession?" (I, 198).

Pyrocles' friendship for Musidorus is no less noble and self-sacrificing than that of his friend. As soon as he is released from prison, he resolves to effect the rescue of Musidorus, or if this is not possible, to demonstrate his identification with his "second self" by dying alongside his friend: "And (finding he could get in that countrie no forces sufficient by force to rescue him) to bring himselfe to die with him, (little hoping of better event) he put himselfe in poore rayment, and ... he (even he, born to the greatest expectation, and of the greatest bloud that any Prince might be) submitted himselfe to be servant to the executioner that should put to death Musidorus: a farre notable profe of his friendship, considering the height of his minde, then any death could be" (I, 199). Sidney approves of this disguise which Pyrocles dons for the sake of dying with his friend; whereas, as will be shown later, he disapproves of Pyrocles' disguise as a woman in Arcadia. The difference is in the end for which the transformation of noble countenance is made. In one case it is for the sake of a brave death as a mark of true friendship; in the other it is for the sake of passionate love. Pyrocles, disguised as the executioner's assistant, is able to gain access to the scaffold and free Musidorus. They begin to battle the king's guard but are saved when a civil war breaks out that results from the tyrant's inability to surround himself with trusty men. With no true friends, the king and the kingdom

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have no security.

The same point—that friendship is a public as well as a private virtue and that it is essential in a prince if he is to have a secure state—is made in the episode that immediately follows. Musidorus and Pyrocles travel to Pontus where the king is also a cruel tyrant "inconstant of his choice of friends, or rather never having a friend, but a playfellow" (I, 202). Completely lacking the sound judgment and self-knowledge that are necessary to form true friendships, the king is surrounded by vain flatterers. As a result he rules capriciously and threatens the stability of the country. Musidorus and Pyrocles slay the tyrant and restore order to the kingdom. They arrange the marriage of the tyrant's sister, "a faire and well esteemed Ladie," to an old friend of her father and bestow the crown on them, for they know they will rule the kingdom justly and wisely: "And not content with those publice actions of princely, and (as it were) governing virtue, they did (in that kingdom and some other neer about) divers acts of particular trials, more famous because more perilous" (I, 204).

It is at this point that the young friends consciously commit themselves to an active life of service and heroism. In typical romance fashion, they sally forth to slay monsters, destroy giants, rescue maidens, overthrow tyrants, and above all, restore political and social order in the kingdoms which are plagued by such threats:

And therefore having well established those kingdoms, under good governours, and rid them by their...
valure of such giants and monsters, as before time armies were not able to subdue, they determined in unknowne order to see more of the world, & to imploy those gifts esteemed rare in them, to the good of mankinde; and therefore would themselves (under­standing that the King Euarchus was passed all the cumber of his warres) goe privately to seeke exer­cises of their vertue; thinking it not so worthy, to be brought to heroycall effects by fortune, or ne­cessitie (like Ulysses and Aeneas) as by ones owne choice, and working. (I, 206)

The conscious political and spiritual implications of their actions distinguish Sidney's heroes from their literary fore­fathers, the knights errant of the medieval romances. As Caspari points out, "The Arcadia breathes Sidney's own 'high passion for action'; in its imaginary world, the good wins over the bad in the victories of its heroes, fortitude tri­umphs over fate, nobility over vulgarity. Thus, the Arcadia constantly points to the duty of courageous, virtuous action guided by reason. It is by such activity that the good state becomes reality; one could almost say that for Sidney the state exists in this activity, since it has ever again to be vindicated and regained by heroic action" (p. 306).

Sidney's description of the education of the young Pyrocles and Musidorus, their initiation into the world of men, and their subsequent commitment to public service illustrates the Renaissance humanists' dictum that nobility resides not merely in birth but in the individual's cultivation of his intellect and the dedication of its fruits to the common weal: "The humanists roundly affirmed that education and learning themselves confer nobility, a nobility of mind rank­ing higher than any nobility of blood. At the same time
they insisted, drawing on examples from the civic life of the ancient world, that the true evidence of nobility in this sense is quality of service to the public good."^9

After their formal commitment to the active, heroic life, during their adventures the princes are given many lessons in the value of friendship and the personal and public damage that results from false friends and betrayals of the bonds of friendship. Thus throughout the long narrative episodes that complement the main plot and provide the "romance" texture of the Arcadia, Sidney keeps the theme of friendship in a prominent light. For example, Musidorus begins his account of their adventures with the story of their friends and servants, the brothers Leucippus and Neleus, who cast themselves into the sea to preserve the lives of Musidorus and Pyrocles. Later in trying to rescue the blind Paphlegonian king from his usurping bastard son, Plexirtus, Musidorus and Pyrocles encounter Tydeus and Telenor. Tydeus and Telenor are two friends of Plexirtus, and their fate shows what happens when friendship is not grounded in virtue. The two brave young men continue to aid Plexirtus even when his acts are clearly evil, thereby disregarding the primary demand of friendship, that it can endure only as long as virtue abounds. No man is obliged to aid his friend in evil deeds. Conscience demands that if one cannot reform his friend, he must abandon him. Tydeus and Telenor, however,


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do not do this, for they lack knowledge of the true nature of friendship. Their relationship has resulted not from consciously plighted oaths of mutual trust but from mere proximity since they have been raised from infancy with Plexirtus: "But bringing up (rather than choice) having first knit their minds unto him, (indeed craftie enough, eyther to hide his faultes, or never to shew them, but when they might pay home) they willingly held out the course, rather to satisfie him, then al the world; and rather to be good friendes, then good men: so as though they did not like the evill he did, yet they liked him that did the evill; and though not councellors of the offence, yet protectors of the offender" (I, 211-12). Plexirtus' friendship with Tydeus and Telenor is based solely on self-interest. He uses the trust of the two friends to further his unscrupulous ambitions. When they can no longer serve his needs, he dupes them into fighting one another and has them murdered. Before they die, Tydeus and Telenor lament their association with Plexirtus, they confess their lack of knowledge of the true elements of friendship, and they warn Pyrocles and Musidorus to beware of that false friendship that is based on selfish motives not on virtue. Pyrocles describes how they died:

... detesting their unfortunately-spent time in having served so ungrateful a Tyraunt: and accusing their folly in having beleived, he could faithfully love, who did not love faithfulnes: wishing us to take heed, how we placed our good wil upon any other ground, then proove of vertue: since length of acquaintance, mutuall secrecies, nor height of bene-
fits could binde a savage harte; no man being good to other, that is not good in himself. . . . they gave us a most sorrowfull spectacle of their death; leaving fewe in the world behind them, their matches in any thing, if they had soone enouagh knowne the ground and limits of friendship. (I, 294-95)

Sidney structures his narrative so that from such adventures the nature of true friendship is revealed: "The incident is one of the very last related by Pyrocles, as that of the first pair of brothers is one of the very first described by Musidorus. The arrangement emphasizes the parallel, and reveals the unobtrusive but conscious art with which Sidney has given his lesson: that friendship welcomes any sacrifice, but can exist only where there is virtue on both sides."¹⁰

¹⁰ Myrick, p. 204.
Therefore to him I would goe, and I would needs goe alone, because so I understood for certaine, he was; and (I must confesse) desirous to do something without the company of the incomparable Prince Musidorus, because in my hart I acknowledge that I owed more to his presence, then to any thing in my self, whatsoever before I had done. For of him indeed (as of any worldly cause) I must grant, as received, what ever there is, or may be good in me. He taught me by word, and best by example, giving me in him so lively an Image of vertue, as ignorance could not cast such mist over mine eyes, as not to see, and to love it, and all with such deare friendship and care, as (o heavens) how can my life ever requite unto him? which made me indeed find in my selfe such a kind of depending upon him, as without him I found a weakenesse, and a mistrustfulnes of my selfe, as one strayed from his best strength, when at any time I mist him. (I, 263-64)

Musidorus respects Pyrocles' need to meet Anaxius independently, and he assents to their separation. However, he is solicitous of his friend's safety, so he silently follows him to aid him when his life is threatened by a company of unscrupulous soldiers. Pyrocles is succored by his loyal friend's display of bravery on his behalf:

But when I saw that Cosen of mine, me thought my life was doubled, and where before I thought of a noble death, I now thought of a noble victorie. For who can feare that hath Musidorus by him? who, what he did there for me, how many he killed, not straunger for the number, then for the straunge blowes wherwith he sent them to a wel-deserved death, might well delight me to speake off, but I should so holde you too long in every particular. But in trueth, there if ever, and ever, if ever any man, did Musidorus shew himselfe second to none in able valour. (I, 276)

The princes' knowledge of the "limits" of friendship can be seen in Pyrocles' refusal to break a promise given to Plexirtus' daughter Zelmame so that he might remain with Musidorus. Friendship cannot be the excuse for doing some-
thing dishonorable. Since its ground is virtue, it cannot
lead to ignoble actions. Both friends would more willingly
suffer separation than be the cause of the other's dishonor:

Now the day was so accorded, as it was impossible
for me both to succour Plexirtus, & be there, where
my honour was not only gaged so far, but (by the
straunge working of unjust fortune) I was to leave
the standing by Musidorus, whom better then my
selfe I loved, to go save him whom for just causes I
hated. But my promise given, & given to Zelmane, &
to Zelmane dying, prevailed more with me, then my
friendship to Musidorus: though certainly I may
affirme, nothing had so great rule in my thoughts as
that. But my promise carried me the easier, be­
cause Musidorus hisimselfe would not suffer me to
breake it. And so with heavy mindes (more careful
each of others successe, then of our owne) we
parted. . . . (I, 299)

The relationship between Musidorus and Pyrocles is one of
perfect friendship because it is rationally based and free­
ly accepted. They know the "ground and limits of friend­
ship," and so their relationship can be the spur to good
living. Their strength as friends is a mark of their
strength as heroes.

The dynamic life of heroic commitment which Pyrocles
and Musidorus follow abruptly stops when they fall in love
in Arcadia. Sidney constructs his book so that the account
of the two heroes' courageous adventures is told in retro­
spect after both have fallen in love. Thus there is a
clear contrast between their conduct as virtuous friends and

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11 For a fuller discussion of the structure see Nancy
R. Lindheim, "Sidney's Arcadia, Book II: Retrospective Nar­
rative," SP, 64 (1967), 159-86, and E. M. W. Tillyard, The
English Epic and Its Background (New York: Barnes & Noble,
their conduct as melancholy lovers. The contrast is first made clear in the changing character of Pyrocles. Pyrocles, under the name Daiphantus, rescues Clitophon, Kalander's son. When Kalander and Musidorus, calling himself Palladius, attempt their own rescue of Clitophon, the two friends are reunited. They return with Kalander to Arcadia where Pyrocles falls in love with the princess Philoclea after seeing only her picture. Musidorus, eager to abandon their pastoral idyll and resume the heroic life of action, proposes to his friend that they return home; however, as a typically narcissistic romantic lover, Pyrocles is not interested in the social good, or even in normal sociability: "But such a change was grown in Daiphantus, that (as if cheerfulnesse had been tediousnesse, and good entertainment were turnd to discourtesie) he would ever get him selfe alone, though almost when he was in companie he was alone, so little attention he gave to any that spake unto him: even the colour and figure of his face began to receive some alteration; which he shewed little heede: but everie morning earlie going abroad, either to the garden, or to some woods towards the desert, it seemed his only comfort was to be without comforter" (I, 54).

Musidorus recognizes that Pyrocles' conduct is a departure from the life of heroic action to which they had pledged themselves. Moreover, the exercise of an active, heroic life is an outward manifestation of internal virtue. One who abandons his natural responsibilities to wallow in
the sentimental musings of a melancholy lover is not acting according to the natural reason that God has given him. Virtuous living involves not only a disposition of mind, but a willingness to put that disposition into practice: "The dominant motivation of the hero is the all-important idea that in his daily conduct he must at all times give himself without stint to the exercise of virtue resulting in virtuous action." Musidorus chastises his friend for his retreat from his "maine career" of public service to that of solitary indulgence and warns him of the intellectual and spiritual damage such a withdrawal will cause:

A mind wel trayned and long exercised in vertue (my sweete and worthy cosin) doth not easily chaunge any course it once undertakes, but upon well grounded & well wayed causes. For being witnes to it selfe of his owne inward good, it findes nothing without it of so high a price, for which it should be altered. Even the very countenaunce and behaviour of such a man doth shew forth Images of the same constancy, by maintaining a right harmonie betixt it and the inward good, in yeelding it selfe suitable to the vertuous resolution of the minde. This speech I direct to you (noble friend Pyrocles) the excellency of whose minde and well chosen course in vertue, if I doo not sufficiently know, having seene such rare demonstrations of it, it is my weaknes, and not your unworthines. But as in deede I know it, and knowing it, most dearely love both it, and him that hath it; so must I needs saye, that since our late comming into this country, I have marked in you, I will not say an alteration, but a relenting truely, & a slacking of the maine career, you had so notably begon, & almost performed; and that in such sorte, as I cannot finde sufficient reason in my great love toward you how to allow it; for (to leave of other secreter arguments which my acquaintaunce with you makes me easily finde) this in effect to any manne may be manyfest, that whereas you were wont in all

places you came, to give your selve vehemently to the knowledge of those things which might better your minde; to seeke the familiaritie of excellent men in learning and soldiery: and lastly, to put all these things in practise both by continuall wise proceedinge, and worthie enterprises, as occasion fell for them; you now leave all these things undone: you let your minde fall a sleepe: beside your countenaunce troubled (which surely comes not of vertue; for vertue like the cleare heaven, is without cloudes) and lastly you subject your selve to solitaries, the slye enimie, that doth most separate a man from well doing. (I, 55)

Musidorus is here asserting the Renaissance ideal of conduct for a gentleman. Renaissance educational treatises and courtesy books stress the necessity of training young men intellectually and morally to accept a dynamic, political, social, and martial role. Sidney himself in The Defence of Poesie insists that knowledge is not sufficient; doing must follow knowing, for the "highest end of the mistresse knowledge" has "the end of well doing, and not of well knowing onely" (III, 11). As Marcus Goldman notes, Sidney's call to action, which pervades the Arcadia, can be matched by few other works in English literature: "The persistently recurring theme of Action, which dominates nearly every page of the romance, demands attention and appreciation. One almost ventures to say that in no other single book of the three hundred and forty odd years since the Arcadia was first printed, is there found such insistence upon man's obligation to act--to act with heroism."13

Pyrocles denies the obligation, and he tries to rationalize his melancholic conduct, but his "inward passion" is betrayed by his physical appearance. He blushes and turns pale, he trembles, he weeps and sighs, and he garbles his speech. From these signs Musidorus recognizes that his friend is deaf to reasonable arguments, so he does not utter the traditional justifications for an active life which he has rehearsed mentally: "... that in action a man did not onely better himself, but benefit others, that the gods would not have delivered a soule into the body, which hath armes & legges, only instruments of doing, but that it wer intended the mind should imploy them; & that the mind should best know his own good or evill, by practise: which knowledge was the onely way to increase the one, and correct the other ..." (I, 58). Musidorus is especially startled by the wild speech of Pyrocles, for discourse is an identifying sign of man's rationality. He marvels at the fanciful praise which Pyrocles bestows upon the Arcadian countryside, particularly since the two princes hail from such renowned lands as Macedon and Thessalia. Pyrocles' intemperate words, he suggests, are like those of the poets, "especially, when they put such words in the mouths of one of these fantastical mind-infected people, that children and Musitians call Lovers" (I, 58). The very word Lovers stirs Pyrocles into a new fit of passion. When he recovers sufficiently, with downcast eyes, he reveals to his friend that the term might truly apply to him.
Musidorus' response is immediate and vehement. This love that the poets write of is passionate love and as such is inimical to a virtuous life and to heroic conduct: "Now the eternall Gods forbid (mainely cryed out Musidorus) that ever my eare should be poysoned with so evill newes of you. O let me never know that any base affection shuld get any Lordship in your thoughts" (I, 59). Musidorus is shocked because the training of the two princes has always been directed at the subordination of passions to reason. Education in this respect complements the essential make-up of the species. Somewhat paradoxically both in man's native state and in man's nurtured state, reason should be preeminent among his faculties: "This idea that man's nature is confirmed by education merges— inconsistently—with the idea that the 'natural' in man is the rational, that it is according to nature that reason should rule over the other faculties and that sensual weakness, therefore, is an unnatural rebellion."\(^{14}\) It is no wonder then that Musidorus should respond so strongly to the unnatural, because it is unreasonable, conduct of Pyrocles and that he should try in vain to restore him.

Hurt by the reproaches of his friend, aware of his folly but unable to resist the overpowering force of passion, Pyrocles steals away, telling Musidorus in a letter how desperate he has become: "My onely friend, violence of love

leads me into such a course, wherof your knowledge may much more vexe you, then help me. Therefore pardon my concealing it from you, since: if I wrong you, it is in respect I beare you. Returne into Thessalia, I pray you, as full of good fortune, as I am of desire: and if I live, I will in short time follow you; if I die, love my memorie" (I, 61).

Violent passionate love threatens friendship at this point. Musidorus is hurt by the betrayal of trust of his friend: "Ah (said he) Pyrocles, what meanes this alteration? what have I deserved of thee, to be thus banished of thy counsels?" (I, 61). But since the basis of true friendship is selfless and since he knows that love causes a man to act irrationally, Musidorus resolves to seek out his friend and help him even if the help is not solicited.

Although Sidney does not let love destroy the friendship of the two men, he makes clear the potential danger that love poses to friendship. This is one of the most prominent uses of the theme of friendship in Renaissance literature: two friends are made bitter enemies by a woman. In order to emphasize such a threat to the relationship of friendship, Sidney incorporates this traditional motif in one of the subsidiary tales that make up the romantic texture of the Arcadia. Sidney structures his work so that even these romantic digressions serve to reenforce the main narrative thread: "Each of the episodes shows a preeminent man or woman thrown into complete psychological confusion
by Love just as the characters in the main plot are." 15 Sidney tells us that Musidorus searches two months for his friend during which time he performs many heroic feats. The one adventure which is described in greatest detail is his meeting with the lady Helen and the story which she gives of her previous lover Philoxenus and his friend Amphialus. As Helen recites her story, we are made aware that the early history of Philoxenus and Amphialus and the gradual growth of their friendship, grounded on mutual affection and virtue, parallel that of Musidorus and Pyrocles. Amphialus as a youth is sent by his mother to be raised by her dead husband's friend. He is educated in virtuous and heroic living along with the like-minded Philoxenus: "An endless thing it were for me to tell, how many adventures (terrible to be spoken of) he atchieved: what monsters, what Giants, what conquest of countries: sometimes using policy, some times force, but alwais vertue, well followed, and but followed by Philoxenus: between whom, and him, so fast a friendship by education was knit, that at last Philoxenus having no greater matter to employ his friendship in, then to winne me, therein desired, and had his uttermost furtheraunce . . ."

(I, 68).

The virtue of the two friends remains unsullied by any acts of villainy on their parts; rather it is through the irrational fury of the lady that their friendship is

jeopardized. When Amphialus recognizes that his friend's mistress is moved by passionate love for him, he honorably departs the field in order that his friend may accomplish his goal. It is the lady Helen who acts dishonorably. So disturbed is Helen by Amphialus' rejection of her bold professions of love and so irrational is she in her conduct when tormented by the pangs of unrequited passion that she resolves to bring about the suffering of both her suitor and the man whom she loves. This she does by accusing Amphialus of betraying Philoxenus. The irrationality of Helen racked by passionate love contrasts markedly with the honorable conduct of Amphialus who is so motivated by the virtuous relationship of friendship that he is willing to impose self-exile on himself in order to enable his friend to fulfill his desire. Philoxenus, however, like Helen is so disturbed by the passions of love that he rejects the course of rational action and turns against his friend without adequate proof of his friend's guilt. When Philoxenus attacks him, Amphialus is forced against his will to defend himself. In the struggle he kills his friend. Bitter with remorse and hatred for Helen, he casts off his armor and flees to the woods. Helen, still consumed by passion for Amphialus, pursues him carrying with her a portrait of him which she kisses and weeps over. The irrational conduct of Helen, the jealousies of Philoxenus, and the misfortunes of Amphialus constitute an indictment of passionate love. Founded as it is on sensuous gratification and unbridled by the restraints
of reason, it is a relationship that can only demean the nobility of a man's character and lead him away from the performance of heroic actions. In all respects it differs from the virtuous friendship of the two men, and it becomes a barrier to the continued success of their friendship.

The story of Amphialus, Philoxenus, and Helen serves as a commentary on the unreasonable behavior of Pyrocles who is also caught in the throes of a passionate love which places a severe strain on the bonds of friendship between him and Musidorus. Musidorus departs from Helen's recital of the follies of love only to discover his friend clothed in the garments of a woman and woefully singing love laments. Pyrocles' sonnet, typical of many of the Elizabethan period, emphasizes the irrationality of love:

    Transformed in shew, but more transform'd in minde,  
    I cease to strive with double conquest fold:  
    For (woe is me) my powers all I finde  
    With outward force, and inward treason spoil'd.

    For from without came mine eyes the blowe,  
    Where-to mine inward thoughts did faintly yeeld;  
    Both these conspird poore Reasons overthrowe;  
    False in my selfe, thus have I lost the field.

    Thus are my eyes still Captive to one sight:  
    Thus all my thoughts are slaves to one thought still:  
    Thus Reason to his servants yeelds his right;  
    Thus is my power transformed to your will.  
    What marvaile then I take a womans hew,  
    Since what I see, thinke, know is all but you? (I, 76)

Pyrocles' disguise as a woman reveals the emasculating effects of passionate love which turns men away from virtue.
and heroic actions.\textsuperscript{16} Pyrocles' song reveals the primary
danger of passionate love to virtuous living: it subordinates reason to the senses and weakens the will. The most
notable differences between the relationship of friendship
and that of passionate love are that friendship is based on
reason and that it is a voluntary choice of another according
to the recognition of mutual virtue. Passionate love is
immediate, irrational, and involuntary. Musidorus' shock at
seeing his friend attired as the Amazon Zelmane reveals the
depths to which Pyrocles has sunk in denying the role or-
dained for him by both nature and nurture:

And is it possible, that this is Pyrocles, the
only yong Prince in the world, formed by nature,
and framed by education, to the true exercise of
vertue? or is it indeed some Amazon that hath
counterfeited the face of my friend, in this sorte
to vexe me? for likelier sure I would have thought
it, that any outwarde face might have bene dis-
guised, then that the face of so excellent a mind
could have been thus blemished. O sweete Pyrocles
separate your selfe a little (if it be possible)
from your selfe, and let your owne minde looke upon
your owne proceedings; so shall my wordes be need-
lesse, and you best instructed. See with your
selfe, how fitt it will be for you in this your
tender youth, borne so great a Prince, and of so
rare, not onely expectation, but proffe, desired of
your olde Father, and wanted of your native countrie,
now so neere your home, to divert your thoughts from
the way of goodnesse; to loose, nay to abuse your
time. (I, 77)

Birth, education, and resolve had prepared Pyrocles for as-

\textsuperscript{16} For an opposite view see John F. Danby, Poets on
Fortune's Hill (London: Faber & Faber, 1952). Danby argues
that Pyrocles' dress "adds to rather than diminishes his
merely masculine virtue," for it is an allegory of the syn-
thesis of masculine and feminine in the human personality.
P. 56.
suming the role of a governor. Musidorus clearly points out to him that as a prince he has an obligation to use his time constructively in the pursuit of heroic action. Time, for a governor, cannot be wasted on private fancies, for the obligation of birth and training demands that time be spent wisely in the service of the common weal. The public man is not free to squander time and energy on purely personal pursuits. Sir Thomas Elyot in The Governour insists upon the necessity of education for the nobility from which they would derive a sense of civic responsibility. In this he was promulgating one of the chief tenets of the early Renaissance humanists. Man is to employ his natural gift of reason in the realm of ideas, but his success is to be measured in the realm of conduct: "The program of Christian humanism was built on a conviction of the importance of the rational faculties of man and it exalted the role of an intellectual aristocracy. It emphasized nature rather than grace, ethics rather than theology, and action rather than contemplation."17

Musidorus criticizes his friend for abandoning this commitment to the public good. He goes on to chastise Pyrocles for subordinating his rational faculties to the sensuous and appetitive ones upon which passionate love thrives:

Remember (for I know you know it) that if we wil all be men, the reasonable parte of our soule, is to have absolute commaundement; against which if any sensual weaknes arises, we are to yeelde all our sounde forces to the overthrowing of so unnatural a

rebellion, wherein how can we wante courage, since we are to deale against so weake an adversary, that in it selfe is nothing but weaknesse? Nay we are to resolve, that if reason direct it we must doo it, and if we must doo it, we will doo it; for to say I cannot, is childish and I will not, womanish. And see how extremely every way you endaunger your mind; for to take this womanish habit (without you frame your behavior accordingly) is wholy vaine: your behavior can never come kindely from you, but as the minde is proportioned unto it. So that you must resolve, if you will play your part to any purpose, whatsoever peevish affections are in that sexe, soften your heart to receive them, the first down-steppe to all wickedness: for doo not deceive your selfe, my deere cousin, there is no man sodainely excellenie good, or extremely evil, but growes either as he holds himself up in virtue, or lets himself slide into vitiuousness. (I, 77-78)

The subjection of reason to passion is further revealed in Pyrocles' Amazonic disguise. Musidorus' reference to the "peevish affections" of "that sexe" emphasizes the hierarchical point of view of mankind so integral a part of the Renaissance notion of a descending chain of being. Women are naturally inferior to men, and to don a "womanish habit" is to cast aside manly honor and courage. That the habit is the armor of an Amazon is not a lessening of Pyrocles' effeminacy but rather a heightening of it, for to the Elizabethans the Amazon, as a woman who dominated men, implied an inversion of the natural order of creation. Moreover, Pyrocles in his role as Zelmane carries a shield with a picture of Hercules holding a distaff on it. The device recalls the myth of Hercules who was enslaved by Omphale because of love, and it further underscores the extent to which passionate love can cause a hero to substitute base
deeds for noble actions.\textsuperscript{18}

Musidorus attacks love as the cause of Pyrocles' decline, but he is careful to distinguish between passionate love and virtuous love. Mark Rose quotes such diverse Renaissance writers on love as Ficino, Castiglione, and Milton to show that such passion was for serious men "unworthy of the name of love."\textsuperscript{19} Musidorus is not opposed to all forms of love, nor does he indicate that friendship is incompatible with love. Indeed in the traditional view it is seen as one manifestation of love, and throughout this exchange Musidorus and Pyrocles speak of their love for one another. What Musidorus condemns is that love which subordinates reason to the passions since virtuous actions derive only from following the dictates of right reason. Passionate love, however, operates contrary to reason. The pleasure which it provides is fleeting while the damage it causes to man's character is lasting. To achieve its ignoble ends, a man will often deny the obligations of such reasonable relationships as friendship and ignore the ordinary demands of courtesy:

\begin{quote}
But that end how endlesse it runs to infinite evils, were fit enoughe for the matter we speake of, but not for your eares, in whomedeinde there is so muche true disposition to vertue: yet thus muche of his worthie effects in your selue is to be seen, that (besides your breaking lawes of hospitality with Kalander & of friendship with me) it utterly subverts the course of nature, in making reason give place to sense, & man to woman. And truely I think
\end{quote}


heere-upon it first gatte the name of Love: for in­
deede the true love hath that excellent nature in it, that it doth transform the very essence of the lover into the thing loved, uniting, and as it were incorporating it with a secret & inward working. And herein do these kindes of love imitate the ex­­cellent; for as the love of heaven makes one heaven­ly, the love of vertue, vertuous; so doth the love of the world make one become worldly, and this ef­­feminate love of woman, doth so womanish a man, that (if he yeeld to it) it will not onely make him an Amazon; but a lauder, a distaff-spinner; or what so ever other vile occupation their idle heads can imagin, & their weake hands performe. (I, 78)

Musidorus' distinction between passionate and spiritual love draws upon current neoplatonic notions of love as the union of the virtuous person with the creative ground of the universe which is love. He contrasts this perfect love with the sensual affection which may be an early step in the attainement of perfect love but which is a poor reflection of the true love which spiritual contemplation and virtuous desire can attain. The false passionate lust of Musidorus for a woman transforms him into a woman; whereas true love ultimately unites the lover with Love itself which is God. In Elizabethan Love Conventions, Lu Emily Pearson cites this union as one of the pervasive characteristics of neoplatonic love: "The cohesive element of the Platonic love doctrine as it developed in the Renaissance, consisted of three es­sentials: the power of love which unites the universe, the passion of human life, which unites man and woman, friends, countrymen, fellowmen, and the divine religion which unites the soul with the deity."20

In responding to Musidorus, Pyrocles reasserts their friendship. He had not taken his friend into his confidence he claims because he knew that Musidorus, as his lecture now confirms, would not have approved of his love: "And for my breaking the lawes of friendshipe with you, (which I would rather dye, then effectually doo) truely, I could find in my hart to aske you pardon for it, but that your handling of me gives me reason to my former dealing" (I, 81). Pyrocles goes on to answer Musidorus' charges with a defense of love and of women, for he sees correctly that Musidorus' position on love is, in part, an antifeminist posture.

His defense, however, does not placate Musidorus, who continues to berate his friend for his unmanly appearance and behavior:

But Musidorus was so greeved to see his welbeloved friend obstinat, as he thought, to his own destruc­tion, that it forced him with more than accustomed vehemency, to speake these words; Well, well, (saide he) you list to abuse your selffe; it was a very white and red vertue, which you could pick out of a paint­erly glosse of a visage: Confesse the truth; and ye shall finde, the utmost was but beautie; a thing, which though it be in as great excellencye in your selffe as may be in any, yet I am sure you make no further reckning of it, then of an outward fading benefitie Nature bestowed upon you. And yet such is your want of a true grounded vertue, which must be like it selffe in all points, that what you wisely account a trifle in your selffe, you fondly become a slave unto in another. For my part I now protest, I have left nothing unsaid, which my wit could make me know, or my most entier friendship to you requires of me; I do now beseech you even for the love betwixt us (if this other love have left any in you towards me) and for the remembraunce of your olde careful father (if you can remember him that forget your self) lastly for Pyrocles owne sake (who is now upon the point of falling or rising) to purge your selffe of this vile infection; other wise give me leave, to
leave of this name of friendship, as an idle title of a thing which cannot be, where vertue is abolished. (I, 82-82)

The passage reveals the paradox of neoplatonic love theories. By emphasizing beauty as the inspiration and object of love, neoplatonism subordinated the true spiritual essence of a person to an external and accidental quality. The usual solution to the difficulty was to follow Plato's lead and equate the beautiful with the good. Although it might be intellectually satisfying, such a solution presented a problem in the everyday realm of experience. The possibility of beauty without virtue or virtue without beauty was a very real one. Life could present many examples to refute theory. Sidney in Musidorus' speech reflects the more practical aspect of the English mind which rejected unalloyed neoplatonism.21 Musidorus sees the threat to virtuous living implied in Pyrocles' pursuit of a beautiful woman. Friendship in particular, as a form of love based on reason and virtue, is threatened by the irrational demands of passionate love based on beauty. Musidorus rightly sees that friendship cannot endure without virtue.

Pyrocles is in a dilemma. Musidorus' arguments are sound. Pyrocles recognizes that his behavior is irrational, but he is so much under the influence of passion that he is powerless to change his conduct. He feels hurt that his friend has berated him so harshly and threatened to abandon

him; yet, at the same time, he is aware of the great loss which would be his if their friendship were severed. Unable to hide his hurt feelings and unable to relinquish the friendship of his friend whom he still loves, he breaks down and recalls in his hurt the depths to which friendship requires an unselfish, understanding sympathy, for in a sense, it too is a relationship that goes beyond the rational. Unlike love, friendship is not irrational since it is based on the reasonable recognition of virtue, but like love it is also grounded on affection, and at times this affection requires that friends accept those weaknesses (provided they are not truly vicious) which they can not change in their friends:

The length of these speeches before had not so much cloied Pyrocles, though he were very unpatient of long deliberations, as the last farewell of him he loved as his own life, did wound his soul, thinking him selfe afflicted, he was the apter to conceive unkindnesse deeply: insomuch, that shaking his head, and delivering some shewe of teares, he thus uttered his griefes. Alas (said he) prince Musidorus, how cruelly you deale with me... But truely you deale with me like a Phisition, that seeing his patient in a pestilent fever, should chide him, in steede of ministring helpe, and bid him be sick no more; or rather like such a friend, that visiting his friend condemned to perpetuall prison; and loaden with greevous fetters, should will him to shake of his fetters, or he wulde leave him. I am sicke, & sicke to the death; I am a prisoner, neither is any redresse, but by her to whom I am a slave. Now if you list to leave him that loves you in the hiest degree: But remember ever to carry this with you, that you abandon your friend in his greatest extremity. (I, 82)

The images which Pyrocles employs show that he is aware of the nature of his passion. It is a sickness that enslaves the mind and imprisons the will. He can recognize
its dangers, but so strong is the irrational force of love
that he is too weak to free himself from its hold on his
will and judgment.

When confronted by this honest confession of his
friend's helplessness and the simple profession of abiding
friendship, Musidorus can do nothing more than to embrace
his friend's sorrows as his own and to resolve to help him
to achieve the object of his love:

And herewith the deep wound of his love being
rubbed afresh with this new unkindness, began (as it
were) to bleed again, in such sort that he was not
hable to beare it any longer, but gushing out
aboundance of teares, and crossing his armes over
his woefull hart, as if his teares had bee out-
flowing blood, his armes an over-pressing burthen, he
suncke down to the ground, which sodaine tranunce
went so to the hart of Musidorus, that falling down
by him & kissing the weeping eyes of his friend, he
besought him not to make account of his speach;
which if it had bene over vehement, yet was it to
be borne withall, because it came out of a love
much more vehement; that he had not thought fancie
could have received so deep a wound: but now find-
ing in him the force of it, hee woulde no further
contrary it; but impoy all his service to medicine
it, in such sort, as the nature of it required.
(I, 82-83)

Musidorus recognizes the depth of Pyrocles' love for him, and
moved by affection, the two men reassert their original pro-
fession of friendship. Musidorus, thinking that he may have
misappraised Pyrocles' situation, asks him to recount in de-
tail the history of his love, "for betweene frends, all must
be layd open, nothing being superfluous, nor tedious" (I, 84).

In spite of his earlier defence of love, Pyrocles
shows in his account of the process by which he fell in love
with Philoclea, his sense of guilt at behaving so irration-
ally and his awareness that no true friend could approve of such conduct since friendship itself is so firmly grounded on reason. Again the rhetoric of love which he employs reveals the nature of his affection: love is a disease; it imprisons a man by overthrowing reason and weakening free will; it is a passion that depends upon sensuous impressions of beauty and fanciful musings. His love for Philoclea comes not from the time-tested process of observing her virtuous actions, but from her picture which he saw in Kalander's house:

Yet did I not (poor wretch) at first know my disease, thinking it onely such a woonted kind of desire, to see rare sights; & my pitie to be no other, but the fruits of a gentle nature. . . . But (alas) what resistance was there, when ere long my very reason was (you will say corrupted) I must needs confesse, conquered; and that me thought even reason did assure me, that all eies did degenerate from their creation, which did not honour such beauty? Nothing in trueth could holde any plea with it, but the reverent friendship I bare unto you. For as it went against my harte to breake any way from you, so did I feare more then anie assault to breake it to you: finding (as it is indeed) that to a hart fully resolute counsaile is tedious, but reprehension is lothsome: & that there is nothing more terible to a guilty hart, then the eie of a respected friend. (I, 85-86)

Pyrocles knows that passionate love perverts the dominant role that reason should hold over the senses. The sight of Philoclea so overwhelms him that he becomes oblivious to everything but her: "True it is, that my Reason (now growen a servant to passion) did yet often tel his master, that he should more moderatly use his delight. But he, that of a rebell was become a Prince, disdayned almost to allow him the place of a Counsellor: so that my senses delights being too strong for any other resolution, I did even loose
the raines unto them: hoping, that (going for a woman) my lookes would passe, either unmarked, or unsuspected" (I, 93). Musidorus, who sees the folly of Pyrocles' feminine disguise, is helpless to reason with his friend. He sees the danger which Pyrocles' love poses to their friendship. He recognizes his duty to counsel his friend, but rather than risk destroying their friendship, he permits himself to become an accomplice in Pyrocles' quest for love so that he can give wise direction to that undertaking: "Musidorus recommeded to his best discourse, all which Pyrocles had told him. But therein he found such intricatenes, that he could see no way to lead him out of the maze; yet perceiving his affection so grounded, that striving against it, did rather anger then heale the wound, and rather call his friendshipe in question, then give place to any friendly counsell. . . . Zel­mane dismissed Musidorus, who departed as full of care to helpe his friend, as before he was to disswade him" (I, 94-95).

Throughout the episodes in which Pyrocles appears in feminine disguise, he echoes in his speech and thoughts the central problem of passionate love. It distorts the reason, weakens the will, and prevents heroic action. The melancholy lover who can do no more than sit and lament his misfortunes as his mind is racked by psychic conflict and his body torn by fevers and chills is a commonplace of Renai­sance love poetry. Pyrocles conforms perfectly to this posture when he retires to a cave to indulge in self-pitying
complaints about the hopelessness of his love:

Since that the stormy rage of passions darcke
(Of passions darke, made darke of beauties light)
With rebell force, hath closde in dungeon darke
My mind ere now led foorth by reasons light:

Since all the things which give mine eyes their
light
Do foster still, the fruites of fancies darke:
So that the windowes of my inward light
Do serve, to make my inward powers darke:

Since, as I say, both minde and senses darke
Are hurt, not helpt, with piercing of the light:
While that the light may shewe the horrors darke
But cannot make resolved darkenes lighte;
   I like this place, whereat the least
the darke
   May Keep my thoughtes, from thought of
wonted lighte. (II, 8)

Not only are Pyrocles' actions as a lover unheroic, at times they are buffoonish. In his disguise as an Amazon, he is caught in an absurd triangle in which Basilius, thinking he is a woman, loves him and Basilius' wife Gynecia, recognizing he is a man, also loves him. Pyrocles descends from the realm of epic to that of farce.

In addition to showing the folly of love as it contrasts with friendship, Sidney uses Pyrocles' disguise to introduce a friendship between Zelmane and Philoclea that comments ironically on the true nature of friendship. Sidney correctly presents the process by which friendship is formed through mutual activities, affection, and recognition of virtues, but although the process of friendship is sound, it is perverted by Pyrocles who uses it to advance his passionate desires. Moreover, it puts Philoclea in the questionable position of being moved emotionally by one who, as
far as she can discern, is another woman. Sidney must tread a very precarious path to preserve the virtue of his heroine and keep from straying into a tasteless exposition of unnatural love. He barely saves himself from this dilemma by stressing the incredible purity and naïveté of Philoclea: "The sweete minded Philoclea was in their degree of well doing, to whom the not knowing of evill serveth for a ground of vertue, and hold their inward powers in better forme with an unspotted simplicitie, then many, who rather cunningly seeke to know what goodnes is, then willingly take into themselves the following of it" (I, 169). In her innocence Philoclea is moved by affection for the Amazon because she seems to display a noble demeanor. This affection causes her to share the interests of Zelmane and to imitate Zelmane's conduct. Philoclea, "wishing to be her selfe an other in all things," soon finds that Zelmane has become the pattern of her life: "Which when once it was enacted, not onely by the comminaltie of Passions, but agreed unto by her most noble Thoughts, and that by Reason it self (not yet experienced in the issues of such matters) had granted his royal assent; then Friendship (a diligent officer) tooke care to see the statute thorowly observed" (I, 170). Philoclea's friendship with Zelmane soon becomes confused with feelings of romantic love. She comes to wish that she or Zelmane might be a man, and at night she dreams that she is in love with Zelmane. Since she is completely deceived by Pyrocles' feminine disguise and since her mind is pure,
Philoclea is unable to understand the conflicting emotions that engulf her.

Pyrocles, in this friendship relationship with Philoclea, is dishonest, but his actions are not dishonorable. At other times, however, his actions as a woman verge on the vicious. For example, he takes advantage of his disguise to see Philoclea naked. The casting off of his manly attire also signifies a casting off of normal discretion and virtue. His passion so dominates him that he is willing to deceive Philoclea not only to be near her, but also to compromise her maidenly virtue, manifested in part in the natural modesty which she possesses. While she would naturally refuse to reveal herself to any man, she takes off her clothes to bathe in the river in the sight of the Amazon Zelmane. Pyrocles, overwhelmed by desire, leers at Philoclea from a distance. But he is unable to restrain himself from more violent actions, for "then was the beautie too much for a patient sight, the delight too strong for a stayed concept: so that Zelmane could not choose but runne, to touch, embrace, and kisse her" (I, 217). Philoclea is embarrassed and hurries into the water: "But Zelmane, whose sight was gainedsaid by nothing but the transparent vaille of Ladon, (like a chamber where a great fire is kept, though the fire be at one stay, yet with the continuance continually hath his heat encreased) had the coales of her affection so kindled with wonder, and blowne with delight, that now all her parts grudged, that her eyes should do more homage, then they, to

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the Princesse of them" (I, 218). Clearly Sidney is indicating the sexual arousal of Pyrocles, and in so doing he emphasizes again that whatever else may form a part of Pyrocles' love it is at this point basically physical.

In addition to its moral effect on Pyrocles, passionate love causes a change in his natural personality and temperament. He is quick to be moved to anger, and he often acts in a less than chivalric manner. On seeing Amphialus in the possession of Philoclea's glove, Pyrocles attacks him even though Amphialus has given no offense and even though Amphialus refuses to defend himself. His "owne sweet disposition" is displaced by the "choler" that burns within him, and he resolves to kill the innocent man if he does not obey his commands (I, 224). Such changes in character result from jealousy and possessiveness, two hallmarks of passionate love.

The transformation which Pyrocles undergoes in appearance and temperament is paralleled by that of his friend Musidorus. In his case it involves a descent from heroic to pastoral when passionate love forces him to assume the disguise of a shepherd. It is worth repeating here that Sidney in the Arcadia does not glorify pastoralism nor, apart from Claius and Strephon, does he provide many favorable depictions of shepherds. Dametas, Mopsa, and Miso are ignorant and foolish, and the mass of the other shepherds often appears as a lawless mob. As David Kalstone points out, even the innocent pastoral revels of the shepherds are presented ambiguously: "These pleasures are apt to be brought to the
bar of heroic responsibility. The participation of a king and prince in a shepherds' celebration—their nobility tarnished somewhat by retirement and disguises—sharply dramatizes Sidney's point of view.\(^{22}\) In spite of this view of pastoralism, the transformation of Musidorus to the shepherd Dorus is not as extreme as that of Pyrocles because it involves no denial of his masculinity. He does, however, drop to the lowest social order, and he is aware of this descent although he tries to rationalize it: "... and I here a poore shepherd; more proud of this estate, then of any kingdom: so manifest it is, that the highest point outward things can bring one unto, is the contentment of the mind: with which, no estate; without which, all estates be miserable" (I, 116). The words, of course, are ironic, for the love-struck Musidorus is no more content as a shepherd than he was as a courtier.

Love for Musidorus is as irrationally grounded as that of Pyrocles, and his actions are more reprehensible since he is the elder of the two princes and the one who is particularly renowned for his wisdom and good judgment: "Musidorus fell in love as swiftly as Pyrocles, but in him Sidney is at pains to show that it was reason that was overthrown, reason that had proved useless to dissuade Pyrocles from a similar fate. Musidorus' fall, moreover, was the more violent because of the excellence of his rational fac-

\(^{22}\) "The Transformation of Arcadia," p. 245.
ulty.” Based on sensuous impressions and passionate desires, his love leaves no room for calm deliberation and the testing of mutual interests and mutual virtue that the relationship of friendship entails. As soon as he sees Pamela, Musidorus is overpowered by desire:

When I first saw her, I was presently striken, and I (like a foolish child, that when any thing hits him, will strike himselfe again upon it) would needs looke againe; as though I would perswade mine eyes, that they were deceived. But alas, well have I found, that Love to a yeelding hart is a king; but to a resisting, is a tyrant. The more with arguments I shaked the stake, which he had planted in the grounde of my harte, the deeper still it sanke into it. But what meane I to speake of the causes of my love, which is as impossible to describe, as to measure the backside of heaven? Let this word suffice, I love. (I, 115)

Unable to control his passion, Musidorus seeks access to Pamela, but he is prevented by her keepers, the vigilant shepherd Damaetas, his wife Miso, and their daughter, Mopsa. Following his friend's earlier tactic, Musidorus resorts to a disguise. The significance of the transformation of the two princes symbolized by their attire as a woman and as a shepherd is made emphatic at the end of the book when Sidney's perfect king, Euarchus, refuses to recognize his son and nephew: "Nay I cannot in this case acknowledge you for mine. For never had I sheapheard to my nephew, nor ever had woman to my son, your vices have degraded you from being princes, & have disanulde your birthright" (II, 201).

The princes themselves are aware of the degrading nature of their actions at the time when each dons his disguise. Nevertheless, Pyrocles, who in his disguise as an Amazon discovers Musidorus in the garb of a shepherd singing a love lament as he himself had earlier been discovered, cannot help but be amused by his friend's conduct: "The perfect friendship Zelmane bare him, and the great pitie she (by good trial) had of such cases, could not keep her from smiling at him, remembering how vehemently he had cryed out against the folly of lovers" (I, 113). But this good humor masks an apprehension that Musidorus may be in love with his own mistress. Sidney once again suggests the possibility of a friendship destroyed by love, but he never permits the conflict to happen: "Musidorus both in words & behaviour, did so lively deliver out his inward grief, that Zelmane found indeede, he was thorowly wounded: but there rose a new jelousy in her minde, lest it might be with Philoclea, by whom, as Zelmane thought, in right all hartes and eyes should be inherited. . . . O (sayd Musidorus) I know your suspition; No, no banish all such feare, it was, it is, and must be Pamela" (I, 114-15).

Musidorus tells how he tricked the friendly shepherd Menalcas into delivering a false message so that he could get him out of Arcadia and protect his own disguise as a shepherd. Thus to hide his love, Musidorus is forced to deception. He perverts the trust of the honest shepherd who had befriended him; furthermore, on Pyrocles' advice he resolves
to fawn on the base-born and base-minded Dametas. He is keenly aware of these degradations that passionate love has driven him to: "O heaven and earth (said Musidorus) to what a passe are our mindes brought, that from the right line of vertue, are wryed to these crooked shifts? But o Love, it is thou that doost it: thou changest name upon name; thou disguisest our bodies, and disfigurest our mindes. But in deed thou hast reason, for though the wayes be foule, the journeys end is most faire and honourable" (I, 117). It is not clear, however, that the "journey's end" of Musidorus' or Pyrocles' love is either "faire" or "honourable."

Sidney leaves no doubt that the love of the princes for the two princesses is passionate love. The sexuality of their love is emphasized through much of the Arcadia. The sexual passion of the young men, for example, can be discerned in Sidney's description of their reactions to the sight of their ladies. The following passage about Pyrocles is typical: "All the bloud of Zelmanes body stirring in her, as wine will do when suger is hastely put into it, seeking to sucke the sweetnes of the beloved guest; her hart, like a lion new imprisoned, seeing him that restraines his libertie, before the grate; not panting, but striving violently (if it had bene possible) to have leapt into the lappe of Philoclea" (I, 167). The princes are not unaware of the sexual desires which they experience and the dangers of submitting to lust under the disguise of love. They recognize the moral confusion which an uneasy conscience brings, for they see them-
selves, as Kalstone notes, as "'lovers with the impediments of honor and the torments of conscience.' They do not talk of the simple satisfaction of desire, but of the hazards of desire and of the safety—difficult to attain—of virtuous love that informs the mind."24

The absurd and irrational workings of love which disturb Pyrocles and Musidorus are underscored by the actions of Arcadia's king and queen. The conduct of Gynecia and Basilius is central to Sidney's exposition of the effects of passionate love, for in them this love leads to its "proper" end, sexual consummation, and illustrates the danger from which the two young heroes of the Arcadia only narrowly escape. At this stage in the narrative there is very little difference between the lust of the king and queen and the passionate love which Pyrocles and Musidorus display. As Rose notes, the similarity results from the very condition of earthly love: "In a world in which sensual desire has so strong a hold over even the most virtuous, the disorders of lust and the torments of love are nearly identical. Some fortunate few such as the remarkable Pamela may avoid the worst effects of love, but for the majority of mankind, to love at all is to enter a very questionable moral state."25

The moral ambiguity of the princes' love will be eliminated later when the nature and object of their love is more clear-

ly defined, but at this point the parallels with Basilius' and Gynecia's inordinate lust highlight the thematic treatment of the relationships of love and friendship as they affect the heroes of the book.

Gynecia and Basilius are led by their obsession with passionate love to commit actions that are both "sinful" and unnatural. Because he is a king, Basilius' abrogation of responsibility to follow his foolish desires for Pyrocles disrupts the order of society at all levels, the individual, the household, and the state and produces moral chaos: "His lustful pursuit of Zelmane (Pyrocles) although amusing in that circumstances make the consummation of the duke's desires an impossibility, is intrinsically evil."26 Without his guidance his wife's desires become even more evil than his. Gynecia is afflicted with such uncontrollable sexual passion that she is willing not only to commit adultery, but also to reject the natural motherly ties which bind her to Philoclea. This abnormal behavior results from her daughter's unwitting rivalry for the object of her passion: "But neither was the fever of such impatient heate as the inwarde plague-sore of her affection, nor the paine halfe so noysome, as the jealousie she conceaved of her daughter Philo­clea, lest this time of her sicknesse might give apt occasion to Zel­mane, whom she misdoubted" (I, 168). Her passion and jealousy pervert both judgment and will, and she becomes a moral

The Queene . . . full of raging agonies, and deter-
minatly bent, that as she would seeke all loving
meanes to winne Zelmane, so she would stirre up ter-
rible tragedies, rather than faile of her entent.
And so went she from them to the lodge-ward, with
such a battaille in her thoughts, and so deadly an
overthrow given to her best resolutions, that even
her bodie (where the fielde was fought) was oppressed
withall: making a languishing sicknesse waite upon
the triumph of passion; which the more it prevailed
in her, the more it made her jealousie watchfull,
both over her daughter, and Zelmane; having ever
one of them entrusted to her owne eyes. (I, 150)

The solitary laments of Gynecia are particularly re-
vealing of her moral decay. Her torment is more psychologi-
cal than physical. She is aware of the baseness of her
feelings, but she is so weakened in will by the passion of
love that she is unable to control her conduct: "There ap-
peered unto the eies of her judgement the evils she was like
to run into, with ougly infamie waiting upon them: she felt
the terrours of her owne conscience: she was guilty of a
long exercised vertue, which made this vice the fuller of
deformitie. The uttermost of the good she could aspire unto,
was a mortall wound to her vexed spirits: and lastly no small
part of her evils was, that she was wise to see her evils"
(I, 145). She condemns herself harshly for not being able
to resist the powers of her passions, but resist she cannot.
She flees to a desert to lament in private the loss of her
virtue and her frustration at having found no way to fulfill
her lust. So abominable have become her thoughts that she
considers murdering her own daughter to eliminate her as a
rival for Pyrocles' love:
O Vertue, where doost thou hide thy selfe? or what hideous thing is this which doth eclips thee? or is it true that thou weart never but a vaine name, and no essential thing, which hast thus left thy professed servant, when she had most need of thy lovely presence? 0 imperfect proportion of reason, which can too much forsee, & too little prevent. . . . Yet if my desire (how unjust so ever it be) might take effect, though a thousand deaths followed it, and every death were followed with a thousand shames; yet should not my sepulcher receive me without some contentment. . . . And then, wretched Gynecia, where canst thou find any smal ground-plot for hope to dwell upon? No, no it is Philoclea, his hart is set upon: it is my daughter I have borne to supplant me. But if it be so, the life I have given thee (ungratefull Philoclea) I will sooner with these handes bereave thee of, then my birth shall glory, she hath bereaved me of my desires. In shame there is no comfort, but to be beyond all bounds of shame.

(I, 146)

When Pyrocles happens upon her in this lament, she begs him to satisfy her passion. Gynecia at this point reaches the depths of moral degeneration. The shame of her desires is emphasized by her assertion of her former high state of rectitude. The decline is due solely to passionate love. What emerges is a woman of highly refined conscience beset by lustful desires which drive her to commit desperate actions that she can recognize as morally reprehensible but that her weakened will is powerless to prevent. The driving forces that dominate the character of Gynecia are summarized nicely by J. J. Jusserand in The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare: "Gynecia does not allow herself to be blinded by any subterfuge; love has taken possession of her, the rules of the world, the laws of blood, the precepts of virtue that she has observed all her life, are lost sight of; she is conscious of nothing but that she loves, and is ready, like
Phaedra of old, to trample everything under foot to forsake everything, the domestic hearth, child, husband: and it is very interesting to see about the time of Shakespeare, this purely dramatic character develop itself in a novel" (p. 246).

Vicious though passionate lovers may be at times, Sidney is not unaware of the humor of their situation. Basilius desires Pyrocles whom he takes to be a woman; Gynecia desires Pyrocles whom she knows to be a man; Pyrocles loves the young princess Philoclea; and Philoclea is very perplexed by the confused emotions which she feels towards an Amazon who is really a prince. What results from this mix-up is a farcical situation in which mother rivals daughter, daughter rivals father, and husband rivals wife. Pyrocles recognizes the absurdity of the situation but is powerless to unravel it: "Truely it were a notable dumb shew of Cupids kingdome, to see my eyes (languishing with over-vehement longing) direct themselves to Philoclea: & Basilius as busie about me as a Bee, & indeed as cumbersome; making such suits to me, who nether could if I would; nor would if I could, helpe him: while the terrible witte of Gynecia, carried with the beere of violent love, runnes thorow us all" (I, 94). The rapid succession of love laments by Gynecia, Pyrocles, Basilius, and Musidorus which open Book II of the Arcadia add ironic humor as well as pathos while they reveal the irrationality of passionate love and the ridiculous behavior it produces. As the narrative complexities develop, the round-robin deceptions of the major characters, each convinced that he is
fooling the others about his true identity and feelings, provide grounds for double entendres and absurdly comic posturing. One good example occurs when Basilius, unable to be deprived of the sight of his beloved Amazon, installs Pyrocles in the royal lodge where he is watched over zealously by both the king and the queen. He can only squirm under their jealous eyes unable to reveal his sex or his love to Philoclea who hovers in the background:

Once Zelmane could not stirre, but that, (as if they had beene poppets, whose motion stooed onely upon her pleasure) Basilius with serviceable steppes, Gynecia with greedie eyes would follow her. . . . Zelmane betwixt both (like the poore childe, whose father while he beats him, will make him beleive it is for love; or like the sicke man, to whom the Phisition sweares, the ill-tasting wallowish medicin he professs, is of a good taste) their love was hatefull, their courtesie troublesome, their presence cause of her absence thence, where not onely her light, but her life consisted. Alas (thought she to her selfe) deare Dorus, what odds is there betweene thy destiny & mine? For thou hast to doo in thy pursuite but with shepherdish folkes, who trouble thee with a little envious care, and affected dilligence. (I, 251-52)

But Pyrocles is wrong about his friend. While Pyrocles is trapped in his humorous but frustrating situation, Musidorus is similarly cast in the comic role of lover to the doltish shepherdess Mopsa whose beauty he must praise in the hyperbolic rhetoric of the stricken lover even though he knows her to be as foul looking as "puddled water": "So that Mopsa was my saying; Mopsa was my singing; Mopsa, (that is onely suteable in laying a foule complexion upon a filthy favour, setting foroouth both in sluttishnesse) she was the load-starre of my life, she the blessing of mine eyes, she
the overthowe of my desires, and yet the recompence of my overthowe; she the sweetnesse of my harte, even sweetning the death, which her sweetnesse drew upon me" (I, 155). Love, which in normal circumstances drives men to rash and violent behaviour, forces the heroes into even more foolish postures because of the absurd disguises they must wear.

In such contexts the contrast between the folly of passionate love and the nobility of pure friendship is pronounced. Sidney takes every opportunity throughout the 
Arcadia to emphasize this contrast; for example, in the romantic digressions discussed above. But also he uses small incidental remarks to keep in the reader's mind the fidelity and constancy which are the marks of true friends. One such remark occurs when Pyrocles is recalling to Philoclea his and Musidorus' adventures before they arrived in Arcadia. She asks him about his friend's whereabouts, but not even the prodding of his beloved can sway Pyrocles from the oath of secrecy he has made to his friend: "... what is mine, even to my soul, is yours; but the secret of my friend is not mine" (I, 307). When Pyrocles is initially separated from Musidorus, he prefers an early death to life without his friend; yet when he learns that Musidorus is alive he is willing to suffer any indignity for his friend's sake as he later tells him: "And in my peace the King Amiclasis of Lacedaemon would needes have mee banished, and deprived of the dignitie whereunto I was exalted: which (and you may see howe much you are bounde to mee) for your sake I was content

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to suffer, a newe hope rising in mee, that you were not dead: and so meaning to travaile over the worlde to seeke you; and now here (my deere Musidorus) you have mee" (I, 53). Similar examples of Musidorus' loyalty are mentioned throughout the book. When he is attempting to rescue Pyrocles and the two princesses from prison, Musidorus berates himself for not being able to accomplish this swiftly: "O incomparable Pyrocles, more grieved wilt thou be with thy friends shame, then with thine owne imprisonment, when thou shalt know now little I have bene able to doo for the deliverie of thee, and those heavenlie Princesses. Am I worthie to be friend to the most valourous Prince that ever was entituled valourous, and shewe my selfe so weake a wretch?" (I, 459-60). Scattered throughout the book these and many other passing references to the princes' friendship re-enforce the main narrative threads that are concerned directly with friendship and keep the theme prominent.

In addition there are many other references to friendships between lesser characters in the book. For example, when Philanax meets Euarchus to tell him of the death of Basilius, he is so moved by thoughts of his dead friend that he cannot speak: "And so farre strayed hee, into this rav­ing melancholy, that his eyes nimoler then his tounge let fall a floud of teares, his voice being stopped with extrem­itie of sobbing, so much had his friendshipe caried him to Basilius, that hee thought no age was timely for his death" (II, 153). The death of Philanax's brother Agenor also pro-
duces an example of loyal friendship: "Which sight comming
to Leontius, a deere friende of his, who in vayne had lament-
ably cried unto him to stay, when he saw him beginne his
careerre, it was harde to say, whether pittie of the one, or
revenge of the other, helde as then the soveraigntie in his
passions. But while he directed his eye to his friende, and
his hande to his enemie, so wrongly-consorted a power could
not resist the ready minded force of Amphialus: who percyving
his il-directed direction against him, so paide him his debt
before it was lent, that he also fell to the earth, onely
happy that one place & one time, did finish both their loves
and lives together" (I, 387). Similarly Musidorus' father
Dorilaus dies in battle while he is "valiantly requiting his
friends helpe" (I, 188). Other references to the brave deeds
of true friends and the deceptions of false friends are men-
tioned incidentally in the course of the story.

The narrative technique which Sidney employs also un-
derscores the value of friendship. At the same time, it re-
veals the many dilemmas of passionate lovers. The retro-
spective narrative of Musidorus' and Pyrocles' heroic deeds
and its relationship to friendship and love has already been
discussed. In addition, Sidney relates his two heroes' most
foolish and most frustrating conduct as lovers in the form
of supportive confidences between loyal friends, thus high-
lighting a great benefit of friendship. Pyrocles, over-
whelmed by the tiresome role he must play as the Amazon Zel-
mane, seeks out Musidorus: "Tyred wherewith, she longed to
meete her friend Dorus; that upon the shoulders of friendship she might lay the burthen of sorrow . . . " (I, 151-52). Musidorus, for his part, welcomes the chance to drop for the moment his demeaning shepherd's crook and talk openly to his friend if only of his sorrow: "Alas (said he) deare Cosin, that it hath pleased the high powers to throwe us to such an estate, as the onely entercourse of our true friendship, must be a bartring of miseries" (I, 153). On several other occasions the two friends slip away for private confessions and always the differences between the relationships of friendship and passionate love are clear. These differences are most explicitly revealed by the heroes after they have spent months in disguise unsuccessfully trying to achieve their loves. They steal away to meet in an arbor where they lament their unsuccessful pursuits of the princesses and reaffirm their vows of friendship:

... they recounted one to another their strange pilgrimage of passions, omitting nothing which the open hearted friendship is wont to lay forth, where there is cause to communicate both joyes & sorrows, for indeed ther is no sweeter tast of friendship, then the coupling of soules in this mutualitye either of condoling or comforting: where the oppressed minde findes itself not altogether miserable, since it is sure of one which is feelingly sorry for his misery: and the joyfull spends not his joy, either alone, or there where it may be envyed: but may freely send it to such a well grounded object, from whence he shall be sure to receive a sweete refection of the same joye, and, as in a cleere mirore of sincere good will, see a lively picture of his own gladnes. (II, 1)

Musidorus tells Pyrocles of his plans to elope with Pamela who has consented to his proposal only after she has

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become convinced that her love-struck father's irrational conduct has become dangerous to her well-being and that Musidorus' intentions are honest. Musidorus feels compelled to satisfy his romantic longings, but he is keenly aware of the great loss he must undergo in leaving his friend. He utters a plea to his friend to order him to sacrifice love for friendship, a plea that Pyrocles can not heed for coercion is inimical to true friendship:

And therefore now, sayd Dorus, my deere Cozen, to whom e nature began my friendship, education confirmed it, and vertue hath made it eternall, heere have I discovered the very foundation whereupon my life is built: bee you the Judge betwixt mee and my fortune. The violence of love is not unknowne to you: And I knowe my case shall never want pittie in your consideration. How all the joyes of my hearte doe leave mee, in thinking I must for a time be absent from you, the eternall truth is witnesse unto me. I knowe I should not so sensiblie feele the pangs of my last departure. But this enchantment of my restlesse desire hath such authoritye in my selfe above my selfe, that I am become a slave unto it, I have no more freedome in mine owne determinacions. My thoughtes are now all bent how to carrye awaye my burdenous blisse. Yet, most beloved Cozen, rather then I should thinke I doo heerein violate the holie bande of true friendship, wherein I unworthie am knit unto you, commaund mee stay. Perchaunce the force of your commandement may worke such impression into my hearte, that no reason of mine owne can imprint into it. For the Gods forbid, the foule word of abandoning Pyrocles, might ever be objected to the faithfull Musidorus. (II, 2)

Musidorus' speech shows that he is keenly aware of the differences between the origins and nature of love and friendship. Friendship, the "coupling of souls," is a rational, freely chosen commitment. It is nature, education, and virtue that move men to plight the "holy band of friendship." Love, on the other hand, is founded on sensuous im-
pressions and passions, no matter what chaste form it may ultimately take. Unlike friends, lovers do not initiate their relationship freely. The "violence of love" enchants and enslaves; its restless desires weaken the will and cloud judgment. As such it threatens to overshadow all other public and personal commitments. Thus throughout the conversation between Musidorus and Pyrocles there is a hint of a diminution of friendship brought about by the inordinate demands of passionate love. Nevertheless, there is also the sense of a great, selfless manifestation of magnanimity in the two heroes as each friend expresses his willingness to sacrifice the intensity of their cherished friendship for the happiness of one another, a happiness which each man thinks depends upon the fruition of love. So Pyrocles refuses to impede Musidorus' escape, and Musidorus vows to return with an army to effect by force the union of Pyrocles and Philoclea.

Pyrocles' response to Musidorus' plan shows his grief at the impending loss to himself of his friend's company, but he quickly elevates his "friend's profit" over his "own desire." He affirms his unselfish love for Musidorus—a love that will not be broken by the demands of romantic love, for it is a love that asks only for the happiness of the other. The situation is one that in the tradition of friendship literature could destroy friendship, but Sidney again is careful not to permit the demands of passionate love to overthrow those of friendship. Pyrocles asks only for his friend's continued adherence to virtue and to their vows of
friendship:

If I bare thee this Love vertuous Musidorus, for mine owne sake, and that our friendships grew because I for my parte, might rejoynce to enjoye such a friend: I shoulde nowe so thorowly feele mine owne losse, that I should call the heavens and earth to witnesse, how cruelly yee robbe mee, of my greatest conforte, measuring the breach of friendships by myne owne passion. But because indeede I love thee for thy selfe, and in my judgement judge of thy worthines to be loved, I am content to bulde my pleasure uppon thy conforte: And then will I deeme my happie in friendships great, when I shall see thee, whome I love happie. Let me be onely sure, thou lovest me still, the onely price of trew affection goe therefore on, worthye Musidorus, with the guide of vertue, and service of fortune. . . . my onely friend said shee since to so good towardnes, your courteous destinies have conducted you, let not a ceremoniall consideration of our mutuall love, be a barre unto it. I joye in your presence, but I joye more in your good, that friendship brings forth the fruite of enmitie, which preferres his owne tendernes, before his friendes domage. (II, 3-4)

Musidorus is moved by his friend's selfless profession of friendship, and he reaffirms his devotion to Pyrocles: "To you therefore be the due commendation given, who can conquere me in Love, and Love in wisdome. As for mee, then shall goodnes turne to evill, and ungrateaufulnes bee the token of a true harte when Pyrocles shall not possesse a principall seate in my soule, when the name of Pyrocles shall not be helde of me in devout reverence" (II, 4). Although he professes his undying bond with Pyrocles in such powerful terms, Musidorus is aware of the conflicting claims of friendship and love. He feels guilty about abandoning his friend. Although he cannot forsake his love for Pamela, he tries to rationalize his abandonment of his friend by a
promise that his absence will only be temporary: "Now in the meane while the divided Dorus, long divided betweene love and friendship, and now for his love divided from his friend, though indeed without prejudice of friendships loyalty, which doth never barre the minde from his free satisfaction: yet still a cruell judge over himselfe, thought he was somewayes faultie, and applied his minde how to amend it, with a speedy and behoveful return" (II, 13). Comforting though such thoughts may be to Musidorus, they hide the real significance of his action as it affects the bonds of friendship with Pyrocles. Once he has fulfilled his objective of acquiring Pamela, first through this elopement and then through marriage, his relationship with Pyrocles must be diminished. Pyrocles realizes this danger. He considers that "Dorus enterprise, might bring some strange alteration of this their well liked friendship" (II, 12), and he acquiesces to Musidorus' plans for eloping with Pamela only because he loves his friend selflessly.

The friendship of the two men has been a source of virtuous conduct, and once they part, their conduct begins to decline. Soon after Musidorus has eloped with Pamela, her conscience begins to bother her. She knows that she has acted rashly and violated all of the dictates of prudence and reason in committing herself into the hands of a man before marriage and without her father's consent. She reminds Musidorus of his promise to treat her honorably: "Your promise you Remember, which here by the eternall givers of ver-
tue, I conjure you to observe, let me be your owne as I am, but by no unjust conquest; let not our joyes which ought ever to last, bee stayned in our own consciences, let no shadow of repentaunce steale into the sweet consideration of our mutuall happines. I have yeelded to bee your wife, staye then till the time that I may rightly bee so; let no other defiled name burden my harte" (II, 23). Pamela has cause to be apprehensive. While she is sleeping, Musidorus, overcome by her beauty, steals a kiss. Whether his violation of the sleeping princess would have continued is not clear, for he is prevented by a company of "clownish villains" who carry the two lovers away (II, 27). Passionate love at this point has driven Musidorus to the nadir of his heroic role. His action demonstrates a defect of judgment if not of virtue, and it springs from the sensuality which is ultimately the basis of all passionate love.

Pyrocles, meanwhile, also acts in a morally question-able fashion because of passionate love. He tricks Basilius and Gynecia into sleeping together under the pretense of an assignation with himself. Then he steals off to Philoclea's bedroom. There he plots to elope with her, and after mutual plights of love, the two fall asleep. This indiscretion is discovered by Damaetas who alerts the acting governor Philanax. Both couples, Pyrocles and Philoclea, and Musidorus and Pamela, are subsequently imprisoned. The cause of their imprisonment stems from the apparent poisoning of Basilius who is really unconscious from a love philtre of Gynecia.
The capture, imprisonment, and trial of Musidorus and Pyrocles enable Sidney to shift the emphasis of his characterization of the two princes. From the idle, self-pitying, love-struck men that they had become in Arcadia, he gives us portraits of deep spiritual and truly heroic dimensions. Each man asserts a form of love that is essentially spiritual, and each is willing to sacrifice his life for his lady and for his friend.

When Pyrocles realizes that he has placed Philoclea in a compromising position, he accepts the blame for his actions and considers only how he can preserve Philoclea's honor and save her from punishment:

... his excellent wit strengthened with vertue but guided by love, had soone described to himselfe a perfect vision of their present condition, wherein having presently cast a resolute reckoning of his owne parte of the misery, not only the chiefe but sole burthen of his anguish consisted in the unworthy case, which was like to fall upon the best deserving Philoclea. ... dispersing his thoughts to all the wayes that might be of her safetie, finding a verye small discourse in so narrowe lymits of time and place, at length in many difficulties he saw none beare any likelyhood for her life, but his death. (II, 104-05)

Pyrocles' thoughts are only of Philoclea's welfare. If his death will guarantee her life and protect her reputation, he will commit suicide willingly and heroically: "Gone from his soul is the selfishness and self-pity of the lover seeking satisfaction of his desire; his passion, for the moment at least, has become something wholly selfless, something to Sidney's mind compatible with reason."27 After failing in

27 Rose, Heroic Love, p. 64.

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his first attempt to take his life, Pyrocles is prevented from pursuing his plan by Philoclea's argument that his death would cause her such pain that she would seek death herself. No longer motivated by uncontrollable passions and selfish desires, Pyrocles is able to choose the most reasonable course of action: "Pyrocles even overwayed with her so wisely uttered affection, finding her determinacion so fixed, that his ende should but deprive them both of a present contentment, and not avoyde a comming evill (as a man that ranne not unto it, by a sodayne qualme of passion, but by a true use of reason, preferring her life to his owne) nowe that wisedome did manifest unto him, that waye woulde not prevayle, he retired himselfe, with as much tranquillitie from it, as before he had gone unto it" (II, 112-13). Later when he is brought to trial, Pyrocles' first speech exonerates Philoclea's actions, praises her spotless virtue, and places all of the blame on himself: "Understand therefore, and truly understand, that the Lady Philoclea (to whose unstayned vertue it hath bene my unspeakeable miserye, that my name should become a blot) if she be accused, is most unjustly accused of any dishonorable fact, which by my meanes she may be thought to have yelded unto. Whatsoever hath bene done, hath bene my only attempt, which notwithstanding was never intended against her chastetye" (II, 172).

Musidorus during his capture and trial is no less unselfish, magnanimous, and heroic than Pyrocles. He bravely fights against the rebels who seize him and Pamela, his con-
cern being for her safety alone: "... he in the mean time placing his trembling Lady to one of the Pyne trees, and so setting himselfe before her, as might shewe the cause of his courage grewe in himself, but the effect was only employed in her defence" (II, 119). When they threaten to kill Pamela if he does not yield to them, he throws down his sword, submits to providence with heroic patience, and vows that his love for Pamela will always be virtuous: "Musidorus looking up to the starres, 0 mind of minds said he, the living power of all things which dost with al these eies behold our ever varying actions, accept into thy favorable eares this praiier of mine. Yf I may any longer hold out this dwelling on the earth, which is called life, graunt me abilitie to deserve at this Ladies handes the grace shee hath shewed unto me; graunt me wisdome to know her wisdome, and goodnes so to encrease my love of her goodnes, that all mine owne chosen desires, be to my selfe but second to her determinations" (II, 123-24). When he is brought to trial, Musidorus, like Pyrocles, accepts all blame for their actions and defends Pamela's honor and virtue.

While showing the spiritual strength of his heroes, Sidney transforms the nature of their love by changing the emphasis from the discomfitures of passionate love to the glories of a spiritual love that is wedded to the physical in the harmony that is symbolized in the institution of marriage. Since he has eloped with Pamela in order to marry her in Thessalia, Musidorus concludes his defense at his
trial by stressing that the object of his love for Pamela is an honest one: "Heere do I leave out my just excuses of loves force, which as thy narrow hart hath never had noble roome inough in it to receave, so yet to those manlike cour­ages, that by experience know how subject the vertuous mindes are to love a most vertuous creature, (witnessed to be such by the most excellent guiftes of nature) will deeme it a veniall trespasse, to seeke the satisfaction of honourable desires. Honourable even in the curiousest pointes of honour, whereout there can no disgrace nor disperagement come unto her" (II, 193). Pyrocles anticipates his marriage to Philoclea before he enters her bedroom "for so farre were his thoughts past through all perils, that alreadie he con­ceyved himself safelie arrived with his Ladie at the stately pallace of Pella, among the exceeding joyes of his father, and infinite congratulacions of his frends, geving order for the royall entertayning of Philoclea, and for sumptuous shewes and triumphes against their mariage" (II, 52). After he and Philoclea exchange mutual vows of love, they lie in bed in "chaste embracements" (II, 61). Both Philoclea and Pamela are so assured that their vows of love with the heroes constitute betrothals, that each refers to her lover as "my husband" in public letters to the assembly of Arcadian noble­men gathered for the trial. Sidney now has moved the roman­tic love of the couples from acts of passionate disorder to thoughts of conjugal harmony. Kenneth Rowe sees this as the central movement of the book: "The Arcadia reveals an ener-
getic impulse towards a unified ethical concept of love with marriage as its end."\(^{28}\)

In redeeming the heroic stature of Pyrocles and Musidorus and ennobling their love, Sidney reasserts with new vigor the theme of friendship between them. Love is no longer an obstacle to friendship, for it is not a relationship that is contrary to reason and virtue, the grounds of friendship. Rather it is a relationship of the same spiritual kind though with a different object. For a Christian humanist such as Sidney pure romantic love and friendship were basically identical since "both represented a divine affinity between or among individuals."\(^{29}\) After Musidorus has been captured and pledged his devotion to Pamela, "the first care came to his minde was of his deare friend and cosin Pyrocles" (I, 124). He proudly asserts his friendship for Pyrocles, and he tells Pamela that he must ask a favor of her for the sake of his friend even though he had resolved not to disturb her: "But the estate of one young man whom (next to you, far above my selfe) I love more then all the world, one worthy of all well being for the notable constitution of the mind, and most unworthy to receive hurt by me, whom he doth in all faith and constancie love, the pittie of him onely goes beyond all resolution to the contrarie" (II, 124). The

\(^{28}\) "Romantic Love and Parental Authority in Sidney's Arcadia," University of Michigan Contributions in Modern Philology, 4 (April, 1947), II.

favor he asks of her is that she permit him to conceal that he is the prince Musidorus so that Pyrocles' identity may also remain concealed, "accounting my death lesse evil, then the betraying of that sweete frende of mine" (II, 125).

As they are led to prison Pyrocles and Musidorus reveal a profound devotion and a deep expression of the freedom that is implied in the giving of oneself as a friend. Each is selflessly more concerned for the welfare of the other:

The hard estate of his friend did no lesse nay rather more vexe him, then his owne. For so indeed it is ever founde, where valure and friendshipe are perfectly coopled in one hart, the reason being, that the resolute man, having once digested in his judgement the worst extremitie of his owne case, and having either quite expelled, or at least repelled, all passion, which ordinarilie followes an overthrowne fortune, not knowing his friendes minde so well as his owne, nor with what pacience he brookes his case, (which is as it were the materiall cause of making a man happie or unhappie) doubts whether his friend accomptes not him selfe more miserable, and so indeede bee more lamentable. But as soone as Musidorus was brought by the souldiers neere unto Phlianax, Pyrocles not knowing whether ever after hee should bee suffered to see his friende, and determining there could be no advantage by dissembling a not knowing of him leapt sodainelie from their hands that helde him, and passing with a strength strengthened with a true affection, thorowe them that encompassed Musidorus, he embrase him as fast as hee coulde in his armes. And kissing his cheekes, O my Palladius saide he, let not our vertue now abandon us; let us prove our mindes are no slaves to fortune, but in adversitie can triumph over adversitie. Deere Daiphantus aunswered Musidorus (seeing by his apparell his being a man was revealed) I thanke you for this best care of my best partes. But feare not, I have kept too long company with you to want nowe a thorowe determination of these things, I well know there is nothing evill but within us, the rest is either naturall or accidentall. (II, 128-29)

Significantly the outward appearance of the heroes re-
flects their internal condition. Musidorus has shed his shepherd's weeds; Pyrocles has discarded his feminine disguise. Both now act more manly, more noble, and more heroic. In this spirit they await their trial, able now to endure hardship with patience, courage, and fortitude: "In the mean time, Pyrocles and Musidorus were recommended to so strong a guard, as they might well see it was meant, they should pay no less price than their lives, for the getting out of that place, which they like men in deed, (fortifying courage with the true Rampier of patience) did so endure, as they did rather appear governors of necessity, than servants of fortune" (II, 163). "Like men in deed" they act, for with the abandonment of their disguises, the two princes emerge, not only with physical nobility, but also with spiritual nobility. This is reflected in their conversations in prison which focus in particular on their friendship:

The whole summe of their thoughts resting upon the safetie of their Ladies, and their care one for the other: Wherein (if at all) their harts did seeme to receyve some softnes. For sometimes Musidorus would feele such a motion to his friend, and his unworthy case, that he would fall into such kinde speeches. My Pyrocles would he say, how unhappy may I think Thessalia, that hath bene as it were, the middle way to this evill estate of yours? For if you had not bene there brought up, the Sea should not have had this power, thus to sever you from your deere father. (II, 163)

Pyrocles will not accept such an argument. His upbringing in Thessalia has brought him knowledge and virtue and above all the great gift of friendship: "There did I learne the sweete mysteries of Philosophy; there had I your lively ex-
ample, to confirme that which I learned; there lastly had I your friendship, which no unhappines can ever make me saye, but that hath made me happy" (II, 163). Pyrocles assumes the blame for his friend's unfortunate state since he was the one who had encouraged him to remain in Arcadia.

Musidorus in turn urges his friend not to bemoan their misfortunes but to accept the providential workings of the universe and to rejoice in the good they have accomplished: "We have lived, and have lived to be good to our selves, and others: our soules which are put into the sturring earth of our bodyes, have atchieved the causes of their hether comming: They have knowne, & honoured with knowledge, the cause of their creation, and to many men (for in this time, place, and fortune, it is lawfull for us to speake glorious-ly) it hath bene behovefull, that we should live" (II, 164). He will not permit his friend to blame himself for their misfortunes since their friendship is to him a far greater good than any harm they have suffered. He encourages Pyrocles to abandon further lamentations and to accept their fortunes with noble and virtuous strength: "Do not me therefore that wrong, (who something in yeares, but much in all other deserts, am fitter to dye then you) as to say you have brought me to any evill: since the love of you, doth overballance all bodely mischieves, and those mischieves be but mischieves to the baser mindes, too much delighted with the kennell of this life. Neither will I any more yeeld to my passion of lamenting you, which howsoever it might agree to my exceeding
friendship, surely it would nothing to your exceeding ver-
tue" (II, 164).

Displaying a new sense of spiritual serenity, Pyrocles and Musidorus turn to thoughts of death with a philosophical and theological resignation that reveals their hope for a better existence once they are freed from the bonds of the body, the senses, and the passions. Pyrocles sees after death the continuation of their friendship, and indeed a purification and perfection of it: "Even such and much more odds, shall there be at that second delivery of ours; when void of sensible memory, or memorative passion, wee shall not see the cullours, but lifes of all things that have bene or can be: and shall as I hope knowe our friendship, though exempt from the earthlie cares of friendship, having both united it, and our selves, in that hye and heavenly love of the unquenchable light" (II, 166).

The nobility and virtue of Pyrocles and Musidorus are underscored through their professions of friendship, and this vow of perfect friendship is the basis for the union with their ladies in a virtuous relationship that has as its object the holy ties of marriage. The progression of love from a passionate attraction to a spiritual bond is marked by the trials of the characters who reveal greater depths of fortitude and moral courage under duress, and it is measured by the theme of friendship which asserts itself with greater force when their moral courage is greatest. Friendship thus becomes the model for their love relationship and a touch-
stone for marking the passage of this love from a lower to a higher level.

As he reaches the end of the Arcadia, not only does Sidney stress the spiritual nature of the two heroes as lovers and as friends, but also he emphasizes the two sisters' roles as friends as well as objects of pure love. Earlier he had clearly indicated that the relationship between Philoclea and Pamela surpassed that of sisters, for to that natural bond was added the voluntary bond of friendship. For example, after Pamela's very first contact with Musidorus, Philoclea asks for the confidences of a friend:

"... O my Pamela (said Philoclea) who are to me a sister in nature, a mother in counsell, a Princess by the law of our countrey, and which name (me thinke) of all other is the dearest, a friend by my choice and your favour, what meanes this banishing me from your counsels?" (I, 176). And later Pyrocles remarks to Philoclea: "But I perceive, your noble sister & you are great friends, and well doth it become you so to be" (I, 307). Now Sidney returns to this motif so that he can link the four main characters in chains of both love and friendship. While he reasserts the friendship of Musidorus and Pyrocles, he also does the same for the two princesses. Thus the close connection between pure love and perfect friendship is made apparent. By linking the fortunes of the women with one another and with the two men, he enables friendship and love to exist simultaneously without the natural tension that the love of a single friend for a
woman would bring to the relationship of friendship. Norm-  
mally such an action, by removing one member of the friend-  
ship from the close proximity of his friend and by turning  
his energies to his mistress, if not destroying the friend-  
ship, at least lessens its intensity. Sidney is able to  
avoid this by intertwining the relationship of all four char-  
acters. What emerges is two sets of perfect lovers and per-  
flect friends. Pamela and Philoclea when they are reunited in  
prison confide in one another as friends and grieve over the  
misfortunes of the other:

But when the excellent creatures, had after much  
panting (with their inwarde travell) gotten so much  
breathing power, as to make a pittifull discourse  
one to the other, what had befallne them; and that  
by the plaine comparing the case they were in, they  
thurowly founde, that their greives, were not more  
like in regarde of themselves, then like in respecte  
of the subjecte (the two Princes (as Pamela had  
learned of Musidorus) being so minded, as they  
woulde ever make bothe their fortunes one) it did  
more unite, and so strengthen their lamentation:  
seeing the one coulde not bee miserable, but that  
it must necessarilie make the other miserable also.  
(II, 161-62)

Pamela, who is the elder of the two sisters and the heir to  
the Arcadian throne, is indignant at their ignoble treatment  
and particularly solicitous of the welfare of the frailer  
Philoclea, "so that she joyned the vexacion for her friend,  
with the spite to see her selfe as she thought rebelliously  
detayned, and mixed desirous thoughts to helpe, with re-  
vengefull thoughts if she could not helpe" (II, 162). When  
she realizes that time wasted in such contemplation can not  
improve their situation, Pamela bravely accepts her fate and,
along with Philoclea, she writes letters to the Arcadian assembly in defense of Pyrocles and Musidorus. The princesses respond to adversity with the same courage and fortitude that Pyrocles and Musidorus show in prison. Their friendship too is strengthened by adversity, and they too show a selfless concern for the welfare of each other and of their lovers.

At the climax of his narrative, the trial and judgment of Pyrocles and Musidorus, Sidney again stresses the theme of friendship. After being condemned to death each man pleads for the life of his friend: "But Musidorus having the hope of his safety, and recovering of the princesse Pamela: which made him most desirous to live, so sodainly dashed: but especially moved for his deare Pyrocles, for whom he was ever resolved his last speach should be . . ." (II, 202). Pyrocles too affirms that his last words shall be for Musidorus' life: "My bloud will satisfie the highest point of equitie, my bloud will satisfie the hardest hearted in this countrie. O save the life of this Prince, that is the onely all I will with my last breath demand of you" (II, 203). As in Edwards' play Damon and Pithias, the friends' desire to save one another's life leads to a verbal contest in which each implores the king to take one life only and to spare his friend, his "other self":

Let these dying wordes of him, that was once your sonne pierce your ears. Let Musidorus live, and Pyrocles shall live in him, and you shall not want a childe. A childe cried out Musidorus, to him, that killes Pyrocles? with that againe he fell to intreate for Pyrocles, and Pyrocles as fast for Musidorus, each employing his wit how to shew him—
selfe worthy to die, to such an admiration of all
the beholders, that most of them examining the mat-
ter by their owne passions, thought Euarchus (as
often extraordinarie excellencies, not being
rightly conceived, do rather offend then please) an
obstinate hearted man, and such a one, who being
pitilesse, his dominion must needes be insup-
portable. (II, 204)

Euarchus is adamant. Strict justice demands that the
two princes must die. He cannot now admit kinship as a miti-
gating force just as he could not earlier admit love as a
mitigating force when the princes argued that all of their
actions were motivated by love and that their planned elo­
ments were for the purpose of marriage. Euarchus, in reply­
ing to the defenses which Pyrocles and Musidorus offer for
their conduct, is careful to distinguish between love bred
by passion and love based on virtue:

Some of their excuses are common to both, some pecu-
liar onely to him that was the sheepheard. Both re-
member the force of love, and as it were the mending
up of the matter by their marriage, if that un-
brideled desire which is intituled love, might purge
such a sickenes as this, surely wee should have,
many loving excuses of hatefull mischiefe. Nay
rather no mischiefe should be committed, that
should not be vailed under the name of love. For as
well he that steales, might alleage the love of
money, he that murders the love of revenge, he that
rebells the love of greatnesse, as the adulterer the
love of a woman. Since they do in all speeches af­
firme they love that, which an ill governed passion
maketh them to follow. But love may have no such
privilidge. That sweete and heavenly uniting of the
mindes, which properly is called love, hath no other
knot but vertue, and therefore if it be a right love,
it can never slide into any action that is not
vertuous. (II, 197)

But the love of the two couples is now of the higher kind,
and their pure intentions and noble characters demand that
they be reprieved. Their conduct in attempting unsanctioned
elopements was illegal, but they were driven to such extra-
ordinary conduct by the imprudent actions of Basilius who
had denied his kingly and paternal obligations by retiring
to the countryside and engaging in such foolish behavior as
a lover. Basilius alone can save the two heroes' lives
since Euarchus' commitment to the absolute dictates of law
cannot be compromised. This Basilius does when he awakens
from his death-like trance, confesses his own irrational ac-
tions, forgives the princes, and asserts the glories of true
love. With his new understanding of love and duty, Basilius
is ready to abandon his pastoral pose and assume his respons-
sibilities as king, father, and husband. The much chastened
Gynecia extols the values of conjugal fidelity. The two
princes and the two princesses are united in marriage: "Then
with Princely entertainment to Euarchus, and many kinde words
to Pyrocles, whom still he dearly loved though in a more ver-
tuous kinde, the marriage was concluded, to the inestimable
joy of Euarchus, (towardes whom now Musidorus acknowledged
his fault) betwixt these peereleese Princes and Princesses"
(II, 206). Sidney concludes the book by restoring peace and
harmony to Arcadia. He reconciles the tension between friend-
ship and love by bringing them together, physically in the
persons of the two pairs of interrelated friends and lovers,
and spiritually by presenting both friendship and love as
aspects of the same heroic and harmonious force that can
bring order within the individual, the state, and society.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

During the Elizabethan era, writers were faced with a dilemma. One of the chief themes of literature, love, was prevalent in the Western literary tradition in a form that did not provide a satisfactory concept of love that would answer to human experience while at the same time celebrating the highest form of human aspirations. Romantic love in the conventions of the troubadours and the writers on courtly love placed love between men and women on shaky moral and psychological grounds. Lovers pine and ladies disdain and the desires of neither can be fulfilled without destroying the ideals upon which the relationship is based. Women occupied a curiously ambiguous position in such relationships. On the one hand they were placed on a pedestal beyond the reach of fainthearted men. On the other hand, as daughters of Eve, they were the objects of man's most lustful thoughts and prompted his most irrational behavior. In the sixteenth century this concept of love is perhaps best exemplified in those sonnet sequences and love lyrics in which a suffering lover beseeches his beautiful, virtuous mistress to consummate the passion which overwhelsms him, although the consummation would vitiate the very qualities which make her the object of his adoration and desire. The
dilemma could be resolved by glorifying the arduous process of illicit love as was done by many of the medieval romance writers or by etherealizing love as Dante and his school attempted. Neither solution, however, was particularly suited to the practical, moral temperament of the Englishmen of the sixteenth century.

Fortunately the Renaissance brought with it an alternative form of human relationship which satisfied man's noblest moral and intellectual aspirations since it was governed by his highest faculty, reason, and since it rested on man's ability to act virtuously and heroically. This relationship was friendship. At hand for the idealization of friendship was a tradition of classical writings that dignified the male relationship and complemented, not conflicted with, the prevailing Christian ethos of the period. After the ideas of the great classical writers on friendship were made available, Renaissance humanists quickly disseminated them in translations, redactions, and completely new works.

The Elizabethans could find in the theme of friendship a medium for expressing their belief in man's potential to act nobly in the display of a commitment to an active and virtuous life. Friendship demanded the exercise of man's highest intellectual faculties and moral sensibilities. What resulted was a cult of ideal friendship which transformed the relationship between two men beyond mere social and practical considerations to a spiritual union partaking of religious implications. Friendship was founded on vir-
tue, and the friend became a teacher and moral guide. A man's identity merged with that of his friend in such a way that the friend became, so to speak, "an other self." This transcendent union of friends was expressed in the famous metaphor of friendship: "one soul in bodies twain." True friendship was plighted only after a period of initiation and trial. The men then swore holy vows of friendship, and they entered a league of friendship which they pledged to maintain until death, after which the friendship would continue in some supernatural form. True friends shared all things in common, and no sacrifice was too great for a friend, even though it might be life itself.

With these ideas conventionalized in a cult of ideal friendship, friendship soon became a continually reiterated theme in Elizabethan literature. It found expression in all genres and forms of literature: from academic to popular drama, from lyric to epic poetry, from romantic to realistic prose fiction. It appealed to readers of all classes, and it appeared in the works of minor and anonymous authors as well as those by the greatest of Elizabethan writers such as Shakespeare and Spenser. In particular, typical and extensive treatment of friendship can be found in three popular and influential Elizabethan novels: John Lyly's Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit and Euphues and His England, and Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia.

In Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit and Euphues and His England, the friendship between Euphues and Philautus gives
cohesion to the narrative structure, provides a framework for the discussions of such other themes as love, wisdom, and manners, and most importantly, serves as a gauge of character. The degree of awareness of the true nature and obligations of friendship which Euphues and Philautus exhibit at any point in the narrative reflects their moral growth. At the beginning of *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit*, Euphues thinks of friendship only as a social nicety and as a relationship that might bear utilitarian fruits. This corresponds with his overall character as a young gallant of "more wit than wrath, and yet of more wrath than wisdom" who must learn to control his passions for constructive aims and to transform the superficialities of wit into the intellectual and spiritual profundities of wisdom. With wit enough to echo the common saws about friendship but without the wisdom to understand its true spiritual nature, Euphues quickly forms a friendship with Philautus, neither man bothering to test the character of the other. As a result of these precipitous vows, when given the opportunity Euphues unhesitatingly betrays his friend by stealing his fiancée. He does so under the pretext that love is ungovernable, its demands compulsive, and its satisfaction desirable at all costs. According to Euphues' misguided thinking such a passion has priority over all other forms of human relations. This rationalization leads him to play the foolish role of the melancholic lover pursuing a coy, disdaining mistress who plays with his affections to bolster her own pride. Through a
painstaking process of education, he comes to learn that that form of romantic love which is governed by passions and fed by the senses is detrimental to man's highest moral and intellectual achievements. When he is repulsed by his mistress Lucilla and discovers her despicably fickle nature, he recognizes that he has chosen the dross of love instead of the gold of friendship. Much chastened and matured in wisdom, he repledges his vows of friendship with Philautus in terms that reflect a new understanding of its basically rational and spiritual nature. He has come to understand the value of perfect friendship as an instrument of moral perfection and spiritual salvation. With the ideal of friendship emblazoned in his mind and mirrored in his conduct and speech, he can no longer conceive of his involvement in any other human relationship that surely would prove inferior to friendship. As a result, he turns misogynist and abandons society to pursue scholarly and religious studies, succored in his pursuit by his newly strengthened league of friendship with Philautus. The conflict between love and friendship has been resolved, but hardly in a way that answers to the complexities of human experiences and needs.

In *Euphues* and *His England*, Lyly arrives at a more balanced response to the conflict between friendship and romantic love, a conflict which, when reduced to its basic elements, is the recurring one of reason vs. passion. It should not be overlooked that in the many debates over reason and passion which echo throughout Renaissance literature passion

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of itself is not evil. The passions, like reason, are a God-
given faculty, and the passion of love can be considered
morally only in the context of its object and its relation­
ship to man's other faculties. It becomes evil only if its
object is lust and if it dominates man's superior power,
reason. As it was construed in the Renaissance, right rea­
son can direct man's will to choose that which is both in­
tellectually true and morally sound. In the context of ro­
manic love, reason could control sexual passion so that the
ultimate consummation of love is achieved in the morally
sanctioned and legally approved marriage bed. This virtuous
sexual relationship between a man and a woman could find a
pattern in the nonsexual love of two men which is friendship.

Philautus follows this pattern in Euphues and His
England. He does so, however, only after undergoing a spir­
itual and intellectual education similar to that of Euphues in
The Anatomy of Wit. Philautus falls hopelessly and unre­
asonably in love with Camilla, a woman who is clearly unsuited
for him by status and temperament; and his objective, at
least at the outset, appears to be sexual gratification. To
achieve this love he abuses his friendship with Euphues. He
deliberately deceives him and tries to use him to further
his irrational plans. As his friendship with Euphues deteri­
orates, so does his character. The compulsive, destructive
nature of his passion causes him to try to employ magic and
other dishonorable means to coerce Camilla into loving him.
When he repeatedly rejects Euphues' wise advice, Euphues

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abandons him rather than participate in any ignoble actions which would be incompatible with the high ideals of perfect friendship. Slowly Philautus comes to understand what he has lost by causing the dissolution of their league of friendship. He sues for a renewal of their friendship, and after suitable trial, Euphues agrees.

Unlike Euphues, Philautus is not of the mettle to renounce women altogether, but through the guidance of his friend, he is made to recognize that the proper recipient of his love should be Frances, a chaste woman who is eager to reciprocate his love. He learns of a higher form of romantic love, one that in its rational and virtuous bases, resembles the nobility of male friendship. This virtuous love finds its legal and moral expression in the institution of marriage. The friendship of Husband Philautus and Hermit Euphues is retained. It is, however, somewhat lessened in intensity because of the separation of the two friends and because of the new disparity of interests between the bachelor and the husband who must now answer the additional claims of wife and family. The cult of ideal friendship remains present as an ideal, but its concrete realization in the relationship of Euphues and Philautus is diminished. As Euphues and His England ends, the friends part to pursue their separate ways of life. Lyly has used friendship throughout both books to illuminate character, to hold together his narrative strands, and to highlight his other major themes.
Sidney in the *Arcadia* also uses friendship in a threefold way: for narrative content, thematic unity, and character revelation. And he, too, uses the theme to solve the conflicting forces in human nature between passionate indulgence and rationally controlled behavior. His solution to the conflict between friendship and passionate love is, however, more satisfactory than that of Lyly. His heroes, like Euphues and Philautus, undergo spiritual and intellectual growth, and this growth involves the transformation of passionate love into conjugal love as does that of Philautus. But Sidney adds another factor; he makes his heroines, as well as his heroes, perfect friends. In this way the unions of Pyrocles and Philoclea and of Musidorus and Pamela strengthen friendship while celebrating married love. Also in this way the cult of ideal friendship is not diminished but enhanced by the resolution. A more significant difference between Lyly's and Sidney's treatments of friendship is that Sidney moves friendship beyond a purely personal level. He presents it not merely as a private virtue, but as a public virtue and focuses throughout the *Arcadia* on the importance of friendship to the common weal.

The heroes of the *Arcadia*, Pyrocles and Musidorus, are destined by birth to be governors. Growing up together, each man comes to recognize the particular virtues of the other, and through time and mutual respect, each is able to test the character of his companion. From this exercise of reason grows the affection which leads to their plight of

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friendship. Apart from parental dependence, friendship is the first personal human relationship that man is capable of, and it is a relationship which in its true form fosters intellectual and spiritual growth. Grounded as it is on reason and virtue and tested by the observation of virtuous living over a period of time, the friendship between Pyrocles and Musidorus becomes an inspiration for their pursuit of the heroic life. The Arcadia tells of the heroism which the two men perform as they succor defenseless ladies, battle tyrannical princes, and meet aggression with unhesitating valor and courage. It is the theme of friendship that enables Sidney to bring this heroism into focus.

The life of heroic action, a transformation to the world of chivalry of the civic ideals of the Renaissance Christian humanists, is contrasted with their activities as lovers. Once stricken by the disease of passionate love, each man wavers in his devotion to a life of heroic action, their bonds of friendship are sorely strained, and they hover close to a collapse of those virtuous principles which had informed all of their previous acts of bravery. Their energies are dissipated by the demands of the passion of love, and while they can muster enough resolve to meet immediate threats to their beloved mistresses, they can no longer leave the languishing pursuit of their amorous goals to strike out on the quest for adventure, the heroic ideal which had motivated their exodus from Thessalia and had formed the justification of their lives and the route to salvation as it is revealed.
in the fulfillment of the virtuous principles which they had espoused. At this stage their conduct parallels that of Basilius, the King of Arcadia. All three of these governors have abrogated their responsibilities to the common weal and their devotion to heroic conduct. Thus Sidney presents Arcadia as a place not of universal harmony but of disharmony, for the natural roles of the leaders of the social chain have been distorted. While the shepherds, engaging in their occupations and pursuing their simple pleasures, are acting in accord with the natural order, the noblemen are not. What results is a disruption of the pastoral world, manifested in the revolt of the shepherds, and a disruption of the courtly world, manifested in the political instability of the country.

The heroes abandon their proper roles due to the deoilating effects of passionate love. Sidney shows this by the method that he uses to structure his narrative. The past heroic deeds of Pyrocles and Musidorus, which they relate to their mistresses, are revealed after each man has fallen in love. The discrepancy between the egotistical boasting about heroic deeds and the actual performing of them is underscored, since the lovers tell of their deeds when they are in the throes of love and consequently no longer able to act heroically. The other way Sidney reveals this contrast is through a fanciful and graphic representation of the erstwhile knights-errant. Pyrocles disguises himself as the female warrior Zelmane, and Musidorus dons the garb of the shepherd Dorus. The change in dress reflects, if not a change in
basic character, at least a desertion of the heroic resolve which had motivated their lives while they were still bound by friendship only. The chains of love, based so clearly on misdirected passion, destroy their heroic resolve. For Pyrocles to assume the guise of a woman, no matter how Amazonic, is to cast off the masculine role of hero and knight. The deception is a violation of both virtue and honor, and in this disguise, Pyrocles is forced to act a role that is not only unmanly, but also at times buffoonish. Musidorus' transformation into a shepherd is not as extreme as that of Pyrocles, for it involves no denial of his masculinity, but he does drop to the lowest social order. No matter how exalted the pastoral life can be made through symbolic treatment, a shepherd's place in the world of chivalric values which govern the actions of the Arcadia remains low. Musidorus and Pyrocles reject reason implicitly when they assume their disguises and succumb to the irrationality of passion. The abandonment of reason is tantamount to an abandonment of virtue, and their subsequent attempted abduction of the princesses is the consequence of this betrayal of the higher faculty to the lower. Passionate love, not virtuous friendship, guides their actions, and they suffer a moral and heroic decline.

The course of the narrative of the Arcadia leaves no doubt that it is the relationship of friendship which can spur a man to heroic and virtuous actions, not the selfish, unreasonable promptings of passionate love. While friend-
ship is a goad to action, love is an enervating force that must be converted into a dynamic one. Sidney so converts it by transforming the loves of Pyrocles for Philoclea and of Musidorus for Pamela into virtuous love made concrete in the institution of marriage. With the advent of love, friendship need not be abandoned. Only if the love is dishonest will friends be separated. Love that is virtuous, however, does not exclude friendship but complements it.

In this respect, Sidney resembles Lyly in his resolution of the conflicting claims of love and friendship, passion and reason, by having his heroes marry, just as Lyly ends *Euphues and His England* with the marriage of Philautus and Frances. Both writers use the relationship of friendship as a model for the love relationship. The same virtuous, reasonable decisions and selfless actions of friends become the necessary traits for virtuous lovers who are to become husbands. In Lyly's work, however, marriage leads to a diminution of friendship because the friends became separated by distance, vocation, and interests as well as marital status. Philautus' stature as a character is little enhanced by the end of the book. He is left to his life as a husband, and he is wiser; but there is little to suggest that he has grown in any other way than in his awakening to the value of forming virtuous and rational relationships. Lyly's title character Euphues has gained a degree of wisdom, and he has arrived at this state in *The Anatomy of Wit* primarily through his increased awareness of ideal friendship and its contrast
with illicit passionate love. Nonetheless, he, too, at the end of *Euphues and His England* is left apart from the active world of men in a hermit's cell, where his isolation can only lessen the intensity of the ideal friendship he has so arduously arrived at and diminish his usefulness to society.

Sidney, on the other hand, ends the *Arcadia* in such a way that the dilemma of love can be resolved with no loss to the sacred bonds of friendship, and, indeed, with a strengthening of these bonds. At the same time his characters, whose notions of love have been molded by their conceptions of ideal friendship, emerge in truly heroic proportions. Sidney accomplishes all of this by making his two heroines as well as his two heroes friends and by culminating the relationships not in a divisive single marriage but in a unifying double marriage. Perfection thus can be found in male friends linked to female friends. To the selfless, heroic asexual love of friends is added the virtuous sexual love of husbands and wives. This harmony satisfies the human needs for both camaraderie and for romantic involvement. In such a state all four characters are prepared to accept the physical and moral challenges of an active life, sustained intellectually, emotionally, and spiritually by their reciprocating roles as friends and lovers.

Sidney thereby extends the value of friendship beyond the personal level that Lyly stresses in his works and makes it an essential force in the body politic. The *Arcadia* celebrates the life of heroic action. It calls upon each man to
accept his role in a dynamic world that demands the continual exercise of social and civic responsibility. Friendship is directly and emphatically related to the social and political well-being of a nation. It becomes a motivating force that inspires princes to act nobly and to rule with justice and courage. As the episodes of the Arcadia demonstrate again and again, nations whose princes are capable of plighting true friendship are assured freedom from the caprices of tyrannical despots or vacillating weak-willed rulers. The actions of Pyrocles and Musidorus, Philoclea and Pamela, Claius and Strephon, Basilius and Euarchus, Euarchus and Dorilaus, not to mention the many incidental tales of both true and false friends which are scattered throughout the work, all serve to emphasize Sidney's contention that it is through friendship that the state as well as the individual finds strength and stability. Thus, as Sidney's Arcadia so amply shows, the cult of ideal friendship provided the Elizabethans with one way of revealing and measuring man's potential for personal, social, and political perfection.
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VITA

James Arthur Marino, son of Arthur Joseph Marino and Lucy Bathanti Marino, was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on July 18, 1940. He earned his Bachelor's Degree \textit{cum laude} from Duquesne University in 1962 and his Master's Degree from The University of Chicago the following year. From 1963 until 1967, he was employed as a graduate teaching assistant at Louisiana State University. He taught at Point Park College from 1967 until 1971. From 1971 until the present, he has been on the faculty of the Department of English at Louisiana State University.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: James Arthur Marino

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Approved:

[Signatures]

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

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