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THE DISFIGURED MIND: A STUDY OF ART AND MORAL VISION IN SIR PHILIP SIDNEY'S OLD AND NEW ARCADIAS.

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THE DISFIGURED MIND: A STUDY OF ART AND MORAL VISION
IN SIR PHILIP SIDNEY'S OLD AND NEW ARCADIAS

by

Patricia Elinor Read

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Thesis Director's Signature:

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INTRODUCTION

Ours is not the first age to experiment with various modes of vision in the hope of making us able to see ourselves more clearly. The artists of the Renaissance, seeking to reflect a vision of the world different from that of medieval artists, explored new realms of perspective, of line, of iconography. Heinrich Wolfflin, in Principles of Art History, sets out to trace "the course of development of imaginative beholding"¹ in the visual arts of the Renaissance, pointing out that "every artist finds certain visual possibilities before him, to which he is bound, Not everything is possible at all times."² As individual artists re-examine these given possibilities, however, they press against the limits imposed on them in the attempt to express individual visions of the universe. Thus, the possibilities are changed. Botticelli's perception of "individual material objects as solid, tangible bodies" yields to Rembrandt's "apprehension of the world as a shifting semblance."³

Similarly, in literature, creative artists press against the limits of styles made available to them by their cultures. While some devices are adopted unchanged, some conventions are questioned, some structural standards modified to reflect more precisely the poet's own particular understanding of man and his
world. Others have explored Sidney's ordering of his fictional world of Arcadia through studies of the traditional ideas of genre that he inherited, and of the rhetorical traditions of the Renaissance. This essay proposes to explore the poet's vision of Arcadia through a study of his treatment of the faculty of vision itself. It will deal with Sidney's relation to the visual arts of his time, and his use of the techniques of these arts to create the "speaking pictures" of the Arcadia. By studying the philosophical assumptions behind the art and artifacts the poet knew and used, perhaps we can better comprehend his understanding of the faculty of vision and of the utility of art as an instrument for human enlightenment.

Much has been made of late of the importance that Sidney, like other Renaissance noblemen, attached to the idea of ceremony in the courtly life. Clearly, the ceremonials life is highly dependent on visibilia, on the external signs that reflect the ideas of nobility and majesty in the real world. Sidney brought the highly sophisticated Italian art of the impressa back to England and made it popular at the court of Elizabeth. He took a leading role in the elaborate tournaments that highlighted important public occasions. The Arcadia is filled with impressa, with symbolic costumes and elaborate armor. The Neoplatonic circles in Italy had made the ability to create and interpret the meaning behind such visual devices an important measure of the intellectual worth of a man. We shall see
that Sidney, too, evaluates character in terms of vision.

If we can learn, through the study of the poet's ideas about the visual arts, what he thought the perfected faculty of vision should be able to do, then we can measure the vision of the characters of the *Arcadia* against that standard. If Sidney assumed that understanding art was a problem worthy of the best efforts of noble minds, not merely a playful diversion, then surely he would require the highest degree of clear, disciplined vision in his noble characters if they were to be considered ideal. Yet, repeatedly we find that even the noble characters in the romance fail to see clearly the problems and issues before them, and their actions, as a result of this imperfect vision, result in evil rather than good. Vision is not, for Sidney, merely a physical faculty; it is a spiritual one. Thus the study of vision leads to concern with basic moral issues involving man's ability to see clearly and to translate his vision of the good into action. In the *Arcadia*, Sidney reflects deep concern with the imperfection of man's reason, with his "disfigured" mind. We will explore the poet's "figuring forth" of man's mind in visual terms and show that Sidney was not optimistic about the ability of human reason and the systems it devises to achieve a stable and orderly society even in the golden world of fiction.

Love is the principal force blinding the inner eyes of
the characters in both versions of the *Arcadia*. Other forces, like superstition and "selfness" or pride, are important, too, but the poet's main concern is with showing us the nature of passion. An inquiry into the ways in which Sidney makes the operation of love visible through images leads to an investigation of the Renaissance iconography of love. Passion's way of seeing is often the reverse of the reasonable, and it totally re-orient the relation of man to his surroundings. In the Old *Arcadia* the disorientation of the lovers is often made to seem humorous. In the New *Arcadia*, however, we are made to see differently. The poet's images suggest a more ambiguous attitude toward the passionate way of seeing, one that perceives its potential for beautiful order, while still remaining fearful of its potential for disaster.

The difference between the ways in which we are made to see existence in the two versions of the *Arcadia* depends to a large extent on the massive changes in structure Sidney made in his revision. Thus we must constantly make reference to the effects of the closed, linear structure of the original, in which our vision is constantly checked by the remarks of the narrator, and of the mazelike, convoluted structure of the revision, in which we, like the characters, must struggle to see clearly. Similarly, we will explore the consequences of the different forms of perspective in the two versions. In the Old
Arcadia we are kept at a distance from the characters and their mistakes. In the New Arcadia the poet brings his readers closer to the action. Thus, in the New Arcadia, we are not permitted the comfortable sense of the superiority of our own vision that we have in the original. Sidney forces us, by leading us up blind alleys in the company of his characters, to recognize the limits of our own faculty of vision, and our own failures of judgment. In the fallen world of Arcadia, all human eyes are blinded to some extent, and only the eye of God can see into "the darkest of all naturall secretes, which is the harte of man."
FOOTNOTES


2 Wolfflin, p. 11.


CHAPTER I

RIGHTFUL JUDGMENT: CRITICISM AND THE PROBLEMS
OF VISION IN ARCADIA

Many problems complicate the attempt to understand the
nature of vision as it relates to art and morality in Sidney's
Arcadia. The style of the romance is elaborate and formal, and
the plot often so complicated that the poet seems to be trying
to obstruct the reader's sight rather than to clarify it. The
letter to the Countess of Pembroke, for whom the work was
written, raises questions about the seriousness of the work.
Moreover, instead of one definitive text, there are three
versions to choose from, each of which has special claims upon
the reader's attention.

Critics have approached the Arcadia from several angles,
and their investigations of sources, genre, allegory, rhetorical
and philosophical traditions in the Renaissance shed some light
upon the approaches to vision made available to the poet by his
culture. Increasingly, in recent years, critics have rejected
the view of the Arcadia as a light entertainment casually tossed
off in odd moments by a bored young courtier with little
attention to either matter or manner. Rather, they have
discovered in Sidney a skilled and self-conscious craftsman, who
has created a work that, for all its structural complexity and
rhetorical ornament, is nevertheless carefully structured to bring unity out of diversity. These critical studies do not take vision in the golden world as their own problem, but they do define the points from which an investigation of this kind of vision must start.

i: "For severer eyes it is not": The Problem of Seriousness

Sidney's reader lacks the reassurance that E. K.'s Epistle to Harvey adds to a first reading of the Shepheardes Calender. E. K.'s praise of England's "newe Poete" allows a new reader to assume that his laboring to understand will be worthwhile, for its first commentator found it not only a model of style, with "dewe observing of decorume everywhere," but also full of grave moral wisdom.¹ Raleigh is assured in a prefatory letter that the end of The Faerie Queene is "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline."² The reader of the Arcadia finds instead the letter to the Countess of Pembroke, in which Sidney tells his sister that "for severer eyes it is not, being but a trifle and that triflinglie handled."³ Most modern commentators agree that the letter refers to the so-called Old Arcadia, which was rediscovered by Dobell in 1907, rather than to the more complicated revision published by Greville.⁴ Yet a close reading of even the Old Arcadia shows that even in this early version Sidney was
attempting to deal with some serious moral issues. In the later revision stories are interpolated into the romance which add increased importance to the moral issues in the work. Thus, it becomes more and more difficult to regard the *Arcadia* as a trifle.

Despite Sidney's *caveat*, Fulke Greville, his first editor and critic, found in the revised fragment both moral instruction and artistic delight. Greville's personal, political and religious bias makes his *Life of Sidney*, written many years after his friend's death, read like a cross between a government treatise and a saint's life, when he writes that "though I lived with him and knew him from a child, yet I never knew him other than a man: with such staidness of mind, lovely and familiar gravity, as carried grace and reverence above greater years. His talk was ever of knowledge, and his very play tending to enrich his mind. . . ."⁵ Greville's comments on the *Arcadia* cannot be ignored, however, for he was a busy man, a statesman and courtier for two monarchs, not one to waste his time first in suppressing a version of the *Arcadia* that he thought "common" and then in overseeing the publication of the fragment left with him unless he thought it important. His letter to Walsingham shows that he chose the later version over the earlier on moral grounds.⁶ Further, the editor of the 1590 version, who was either Greville himself or someone directly
responsible to him, contributed the chapter headings that emphasize moral readings of the romance.\textsuperscript{7}

Greville's own view of the Arcadia was that it is a serious work in the best tradition of Renaissance thought, concerned primarily with political morality and the duties of princes. As such, it is clearly related to Castiglione's Courtier, Hoby's The Governour, and More's Utopia. Sidney's use of a fiction as the vehicle for political thought links him to More, and is of great importance to himself and Greville. In the Defence of Poesie, Sidney argues that the creator of fictions is superior to the writer of treatises because he conveys an image or picture to the mind, that as artist he moves men as well as informing them. Greville echoes these ideas, as if the romance were the fulfillment of the treatise. He writes that the poet's purpose was "in all these creatures of his making. . .to turn the barren philosophy precepts into pregnant images of life. . .to limn out. . .exact pictures of every posture of the minde."\textsuperscript{8} An effective fiction depends upon the development of such images or pictures in the mind of the reader so that he will strive toward the beautiful good and avoid the ugly evil. Thus, for Greville, the end of the Arcadia is similar to that of The Faerie Queene, "not vanishing pleasure, but morall images and examples, as directing threads, - to guide every man through the confused labyrinth of his own desires and life."\textsuperscript{9}
Sidney's biographers, including Wallace and John Buxton, have challenged Greville's view. For them, the Arcadia was an escape from boredom at Wilton, not a work of major importance in the life of a courtier and diplomat. Even some critics of literature regard the Arcadia as a trifle, a mere fairy tale, a crashing bore, and finally irrelevant to the modern reader. For Milton, in Eikonoklastes, although it is a "book in that kind full of worth and wit" it is, nevertheless, a "vain, amatorious poem," "among religious thoughts and duties not worthy to be named, not to be read at any time without due caution."\(^{10}\)

Finally, the polemical "vain" and "amatorious" are not so discouraging to the serious student of Sidney's romance as the accusations of T. S. Eliot and Hazlitt. Eliot thinks it is dull. Hazlitt complains that "it is not romantic, but scholastic; not poetry, but casuistry; not nature, but art, and the worst sort of art, which thinks it can do better than nature... Out of five hundred folio pages, there are hardly, I conceive, half a dozen sentences expressed directly, with the sincere desire to convey the image implied, and without a systematic interpolation of the wit, learning, and everlasting impertinence of the writer."\(^{11}\) Hazlitt's objections, for the most part, have been answered by recent investigations of the nature of Renaissance imagery and of the relationship between nature and art in that period.
Sidney's style is a major barrier for the modern reader. Even in the Old *Arcadia*, the ornate rhetoric of the speeches is foreign to our experience of dialogue, and is often difficult to follow. In the revised version, Sidney adds a highly involved series of equally ornate interpolated stories, multiplies the levels of disguise and reorders the sequence of events so that the romance becomes a complicated kind of maze which the reader must work hard to solve. Yet, Sidney's contemporaries, like Abraham Fraunce, found the *Arcadia* to be a model of correct style, and Sidney's writing as worthy to be placed beside that of the ancients. The Renaissance admired a highly developed style; in fact, the principle of decorum required it for the treatment of serious subjects. The highly artificial diction of the noble characters is appropriate to their rank and to their images of themselves. Their conversation, like their poetry, is a self-conscious form of art. The structure of the New *Arcadia*, moreover, will be shown to be a reflection of the poet's sense of the complexity of the heroic experience, and of the difficulties of seeing clearly enough to discover solid moral standards in a world of false appearances and fallen men. Thus, the charge that Sidney lacks sincerity and that his style is pointlessly ornate says more about the limits of the modern reader's understanding than about the quality of the poet's art.
Marcus Selden Goldman has summarized and assessed the attempts to interpret Sidney to the modern reader done before 1934. Some of the points he makes must be restated, for current critical problems have roots in the past, but for further analysis of earlier criticism the reader is referred to Goldman. He follows Greville in his judgment of the seriousness of the Arcadia, on the bases of Sidney's theory of poetry and testimony of the poet's contemporaries, who "great or small, from Harington in 1591 to James Hayward sometime between 1626 and 1635, all agreed in praising the highly didactic purpose of the Arcadia." Goldman rejects the idea that the romance is a light pastoral. He sees it as heroic.

I have neglected biography because Goldman treats it thoroughly and because the only significant books on Sidney's life since Goldman deal mainly with issues other than Sidney's role as creative artist. Yet, each focuses on an important aspect of his life that adds to our understanding of the poet. John Buxton's Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance deals mainly with patronage by the English court circle, adding to our understanding of the conditions under which much English Renaissance art was produced and to our knowledge of Sidney's role in bringing Italian and French culture to England. J. A. Van Dorsten's Poets, Patrons and Professors is really a study of the Leiden humanists and is only tangentially related
to Sidney. But it makes the reader aware of the intellectual milieu in which Sidney was welcome as potential patron, as well as of the continental religious and political pressures upon him. Roger Howell's *Sir Philip Sidney: The Shepherd Knight* is interesting principally as it assesses Elizabeth's problem of what to do with this idealistic young man, the quintessence of Renaissance chivalry and learning, who nevertheless lacked the subtlety to function effectively in support of her highly complex and often contradictory foreign policy. Howell sees Sidney's romance as the working out of various positions on political problems which he would never be asked to solve, because the queen could not afford to let him become a working member of the governing circle.

Despite Sidney's disclaimer, most sixteenth century critics took the *Arcadia* seriously. Modern opinion has polarized: biographers and critics of literature in general discount its importance, while critics who have concentrated on Sidney see him as a man whose public deeds accomplished little, but whose works of art set a standard that influenced English literature throughout the neoclassical period. Such critics argue for the moral seriousness and the artistic merit of the *Arcadia*. To demonstrate the former, they depend on the Renaissance convention of *sprezzatura* to account for the letter to the Countess and a letter to Robert Sidney in
1580, which refers to Sidney's "toyfull books." Sprezzatura describes an attitude adopted by gentlemen in imitation of Castiglione's courtier, who was supposed to do everything extremely well, but to give no indication of the effort involved. It was a behavioral version of the concept that the best art gave the least sign of being artificial. Myrick says that given the strength of this convention, it must be proved that Sidney is not using it, rather than that he is.

In both the Old and New Arcadias the subject matter makes it difficult to see the works as trifles. The Old Arcadia becomes darker as the plot evolves, so that by the last book the poet is dealing quite seriously with the moral issues of disguise, rape, adultery and justice. The themes developed in the revision are those that most deeply concerned Renaissance thinkers: the duties of kings, the training of princes, the nature of love, the order of the world, the limits of man. Both style and content show it to be a work of high seriousness, completely in accord with Sidney's idea of poetry in the Defence.

ii: "The Disfigured Face": Problems of Text

The history of the texts of Arcadia is by now well known. The problem for the critic is to decide which version is most authoritative, the Old Arcadia, the New Arcadia (1590
fragment), or the 1593 composite Arcadia. The Old Arcadia was written between 1577 and 1580, and is complete in five books. It is entirely Sidney's work, subject only to the vagaries of the copyists, not to the editorial reshaping of Greville or Mary Sidney. On the other hand, it is not the latest version Sidney worked on, nor is it the Arcadia that influenced later literature. The Old Arcadia does show clearly Sidney's sense of form, and it is generally chosen over the other versions because of its completeness and clarity. Dobell, perhaps biassed by his discovery of the Old Arcadia texts, goes so far as to regret the revision. Modern critics who choose to study the Old Arcadia tend to avoid the issue of which version is "better" and to regard them as independent entities equally worthy of scholarly consideration.17

The 1593 Arcadia is a composite, edited by the Countess of Pembroke and her husband's secretary, Henry Sandford, from the revision left with Greville, the original ending and outlines left by Sidney. The problems with this version result from the indication that the Countess felt no compunction about "improving" her brother's work.18 Those who defend this version argue that the editing was done on the basis of instructions left by the poet and, further, that this is the version that has influenced literary history. The first argument is based on the preface to the 1593 folio, which
remarks on "the disfigured face" of the 1590 version, but says that "the conclusion, not the perfection" was intended, and that "no further than the Author's own writings or known determination could direct." The second is a matter of literary fact, and justifies Lewis's choice of the 1593 version for the literary historian, for "it, and it alone, is the book that lived." Those critics who choose the 1593 version for structural analysis leave themselves open to the charge of judging Sidney on the basis of a work he never saw and therefore did not approve, a work that contains uncomfortable discrepancies in character and plot development between the first and second halves.

There remains the fragment published by Greville in 1590. Except for the chapter divisions, headings and the placing of the poems, the fragment is Sidney's work. His latest version, it is therefore the best evidence of the directions his thought was taking when he abandoned literature for action. Any discussion of an ending, however, remains conjectural. The role of Evarchus, so important in the Old Arcadia, has not been thoroughly developed when the New Arcadia breaks off. Many of the stories are left incomplete. The danger is that critics have a tendency to choose this version and then to go ahead and discuss a trial scene not in the fragment.
As a matter of fact, very few studies of Sidney's work have dealt with any one version in isolation. References are made to other versions and comparisons made between versions. In a study of the development of the poet's idea of a concept like vision in art and morality the most reasonable approach is to study all that one can reasonably regard as Sidney's, using the Old Arcadia as a way into the fragment. Changes in structure, artistic and thematic elaboration, developments in character, all provide important keys to meaning. One need not argue that either version is better, but one must take into account Sidney's decision to "figure forth" in the fragment his new, and more complex vision of the romance world of Arcadia.

iii: "All the stories of Worthy Princes": Problems of Source and Genre

The problems of source and genre go together, for critics use the sources to prove genre. Taking leads from Hoskyns's statement in 1599 that the three main sources are "Heliodorus in Greek, Sannazarus's Arcadia in Italian and Diana de Montemayor in Spanish,"21 and from the works mentioned in the Defence, critics reinforce their contentions that Sidney's Arcadia is pastoral, or heroic, by showing pastoral or heroic sources to be most significant. The choice of genre can lead to conclusions about both meaning and value.
If the Arcadia is a pastoral, it is low on the Renaissance hierarchical scale of literary forms, so that a critic defending its thematic merit will have to show the richness of pastoral form. On the other hand, if the Arcadia is an heroic poem, its thematic significance is supported by a mass of Renaissance generic theory.

In general, pastoral poetry has been regarded as a trivial form by those who accepted the views of Greg's influential study of the genre. He had concluded that the type was "nerveless and diffuse," and "habitually wanting in interest"; a curious phenomenon in literary history, but not a vehicle for the articulation of major ideas. Greg concludes that the Arcadia is pastoral, therefore trivial, and observes that "Greville did his friend an equivocal service when he sought to find a deep philosophy underlying the rather formal character of the romance." Sidney's biographer, Mona Wilson, follows Greg in criticizing both the style and content of the Arcadia. She regards the romance as a monument of the early Anglican culture, but says that the result is "one of the greatest monuments of the abuse of intellectual power on record."

Recently, pastoral has been more highly regarded. As Elizabeth Dipple points out, pastoral is actually "cool" right now. Archetypal criticism has revealed in pastoral poetry rich patterns of imagery which, though highly stylized,
can be traced back to basic relationships between man and his world. Studies of the sophisticated development of theme and structure in Spenser's pastoral *Shepheardes Calender* and Book VI of *The Faerie Queene* have led readers to take a more serious look at the pastoral elements of Sidney's romance.\textsuperscript{26}

Erwin Panofsky and Elizabeth Dipple have both traced the history of the land of Arcadia that Sidney uses as the setting for his romance.\textsuperscript{27} The latter shows that by the time Sidney used the pastoral land, it had taken on a set of positive values and become an earthly paradise far different from the harsh province described by Polybius. The expectations set up in the reader by the introduction of the name Arcadia could be manipulated by the artist to measure the real world as well as the actions of characters within the romance.

Walter Davis explores the Freudian implications of the pastoral landscape.\textsuperscript{28} Further, going back to Montemayor and Sannazaro, he tries to demonstrate that pastoral has a standard plot, a journey from the disorder of the outside world, through the contemplative pastoral land to the sacred center where the hero is reborn so that he can return to the outside world, platonically purified by beholding the divine. To prepare a basis for his elaborate Neoplatonic reading, Davis tries to show that the *Arcadia* fits into his three-ring
scheme. The critical sleight-of-hand required to do this is extraordinary: the outer and inner circles are often indistinguishable, since Sidney makes it quite clear that Arcadia is politically part of that "outer" world. Finally, the cave which must serve as the sacred center is not a cave of the nymphs, as in Sannazaro, but the place where Pyrocles tricks Basilius into adultery with his own wife. As we shall see, Sidney reveals the darkness of the human soul more than the brightness of divinity in his romance.

Davis stresses the emblematic and symbolic nature of the pastoral landscape. Pastoral is a tradition based on a sense of place, a place which resembles the earthly paradise where man lived in harmony with his environment, the order of the microcosm reflecting the order of the macrocosm. Sidney's Arcadia is very much in the fallen world. However, in the eclogues, particularly in the Old Arcadia, the society of the shepherds is shown to approach the harmonious vision of earlier pastorals.

David Kalstone tries to measure Sidney's angle of perspective on the tradition and conventions of his continental predecessors in pastoral and sonnet forms. Because the English Renaissance came late, he argues, Sidney could exploit conventionalized responses to particular artistic forms as well as to the pastoral land. He could look
critically at the simple opposition set up by the sophisticated Greek pastoral poets between the simplicity of the pastoral land and the complicated corruption of the city. He could question the conception of the pastoral land as somehow independent of man, a world that is abstract, with unchanging weather, luxuriant vegetation, and "inexhaustible leisure for love." He could use Sannazaro's vision of the pastoral world as a place where one can learn about oneself in safety, without fear of the consequences of one's mistakes, the ideal setting for a Bildungsroman. Finally, he could question the ease with which noble characters function in the pastoral land of Montemayor's Diana. Sidney looks sceptically upon a world where the laws of cause and effect seem to be somewhat suspended, and though he models his romance to some degree upon those of his predecessors, he brings his pastoral world into much closer contact with social and political reality.

Until the last decade, critics who felt that the Arcadia was not merely a trifle, but had real significance in the development of English Renaissance thought defended it on the basis that it was not a pastoral, but rather an heroic poem similar to Spenser's Faerie Queene, but in prose. Heroic poetry commanded great respect as a vehicle for conveying serious moral thought in the Renaissance, while pastoral was regarded as an apprentice genre. Greenlaw encouraged the search for
"dark conceits" in Sidney's romance, arguing that, like Spenser, Sidney was writing political allegory. He maintains that in the Renaissance heroic poetry was almost by definition allegorical and his articles on the *Arcadia* refine the game of who's who that Renaissance commentators had played with Sidney's romance as well as with *Astrophel and Stella*.

The study of allegory was carried to the extreme by Brie, who read the *Arcadia* as a commentary on contemporary politics. For instance, he equated Elizabeth with the foolish Basilius, and Evarchus with William of Orange, the hero of the Protestant faction in England. Zandvoort challenged Brie's assumptions, declaring that his evidence had no basis in fact, but rested on the speculation of Sidney's contemporaries.

In his recent study of the political ideas in Sidney's *Arcadia*, P. I. Lewis takes a dim view of equations between characters in the romance and specific sixteenth century figures. Rather, he shows that the political attitudes of more advanced continental thinkers are reflected in the *Arcadia*, even arguing that Sidney justifies revolt by the noble classes against a king who has abandoned his responsibility in the confrontation between Amphialius and Basilius. This goes too far, since Amphialius is clearly humiliated publically and privately by his revolt. More significant is Lewis's exploration of the relations between the princes pursuing their private goals and various
other figures, from Evarchus to Plexirtus, who are pursuing public ends. Lewis shows that Sidney is dealing with politics thematically, rather than allegorically, as Spenser does. However, he does point to Sidney's letter to the Queen regarding her marriage negotiations with Alencon as crucial to the complex of political ideas explored in the *Arcadia.*

Sidney, like the princely heroes of *Arcadia,* was well read in "all the stories of worthy princes," and it is the influence of such sources upon his romance that leads many critics to classify it as an heroic poem or an epic. Zandvoort makes a case for the influence of *Amadis de Gaula,* reinforcing his reading of the texts with Sidney's "explicit avowal" in the *Defence* that he had read "that most famous the romances of chivalry, Amadis de Gaule." He argues that the *Arcadia* is both a romance and a treatise, dealing with important public and private moral issues. It is thus superior to the late Greek romances, which Zandvoort regards as essentially amoral, and to the medieval romances, which he regards as primitive.

Marcus Goldman discounts the pastoral element almost entirely, because in the revision it is restricted almost entirely to the Dametas sub-plot and to the eclogues. The *Arcadia* cannot be called a pastoral, he argues, because it condemns the leisured life adopted by Basilius, Pyrocles and
Musidorus as irresponsible, rather than praising it. Goldman stresses Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* and *Amadis* as sources for the *Arcadia*, and maintains that Sidney was trying to create the ideal heroic poem that he described in the *Defence*. The elevation of both content and style is the appropriate form taken by the poet's attempt to surpass both philosopher and historian in the creation of a golden world of art.

The key to the *Arcadia*, in Goldman's analysis, is the concept of the strenuous life, exemplified in Evarchus and in the princes before they reach Arcadia. The active life is the ideal that Sidney figured forth in his work and practiced in his life. Thus, the *Arcadia* emerges as a serious protest against his enforced retirement at Wilton, rather than a celebration of it.

Kenneth Orne Myrick stresses the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon and Heliodorus's *Ethiopian Story* as the sources for the *Arcadia*. Both of these works were regarded as heroic poems in the Renaissance. His contention that Sidney's romance is an heroic poem, indeed an epic, given the loose definition of that term in that period, is supported by a study of Minturno's epic theory. Myrick argues that the *Defence of Poesie* relates to the *Arcadia* in a pattern-example sequence and he tries to show that the structure of the revised version more than meets the formal requirements for epic laid down
by the Italian theorists. Sidney begins in medias res. He uses dramatic narration. He avoids interruptions in important scenes. He follows the Aristotelian rules for tragedy outlined in the Defence. He is consistent. Finally, he uses connecting incidents to maintain continuity. Myrick shows that Renaissance theory did not exclude mixed modes from the category of heroic poetry; thus, the Arcadia should not be excluded just because it mixes pastoral and chivalric content, or prose with poetry.

According to Myrick, the highly developed imagery of the Arcadia makes it exactly the kind of teaching device outlined in the Defence, "the speaking picture" which "distinguishes poetry from philosophy." He takes the opening section of the New Arcadia as an example, and shows that the lament of Strephon and Klaius can be regarded as a kind of invocation to the Muse, in which Urania, as the muse of Christian poetry, becomes the inspiration of high thoughts not only in her shepherd lovers, but in the poet himself. It is also a figuring forth of the grief of man at the absence of ideal beauty in the world. Such concrete rendering of abstractions is central to the moving power of poetry.

Although it is an heroic poem, related structurally to the best epic theory and seriously concerned with ethics, the Arcadia is, according to this critic, "by the standards
of true art...a failure." Sidney was writing by the best
critical principles, but his concern with political problems
led him to interpolate stories into the main plot that are
never convincingly related to it. The style, too, is
finally unsatisfactory, although Renaissance readers admired
it. Modern readers, Myrick thinks, "see more clearly the
evils of preciosity and the limits of prose and verse."

C. S. Lewis argues against calling the Arcadia a
pastoral romance. In the composite of 1593, he shows that
the shepherds have only a minor role after the first section.
The eclogues are interludes, not significant comments on
the action. The romantic love part of the plot is subordinate
to the chivalric sections, and there is little that is
idyllic about love in Arcadia. Lewis finds more echoes of
Homer, Virgil and Heliodorus than of Montemayor and
Sannazaro in the revised Arcadia and believes that the main
concern of the work is the philosophical problems of
political relationships. The Arcadia, he concludes, is an
heroic poesy; "not Arcadian idyll, not even Arcadian romance,
but Arcadian epic." Tillyard included Sidney's Arcadia in his history of
English epic on grounds that incorporate Myrick's emphasis
on form and Lewis's concern with content. He stresses the
Cyropaedia of Xenophon as of particular importance to the
Renaissance idea of epic poetry. As a source of moral exempla and political wisdom, the *Cyropaedia* was a gold mine for Renaissance thinkers, and Sidney's own concern with it is evident in the *Defence*. In his discussion of the difference between nature's brazen world and the poet's golden one, he writes,

> And that the poet hath that *idea* is manifest, by delivering them forth in such excellencie as he hath imagined them. Which delivering forth also is not wholly imaginative, as we are wont to say by them that build castles in the ayre: but so farre substantially it worketh, not onely to make a Cyrus, which had been but a particular excellencie, as Nature might have done, but to bestow a Cyrus upon the worlde, to make many Cyrus's if they will learn aright why and how that Maker made him.41

Sidney links the *Cyropaedia* and the *Ethiopian Story* in his section on genre, "For Xenophon, who did imitate so excellently as to give as effegiem iusti imperii, the portraiture of a just empire under the name of Cyrus (as Cicero sayeth of him) made therein an absolute heroicall Poem; so did Heliadorus in his sugred invention of that picture of love in *Theagines* and *Chariclea*; and yet both of these writ in prose."42

On the basis of the term "absolute heroicall poem," Tillyard relates the *Arcadia* to the *Cyropaedia* and the *Ethiopian Story* and declares that it is an epic. He even
denies that the Old Arcadia is a pastoral, "contrary to the still current assumption." Since the influence of Heliadorus and Xenophon is mostly on the revised Arcadia, however, he does not call the older version an epic. The addition of major martial and political themes and the introduction of the powerful evil force of Cecropia, gives the revision the dimension of heroic poetry. Yet the central theme is not, for Tillyard, political. He sees the Arcadia as similar to Books III and IV of The Faerie Queene, an epic of friendship and love.

In Poets on Fortune's Hill, John Danby goes further than Tillyard, to claim that "the Arcadia is Sidney's Christian epic under the name of a romance." His claim is not based on form or sources, but on his sense that the content is as morally elevated as is Spenser's in The Faerie Queene. Danby acknowledges the roles of both pastoral and romance in the Arcadia, but insists that neither is primary. The stress is on the inner world of the soul and on the ethos or culture of the 'Great House' which Sidney reflects. Danby's readings of some passages are profoundly penetrating, but his use of terminology is bewilderingly unsystematic. His use of "epic" is an example of such practice, since he uses "romance" with equal regularity, as in "a romance containing four interlocked spheres." Then he argues that it is an allegory, exemplifying
the Christian virtue of patience.

Another critic who calls the Arcadia an epic is Mark Rose, but he does not spend time defending his choice of term. He simply shows that in the Renaissance "love was noble and beautiful and therefore a passion suitable to heroes." Sidney's theme is love and his characters are heroic. Hence, the Arcadia is an epic.

The problems of using the term epic are obvious. In the first place, Sidney himself does not use the term to describe the Aeneid, the Ethiopian Story or the Cyropaedia, so we cannot know if he regarded it as more restrictive than "heroicall poesie." Second, there is no external evidence that he was striving to write an English epic. The fact that he was able "to shape comprehensively, to write greatly and to create great characters," does not mean that the Arcadia is an epic. Those critics who apply the term to the Arcadia ignore many of the formal conventions of the classical epic, and one wonders if all heroic poems with noble themes are to be called epics.

Richard Lanham reads the Old Arcadia as an almost farcical comedy. Structurally, this fits, as Ringler points out, but even in the Old Arcadia the princes have their serious and noble sides. Lanham wants us to see them as a couple of highly verbal lechers, hiding pure lust behind
the formal rhetoric of Petrarchan love. Certainly there are
times when the discrepancies between their interpretations of
their actions and the analyses of both narrator and reader
make for humor, but one surely distorts the text by reading
everything they say as ironic.

A new approach to describing the type of entity the
Arcadia is has been suggested by Myron Turner. He disregards
the traditional and blurred labels and studies the principal
characters to see where they fit into Frye's systems of modes.
He finds that "Sidney's design in the Arcadia is to show the
godlike hero to be human, while maintaining the golden aura
nevertheless."49 The heroes of the Arcadia belong, therefore,
in the category of "Renaissance high mimetic heroes... balanced
between divinity and all too human irony."50 Pyrocles
and Musidorus, Pamela and Philoclea belong in the company of
high tragic characters. They even refer to their stories as
material for tragedy. They are human characters, larger than
life, perhaps, idealized but not ideal. They have no private
link with the supernatural, as do Aeneas and some of the heroes
of The Faerie Queene, who are allowed to see beyond the limits
of their own lifetimes. They operate in a world of cause and
effect, reason and passion, joy and disaster, without any
benefit of extraordinary relations with transcendent powers.
They are, as I intend to show later, blinded in various ways,
but are committed by the poet to doing their best to work their way through a world they can neither completely understand nor control. Despite their limitations, they occasionally manage to achieve a high degree of understanding, as does Pamela in the Captivity episode. The main characters of the Arcadia exist on the border between romance and high tragedy.

This survey of genre studies makes it clear that any study of vision in Arcadia must take account of the system of multiple perspectives that Sidney is using in his romance. The traditional vision of pastoral is measured by the vision of heroic poetry and vice versa. Stylistically, the Arcadia is not any one thing, and the mixture of modes contributes to its richness of meaning. The shifting focus allows the reader to see with new clarity the limits of some of Renaissance art's perceptual systems.

iv: "Carelessness it self grew artificiall": The Problem of Structure in the Arcadia

Until the last decade it was generally conceded that the structure of the Arcadia was poor, even if the themes justified assigning it to a genre as elevated as epic. The problem of structural analysis was complicated by the state of the text, as well as by the mixture of poetry and prose in all versions. Most of the critics who object to the New Arcadia
do so on structural grounds. They say that in revision Sidney sacrificed clarity of form for the opportunity to explore subordinate story lines, and ended with a hopeless muddle of styles and devices. Further, older critics agreed that the poetry of the Arcadia was bad and contributed little to the unity of the work. It was explained away as a set of experiments in quantitative verse like that mentioned in connection with the "Areopagus" in the Spenser-Harvey correspondence. Alternatively, it was seen as a prelude to Astrophel and Stella, with Philisides emerging as a prototype for the persona of the sonnet sequence. Thus, what unity there was in the Arcadia was thematic, and triumphed over instead of being supported by the structure.

W. A. Ringler's edition of Sidney's poetry in 1962 provoked new discussion of both the unity and verse of the Arcadia. He insisted that the Old Arcadia had the structure of Terentian comedy, "with a serious double plot...combined with a comic underplot," and that Sidney had thus produced in prose a "pastoral tragi-comedy before the earliest example of the genre, the Aminta and the Pastor Fido of Tasso and Guarini, were available in print." Further, he argued that the eclogues function as a kind of pastoral mirror held up to the main action, illuminating themes by contrast and complement.

Lanham, too, sees the Old Arcadia as a tightly structured
comedy. He also argues that there is a functional relationship between the eclogues and the prose, and shows that cause and effect relationships govern plot in each book from the first sentence through the eclogues. The poems, he says, "function much as does the play within the play in later Elizabethan drama." The eclogues are thematically related to the books they follow; the themes of love, reason, friendship and politics are abstracted from the prose and re-emphasized in the poetry.

Thus, Lanham rejects the traditional view of the Old Arcadia as a mere rough draft for the New, the immature work of a poet who later achieved the philosophical depth necessary to create the revision and the technical proficiency necessary for Astrophel and Stella. "The Old Arcadia's characteristic fault, if we can call it that, is too tight an organization, not too loose a one," he writes, and "the immaturity some critics have detected... is certainly not apparent in Sidney's very considerable powers of construction."

If the Old Arcadia can be shown to be unified, what of the New? Here we seem to have the pattern for Henry James's "loose, baggy monsters." Stories restricted to the eclogues in the original are interpolated into the prose text, sometimes told by the characters at second or third hand. Political stories are thrown in apparently at random. In the Captivity
episode in Book III, emphasis on the villainous Cecropia and her deluded son, Amphialus, virtually excluded the supposed heroes Pyrocles and Musidorus. Has the self-conscious architect of the Defence and the Old Arcadia simply lost control of his material in an attempt to revise it on the principles of heroic poetry?

Walter Davis has attempted to demonstrate that there is a structural unity in the 1593 Arcadia based on a standard pastoral journey and supported by "a network of parallel and contrasting scenes and actions, of intricate thematic analogues, of systems of thought presented and modified as well." The interpolated stories have two functions: they provide the outer circle of the real world necessary for the pastoral experience and they are parallel examples of the war between reason and love which takes place in the principals.

The eclogues in the first two books serve to educate the princes, according to Davis. The later ones cannot do so because the heroes are not present, but they serve as comments by outsiders on the actions of the main plot. (It is a nice note that in this "pastoral" it is the Arcadian shepherds who are regarded as outsiders.) The result of the shift of point of view between prose and verse is usually criticism of satire. The eclogues do divide the books and bring the themes of love, suffering, marriage and death into sharper focus. They contribute to thematic unity and thus
"provide a framework for all of the incidental episodes Sidney used to amplify his plot." 57

Much work remains to be done on the structure of the New Arcadia, but two recent dissertations have showed something about it. Myron Turner suggests that theme is structure, and that the moral problems posed are worked out in the traditional format of the Renaissance books on the education of the prince. 58 Miss Lindheim agrees that the Arcadia is a Bildungsroman, but she argues that the structure does not follow the chronological pattern typical of such works. She suggests that there are three levels of structure in the romance: rhetorical, tonal and narrative. Antithetical topos provide the basis for the rhetorical structure of reason versus passion, matter versus spirit, doing versus suffering. The main plot and interpolated stories deal with the first, the pastoral with the second, and the Captivity episode with the third. Sidney's tonal strategy also has three parts. He first shows a positive example of an ideal, then a negative example, and then a parody of it, with a character like Dametas as comic butt. Finally, she indicates the three-part narrative structure: a combination of objective reporting, retrospective narrative and commentary by means of the eclogues. 59
Both studies indicate the importance of a point which this essay will explore further. The Renaissance, even as our own age, had specialized ways of seeing. Some of these are reflected in rhetorical theory, as Miss Lindheim suggests. Others are found through an examination of Renaissance philosophy, as Turner shows. These ways of seeing are mirrored in both the content and structure of the *Arcadia*.

v: "Conceits not Unworthy of the Best Speakers": *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Arcadia*

Most readers of the *Arcadia* have lost the taste for the aureate style, and for them the ornateness of the romance detracts from the value of the work. Recently, critics like Rosemond Tuve have helped us to appreciate anew the complex relationships of image and meaning in Renaissance rhetorical poetry, and rhetorical analysis has created a new appreciation of Sidney. Basic to such analysis is the assumption that the Elizabethans were self-conscious craftsmen, not proto-romantics chanting native woodnotes. Studies like that of Brother Simon Scribner prove just that in the case of Sidney. He catalogues the instances of word repetition in the first book of the *Arcadia* and shows their relation to Renaissance rhetoric. Scribner does not deal with meaning, just with craftsmanship, but he shows how much care must be taken in reading Sidney's romance.
The strong rhetorical tradition of the Renaissance is evident in Sidney's *Defence*. In a recent article, Miss Challis has argued that the oratory in the *Arcadia* anticipates later developments in Elizabethan drama, because Sidney recognizes such speeches as an important part of human interaction.61 She shows that the three types of speech in Ciceronian rhetoric appear in the romance. Evarchus's plain, logical assessment of fact in the trial scene is in a deliberative style. Philanax's prosecution of the princes is in a forensic style. Zelmane's *blazon*, in which she praises Philoclea's beauty, is in an epideictic style. In all of these styles ornamental "beautification" is important to meaning. Sidney's language is specifically adapted to the ends his characters are pursuing. It may be argued that Sidney deplored Oxford Ciceronianism in one of his letters to Robert, but this does not mean that he rejected the divisions above. He simply objected to the lack of relation between manner and matter that was the characteristic abuse of the system.

In Miss Challis's article, one finds, I think, the necessary link between sterile identification of figures and the problems of meaning. If one can discover the functional importance of the figures used to create mental pictures, figures that have been dismissed as "mere" ornamentation, one may come to understand the vision of the ideal world that
Sidney has created.

The study of rhetoric has also revealed much about the poetry of the *Arcadia*. Working from Ringler's authoritative edition, critics have shown that the poems are individual artistic entities that can stand on their own merits, as well as function in the context of the prose. Ringler himself maintains that Sidney took the experiments in metrics quite seriously, since he assigns the quantitative verses only to the princes and to Philisides, his own persona. He also shows us Sidney as the rhetorical poet in the Arcadia that he is in *Astrophel and Stella*. A number of the poems are outright debates in which even the images "are controlled by their logical function and the feeling is guided by thought."*62

Robert Montgomery points out the importance of the work of Hallett Smith and Theodore Spencer in relating Sidney's poetry to the canons of taste of his own age. His own study attempts to relate rhythm to rhetoric and to the structure of imagery. He discriminates the plain and ornate styles and assesses their importance in Sidney's poetry. Further, he stresses the ceremonial rendering of experience that governs the *Arcadia* poems and emphasizes the symmetry of the poetry. This symmetry is basic to the ceremonial nature of Sidney's creation, and it is emphasized through the rhetorical devices. The formal poems lack complexity and tension because the
basic emotion has been abstracted in order that it can be handled and celebrated in art. The most significant contribution Montgomery makes, besides pointing out the importance of the ceremonial, is his close reading of a number of poems, especially "Ye Goatherd Gods."

The structure and rhetoric of Sidney's poetry is less important to David Kalstone than the relation of poetry to prose. He dismisses most of the poems as "splendid examples of the poetry of grammar." Approaching the poetry through the pastoral and Petrarchan traditions, Kalstone shows that Sidney can use all the values of both traditions, but can also question them. The poems in Sidney's romance deal with the triumphs, but also with the pains of love. The eclogues function as dramatic units, drawing the reader away from the tumult of the main plot to present the reflections of the pastoral world. Kalstone even goes so far as to maintain that they present a vision of "a timeless world in which sports, dancing and poetic performance are the only valuable kinds of action." At the same time, he argues that "Ye Goatherd Gods" shows the anguish of the world of Arcadia, a world from which Urania has departed.

Like Lanham, Neil Rudenstine rejects the idea that Sidney wrote in an over-ornate, fantastic style that he later came to dislike, condemning himself as "sick among the rest"
and turning to a plain style in the sonnets. Sidney, he says, was "too good a poet to do things mechanically," and his manipulation of a variety of styles indicates that the conscious choice of an ornate style was dictated by decorum. He was trying to reflect the ritual and ornamental nature of the courtly life in his poetic form. "Ornament is integral to that life, not as something superfluously added, but as part of its very texture. The rhetoricians were very clear on this point." Close reading shows Rudenstine that the structure of the poetry is calculated as ritual performance. "The verse traces out each line of action as it develops, rendering its essential nature in skeletal form. The poetry is mimetic. . .the result is a kind of verbal iconography." The elaborate complexities reflect the distance between these poems and the emotions they reflect, and make the poems difficult for the modern reader. They are not, however, the products of an immature poetic consciousness failing to come to grips with emotion, but of a calculated rhetorical strategy aimed at rendering the formality of the courtly world.

Sidney was a man torn between court life and retirement. Rudenstine's study of his letters and poetry shows that the poet was attracted to the life of action that Languet and others had charted for him. At the same time, he was tempted to avoid the petty bickering with Ormonde and Oxford, to
refuse to tolerate the delays and deceits of the cautious and captious Queen, to leave court for the leisured country life. This, Rudenstine argues, is the principal issue of the *Arcadia*, the one the eclogues debate and the letters of the same period discuss.

vi: "New Eyes Given Us": Vision and Meaning

Learning to recognize rhetorical patterns in Renaissance poetry is part of the complex process of trying to understand the ways in which men of the period organized their perceptions of the world. Understanding the ways in which Sidney renders the experience of seeing, and the importance he attaches to the act of vision, will provide another measure of this world-view. Reading the *Arcadia*, one becomes aware that Sidney, like Spenser, makes considerable appeal to the sense of sight, that he is creating his golden world through patterns of visual imagery.

There are many problems of vision in the *Arcadia*, because what one can or cannot see and the use one can make of the visible world often provides a measure of what one is. Furthermore, for Sidney, there are two kinds of eyes: the physical eye, which perceives the natural world, and the eye of the mind, which perceives spiritual beauty. The "speaking pictures" of poetry mediate between the natural and spiritual
worlds, appealing to both eyes. This study of vision will consider both modes of perception and the many ways we are made to examine the outer and inner worlds by the poet of the Arcadia.

The mixture of genres and of verbal forms in Sidney's romance reflects a world that is not always clearly an either-or situation, a fallen world where seeing clearly is not easy. This view is further supported by the characterization and imagery of the Arcadia. Working with both the Old and New Arcadias, one finds that the changes made between the two were not mere elaboration. Nor where they solely necessitated by the change from tragi-comedy to heroic romance. They were massive structural and visual changes which provide the reader with new ways of seeing the problems of the heroes and heroines. They add to the reader's awareness of the depth, complexity and inter-relatedness of problems and persons in Sidney's fallen golden world.

Studying the systems of vision in the Arcadia, one discovers Sidney's poignant sense of the limitations of man, for human systems finally prove inadequate to supply man with the means to control himself and his world. Only Providence in the Old Arcadia, and a strong faith in the divine order in the New, can keep man, blinded by the fall, from destruction.
FOOTNOTES


2 Spenser, p. 136.


   The tone of the letter to the Countess is that of formal compliment.

4 Although Feuillerat prints the letter with the New *Arcadia* in Volume I of *Works*, critics like Lanham have shown that it belongs with the Old *Arcadia*. See especially Walter R. Davis and Richard A. Lanham. *Sidney’s Arcadia* (New Haven, 1965), pp. 185, 194.


"Sir, this day one Ponsonby, a book-binder in Paul’s Churchyard, came to me and told me that there was one in hand to print Sir Philip Sidney's old *Arcadia*, asking me if it were done with your honour's voice or any other of his friends. I told him to my knowledge, no, then he advised me to give warning of it, either to the archbishop, or Doctor Cousin, who have, as he says, a copy to peruse to that end. Sir, I am loath to renew his memory unto you, but yet in this I must presume, for I have sent my lady, your daughter, at her request, a correction of that old one, done four or five years since, which he left in trust with me, whereof there is no more copies, and fitter to be presented than the first, which is so
common; notwithstanding, even that to be amended by a direction set down under his own hand, how and why, so as in many respects, especially the care of the printing of it, is to be done with more deliberation."

7Wallace, p. 233.

8Greville, p. 19.

9Greville, p. 19.

10John Milton. Complete Poems and Major Prose, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York, 1957), p. 793. Milton is, of course, attempting to discredit Charles I by showing that that monarch drew comfort in his final hours from a worldly romance rather than from scripture. His remarks, though not typical of his personal view of art, reflect a view widespread among strict Puritans, that questioned the ability of such fantastic forms to convey serious moral instruction.


17 Davis and Lanham. See also Elizabeth Dipple. "Harmony and Pastoral in the Old Arcadia" ELH, XXXV, 2, September, 1968.

18 Works, I, p. viii.

19 Works, I, p. 524.


23 Greg, p. 151.


25 Dipple, p. 310.


28 Davis and Lanham, pp. 7-44.


31 Friedrich Brie. Sidney's Arcadia, Quellen and Forschungen (Strassburg, 1918).

32 Zandvoort, p. 130.


34 Works, I, p. 190.


36 Myrick, p. 84.

37 Myrick, p. 146.

38 Myrick, p. 170.

39 Myrick, p. 190.

40 C. S. Lewis, p. 335.

41 Works, III, p. 8.
42 Works, III, p. 10.


45 Danby, p. 17.

46 Danby, p. 80.


48 Tillyard, p. 319.


50 Turner, p. 10.


52 Ringler, p. xxxviii.

53 Davis and Lanham, p. 222.

54 Davis and Lanham, pp. 235-236.

55 Davis and Lanham, p. 5.
56 Davis and Lanham, p. 106.

57 Davis and Lanham, p. 113.

58 Turner, p. 50.


62 Ringler, p. xxxviii.

63 Kalstone, p. 84.

64 Kalstone, p. 60.


66 Rudenstine, p. 55.

67 Rudenstine, p. 57.

68 Rudenstine, pp. 63-64.
CHAPTER II

THE PAINTER'S EXERCISE: RENAISSANCE ART AND

THE VISION OF ARCADIA

The problem of how man sees gained new importance in the Renaissance. The visual arts were gradually raised to the level of liberal arts, even though they had been relegated to the crafts by Plato, who equated painting with weaving. With the emergence of the great Italian masters, the art of painting came to be regarded, like poetry, as a medium for the communication of philosophical ideas, which were hidden from the uninitiated by the evil of surface beauty, but revealed through it to those who were worthy. The continental humanists developed elaborate systems of perspective and order in painting, similar to their theories of poetry, for the two were regarded as sister arts. Sidney, as scholar and courtier, was exposed to the art and theory of Renaissance Italy and his interest in the problems of the visual arts affects the imagery and structure of both forms of Arcadia.

The new high regard for the arts in general, and for painting and poetry in particular, is reflected in Castiglione's
The Book of the Courtier. In the first book, Count Ludovico da Canossa, after discussing at length the skills of arms and letters, goes on to require that his ideal courtier have "a knowledge of how to draw and an acquaintance with the art of painting itself."¹ He defends his judgment on the basis of the estimate of painting he claims was held by the ancients, the practical utility of the art for warfare and the relationship of the art to the act of Divine Creation. The natural world, he argues, "can be said to be a great and noble picture painted by nature's hand and God's, and whoever can imitate it deserves great praise. . . ."² The Count holds that the painter is superior to the sculptor because he has to create the illusion of three-dimensional space, while the sculptor does not. This requires the discipline of systematic study of the mathematical laws of perspective, foreshortening, color, light and proportion. All this is necessary even for the courtier, for he must possess sufficient knowledge to be an intelligent judge of both natural and artificial beauty. He is expected to be a patron of the arts, and this requires not only wealth, but learning and carefully cultivated taste. Only thus can he distinguish between true art and that which is merely affectation and appreciate the difficulty of creating that kind of art which appears artless.

It was said that Sir Philip Sidney always carried a
copy of *The Book of the Courtier* with him, as Alexander had carried Homer. Whether or not this is true, Sidney evidently modelled himself on Castiglione's ideal, and the concern with the visual arts reflected in *Arcadia* and in the *Defence of Poesie* shows his awareness of the place they held in the life of a cultured nobleman. In the New *Arcadia*, the reader is conducted through the gallery of paintings in the house of Kalender, the old gentleman who is counselor to Basilius, ruler of Arcadia. The power of art to move the heart is evident in Pyrocles's response to viewing Philoclea's portrait. Sidney renders the positions taken by various characters in terms that allow the reader to recreate a formal painting, complete with perspective, lighting and shadow. He expects a connoisseur's response to the iconographic significance of jewels, armor and costumes. The poet makes it clear that such works of art are relative to meaning. They are delightful in themselves, but they also "figure forth" a more significant reality that lies behind their creation. It is this kind of art that Sidney defends against the claims of philosophy and history in the *Defence*.

England was far away from the great centers of Renaissance art, but Philip Sidney was not limited, as were most of his contemporaries, to the popular wall paintings and tapestries for his knowledge of pictorial art. As nephew to
the Earl of Leicester, he had ready access to one of the finest collections of art in England. The catalogue of Robert Dudley's collection indicates that he possessed at his death well over two hundred pictures. Most of these were portraits of his relatives and influential friends. In this, Leicester was a typical English collector, for most of his countrymen regarded art as a convenient way of leaving a permanent record of themselves to posterity. But he also owned a number of religious paintings, mythological paintings and allegorical paintings. The list of mythological paintings recalls Kalender's gallery, with its Venus and Cupid, two Dianas, a Penelope, and others. The pre-Christian setting of Arcadia precludes use of religious subjects, but allegories, like Occasion and Repentance, Faith and Charity, which Leicester possessed, find echoes in phrases like that describing Musidorus, "in his face was painted victory." Finally, the Earl owned at least two Venetian paintings, Marriage in Venice and A Lady of Venice, and ten Dutch paintings of women.

It is not possible to be sure how good these paintings were, or how much they reflected Italian theories of perspective, since there is no record that traces their ownership and we cannot be certain how many of them have even survived. But John Buxton argues that some of them must still exist and asks tentatively if the Calling of St. Matthew at Hampton Court
may not once have been Leicester's. Even with so much uncertainty, it is difficult to believe that all of the paintings were bad. Leicester was a vain man, and what he bought was usually the best, according to contemporary taste. It is interesting to note that interest in the arts was not a necessity at Elizabeth's court, as Burghley's lack of it shows. Apparently Leicester's self-image demanded that he be the complete man, and he accepted Castiglione's judgment that art was important to the ideal nobleman.

Sidney's experience of art was not limited to his uncle's collection. After leaving Oxford, the young man was sent abroad in 1572 to complete his education through travel. The Earl of Leicester wrote to Walsingham on this occasion that the seventeen year old Sidney needed the friendship and advice of the latter because he "is young and raw." That he was young is true, but few thought him raw. He impressed those he met with his polish and charm. Part of what he came to the Continent to learn was the ways of man the political animal, and this he learned fairly well under the competent tutelage of Languet. But Sidney aspired to become Castiglione's courtier, and he would have been aware that Europe had more to offer than object lessons in practical politics.

When Sidney visited Venice, Titian was still painting, although he was an old man. At the urging of Languet, who
had himself been painted by the great master, Sidney decided to have his portrait done by one of Titian's pupils. One result is one of the very few overt references to painting in the poet's correspondence. On February 26, 1574, he wrote to Languet, "This day one Paul of Verona has begun my portrait for which I must stay here two or three days longer." The choice of artist had lain between Veronese and Tintoretto, and Buxton indicates that the choice of the former was probably a good one, given Sidney's fairness and delicate features, even though Tintoretto was better known for his portraits. The completed picture was sent as a gift to Languet a month or more later and Languet admired it, although he thought it made Sidney look too young. The portrait is now lost, but Berenson once suggested to Buxton that it might be a portrait of a young man now in the Getty collection.

It is inconceivable that Sidney, the student of Castiglione as well as of Languet, should have failed to take advantage of the chance to view the art of such a city as Venice, especially when Venetian art was the rage of Europe. Nor does it seem likely that he ignored the art of Florence when he visited that city. He did not write about it to Languet because the older man was interested in other facets of his development, but he observed enough to write to his brother some years later that the Italians were supreme in
"horsemanship, weapons, painting and such"\textsuperscript{11} whatever their failings in other areas. Castiglione had required a high degree of knowledge in all three subjects of his ideal courtier, and Sidney, as the Defence and Arcadia show, did not neglect any of them.

One final indication of Sidney's awareness of the technical details of painting appears in Nicholas Hilliard's report of a discussion with him in the Treatise Concerning the Art of Limning. According to Hilliard, Sidney was particularly interested in perspective.

He once demanded of me the question, whether it were possible in one scantling, as in the length of six inches of a little or short man, and also of a mighty bige and taulle man in the same scantling, and that one might well and apparently see which was the taule man, and which the little, the picture being of just one length. I showed him that it was easily discerned if it were cunningly drawne with true observations, for ower eye is cuninge, and is learned without rulle by long usse, as littel lads speake their vulgar tongue without grammar rulls. But I gave him rules and sufficient reasons to noet and observe.\textsuperscript{12}

The problem is not a trivial one, and Sidney posed his question with specific reference to the work of the miniaturist, which was Hilliard's specialty. The artist obviously took his interest to be genuine and gave him in reply a detailed lesson in the art of creating the illusion of three-dimensional space, the major development that separates Renaissance art from Gothic.
Despite Sidney's superior background in the visual arts of Europe, Spenser, not Sidney, is thought of as the painter-poet of English literature. Although the view has recently been challenged, much has been written about *The Faerie Queene* as a kind of gallery of word-pictures, reflecting the Horatian doctrine of *ut pictura poesis* as it had been reinterpreted by Italian and French Renaissance criticism. Sidney absorbed Italian critical theory too, and the *Defence of Poesie* shows the influence of *ut pictura poesis* in both theory and practice. Like the *Defence*, the *Arcadia* contains much visual and pictorial imagery, but little has been done to show how it reflects the critical thinking of the age or how it contributes to our total experience of the romance. Sidney's first-hand knowledge of technical developments in art and his concern with art theory are revealed in his romance and contribute to meaning. Not only painting is of interest to the poet. Much of the visual imagery in the *Arcadia* reflects his interest in the work of artisans, the jewelers and armorers who, like painters, make mute materials "speak."

In the rest of this chapter we shall investigate Sidney's rendering of the *visibilia* of his golden world and show their relation to the iconographic tradition of Renaissance art.
Further, we shall see that the structural principles of Renaissance pictorial art have analogies in literature that help us to understand the structure of each form of Arcadia.

Horace's phrase, \textit{ut pictora poesis}, haunted the critical consciousness of the Renaissance. Rensselaer Lee gives an indication of its pervasive influence when he says that it affected nearly every treatise on art and literature written between the middle of the sixteenth and the middle of the eighteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{13} It is clear, however, that the Renaissance critics used Horace to justify a closer relationship between the arts than his own writing supports. The phrase \textit{ut pictora poesis} appears in a discussion of the faults that can be excused in a work of art and the differences among works in the same medium. The statement that "Poetry is like painting. One work will please more if you stand close to it; the other strikes you more if you stand farther away," is not enough to justify a mimetic theory of art that draws the arts of painting and poetry so close together that they may be called "sisters."\textsuperscript{14} The only hint of such a concept in Horace comes earlier in the \textit{Ars poetica} when he argues that there are limits to the deviation from nature that an audience will accept in the work of either painter or poet.\textsuperscript{15}

The eclectic nature as well as the glorious disregard
of context of Renaissance criticism is evident in the development of the doctrine of *ut pictura poesis*. Horace's phrase is combined with the notion of Platonic ideas in Pedemonte's treatise of 1546.\(^\text{16}\) Although Plato had banished poets from the Republic and relegated painting to the crafts, Renaissance thinkers following Plotinus came to feel that art was important because it could get at the realm of Platonic ideas behind the accidents of nature. Aristotle's mimetic theory is added to provide yet another link between poetry and painting. Both were seen to imitate nature more closely and completely than music, dance or sculpture. Thus, even if the means were different, the object imitated was the same, and poetry, if it could not get the subtlety of color and form that painting did, compensated by adding voice and motion.

The idea of imitation links art and reality, and for Plutarch it is this link to reality that makes art relevant and meaningful for man.\(^\text{17}\) It is Plutarch who gives the other key phrase to the *ut pictura poesis* theory of the Renaissance. He attributes to Simonides the saying "painting is mute poetry and poetry a speaking picture."\(^\text{18}\)

Italian critics gathered these scattered phrases from antiquity, integrated them and turned them into a doctrine which they hoped would enable Renaissance artists to regain
the forms of the first golden age of art. Critics like Alberti, Pedemonte and Equicola concluded that ancient theory equated poetry and painting. Therefore, they demanded that the new poetry should be richly pictorial, enabling the reader to recreate in precise detail a picture of the scene in which an imitated action is carried on. Scaliger argues further that oratory partakes of the same nature as poetry, because it "consists of image, idea and imitation, just like painting," adding "id quod et ab Aristotele et a Platone declaratum est."¹⁹ Moreover, many of these critics were Neoplatonists, and for them both painting and poetry carried meanings hidden from the vulgar under the veil of surface beauty, but available to those who knew how to look for it.²⁰ Thus, poetry is linked to the iconographical tradition that persists from medieval into Renaissance art.

Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* follows Italian critical theory in linking the so-called sister arts. In the tradition of Aristotle, Sidney defines poetry as an art of imitation, "for so Aristotle termeth it in his word Mimesis that is to say, a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth."²¹ However, he is basically Platonic in his assertion that what is imitated is not the observable world of nature but the ideal world which imagination allows him to perceive. Renaissance critics either disregarded the fact that Plato
had exiled poets because they created lies, at the third
remove from reality, or they argued from the Ion, as Sidney
does, that Plato exiled only the abuse of poetry, not the art
itself. They followed the Plotinian concept that art can
move beyond the bonds of the actual to the realm of conceptual
abstractions. Because art must "figure forth," however, it is
to some extent dependent on the real world, so that in fact
it mediates between two otherwise discrete realms. The best
visual art of the Renaissance was to do the same thing, and
Sidney uses the illustration of two kinds of painters to make
clear his distinction between philosophical writers like
Cato, Lucretius and Lucan and those he calls "right poets."
The "meaner sort of painters" attempt to achieve photographic
accuracy in their portraits of living subjects, but

... the more excellent, who, having no
law but wit, bestow that in colllours
upon you which is fittest for the eye
to see: as the constant though
lamenting look of Lucrecia, when she
punished in herself an others fault;
wherein he painteth not Lucrecia whom
he never saw, but painteth the outwarde
beauty of such a virtue.22

The end of art is to teach: by making visible the
beauty thought to be inherent in virtue to move men toward
it, by revealing by outward signs the ugliness of vice to
lead men to shun it. Thus, the picture of a "most sweet
face" labelled Canidia, teaches "best grace" and is of more benefit to mankind than a picture of Canidia that was accurately ugly.23

Sidney sees a useful metaphorical relationship between the two arts of poetry and painting. It is the power of the pictorial in poetry to move men that makes it superior to philosophy and its power to go beyond the limits of nature's brazen world into the golden world of ideas that makes it superior to history. Sidney's diction makes clear the importance of the visible in his theory of poetry. Xenophon's Cyropaedia is the "portraiture of just Empire," Heliodorus's romance "that picture of love."24 The poets engage in the "fayning of images of virtue and vice," and they give "a perfect picture" of a philosophical concept in order to "strike, pierce or possess" the inner sight of the soul.25 Wisdom remains dark to the inner eye if it is not "illuminated or figured forth by the speaking picture of poesie."26 The highest kind of poetry makes visible the glory of God, as the psalms of David "enable one to see God coming in his majesty."27 For Sidney, the power of poetry rests in its ability to render the invisible visible, to move the reader toward virtuous action as a result of his new vision of a possible golden world.

Simonides's phrase "speaking picture" had special
meaning for the men of the Renaissance, trained as they were in the humanist tradition that regarded rhetoric as the noblest of the sciences. The ability of the poets to make their pictures speak is the measure of poetry's superiority to painting as a teaching instrument. The speaking picture is more vivid, and will, therefore, impress the mind more than the silent image. But abstract speech without the power of picture lacks the power to move the soul. Thus, Renaissance rhetorical theory, with which Sidney was thoroughly familiar, laid considerable stress on the ways in which visual impressions could be introduced into speech. They could not be merely decorative, for according to the best theory visual detail had to be useful in achieving the speaker's ends. Miss Tuve emphasizes in her study of Elizabethan and Metaphysical imagery that "divorce between poetic subject and image is inadmissible," and that instances of such separation are attacked as faults of style.28 Sidney, in a letter to his brother, Robert, attacks the separation of subject and style that was characteristic of the Ciceronianism practiced by some rhetoricians at Oxford.29 For him, manner had to make the matter visible; its function was to create relevant and moving pictures in the mind.

The poets and orators of the Renaissance did not aim
primarily at naturalistic recreation of specific objects or scenes in nature. Rather, they sought through Enargeia, (the power that verbal visual imagery possessed to set the object or scene described before the reader) to achieve vividness that would delight the reader sufficiently to draw his attention to meaning. Thus, with the figures of descriptio, icon and prosopopoeia, poets tried to achieve the kind of dramatic intensity that could hold "children from play and old men from the chimney corner." Only by holding the attention of the audience through delight can the poet hope to teach. Thus, Sidney says, poetry "ever setteth virtue out in her best cullors, making Fortune her wel-wayting hand-mayd, that one must needs be enamoured of her." The so-called "Colours of Rhetorike," too, show the relationship that the Renaissance saw between poetry and painting. These colors, or "exornation of sentences," as Wilson says Tullie called them are devices used to vary the patterns of sentences, to amplify argument by example, simile, contrast, and so forth. The end is the same, however, as that of the use of tropes. The orator or poet wants to make a dramatic impact on his reader, and to do this he makes his speaking picture both vivid and attractive, hoping that his meaning will be absorbed with the beauty.
All the devices of rhetoric are finally subservient to the concept of decorum in Renaissance critical theory. Even this concept is often discussed in visual terms. Horace himself had objected to the creation of monsters in both painting and poetry as a violation of decorum. Creations that are part horse, part bird, part human, part fish, he argues, go beyond the bounds of artistic license. They violate our sense of what is appropriate, and therefore become laughable. Similarly, he objects to "purple patches" in poetry, which exist simply to draw attention to themselves and the skill of the poet in creating pictures, but have no relevance to meaning.

Renaissance theorists, too, used visual images to amplify their ideas of violation of decorum. Wilson, illustrating that choice of words must be matched to level of style, for ". . . as French hoodes do not become Lords, so Parliament robes are unfitting for Ladies. Comeliness therefore must ever be used, and all things observed, that are most meeete for every cause, if we looke by attemptes to have oure desire." Ornament should make speech and writing beautiful, but it should be appropriate, so that it will illuminate meaning "as precious stones are set in a ring to commend the gold." Sidney attacks English drama in the Defence for just such violations of decorum. The
pictures that it sets forth are unbelievable and absurd.
As for the diction of English poetry, "that honny-flowing
Matron Eloquence" is "apparelled or rather disguised, in a
Curtizan-like painted affectation." Poems appear like
savages, "... not content to weare eare-rings at the fit
and naturall place of the eares, but they will thrust jewels
through their nose and lippes, because they will be sure to
be fine." The visual in poetry can be easily overdone,
simply because it is attractive. But this is as much a
violation of decorum as the use of elevated diction for lower
class characters. The use of visual imagery is justified
only as far as it contributes to the revelation of hidden
truth.

The concept of the relationship between painting and
poetry, as the Neoplatonists developed it, placed a heavy
burden of responsibility on the artist. He was the
custodian of the knowledge of the golden world which the
power of his imagination allowed him to see. He had to
figure forth these beauties so that his images would lead
the audience to an understanding of virtue and stimulate
them to act upon that understanding. Sidney accepted this
concept of the role of the poet, as the Defence shows. In
the Arcadia, he follows the rule that visibilia should lead
the reader to meaning. Thus, the visual images of the
romance appeal not only to the sensuous eye, but illumine
the inner eye of the "imaginative and judging power." 38
Neither the Countess of Pembroke nor Greville was wrong in
their estimate of Arcadia. A study of the imagery shows it
to be both a delightful romance and an instructive treatise.
The mistake is to think that the two are mutually exclusive.
This, the critical tradition of ut pictura poesis denies.
Delight is part of instruction in Renaissance art; the
visible leads us to the intelligible.

Visual imagery refers to all verbal terms which make
their appeal to the inner sense of sight. However, there
are two major subgroups of visual imagery that are of
particular importance in understanding the significance of
the visual arts in Sidney's writing. The first type Miss Jean
Hagstrum calls "pictorial." Pictorial imagery is combinations
of visual impressions that enable the reader to recreate a
scene that could be rendered in painting. The second type
Miss Hagstrum calls "iconographic." This type reproduces
a work of art in verbal terms. 39 Both types of visual
imagery appear in the Arcadia, and reflect Sidney's thought
about both the limits and the potentialities of visual art.
iii: "Workmanship of Nature": Art in the Old Arcadia

The poet's limited use of pictorial and iconographic imagery in the Old Arcadia reflects his primary interest in plot. Further, the original version is more heavily influenced by the pastoral tradition, and there is relatively little occasion for works of art in the world of shepherds. Even the prizes awarded in the singing contests are from the natural world (dogs, cats) rather than man-made objects. Most of the imagery is drawn from the natural world. Allusions to art and artifacts occur twenty-seven times and for three main purposes: to advance the action of the plot, to provide visual bases for comparison, and to project inner states in visible form. The truth or falseness of the vision of art, such an issue in the Defence of Poesie, is a relatively minor problem here.

The primary art object in the Old Arcadia is Philoclea's portrait. It is used to stimulate the action of the plot, but it also provides a measure of the power of art in the poet's golden world. Pyrocles's response to the portrait gives ample evidence of the power that Sidney claims for both painting and poetry, the power to move the minds of men. In company with his host, Kerxenus, Pyrocles walks through the former's "fayre gallery" and sees the portrait
of the Duke and Duchess of Arcadia with their younger daughter. In this version the gallery does not provide a measure of its owner. The only particular work mentioned is the portrait and the interest in it generated by Philoclea. The description is not rich in pictorial detail. Philoclea is described as a "beautyfull Chylde," and the "excellent artificer" is credited with having drawn "as well as it was possible Arte shoulde counterfeict so perfect a worckmanship of Nature." Her eye is of central importance, because it is through its expression that the viewer reads her character, "full of bashfulness, love and reverence...with a sweete greef to fynde her vertue suspected." 40 The painter's craft enables him to convey shades of character in his portrait. It does not, however, bring him into contact with the realm of Platonic ideas. In the Old Arcadia, Sidney defines the limits of art clearly. Nature is the master craftsman in the golden world.

The importance of the eye in Renaissance codes of love will be discussed in a later chapter, but it should be noted now that Pyrocles is the victim of Philoclea's beauty, particularly as it is evident in her eyes. Even in the imperfect image of art, the power of her beauty is immense. The young prince rationalizes his desire to see the real Philoclea by arguing that he merely wants to compare the
work of art to the original, but he is soon made aware that
his eye has betrayed him into love. This visual encounter
with an art object is the basis for the future plot develop-
ment in the Old Arcadia.

The primary function of art is the revelation of
truth. Inner realities are manifested through the craft of
the artist. Thus, for the Renaissance, outer beauty should
correspond to inner beauty and both should be taken into
account by the viewer. In the Old Arcadia, Sidney develops
the scene of Philoclea in her chamber in rich pictorial
detail. Pyrocles sees

. . .her beautyes eclipsed with no thinge
but with a sayre smock, wroughte all in
flames of ashe culloure silke and golde,
lyinge so uppon her right syde, that the
lefte thighe downe to the foote, yeilded
his delightfull proportion to the full
viewe: which was seene by the helpe of a
Rich Lampe whiche (through the curteynes
a little drawne) cast suche a light upon
her, (as the Moone doth when yt shynes
into a thynn wood).*41

Beauty, here, is reproduced in terms that enable the reader
to recreate a picture which has parallels in the rich
Venetian paintings of women.

Pyrocles's response to the beauty of this scene is all
wrong, in Neoplatonic terms. Instead of using outer beauty
as a point of departure for a meditation on the inner beauty
of the soul, the young hero allows it to stimulate his
desire, and the result is the seduction, which leads to his
drraignment before his father. A similar instance of beauty
which is measured by the standard of art turning dangerous
in the mind of a young man can be seen in the conduct of
Musidorus. He sees the sleeping Pamela looking like "a
picture of some excellent artificer." His response is the
same as that of his friend, and only the arrival of the
rebels prevents his raping her. The beauty rendered by art
can lead to good or to evil. The result depends on the eye
and soul of the beholder.

The allusions to mythological paintings in the Old
Arcadia are made simply for the sake of comparison. Both
Patrick Hogan and Buxton have argued that the painting
referred to in the scene in which Basilius kneels before a
startled Pyrocles "as the oulde Governess of Danae ys
paynted when she sodenly saw the golden shower," is Titian's. Buxton suggested that there might have been a copy of Titian's
1545 Danae in a Rain of Golde in England. Hogan says flatly
that there was one in the collection of the Earl of
Leicester. He argues similarly for the reference to a
painting of Lucretia in the Defence as having at least a
possible source in the Lucretia and Tarquin painted by Titian
in 1570.

Another reference to mythological subjects in painting
is made in comparing Musidorus when he hears Pyrocles declare himself a lover to Apollo as he appeared when he saw Daphne turned into a laurel. Neither Buxton nor Hogan suggests a specific parallel to this in the visual arts, but the Ovidian subject would have been typical of the popular wall paintings and hanging cloths of the period.

One of the strangest references to painting in the Old Arcadia is made in the first set of eclogues. Dicus, a disappointed lover, refers to the typical rendering of Cupid by poets and painters, "A naked god, blynde, younge, with arrowes twoo." He then declares that such pictures are "nought else but glosses of Deceipts," and suggests a truer picture:

Yet, beares he still his Parentes stately giftes,  
A horned head Cloven feete, and thousands eyes,  
Some gasing still some winckings wyly shiftes,  
With longe large eares where never Rumor dyes,  
His horned heade dothe seem the heaven to spighte;  
His cloven feete dothe never treade arighte,

Thus half a Man, with many easily hauntes,  
Clothde in the shape wch soonest may deceyve,  
Thus half a Beast, eche beastly vyce he plantes,  
In those weyke hartes that his advyce receythe.  
He proules eche place, still in new Coloures deckt,  
Sucking ones evill, an other to infect. 46

The first Cupid can be found anywhere in Renaissance art. The other has iconographical roots in the grotesque Cupids of the Middle Ages, with their taloned feet and demonic associations. 47 Dicus's view is immediately condemned by
his audience, but the ugliness of human passion is as evident as is the beautiful in later developments in *Arcadia*.

More significant to our understanding of the role of art in the *Arcadia* is that Dicus accuses both poetry and painting of deceit. Artists combine, he says, to "fill the worlde with straunge but vayne conceypts." Sidney is far from certain about the role of art. Despite his strong arguments in the *Defence*, he shows in *Arcadia* that an audience will accept false but beautiful images as well as true ones. This uncertainty is reflected in his use of the word "paynte."

It has overtones of possible or actual falseness in phrases like "paynted wordes," "paynted passions," and "paynted glasse of pleasure." It is ambiguous in "God forbidd woemen such Cattel were / As you paynte them." Venus in Philisides's dream epitomizes the poet's uneasiness with the terms of art:

The other had with Arte (more than oure women knowe)  
As stuff ment for the sale sett out to glaring showe,  
A wanton woman's face, and wth curilde knottes had twynge,  
Her hayer wch by the help of Paynter's cunning shynde.  

In Arcadia, art can be deceptive, so that Musidorus's contention that Pyrocles has been tricked by Philoclea's portrait ("a very white and redd virtue, wch you coulde pick oute by the sighte of a picture,") is not mere peevishness. It has a sound basis in the ambiguity with which Sidney treats art in his romance.
The use of artifacts in the Old Arcadia is limited, but the important objects all serve to manifest inner realities and to show the characters' awareness of them. In this way, they are similar to the poems created by the main characters in the action. Pyrocles wears a jewel incorporating the device of an eagle covered with dove feathers beneath a dove. This indicates both the nature of his disguise and his captivity to the beauty of Philoclea. Pamela wears a jewel that is an index to her situation and her character. It is

...a jewell which she had devised as an Impresa, of her own estate, yt was a perfect white lambe tyed at a stake, with a great number of chaynys, as yt yt had beene feared leste the silly Creature should do some great harme, neyther had shee added any worde unto yt (whiche ys as yt were the lyfe of an Impresa) but even sylence as the worde of the pore Lambe, shewing such humblenes, as not to use her owne voyce for compleynete of her misery.\(^{53}\)

Musidorus gives Pamela a jewel to give to Mopsa

...an Alter of golde very full of the most esteemed stones, dedicated to Pollux, who because hee was made a God for his Brother Castors vertue, all the honours men did to him, seemed to have theyre finall intent to the greater God Castor: About it was written in Romane words, *Sic Vos Non Vobis.*\(^{54}\)

This token reveals not only his worth, but makes the object of his campaign clear to Pamela and to the reader.

Sidney was noted among his contemporaries for his delight in impresa and his skill in making them. The art
was an exercise in subtlety, for the *impresa* was supposed to reveal and conceal. Like Neoplatonic art, the device manifested a hidden truth beneath a delightful exterior, and the puzzle was to interpret the icon accurately. The word or epigram beneath provided a similar riddle. Only the skillful could interpret the more complicated *imprese* and those of members of the Platonic academies of Italy have provided keys to the iconography of Renaissance painting. Sidney makes his characters practitioners of this courtly form of Renaissance visual art, and expects his audience to take delight in it and instruction from it. There is no ambiguity in the devices of the Old Arcadia; each character chooses his art object with the specific end of manifesting an inner reality in order to communicate it to others.

The use of costume is similarly calculated. In this case, however, the two-sidedness of vision is clear. Pamela is dressed as a shepherdess, Philoclea as a nymph. Neither plays the part, however, and their costumes reveal that they are strangers in the pastoral world, noblewomen forced into uncongenial roles by filial obligation. Pamela is in velvet and gold lace, with her jewel at her breast. Philoclea is in light taffeta with an embroidered smock beneath. The costumes of the heroes are two-sided as well. Pyrocles Amazon costume is richly ornate, adorned with gold,
feathers and satin, jewels and lace. Thus it reveals his quality while disguising his sex. Musidorus's simple costume reveals his sex while disguising his quality. Most of the complications of the plot depend on the thwarting of vision effected by the latter two costumes.

iv: "Order in confusion": Art in the New Arcadia

There is much more iconographic and pictorial imagery in the New Arcadia than in the Old. However, the ends it is used to achieve are essentially the same. Sidney reuses almost all of the references to art from the first version, including not only the central portrait of Philoclea, but the portrait of Cupid and the references to mythological paintings. The changes between the two versions, however, are significant ones. The treatment of Philoclea's portrait is more extensive, and we first see it through Musidorus's eyes rather than those of Pyrocles. Each of the important jewels is changed. There is far more use of architecture and monuments. Finally, the tournament of beauty and the icons on armor are added, reflecting the dignity and concern with forms that is part of the heroic life.

The treatment of the portrait that precipitates the action of the plot is developed more fully to give a measure of the social context which becomes crucial in the New
Arcadia and to give the princesses a level of dignity they
did not have in the Old. In the original, Pyrocles and his
host are simply discovered in a "fayre gallery." In the 1590
version, the scene is pictorially rendered. The pavilion
containing the gallery is set in the midst of a "well arrayed
ground" that has the elements of field, garden and orchard
mingled in such just proportion that it seems not one thing,
but all three at once.

As soone as the descending of the stayres
had delivered them downe, they came into
a place cunninglie set with trees of the
most taste-pleasing fruites: but scarcelie
they had taken that into their consideration,
but that they were suddainely stept into
a delicate greene, of each side of the
greene a thicket bend, behinde the thickefts
again newe beddes of flowers, which being
under the trees, the trees were to them a
Pavilion, and they to the trees a mosaical
floore: so that it seemed that arte therein
would needes be delightfull by conterfating
his enemie error, and making order in confusion.55

Further, the real garden is mirrored in a pond, giving the
illusion of two gardens, "one in deede, the other in
shaddowes."56 The triple artistry of poetic garden, formal
garden and shadow garden is typical of the self-conscious
use to which Sidney puts artistic creations in the New
Arcadia.

Art is often the measure of the man in the New Arcadia.
In the original version, Kerxenus has virtually no character
until Book V. In the new version, however, Kalender becomes the ideal of the noble host and country gentleman. His garden is his own creation, his work of art, and its delightful beauty reflects his excellent taste and polish. It may be true that Sidney modelled his descriptions on those of the Greek romances, but what are "purple patches" in the romances are often made relevant to meaning in the Arcadia. Kalender has turned his piece of the natural world into a work of art, and the perfection of that art is an emblem of the order and beauty of his retired life.

The beautiful garden also serves as a setting for the gallery of goddesses in the summer house. This gallery, in turn, is the setting for the choicest piece in the collection, the portrait of Philoclea and her parents. The paintings of the mythological heroines, Diana, Atalanta, Helena, Io & Omphale are specifically the kinds of creations Sidney exalts in the Defence. Their creator is "the most excellent workman in Greece," and he develops their beauty only by ranging in the "Zodiakte of his own witte." Although his skill enables him to render the subtle emotion between disdain and shame in the flush on the cheek of his Diana and the liveliness which makes the eye believe it sees the Atalanta move, he is unable to render perfectly the beauty of Nature's masterpiece, Philoclea. The young princess's
beauty surpasses invention. Thus, in the New Arcadia, as in the Old, art remains the tool of man and therefore cannot reach the perfection possible to Nature, the tool of God.

In this 1590 fragment, Sidney chooses to have Musidorus see the portrait of Philoclea first. His response to the work of art is not immediate passion. Rather, his response parallels that of the reader. He is greatly impressed by such beauty; indeed, he violates his own code for the behavior of a guest to ask who and what this lovely person is. Musidorus's lack of involvement gives greater credibility to his estimate of the skill of the artist, yet even he comes to see that Nature's original far surpasses art's copy.

Each of the major jewels is changed in the New Arcadia to reflect modifications in the purpose it is to serve. At some point during the development of the romance, Sidney comes to recognize the ambiguity of Pyrocles's decision to disguise himself as an Amazon. One of the ways he reflects this is by changing from the eagle-dove jewel of the original to a device using the complex Hercules-Omphale myth. He has his young hero choose a jewel with "a Hercules made in little fourme, but a distaffe set within his hand as he once was by Omphale's commandment with a worde in Greeke, but thus to be interpreted, Never More Valiant."59
The development of the Hercules tradition through the Middle Ages provides various interpretations of the heroic myth, but in each the heroic stature of Hercules is seriously compromised by the Omphale episode. In the popular artistic theme of the choice of Hercules, rendered in *The Dream of Scipio* by Raphael, the hero chooses the active life of virtue over the passive life of pleasure. Yet, even this conscious dedication to the strenuous life proves insufficient to defend the hero from bondage to a woman. In the original myth, Hercules becomes a slave to Omphale, as punishment for murder. Zeus chooses that he should be humiliated at her hands. But, in the Renaissance version of the myth, the roles of Iole and Omphale become blurred, and patient endurance of just punishment becomes a weak surrender to passionate love of a woman. In the *Defence*, Sidney sees Hercules's situation as warranting scornful laughter.

Pyrocles's *impresa* does reveal the nature of his disguise. However, the motto, "never more valiant" does not eradicate the associations of weakness which the image bears in iconographic tradition. Musidorus, who remains, at least for a time, outside of the sphere of love's influence, responds to the emblem in the conventional manner, and comments scornfully to his friend, "a launder, a distaff spinner; Or what so ever other vile occupation their idle
heads can imagine." Within the sphere of love's power, however, Pyrocles sees all values rearranged. In his eyes, his action is justified because his humiliation in the eyes of the world is endured in order to serve his beloved. The ambiguity of the jewel forces the reader to analyze both \textit{visibilia} and word and to recognize that the only way in which Pyrocles can correlate the two into a logically consistent unity is by accepting a value system that defines the surrender of reason to passion as virtuous. The treatment of love in \textit{Arcadia} does not support such a system.

Pamela's \textit{impresa} also indicates a major change in Sidney's conception of her character. Her choice of jewel shows the validity of Kalender's estimate of the princesses.

\begin{quote}
Me thought there was more sweetness in Philoclea, but more majesty in Pamela: mee thought love plaide in Philoclea's eyes, and threatened in Pamela's: me thought. . . Pamela of high thoughts, who avoids not pride with not knowing her own excellencies, but by making one of her excellencies to be voide of pride; her mothers wisedome, greatness, nobility, but knit with a more constant temper.\
\end{quote}

The humility of the silent chained lamb is inappropriate to the one character who successfully subordinates passion to reason and defeats all attempts of the evil Cecropia to destroy her integrity. Sidney "figures forth" his new concept of her by having her wear a diamond starkly set in
black horn, with the motto "yet still myself." Like the diamond, her character endures through trials, nor can her beauty be eclipsed by an inappropriate setting. Her strength is developed in dramatic contrast to her sister's simplicity.

Sidney makes one other little change in Pamela's costume. The velvet gown of the original version becomes plain russet cloth in the New Arcadia. Even such a minute detail is used to increase the sense of Pamela's trials and to reflect the plainness of the setting which contains the diamond of her character. There is none of the extravagance of Pyrocles's disguise in the costuming of Pamela and none of the ambiguity of his impresa in hers.

Musidorus's gift to Mopsa in the Old Arcadia may have violated Sidney's standard of decorum. The ornate Castor and Pollux jewel, though it revealed his intentions to Pamela, was not really appropriate for Mopsa. The poet changes the jewel in the New Arcadia to a crab emblem. The end of the giving of the device is the same, to show his dedication to Pamela, but in the revision the means, the simpler jewel, is less blatantly directed toward the princess rather than the maid.

Sidney uses architecture as he uses jewels and heraldic devices, to provide an index to character by making
inner realities visible. The four significant structures in the New Arcadia are the house of Kalender and the lodge of Basilius in Book I, the castle of Chremes in Book II and the castle of Amphialus in Book III. Each dwelling provides a measure of its owner.

Kalender's house is emblematic of its master. As Strephon, Claius and Musidorus approach, they see . . . (with fit consideration both of the ayre, the prospect, and the nature of the ground) all such necessarie additions to a great house, as might well shewe, Kalender knew that provision is the foundation of hospitalitie, and thrift the Fewell of magnificence. The house it selfe was built of faire and strong stone, not affecting so much any extraordinary kinde of fineness, as an honorable representing of a firm stateliness. The lights, doores and staires, rather directed to the use of the guest, then to the eye of the Artificer: and yet as the one cheefly heeded, so the other not neglected; each place handsome without curiosuty, and homely without lothsomnes: not so dainty, as not to be trode on, nor yet slubbered up with good fellowshipe: all more lasting then beautiful, but that consideration of the exceeding lastingness made the eye believe it exceeding beautiful.65

The firmness of the house of Kalender provides a stable spot of order in a country that is threatened with internal disorder. The poet manifests an ideal of domestic tranquility and hospitality based in the house. The host within demonstrates a reasoned approach to the unknown as it is represented in Musidorus. Trusting in the judgment of
Strephon and Claius, as well as his own estimate of the young man, he welcomes the stranger and provides everything his careful management enables him to offer. The house, like the man, is ordered for the good of others.

Basilius's lodge reflects its owner's fantastic nature. Although it is as fine as Kalender says it is, it lacks the solidity and stability of the nobleman's house. The balance between utility and delight that is characteristic of the house and garden of Kalender is shifted in the direction of delight in the king's lodge. The house itself is built of yellow stone in the shape of a star,

...having round about a garden framed in like points and beyond the gardein, ridings cut out, each answering the Angles of the Lodge: at the end of one of them is the other smaller Lodge, but of like fashion; where the gratious Pamela liveth: so that the Lodge seemeth not unlike a faire Comete, whose tail stretcheth it selfe to a starre of lesser greatness.66

In the garden of the lodge there is a banqueting house containing an ingenious set of waterworks. The artisan has created imitation birds that not only appear real, but sing by water power. Further, there is a table which rotates by the movement of the water, which provides an emblem of Pyrocles's situation for his first eight weeks at the lodge of Basilius. Although seated, he moves
full circle, yet he never gets closer to Philoclea. The lodge and its environs are full of natural and artificial delights, but Sidney does not use words here that suggest firmness and order. Nor is there any indication that these works of art attempt to draw the mind upward to contemplate ideal truth and beauty. The arts of Basilius's lodge are escapist and they mirror the irresponsibility of the owner.

Chremes's house presents a dramatic contrast to that of Kalender: the one an emblem of inhospitality as the other is of hospitality. The old miser is unwilling to accept even his daughter as a houseguest, while Kalender welcomes the stranger with generosity. Chremes is "alredie half earthe" while Kalender, though elderly, participates fully in the pleasures of hunting and the duties of war. Chremes leads Pyrocles and Dido into

...so bare a house, that it was the picture of miserable happiness, and rich beggerie (served onely by a company of rusticall villaines, full of sweate and dust, not one of them other, then a laborer) in summe (as he counted it) profitable drudgerie: and all preparations bothe for foode and lodging such, as would make one detest nigardnesse, it is so sluttish a vice.57

House and entertainment mirror a character that has abandoned the basic duties of humanity in favor of the unreasonable pursuit of gold.
Amphialus's castle is an appropriate setting for a man who believes in force as the solution to social and personal problems. In it, hospitality is twisted into imprisonment and excused by passion twisted into a form of honor. It could have been a strong citadel of social order and hospitality, just as Amphialus could have been a strong prop for a faltering society. Instead, in the hands of its renegade owners, it becomes an emblem of the power of evil and the home of death and dishonor.

Sidney uses the visual arts to add the sense of spectacle to the New Arcadia. Spectacle was regarded as an essential part of the higher forms of literature, tragedy and heroic poetry, because it is emblematic of the kinds of lives persons of tragic or heroic stature must live. As in the court of Elizabeth, the ceremonials of the Arcadian court define their creators as persons of importance, trained in protocol and sensitive to the subtle uses of combat, of costume and of art. Skill in creation and appreciation of such devices, as Castiglione and other writers on courtesy stress repeatedly, are basic qualities separating the gentle person from the brutal mob. Sidney does not use the decorative life for its own sake. The visual imagery of the heroic world is integrated with the themes of the romance, reinforcing the poet's sense of the
importance of "figuring forth" inner values in concrete images.

The tournament of beauty in Book I of the New Arcadia provides an introduction to the lesser female characters in the work through a procession of portraits. The heraldic devices borne by the knights provide a visible catalogue of types of honor as the portraits do of beauty. In both cases, however, the artist himself is restricted. He becomes what Sidney had called in the Defence a meaner sort of artist. The inspiration of his work is not his; he only carries out his commission. He is not free to range in the realm of his own imagination. Thus, although his skillfulness in imitating nature may be cause for compliment, he is not stretching the mind of his audience toward the ideal as Sidney said the great artist should.

The tournament of beauty conceived by Artesia and executed by Phalantus, provides an index of beauty and its relation to virtue in Arcadia. Sidney is reluctant to draw a definite parallel between the two, for even in Arcadia beauty can cover a false heart. What emerges is a composite vision of Sidney's ideal beauty, in which physical charms work in harmony with a virtuous soul. As each portrait is introduced, the poet takes the opportunity to comment on particular aspects of beauty or ugliness
reflected by the subject. The spectacle as a whole, however, shows Sidney's ambiguous attitude toward art, for all the artistic skill finally makes falseness beautiful. Phalantus himself does not believe in the proposition that he is defending, and the "love" that motivated the contests proves to be a sham of pride.

There are eleven portraits important enough to be carried in the procession, although Basilius indicates that Phalantus has many more that he has left behind. As Miss Lindheim suggests, it is useful to look at some of them in pairs, for Sidney seems to be setting up the order on the basis of comparison and contrast. He bases his judgment of the ladies on an ideal of harmony between body and soul which is possessed only by Parthenia, Pamela, and Philoclea. Even Helen of Corinth comes close, for "some would have judged it the painter's exercise to show what he could do, than the counterfaiting of any living pattern." Neither physical beauty nor spiritual alone is enough to reach the ideal, although either kind of beauty or the possession of power can find a woman her defender.

The first pair sets up the material-spiritual antithesis that is basic to Sidney's exploration of beauty. Andromana, Queen of Iberia, is criticized for her physical
imperfections, her too red hair and too small eyes. The
Princess of Elis, subject of the second portrait, fails to
achieve true beauty not so much because of a lack of physical
qualities as because she lacks "majestie," "grace," and
"favor."70 The natural beauty of Artaxia is ruined by lack
of feminine sweetness, but the physical imperfections of
Erona are to some extent redeemed by her appealing delicacy
and "pitiful looke."71 Baccha and Leucippe provide the
contrast between over-familiarity and demureness. The
seventh portrait stands somewhat in opposition to the
preceding two, which portray ladies of gentle, but not
royal blood: "she was a Queene, and therefore beautiful."72
The contrast between Helen and Parthenia is largely a
matter of self-confidence. The former, beautiful as she is,
is uncertain that anything she does to adorn herself will
be sufficient to appeal to the one judge she cares about.
Parthenia, on the other hand, reflects the security of a
woman confident that she is loved and dresses simply, "having
no adorning but cleanliness; and so farre from all arte,
that it was full of carelessness: unless that carelesnesse
it selfe (in spite of it selfe) grew artificial."73 Urania's
portrait provides a contrast to that of the Queen of Laconia,
for her beauty shows through her poverty. This is the only
portrait in which there is action, and Urania's single-
minded concentration on her little act of charity defines her. The last portrait, that of Plexirtus's daughter, the dead Zelmane, brings us back to the princesses of Arcadia, for Zelmane, like the portrait in Kalender's summer house, is but an imperfect image of Philoclea, nature's masterpiece. One is reminded again that the art which can successfully render the appearance and character of all these beauties falls short before the perfection of Philoclea.

Sidney uses the painter's craft to make character visible through armor. The _impresa_ is as much a delight to the knights of Arcadia as it was to the courtiers of the Renaissance. Like the portraits of the women, the devices of the men at the tournament of beauty and later in the duels with Amphialus, allow the reader to compare one knight with another. The devices for the most part define the man's love relation to a woman, as well as his individual rank and wealth. The armor of Phalantus, for instance, provides an emblem for his state and that of the men he conquers. He is trapped into the contests as the fishes are in the net portrayed on his armor. The sweetness of Urania and the quality of Nestor's passion for her are reflected in his device of a fire of Juniper, with the word "more easie and more sweet." Perhaps the most striking device in the tournament of beauty is that
of Phebilus, whose futile passion is rendered in his armor
". . .of a Sea couler, his Impresa, the fish called Sepia,
which being in the nette castes a black inke about it
selfe, that in the darkenesse thereof it may escape: his
worde was Not so."74

The visual art of most imprese depends on the verbal.
Without it, the visibilia can delight, but the teaching
depends on the integration of emblem and word. The artist
is limited to precise imitation of nature. Like the
portrait painter in the Defence, and the historian, he is
tied to the truth of a foolish world. In the New Arcadia,
as in the Old, the ideal is beyond the reach of the visual
arts.

Like the artifacts within it, the golden world of
Arcadia is a work of art, a piece of nature ornamented by
man. It, too, falls short of the ideal. The visual
imagery through which Sidney renders the natural phenomena
of Arcadia relates it to the earlier Arcadias of literature,
and to the earthly paradise, but, more importantly, it
relates nature to art. Sidney's rivers are crystalline or
silver and his meadows are enamelled with flowers. The
poet's landscape is not a purely natural phenomenon. It
is in large part the creation of generations of men. The
land has not been granted any special blessedness save
that which generations of wise rulers have given it, the peace in which man can domesticate nature, bring it into the order and beauty of art.

The poet makes the dependence of natural beauty on man clear in the contrast of Arcadia with Laconia in Book I of the New Arcadia. The natural world lies ready for man's hand, and he makes of it a Laconia or an Arcadia through his arts. His houses and his gardens, his fields and pastures are its ornaments. Claius emphasizes the role of man in relation to nature when he points out that it is man that has "disfigured" the nature of Laconia and peace and good husbandry that have "decked" the country of Arcadia. Of course, since the beauty of Arcadia is made by man perfecting nature, that more than natural beauty can be destroyed by man's misdeeds. The beauty of Arcadian nature is not ideal because it is mutable. It is violated by the evil that unleashes the lion and the bear, by the superstition that leads Basilius to abandon his responsibility and by the fallen nature of man that creates rebellion and senseless death.

Sidney's golden world is much darker than previous Arcadian because of the poet's stress on the role of man in creating its beauty. In Sannazaro's Arcadia, beauty is inherent in nature, and man does not add substantially to
it. Its order is not threatened by the violence of the outside world. The ruin indicated in the epilogue is the result of the natural phenomenon of death and nature's sensitivity to the loss of the poet's beloved. Similarly, in Montemayor's *Diana*, the other main pastoral source for Sidney's romance, the characters pose no threat to nature. They are not responsible for maintaining the social order that preserves the land, and, despite their emotional problems the land remains, a constant backdrop for their activities. In Sidney's *Arcadia*, everything is interdependent. Land and society are part of the post-lapsarian world and both are subject to the evil in post-lapsarian man.

Sidney's concern to have his audience see man, society and nature as interrelated parts of a whole is reflected in his concern with perspective. In the art of the Renaissance, there was a great deal of experimentation done to try to place man in relation to his surroundings, to allow man to see wholes in art rather than fragments. Sidney attempts to reproduce such visual experiences in his rendering of scene. In a typical scene of this type, Sidney establishes foreground and background and disposes his characters in significant relationship. Thus, when the poet sets the scene in the New *Arcadia* for the telling of the story of Basilius's retirement, he places the portrait in a central position in the background and sets
Kalender and Musidorus in front of it, one on each side. Constant reference is made to the painting to keep us aware of its presence. Such elaborate rendering of scene forces the meeting with Helen, the tournament of beauty, the battles, and Cecropia's meeting with the Princesses into the foreground of the reader's consciousness. In many cases, dramatic pictorial rendering of scene must provide the stress that was given by comments of the narrator in the original version.

Sidney's strong sense of theater, so evident in the structure of the Old Arcadia, is most important in the pictorial imagery of the New. The natural world of Arcadia is groomed by man to provide an appropriate setting for his activities. Thus, the pastorals are celebrated in a natural theater perfected by art.

It was indeed a place of delight; for thorow the middest of it, there ran a sweet brooke, which did both hold the eye open with her azure streams, and yet seeke to close the eie with the purling noise it made upon the pibble streams it ran over: the field it self being set in some places with roses, & in all the rest constantly preserving a flourishing greene; the Roses added such a ruddy shew unto it, as though the field were bashful at his owne beautie: about it (as if it had beeene to enclose a Theater) grew such a sort of trees, as eyther excellency of growth, continuall greenes, or poeticall fancies have made at any time famous. In most part of which there had beeene framed by art such pleasant
arbors, that, (one tree to tree answering another) they became a gallery aloft from almost round about, which below gave a perfect shadow, a pleasant refuge from the cholericke looke of Phoebus.\textsuperscript{76}

Nature, through art, thus becomes an appropriate stage on which man can articulate his inner conflict. The limits of our vision are set by the poet so we may concentrate on the actions within the setting.

v : "The Spider's Webbe": Renaissance Perspective and the Structure of the two Arcadias

Wylie Sypher's theory of Renaissance style suggests an analogical relationship between the development of the third dimension and scientific perspective in painting and an increased attention to the relationship between character and scene in literature. The end of both systems is the creation of a vision of man in the context of this world, as opposed to the fragmented vision of Gothic art that relates man to an eternal world beyond. Almost as soon as such an ordered vision was established, however, artists began to put stress on various parts of the system, testing its ability to reflect the tensions working against stability and order in the world. Harmony, proportion and unity finally exist only in the world of ideal forms; even in art this order is threatened by the subjective perception
of man.

Sidney's attempt to create an ordered and balanced work of art and his concern with the interrelatedness of man and his natural and social environments set up the conflict that results in two *Arcadias*. The Old *Arcadia*, as both Ringler and Lanham point out, is rigidly structured according to the rules for classical comedy. What Sypher calls far-seeing, that is, maintaining distance from the subject, is central to comedy. So, the reader's perspective is made to depend, in the Old *Arcadia*, not so much upon what he sees, but upon the judgments of the sophisticated and often ironic narrator. Whenever the danger of involvement becomes too strong, the narrator intrudes to separate reader and material and to dictate the expected response. For example, when Gynecia discovers that the man who is in bed with her is Basilius rather than Pyrocles, consideration of the moral problems involved is set up by the narrator's remark "Fayre Ladyes, yt ys better to knowe by imaginacyon, then experience?"77 Similarly, the seduction of Philoclea, which we might well regard with unleavened seriousness, is treated ironically by the narrator, who sees Pyrocles as "beginning to envy Argus thowsand eyes Briierius hundred handes."78 The reader's vision is constrained by this narrator, who regards man in the bonds of passion as a
foolish and even comic creature, rather than a potentially tragic victim.

In Sypher's terms, the Old Arcadia is a typical Renaissance composition, closed and linear. The pressure exerted is all inward from the framing borders of Arcadia. Past time is largely irrelevant and the references to the outside world are limited. Evarchus enters the last act from an outer world that has almost as little relation to Arcadia as the wings of a stage have to the imagined world on the stage. The mention of the exploits of the princes in other lands serve only to define them as heroes; they do not significantly modify their conduct within Arcadia or provide a meaningful counter-pressure to the straightforward chronological progression of the plot. The emphasis on plot means that the Old Arcadia is highly developed in the foreground. The major characters move, with a minimum of scene changes, within the limits of an unbroken plane. They are clearly outlined from the beginning, and the poet does not choose to develop them with the shadowing of similar and contrasting characters. What is important here is the love intrigue. The eclogues may be regarded as existing in another plane, but, as in a painting by Botticelli, the planes are distinctly separate, a series of surfaces. They do not merge and become part of
recessional space. Paraphrasing Lanham, one may argue that the structure of the Old Arcadia is too rigid, not too loose, that, like the art of the Early Renaissance, it is kept from being human by the artist's strict attention to the structural theories of academic humanism.

Sidney puts considerable stress on the structures of romance in the New Arcadia, creating what Sypher calls interferences and transformations. In place of the closed and balanced order of the Old Arcadia, the reader finds a highly complicated work of art operating in many planes, that do sometimes merge to give a sense of a whole world in three dimensions. He finds a new and more complex system of icons, as was indicated above. Most important, though, he finds himself forced to work through multiple systems of vision and to cope with the frustrations of partial and inadequate vision. With the characters, he must estimate the truth or falsehood of appearances, integrate the fragments he perceives into a coherent whole and readjust the picture when he discovers his errors. A new dimension of reality invades the romance world in the New Arcadia in the form of a relevant past, social problems and concern with ultimate ends. Sidney attempts to create characters to cope with these realities and in doing so finds that they no longer belong to the world of romance.
The fragmentary state of the New *Arcadia* may well be the result of a testing of the limits of vision and the limits of romance form.

The poet's control of the reader's vision and judgment is lessened in the New *Arcadia* because of the absence of a narrator. No longer can distance be maintained by the ironic aside to the fair ladies. Sidney's use of the third person objective voice is consistent with Renaissance theory of heroic poetry, but it does not maintain the distance necessary to support a comic plot. Moreover, much of what the reader sees is governed by characters rather than the narrative voice, and the result is a degree of multiple perspective. In the first four chapters alone, we see from the points of view of Strephon, Claius, Musidorus, Kalender and the Steward. Such near-seeing breaks the plane of the structure and adds to the awareness of the difficulty of seeing wholes in this world.

Our vision is often filtered through a number of observers, giving a sense of recession. In Book I, for instance, Musidorus, abandoned by the hospitable Kalender for a reason unknown to him, seeks illumination from the nobleman's steward. The latter, hoping that Musidorus can help his master, reports what he knows of Kalender's grief. In order to make it clear, he has to present not only the
picture of Clitophon's capture, but the whole set of scenes that compose the story of Argalus and Parthenia. Central to this story is a problem of vision, the disfigurement of Parthenia. Thus, we, as readers, see through Musidorus and the Steward into the experience of love and vision that is the interpolated story. From this event in the dimension of the past lines reach into the fictional future to the deaths of the lovers. But we see only partially in Book I.

Sidney's presentation of the past of the princes in the New *Arcadia* poses a series of counter-thrusts against the linear chronological movement of the plot, thus providing another dimension for the romance. Richard Chase, in his discussion of the romance form, says that one of its characteristics is its freedom from involvement either with society or with the past. Sidney involves his characters with both. His vision of the fictional world of Arcadia is that it is like a web. Any one strand has connections to myriad others, either directly or indirectly. The actions of a man in the past have implications for himself and society in the present. Pamela's speech in Book III shows the deep space of a universal order that works against the single plane of comedy. The delicate balance of the poet's romance is deeply disturbed by the
introduction of the serious personal and political issues he seems to feel are necessary to heroic poetry. Sidney may well have recognized when he abandoned the work that his original romance structure could not bear the burden of thought and heroic action that he had imposed upon it.

If Sidney is testing the limits of romance in the New Arcadia, he is also testing the limits of human vision. The characters, as well as the reader, face the problem of trying to see clearly in this complex fictional world and, like the reader, they are continually brought up against their own limitations. The maze-like structure of the New Arcadia frustrates the reader's attempt to absorb all the details. The absence of the clear frame that governed the Old Arcadia invests the New with an element of uncertainty, as though the actions of characters and forces we cannot see may at any moment upset the tenuous order we do see. As we will see in the following chapters, the order of vision is a questionable one, for any system is only as reliable as the perceiver. Like the order of art, perceptual systems stimulated by love, by heroism, by reason can be profoundly true. But they can also be deceitful, masking the truth by distorting the vision of the perceiver.
FOOTNOTES


2 Castiglione, p. 78.


4 Buxton, pp. 100-101.

5 Buxton, p. 101.


8 Buxton, Elizabethan Taste, p. 106.

9 Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney, p. 70.

10 Buxton, Elizabethan Taste, p. 106.

11 Wallace, p. 132.
Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney, p. 151.


Bate, p. 55.


Hagstrum, p. 10.

Hagstrum, p. 58.

Weinberg, p. 281.

Works, III, p. 9.

Works, III, p. 10.

Works, III, p. 17.

Works, III, p. 10.


27 Works, III, p. 7.


30 Works, III, p. 20.

31 Works, III, p. 18.


33 Hardison, p. 41.

34 Hardison, p. 40.

35 Hardison, p. 40.

36 Works, III, p. 42.

37 Works, III, p. 42.

39Hagstrum, p. xx1.

40Works, IV, pp. 8-9.

41Works, IV, p. 218.

42Works, IV, p. 190.


44Hogan, p. 9.

45Hogan, p. 9.

46Works, IV, p. 61; and Works, I, p. 238.


48Works, IV, p. 61.

49Works, IV, pp. 228, 198, 331.

50Works, IV, p. 244.

51Works, IV, p. 315.

52Works, IV, p. 20.


67 Works, I, p. 274.


69 Works, I, p. 103.

70 Works, I, p. 102.

71 Works, I, p. 102.

72 Works, I, p. 103.

73 Works, I, pp. 103-104.

74 Works, I, p. 107.


76 Works, I, pp. 118-119.

77 Works, IV, p. 214.

78 Works, IV, p. 227.

CHAPTER III

THE QUEST FOR LIGHT:
REASON AND VISION IN ARCADIA

Sidney's interest in the visual in art, and with art as a means of instruction, is symptomatic of a deeper concern with enabling man to see well that he may act well. As a Christian he is aware that the spiritual eye of man, darkened by the Fall, can be "onely cleered by fayth."\(^1\) Nevertheless, as a Renaissance man he believes in the necessity of bringing the system of vision called reason to the highest degree of enlightenment possible. This, in the Defence, is the justification for poetry. It, rather than philosophy or history, is the first "lightgiver to ignorance."\(^2\)

In the Arcadia Sidney is similarly concerned with the degree of vision possible to human reason. In both versions, however, he is less optimistic about the power of reason to distinguish between the beauty of the good and the ugliness of evil. He is less confident about the ability of reason to translate its vision of order into right human behavior. The subordinate systems developed by the exercise of reason to create such order all fall short when they are used to try to solve the problems caused by the conflict of human wills in the golden world. The best that enlightened human reason can achieve
in the Old Arcadia is found in Pyrocles’s speech on man’s relation to the Divine. The best it can do in the New Arcadia is found in the creation of Evarchus’s government and Pamela’s declaration of faith. In the Old Arcadia the workings of Everlasting Justice, not man’s limited reason, restore order. The New Arcadia breaks off before evil can be totally defeated and order restored. In the darker world of the New Arcadia evil and death are real even for the noble characters; the struggle to see clearly belongs to the reader as well as the actors. The comfortable confidence in Divine Justice provided by the narrator in the older version is gone, human reason is terribly limited, and the light of Revelation is unknown. Only the quest for light as the proper end of man remains.

i: "Our Owly Eyes": Human Reason and Universal Order in Renaissance Thought

Pyrocles’s speech in prison defines the appropriate end of man as the union of the best part of himself with the Divine. That such a realization is part of the pastoral tradition has been convincingly argued by Walter R. Davis, but he has maintained that the revelation occurs in the cave, which he sees as the sacred heart of the pastoral world. In both versions of Arcadia, the prison, not the cave, is the scene of man’s crucial perception of his relation to the transcendent world.
Unable to act, trapped by his own sins, the young prince's reason is still able to achieve a moment of insight into his future. Pyrocles sees the human condition as a dark prison from which death will provide escape. Then only the pure intelligence will be preserved, "that very intelligence, which as while yt was here, yt helde the chief seate of oure life, and was as yt were the laste sorte, to which of all our knouledges the highest appeale came, and so by that meanes was never ignorant of oure actions (though many tymes rebelliusly resisted, alwayes with this prison darkened)." The soul of man comes from the universal life, "where all Infinite knowledge is." into the body and the dark sinful world. It thus becomes subject to fortune and, because it will sin, to divine justice. The difference between the kinds of spiritual illumination possible in the two worlds "ys as hard for us to conceyve, as yt hathe beene for us when we were in oure Mothers wombes to comprehend (yf any body could have tolde us) what kynde of lighte we now in this world see, what kind of knowledge we nowe have." In death, Pyrocles concludes triumphantly, we are reborn into the ideal world, into a condition where the inner eye of intelligence sees not merely the outside "colours" of things, but their true essences, and all is united "in that hye and heavenly Love of the unquenchable Light."

Consistent with the Christian tradition, Sidney figures
forth the Divine as light. In Augustine and the other Christian fathers, in scripture and in the creed, God is identified with uncreated light, "God of God, Light of Light." He first acts to create light, the emanation of himself, which takes human form in Christ, the Light of the World. Man in Eden was able to see the divine light. Once sin came into the world with the Fall, however, man's eye became darkened, and so he was separated from direct participation in the divine light. The nature of his corrupted vision is reflected in the poem with which Musidorus replies to Pyrocles's declaration of faith.

Our Owly Eyes which dymm'd with passions bee,
And Scarce discerne the Dawne of Coming Daye,
Lette them be Clearde, and nowe begin to See,
Oure Lyfe ys butt a Stepp in Dusty Way.
Then lett us holde the Bliss of Peacefull Mynde,
Since this wee feele, great Loss wee can not fynde. 8

In the post-fall world man's nature is to be almost completely blind. Only the weak and imperfect light of intelligence is left to him. Yet only thus, though he lives "in such shadowe or rather pit of Darkness" can "wormish mankind" struggle toward the light of the highest powers.

That the inner eye of intelligence can only be perfected after death in union with the Divine makes Pyrocles's speech Christian rather than purely classical. His "intelligence" Augustine calls the ratio. It is distinct from the light by which external things are seen, which is called sensation,
because it is more refined. Emmanuel Chapman writes that "This light is higher and more perfect than the sensible lights, not only in regard to its specific nature, but also with respect to its intelligible objects and certitude. . . . This light enables man to perceive created, sensible things and to arrive at their intelligible reasons. It travels from the known to the unknown, and arrives at an insight into justice, chastity, faith, truth, charity and similar notions, all of which transcend sense perception." The ratio is not perfect light, however, for it is mutable and subject to the frailties of all things human. It varies in its effectiveness and its judgments are not always valid. Yet it is all the light that is left to man in the absence of the given lights of divine revelation and grace. And, in Sidney's view, its power is sufficient to lead man to an awareness of the order of the universe and thence to a belief in a Creator.

In Renaissance philosophy "right reason" is treated as a system of vision. The system assumes the existence of an inner, 'spiritual eye corresponding to the outer, physical eye. As the outer eye responds to symmetry, color and light, recognizing the stimuli of the outer world, so the inner eye responds to the invisible beauty of abstractions like beauty and virtue. Both respond to order, to symmetry, balance and proportion, the mathematical harmonies that govern the universe. The inner eye,
according to Plato, should be able to see the truths of morality by measuring conduct against the beauty and order of the universe. If conduct creates order and beauty similar to that of the world, right reason sees it as reasonable and therefore good. Codes of morality, then, are the product of the vision of reason; an attempt to make the life of man into an order that will mirror that of God's creation. Thus, Plato declares, "God invented and gave us sight to the end that we might behold the courses of intelligences in the heavens and apply them to the courses of our own intelligence which are akin to them, the unperturbed to the perturbed; and that we, learning them and partaking of the natural truth of reason, might imitate the absolutely unerring courses of God and regulate our own vagaries."10

Inner vision, as innately part of being human as physical vision, was, like the latter, subject to cultivation or to abuse. The man who exercised his inner faculty of reason in the ordering of his life lived up to the fullest potential of being a man. This was the highest ideal of the pagan philosophy of reason, which held that man was finally perfectible. It was also the basis of its deep concern with education. One's inner eye can be trained to perceive order and can experience vicariously the correlation of human life to that perception through philosophy, history and art.
The cultivation of reason is basic to the exercise of the art of government and the creation of an orderly state. Therefore, the failure to cultivate inner vision is a public as well as a private failure, especially for the man of rank. In the Ethics Aristotle stresses the necessity of converting right thinking into right action. "By intellectual virtue he means not only logical consistency, but wisdom of insight, the kind of ability displayed, for instance, by a good governor of a state. . . . Right thinking is after all indispensable to right action, and our ability to achieve a good end depends in great part upon our knowledge and opinion of the end sought for, as well as upon our selection of the means to achieve it."11 In the humanistic philosophy of Greece man has the potential to achieve the highest ideal of humanity if only he will exercise his inner eye to the fullest and make his life and the life of his society conform to his vision of the ideal. He is both capable of and responsible for distinguishing between the absolutes of good and evil, order and disorder. The end of man is achievement in this life and, according to Cicero, ". . . if this soul has been so trained, if its power of vision has been so cared for that it is not blinded by error, the result is mind made perfect, that is complete reason, and this means also virtue."12

The radical Protestant view of man was less sanguine
than that of the humanist philosophers, less so even than Augustine's. Total depravity meant total spiritual blindness. Through the Fall man violated not only God's command, but a law of his own being. Only the light of Grace can enable him to see again the true order and beauty of the universe. Thus the systems which, in his pride, he constructs to enable him to "see" are all deceits. The reliance on reason itself is doomed to failure, for reason is a human faculty and therefore doomed to err. Unable to distinguish between good and evil, man wanders in a labyrinth of sin. This extreme view was taken by many strict Calvinists and Lutherans, but even the more liberal Christian humanists saw man as severely limited in his power to make right choices through reason. "That power is returned to man only through grace. . . . To achieve it involves the effort to make reason and desire one, as they are in God."13

Sidney is both a good, though moderate Protestant and a classically educated Renaissance man. As a result, his work shows tension between the two attitudes toward reason. Typically, in the _Defence_, he delights in what man's skill can achieve in terms of art and the ordered life. He sees reason as the ultimately human characteristic, but at the same time he is aware of its inadequacy.
In the two Arcadias similar evidence of tension appears. His heroes and heroines are trained in the arts of reason, and should be able to distinguish between good and evil, eloquence and sophistry, honor and false pride. They should be able to enforce good conduct in themselves and in others. But Sidney makes even his central figures fallen creatures. Their reason is imperfect, clouded. Though they sometimes show great insight, they are sometimes deceived by appearances, and the limits of their vision impairs their effectiveness against evil.

Seeing reasonably is not solely a problem for the characters in Sidney's romance. As readers, we, too, are expected to judge between the truly beautiful and that which is only apparently so. In the Old Arcadia, the tightly reasoned structure of the comedy that Richard Lanham has shown keeps the reader at a distance and thus prevents him from participating fully in the effort to see clearly. Using the narrator as the principal observer, Sidney defines appropriate ways of seeing from the outset, so that the reader is placed in the godlike position of knowing the truth and having the means to make correct judgments, while the characters struggle for enlightenment. The humor, of course, depends partly on this
superior vision. Characters who are pawns manipulated into ludicrous situations by the blind gods Love and Fortune can be laughed at.

The opening of the Old Arcadia is a typical example of this superior sort of seeing. We are given the stable Duke-dom of Arcadia and then presented with Basilius's crime, which begins the disintegration of that stability. The narrator defines Basilius's act as a crime against reason and the gods by labelling the sibyl who sends the Duke the oracle as "appointed to that impiety" as well as by establishing Philanax, who criticizes his ruler's action, as a loyal and virtuous counsellor. The crime is that of trying to see beyond the limits allowed to humanity by the gods, trying to see the future. Acting on the basis of the masked words of the sibyl, Basilius succeeds in bringing his country, ordered by a succession of enlightened men, makers of good laws, to the brink of civil war. He is presumptuously confident in his own vision so that he rejects the advice of his "one chosen frende, not only in affection but judgment."¹⁴ He is unwilling to grant that another may see clearly where he himself is blind, "so was he greeved to have any man say that, which hee had not seene."¹⁵

Philanax is the voice of reason in Book I. He suggests that his superior vision in this case is a result of his lack
of involvement, that he "like a man in a valley may discerne
hills, or like a poor passenger may espy a rock."16 In fact, his is the vision of reason. Reason defines piety as the
appropriate attitude toward the gods. Piety suggests that knowledge of the future is part of godly vision, but not human
vision. The truth of this is proved out in the comedy, for Basilius cannot probe the masked words of the oracle.

The wise counsellor suggests that man is equipped with a system of vision, which, although it does not let him avoid
the evils of the world, will let him bear them. "Wisdom and vertue bee the only destynes appointed to man to follow,
wherein one oughte to place all his knowledge; synce they bee suche guydes as can not fayle, which besydes theyre inward Comforte do make a man see so direct a way of proceeding, as prosperity must necessarily ensewe: And allthough the wickedness of the worlde shoulde oppress yt, yet, coulde it not bee sayde, that evell happened to him, who should fall accompanied with vertue."17 We are able to see the rightness of this advice not only because of our own reason, but because appropriate responses are dictated by the words of the narrator. Basilius, blinded by his own pride and unable to see the beauty of virtue as Philanax sets it forth, only learns at the end of Book V what we already know.

In the New Arcadia the reader participates far more in the
effort to understand the sights he sees and the word pictures given him by the characters. The Defence has come between the two Arcadias, and the poet, partially, perhaps, because he has changed genre, now "figures forth" the problems of seeing clearly rather than giving his readers vision substantially superior to that of the characters. The strict chronological time scheme of the Old Arcadia, which gave artificial clarity to events, is replaced by an order of partial perceptions, which reason must re-order to understand. The narrative voice which addresses the "fayre ladies" in order to establish their view of the reasonable and good is replaced by an impersonal narrator. Thus much that separates reader from action and maintains the comic tone is gone. The New Arcadia is far less comfortable than the Old, for from the outset our vision is tested with that of the characters, and our tentative judgments prove wrong. Sidney's new art, like that of the great Renaissance painters, yields its treasure of meaning only after a strenuous effort of the reason.

The opening scenes of the New Arcadia, like those of the Old, provide typical instances of the kind of seeing that goes on in the work. In rapid succession the lamenting shepherds, the half-drowned Musidorus, the wreck and the pirates are presented to the inner eye, but no grounds are presented for more than tentative interpretations of them. We see only partially,
until time provides further opportunities to discover who these persons are, how they got to this point in time and what relation they bear to the larger scheme of things in the golden world. No clear-cut definitions are given, no assessments are made by an all-knowing narrator. Instead, there is ambiguity: the love of Strephon and Claius, which is both joy and misery; the determination of Musidorus not to live after the death of his friend, which is both folly and devotion; the wreck, which is a disaster, both of human and natural evil.

In fact, the opening of the New Arcadia provides an emblem of the experience of the princes in the world and in Arcadia, but only later does this become apparent. Only the retrospective narrative of Book II fills out the picture of the wreck. Only the experience of love in Book I and in the poems enables us to understand the nature of Strephon and Claius's love. Even then, the pictures remain incomplete because of the fragmentary nature of the text. Sidney presents a picture of the truth to us in the opening scenes of the New Arcadia, but as Basilius with the oracle, we are unable to read it. Throughout this version of the romance, the poet shows the limits of our vision by means of his structure.
"Winning the Mind: Education and Reason"

As the previous chapter showed, Sidney was aware of, and concerned with the organizational problems of art. He was interested in the techniques of converting the visions of the inner eye of the artist into systems that could communicate that Idea or Fore-conceit to another. How, at the same time, could he create a veil that would conceal his ideal knowledge from the unworthy? Only the few, like Strephon and Claius and the heroes and heroines of the Arcadia, can probe the veil of beauty with the inner eye and discover the kernel within the husk.

Appreciation of the hidden meanings of art is a measure of the quality of the inner vision in characters in the Arcadia. The act of designing a work of art is an act of reason; the act of understanding it is another. As Castiglione's courtier must have a knowledge of the forms and hidden meanings of artifacts, so, too, must Sidney's noble figures. Indeed only the nobility exercises itself in art, testing the inner eye of reason with the iconographical problems of jewelry and painting. Thus, Pamela's success in reading the hidden meaning of Musidorus's jewel is a measure of her real inner worth, just as his skill in horsemanship is a measure of his.

Sophisticated reasoning is not innate, even in the golden world of Arcadia. The dim spark that allows man to see order as good has to be nourished. Only if the light of reason in the
inner eye is cultivated by education, if man makes himself into a work of art reflecting the immutable inner laws of the universe, will he be able to endure the vicissitudes of fortune. The learned man, the true artist, is thus also an artifact. Only through the discipline of his art can he bring the inner light out into the world. So, too, the good king brings the light of rational order through his own life into society. So, too, the good man becomes, in himself, a light of virtue shining in the darkness of a sinful world, enabling other men to see.

The basis of the reasoned life, one that is "made" or "artificial" in the highest sense, is found in the education and training of the maker, the individual man. The Renaissance placed great value on learning, as Douglas Bush has pointed out, "Renaissance poets, good or bad, seldom desired or received a higher tribute than the epithet 'learned.'" Panofsky and others have shown conclusively that the Italian artists and artisans had to be learned to create pieces that would satisfy their highly cultivated patrons. Most important, learning was central to the life of the Renaissance princes and noblemen, and much effort went into developing plans for their educations. Only the learned man, the skillful practitioner of the art of government, could bring the light of reason to bear on the forces operating in this brave new world and reduce them to order.

The Defence shows that Sidney was interested in the role
of art in education. The end of art is the end also of education, the creation of the good man. The good man is, by definition, the reasonable man. The role of art in education is to manifest the inner beauty of virtue, to draw the eyes of the young to it, so that they will strive to make its beauty their own. By holding up his delightful golden world to the contemplation of mankind, the poet hopes to lead man to aspire to create a better world. This is part of Sidney's justification for the existence of poetry, that it is the best teacher of moral excellence, "winning...the mind from wickedness to vertue." Since it shows not only the beauty of virtue, but the ugliness of vice in visual examples, art can show man not only his possibilities, but his self-deceptions. Thus the good and learned poet, like Xenophon, can provide the world with many good men, with many Cyrus. The enlightenment of the reason made possible through art enables men to see the order of creation and to strive to recreate it in society.

Sidney rejects primitivistic assertions of the value of "natural" ignorance both in the Defence and in the Arcadias. The darkened reason of natural man makes ignorance dangerous, even when it masquerades under the epithet innocence. Ignorance makes men victims of fortune, of vice, and of the machinations of evil men. Although men innately possess measures of both good and evil, the struggle between the two is inherently
unequal. Man's delight in himself, his vain pride, will lead him to sin and folly. Like another Anglican thinker, Hooker, Sidney believes that a spark of light remains in the mind of fallen man. If nourished, it can enable man to maintain some dignity and honor in his struggle against evil, and, possibly, to create some order and beauty in his life.

The ignorance of the lower class characters in the Arcadia is comic, save when they become involved in public affairs. Then they become dangerous, for their lack of judgment makes them easy victims of their own fears and ambitions or of rabble-rousers like Clinias. Dametas, for instance, is the emblem of comic ignorance until his blind cowardice becomes a threat to Pamela. Unaware of the systems of conduct worked out by reason and unable to see the distortion of appropriate order inherent in his appointment as guardian to Pamela, Dametas changes from an acceptable herdsman to a boasting bully.

It is Basilius rather than Dametas who bears the major responsibility for the reversal of the natural order of things that puts a herdsman in charge of the princess. Dametas has had no training in the arts of reason; Basilius willfully ignores them. The Duke is self-blinded, and the flattering courtiers around him reinforce his distorted vision of Dametas. "His silence grew wit, his bluntness integritie, his beastly ignorance vertuous simplicitie."²⁰ Philanax argues against the
consignment of Pamela to the care of such a creature, for
"besydes that, ye thinge in yt self ys straungye, yt comes of a
very yll grounde, that ignorance shoulde be ye mother of faith-
fulness. O, no, hee can not bee good, that knows not whye he
ys good, but stands so farr good, as his fortune may keepe him
unassayed, but coming to yt his rude simplicity ys eyther easily
chaunged, or easily deceyved: And so growes that to be the last
excuse of his faulte, wh seemed might have beene the first
foundation of his faythe."21 In the New Arcadia, Sidney is con-
cerned with power as a force that can distort the human reason,
and has the judicious Kalender observe that Basilius is typical
of many rulers in "thinking nothing so absurde, which they can-
not make honorable."22 The clear vision of reason is very im-
portant to powerful men, but it is rare to find it among them.

Ignorance in the individual lower class person can
usually be controlled in the golden world. However, a mob of
ignorant peasants presents a real and present danger to the
commonwealth. The mob is little more than a herd of beasts led
by emotion rather than reason. Unequipped by training to judge
between eloquence reflecting truth and false rhetoric covering
evil, they can be made to follow rumor, as in the Old Arcadia,
or the calculated efforts of an evil agent like Clinias in the
New. Only the superior artistry of Pyrocles, whose training had
prepared him for such problems, can bring order to such a mob.
Even that order is tenuous, for without reason's vision, the next moment may bring an act or word that will sway such unanchored men in yet another direction.

Sidney's real concern is with the noble mind which is unable to identify evil and to defend itself against it. Philoclea's innocence is very similar to the ignorance of Dametas. Unlike her sister Pamela, Philoclea has not been placed under the care of the herdsman and forced to examine her situation intellectually, to work out her relationship to alien conditions. Significantly, she is the only one among the four principals who does not reflect her condition in the forms of art. Philoclea's innocence is dangerous because it leaves her open to her inner weaknesses.

Philoclea's loss of innocence is a more serious problem for the poet in the New Arcadia than in the Old. The far-seeing perspective and fast action of the original comedy prevent the reader from dwelling too long on the moral problems of the characters. The persons in the older version are for the most part pawns in the hands of the artisan Love, and their attempts to understand and control themselves are comically limited, measured against the power of external forces. A relatively brief period separates Philoclea's awareness of "the cloud that now hydes the lighte of my vertue...my outrageous folly,"23 and Pyrocles's revelation of himself that relieves the pressure
of guilt. Nevertheless, the narrator takes serious note of her problem: "The sweete mynded Philoclea was in theyre degree of well doynge to whome the not knowyng of evell serveth for a grounde of vertue, and holde theyre inwarde powers in better Temper with an unspotted simplicity, then many, who, rather cunningly seeke to knowe, what goodness ys, then willingly to take unto themselves the followyng of yt. True yt ys, that that sweete and symple breathe of heavenly goodness ys the easier to falle, bycause yt hathe not passed throughe the worldly wickedness, nor feeling founde the evill that evell carryeth with yt."24 She feels helpless against the flood of feeling, and her undeveloped reason provides no way for her to see beyond her immediate situation. She can only see her own guilt reflected in the marble altar she had spotted by praising her own innocence, and can compare the constancy of the marble with her own inconsistent behavior. Philoclea is nature's masterpiece, as her wood-nymph costume shows, but she is a work of fallen nature, inherently flawed.

In the New Arcadia Philoclea is similarly innocent, but the poet treats her fall with greater seriousness and at greater length. In the multi-perspective world of the heroic romance the reader is not separated from the inner working of the minds of the characters. Their psychic pain is not mitigated by the speed of events. John Danby, because he sees
the two princesses as twin perfections, overlooks Sidney's real concern with Philoclea's un-erected wit and the suffering she must undergo because of it. The agony of her discovery that she passionately loves another woman is developed in considerable detail, and it is not relieved until much more than five pages later. The poet compares her to a young fawn in her inexperience, for she cannot recognize the first signs of danger, and by the time she does see what is happening to her it is too late.

Once Philoclea recognizes her love for what it is, she begins to work as an artist, finding images to describe it. No longer does the mask of beauty deceive her. She sees herself as defiled and "spotted" and her previous condition, recorded on the woodland marble, as blindness. She recognizes her desire as a "disease" or a "poison." Recognition is not enough to arm the girl against her own feelings. Instead of using reason, which, recognizing evil, turns away, Philoclea turns to rationalization to provide her with hope. Her mother suffers as she does. Refusing to see her mother's behavior as unwise, Philoclea abandons her prayers to Diana and the stars and prays instead to her new idol "O my Zelmate, govern and direct me: for I am wholly given over to thee."  

The blindness of ignorance that is comic in the Old Arcadia becomes more serious in the New. In Sidney's revision
he holds his characters responsible for their own actions. In a world in which death is real even for noble characters, innocence is an attractive but highly dangerous commodity. It leaves its possessor a ready victim to fortune, to deceitful appearances and to passion.

Pamela's reason has been trained through education, contemplation and trial. In the company of Dametas and his incredible family, Pamela has been forced to apply the principles she has been taught. Philoclea does not have to, for she has never had to make any decisions, but has had them made for her by Basilius and Gynecia. Pamela sees herself as a public person, heiress to a kingdom, and acts accordingly. Having had to subject her feelings to reason's control, she can examine her position dispassionately and render it objectively in her emblems. She sees herself in the context of family as well as kingdom, and recognizes the importance of preserving some sort of rational order in both. Thus, when she is confronted with Musidorus's passion, Pamela recognizes that it is a threat to the social order and rejects it. Though such control is not achieved without personal pain, reason's vision perceives its value.

In Pamela, Sidney shows some of the limits of even trained reason. As judge of the appropriate relations between herself and the shepherd Dorus, Pamela's reason is correct.
Because she recognizes and suppresses what seems to be an evil passion, Pamela suffers none of her sister's guilt. But Philoclea has unknowingly probed the mask of appearance and found a worthy object of love. Pamela's reason cannot reach through the veil of appearance to recognize the truth. Only through the artificial love that he pretends for Mopsa can Musidorus reveal himself. That love is a game, acceptable as a "sporte of witte." In fact, like all worthwhile art in Renaissance theory, it leads from delightful appearance to a higher level of reality. Pamela's erected wit, stimulated by her lover's art, can see through to the true order of things in the golden world. Her reason alone sees falsely.

The poet's distrust of innocence and fear of ignorance leads him to a natural concern with education in his romance. In the Old Arcadia Sidney's interest in education is relatively minor, since the comedy presents the princes as victims of fortune rather than as romance heroes who are responsible for using vision's reason and their own courage to overcome it. Musidorus dismisses his childhood with the remark that he was "(as yf the starres would breathe them selffes for a greater myscheef) lulled up in as muche good luck, as the heedfull Love of his Dolefull mother, and the flourishing estate of his Contry could breede unto him." Pyrocles, in his turn, merely confesses his identity, giving no information about his past.
The narrator is responsible for our awareness of their heroic exploits before reaching Arcadia and the basis of their excellence. "The sweet Emulation that grew, beeyng an excellent Nurse of the good parts in these two Princes in deede borne to the exercise of vertue: For, they accountting thincrease of all good Inward and owteward qualityes, and taking very tymely into theyre myndes, that the Devine parte of Man was not inclosed in this body for nothinge, gave themselves wholy over to those knowledges, wch mighte in the course of theyre lyfe bee ministers to theyre well doing."28 The value of education in the comic world of the Old Arcadia is limited, because even reason so trained does not prevent the princes from becoming part of what Pyrocles calls "A Living Image and a present story of the best pattern Love hathe ever shewed of his worckmanship."29

The New Arcadia is far more concerned with education than the Old. It is, as Myron Turner has pointed out, to some extent a Bildungsroman, in which the principles of the Renaissance treatises on education are figured forth in the speaking pictures of poetry.30 Sidney is deeply concerned with the methods of conditioning that best enable the inner eye to see reasonably. As princes, Pyrocles and Musidorus must be so trained that through their lives and their exercise of the arts of government they may become lights to their people. Yet
Sidney's Protestant doubt of man's ability ever to see clearly and reasonably in this world is reflected in his treatment of education in the New *Arcadia*. His heroes have the best training available, and still they become victims of deceit and passion.

Pyrocles and Musidorus undergo the kind of formal education suggested by Renaissance theorists like Ascham, Hoby and Castiglione. The good is made apparent to their young minds by precept, in play and through art. Play and art both construct artificial worlds through which the mind of man can experience roles which he may be called upon to play later in the real world, but without the painful consequences attendant upon mistakes in the latter world. In play, the young princes see "images of battailes, & fortifications."^31 These, and the attendant conceits that they receive, strengthen their judgments, which they are then allowed to exercise in the hypothetical worlds of art. Actually, in a world in which appearance and vision are so important, even adult play, like the tournaments of Phalantus and Helen, provides exercise for the inner eye as well as for the body. As the previous chapter showed, choice of costume and armor was an artistic act, which tested the iconographic knowledge of the audience.

The world of art should be used to draw men toward virtue. Therefore, the princes read, "the delight of tales
being converted to the knowledge of all the stories of worthy
Princes, both to move them to do nobly, & teach them how to do
nobly; 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 minds."\(^{32}\) Thus the inner eye is exercised by the
lively images of art in the ways of reasonable and therefore
truly honorable conduct. Made judges in fictional cases, they
are made better able to judge real ones.

More than the artistic images, however, they have before
the vision of their inner eyes the figure of Evarchus. In him,
Sidney has figured forth the ideally reasonable man and ruler.
In him, the three subordinate systems of reason, the law,
rhetoric and honor, are perfected as far as they can be in the
fallen world. He is the portrait of just empire in the
Arcadia. Yet even Evarchus falls short. In the Old Arcadia he
emerges as the just judge who cannot achieve true justice. In
the New Arcadia he is the good and noble ruler who is still
unable to secure the blessings of peace.
iv: "An awful Feare: Law and Just Order in Arcadia"

The best that reason and its tools can achieve even in the public sphere is set forth in the trial of the princes in the Old Arcadia and in Musidorus's story of the early reign of his uncle in the New. The trial scenes, in fact, are also the chief justification for viewing the Old and New Arcadias as a continuing development. The concerns on which the poet focuses in Book V of the Old Arcadia are the same ones he develops at length in the New. The tone of Book V is closer to that of the heroic romance than to that of the earlier books of the comedy. Central to the trial scenes is the attempt of the reasonable public man to see clearly, to see through the veil of appearance, to re-establish order and justice, to reveal evil for what it is and to punish it.

Evarchus is brought by the workings of Eternall Justice to preside at the trial of Gynecia, Pyrocles and Musidorus. Ideally, in Renaissance theory, the law should be a perfect combination of reason and divine law. The laws of Arcadia are not perfect, but they have over a long period served to maintain peace and order in the state. Even in the absence of Basilius, the law has for the most part been maintained, perpetuated by habit and custom. Thus, when Evarchus allows himself to be bound to judge according to the laws of Arcadia,
he sees himself as opting for reason and order, not tyranny. Like art, the law is a system devised by human reason with the end of establishing in this world the order of the ideal world, the order in which beauty and justice are one. Like all human systems, the law is imperfect. Evarchus, trapped in its imperfections, condemns his son and nephew to death.

If Sidney's reasonable king does not see perfectly, his inner eye does see a great deal. As Richard Lanham puts it, in the trial scene things are finally called by their right names. Any lingering questions about the beauty of pastoral retirement for public figures, the legitimacy of Basilius's retreat to the green world, are dispelled by Evarchus. His vision keeps "his thoughtes true to themselves, he was neither beguyled with the paynted glasse of pleasure, nor dazzeled with ye false lighte of ambition. This made the Lyne of his actions streighte, and always like yt self, no worldly thing beeynge able to shake the constancy of yt..." He deplores the leaderless state of the Arcadian people, seeing the power vacuum as an open invitation to enemy attack. But he is not to be rushed into a hasty judgment by Philanax, whose emotional rhetoric shows how far the death of Basilius has changed him from the voice of reason of Book I. Neither is he to be impressed by the costumes of the young princes. Even the revelation of their true identities fails to move
him. He is constant in preferring justice above his own kindred.

Evarchus's justice is imperfect, however. Only the workings of the divine powers can create perfect justice. The providential revival of Basilius reveals the truth of the oracle. The imperfection of human judgment is the salvation of Gynecia, for, as the narrator comments, it sees "the same person moste infamus and most famus and neyther justly."35 The Old Arcadia shows Sidney's suspicion that even the best of men, with their darkened reason, are incapable of establishing just order through law. Like Spenser's Artegall, Sidney's champion of justice finds that justice, "taken as an absolute ideal, makes demands which neither human history nor individual human beings can satisfy."36

Musidorus's account of the early reign of Evarchus in Macedonia in Book II shows Macedonia as a mirror image of Arcadia. Basilius, who found his kingdom healthy, peaceful and prosperous, abandons his responsibility to act as a light to his people, and instead indulges his personal blindness. As a result, Arcadia decays. Evarchus, the reasonable ruler, finds his kingdom in utter disorder as the result of an oligopolistic rule during his minority. Stern measures by the young king bring Macedonia into the order of a benevolent monarchy. He found "Men of vertue suppressed, lest their
shining should discover the others filthiness; and at length virtue itself almost forgotten, when it had no hopefull end whereunto to be directed."37 The nobles, accustomed to using the young ruler as a mask for their own evil, found the adult king using them as examples of what would happen to undutiful subjects. The importance of visible government is not lost on Evarchus as it is on Basilius, and "having thundered a dewtie into the subjects hertes, he soone shewed, no baseness of suspition, nor the basest baseness of envie, could any whit rule such a ruler. But then shined forthe indeede all love among them, when an awfull feare, ingendered by justice, did make that love most lovely: his first and principall care being to appeare unto his people, such as he would have them be, & to be such as he appeared; making his life the example of his laws, as it were, his actions arising out of his deedes."38

Good government is a public work of art, which makes virtue visible through acts based on reason. To Musidorus, who recognizes the problems involved in creating an ordered state, his uncle’s work is the masterpiece of the art of government. Yet even Evarchus cannot provide the blessings of continuous peace to his people. Evil is a many-headed monster in the New Arcadia: no sooner has Evarchus suppressed domestic disorder that he has to turn his army to the aid of
his friend Dorilas and then to the defense of his own land. Peace is a fragile, if beautiful creation, to be labored at long and carefully by enlightened men. It must be constantly protected from those who are blinded by their own fears and desires and seek wantonly to destroy it.

The temporal structure of the New Arcadia is so ordered that Musidorus comments on the rule of Evarchus after he and Pyrocles have tried to exercise their powers of reason in the public world. Between the natural evil of the first shipwreck and the human evil of the wreck which opens the book the young princes are faced with public and private issues which require solution. The successful resolution of a number of these establishes their rank as heroes and honorable men, but they are also brought to an awareness of the limits of their reason and their power.

v: "Poisonous Hypocrisie": The Distortion of Honor

Honor is the sub-system created by reason to govern the lives of gentlemen. Ideally, honor and reason are one, but human blindness can lead to distortion of honor just as it can lead to distortion of the law, or of art. One measure of the power of evil in the world of the New Arcadia is the extent to which it can utilize the ideal of honor to defeat honorable men. The death of Argalus is the result of the failure of human
reason to probe the many masks of evil and the result of human distortion of the ideal of honor.

The courage that is basic to honor is measured by reactions to natural and human threats. The first shipwreck, recalled for the ladies by Dorus, provides a trial for the princes at the hands of natural evil. Tested by darkness, winds and waves, the princes acquit themselves well. The poet emphasizes the grounds for fear, for "certainly there is no daunger carries with it more horror, then that which growes in those flowing kingdoms. For that place is unnaturall to mankind, and then the terribleness of the continuall motion, the dissolution of the fare being before it, doth still vex the minde, even when it is best armed against it." Dorus sees the story as a tragic drama, like the works on which his education was based. He renders "the diverse manner of minds in distresse: some sate upon the top of the poupe weeping and wailing, till the sea swallowed them; some one more able to abide death, then the feare of death, cut his owne throate to prevent drowning; some prayed, and there wanted not of them which cursed, as if the heavens could not be more angry than they were. But a monstrous crie begotten of manie roaring vowes was able to infect a minde that had not prevented it with the power of reason." Reason and true honor demand identical behavior. Reason provides the vision of a superior ordering of the
universe in which this is but one changeable incident. Another change may bring salvation, so patient endurance and the attempt to save oneself is reasonable conduct. Honor scorns the surrender to fear as behavior that would merit the disrespect of others and of oneself. True honor demands that a man live up to the best ideal of manhood. That ideal must be reasonable.

The test provided by the elements is a mild one compared to those the princes endure at the hands of man. Nature may produce circumstances regarded as evil by men, but reason sees that it is the agent of Fortune or Providence, neutral in itself. Man, however, is a bastard in the natural world. As Dorus had pointed out with envy, earlier, man is responsible for his actions. Further, man can, and does, consciously create evil for his fellows.

In the kings of Phrygia and Pontus, Sidney figures forth the ugliness of overt evil. The technique of juxtaposing contrasting actions particularly illuminates the cruelty of the servants of Phrygia, for it follows immediately upon the vision of nobility in the conduct of the two ransomed servants, who give themselves to the sea to save Musidorus and Pyrocles. The servants of Phrygia are extensions of their master. Their cruelty is a product of the absence of reason in him.

In both kings reason is blotted out by "selfness." Phrygia
is "a Prince of melancholy constitution of bothe bodie and mind; wickedly sad, ever musing of horrible matters; suspecting or rather condemning all men of evill, because his mind had no eye to espie goodness."¹⁴¹ Pontus is a creature of untrained reason. He understands neither constancy nor pain and his self-love makes him envious and he is served by a counsellor "whose eyes could not looke right upon any happy man, nor eares beare the burden of any bodies praise."¹⁴²

Men of anger, too, are unable to see clearly and reasonably because they do not get beyond the bounds of self. The two giant servants of the King of Pontus are blinded by anger, "Where thinking nothing juster then revenge, nor more noble then the effects of anger, that (according to the nature) ful of inward bravery and fiercenes, scarcely in the glass of Reason, thinking it selfe faire, but when it is terrible."¹⁴³ Anger, kept in check, can be used by reason for the public good, according to Sidney, but it is a "blinde judge of itself."¹⁴⁴ The giants are typical of men who redefine honor according to their individual bias. Following a false vision, they become tools of evil.

Sidney is never more fearful that the vision of reason will prove inadequate to enforce right conduct as when it is confronted with the masks created by evil. His young heroes purge the kingdoms of Pontus and of Phrygia from visible
tyranny and wanton cruelty. In Paphlagonia, however, they are confronted with basic goodness blinded by the appearances created by the dark mind of an evil man. The physical blinding of the King of Paphlagonia by his bastard son is only the outer sign of an inner blindness to which he had surrendered himself. Weak reason was unable to distinguish between the truth of Leonatus and the "poysonous hypocrisie, desperate fraud, smooth malice and smiling envie" of Plexirtus. Only time and torment brings the king to repentance and an inner vision of the true order of things.

The poet's concern with the relation of reason to hypocrisy reflects the Renaissance preoccupation with Machiavellian "pollicie." The crucial question is whether the inner eye, even when its vision is conditioned by the arts of reason, can probe "into the darkest of all naturall secretes, which is the heart of man." Man's craft, used to evil ends, can contrive to make falsehood appear to be truth and can mask evil with delightfulness. If man is his own artifact as well as Nature's, how is reason to determine whether he leads to good or ill? Man becomes an actor in Sidney's romance world, and the poet is clearly uneasy about the morality of his masks.

The mask of Plexirtus is the contrivance of a consummate Machiavellian actor, motivated by the desire to possess power. Honor has no meaning for him. Nature, in his birth, provided
the basis for his behavior, but it is the "exercise of craft" that perfected him in his art, so "that though no man had less goodness in his soule then he, no man could better find the places whence arguments might grow of goodness to another: though no man felt lesse pitie; no man could tel better how to stir pitie: no man more impudent to deny, where proofes were not manifest; no man more ready to confesse with a repenting manner of aggravating his owne evil, where denial would but make the fault fowler."47 His appearance before his brother is apparently that of a penitent, but even his submission is artificially contrived to deceive not only Leonatus but the princes as well, "so fell out of it that though at first sight Leonatus saw him with no other eye, then as the murderer of his father & anger already began to paint revenge in many colours, ere long he had not only gotten pitie, but pardon. . . ."48

The evil craft of Plexvirtus is successful. His masking defeats the inner vision of Pyrocles and Musidorus, so that they leave him free to plot against them and against his brother. Trained in the arts of reason to prefer just order to power and motivated by honor to pursue what the inner eye, enlightened by reason, tells them is the good, the princes are unable to appreciate the darkness hiding beneath the apparent light of repentance.

Cecropia, too, uses deceitful appearances to persuade
the princesses to submit to her will. But her contrived illusions, the fake executions, fail to convince Pamela or Philoclea to accept Amphialus. Her deceits reveal her evil, while those of Plexirtus conceal his, at least temporarily, from the other characters. Reason and honor do not yield to fear, but respond to it with patient resistance. So long as the basic fact of imprisonment remains before the inner eye of reason, the arts of Cecropia are useless, for reason looks for the constants in the midst of changing appearances.

vi: "If I speak reason": Rhetoric in the golden world

Renaissance thinkers put great emphasis on the art of speaking as a tool for creating reason's ideal order in the real world. Like the art of poetry, rhetoric, when rightly directed, can set the beauty of virtue before the eye of the mind. The "colours" of rhetoric amplify and embellish the basic moral precepts in order to make them more compellingly persuasive. Less powerful than fiction because it lacks the peculiar delight of story, the lively images of formal speech should, nevertheless, lead man to a vision of the good and bring him to love it. Much of what Sidney makes us see in the Arcadia he develops through the forms of debate. Both reader and characters are faced with some of the traditional antithetical topoi, (the active versus the contemplative life, faith
versus unbelief) and both audience and characters react to the debate. As audience, we are less involved than the participants, and act rather like judges of the contest. The actors either succeed in persuading their opponents, or fail to do so. But failure itself is a significant comment on the limitations of rhetoric in the golden world. Even the evil Cecropia is aware that the vision of reasonable order set forth in speech should compel assent, when she urges Philoclea, "if I speak reason, let Reason have his due reward, persuasion." 49 Significantly, however, rhetoric is for the most part ineffective in convincing the characters in the Arcadia to reject one line of action for a more reasonable one. As readers, we are usually made aware through the rhetoric of the beauty of the reasonable position, but Sidney's blinded characters, while they may perceive brief glimpses of that beauty, find other courses of action more compellingly attractive.

Like the systems of law, education and honor, the system of rhetoric often falls short of effecting behavior corresponding to right reason. Indeed, in the Arcadia, it is as apt to persuade men to follow unreasonable courses of action or to effect no change at all. It is the tool of fallen men and it makes its appeal to fallen men. The blindness of the inner eye keeps man from seeing clearly the beauty of reason that would compel assent. His evil eyes, reinforced by his infected will,
see other things as more beautiful than truth, so he follows false lights into sin. Even in the poet's golden world man's skill with words, like his skill with paints and costume, can deceive as well as enlighten.

The distant perspective upon events that is characteristic of the Old Arcadia sometimes makes the formal speech-making of the noble characters seem over-inflated, so that it becomes humorous in much the same way as Dametas's boastful pomposity. The narrator, coming between the reader's consciousness and the acts of the characters, focuses the reader's attention on the discrepancies between rhetoric and action, putting the words into a context that severely reduces their dimension. Richard Lanham is quite right when he says that we must always be aware that the poet's estimate of things does not consistently correspond with those of his characters, that he is not always "serious and straightforward" in the Old Arcadia. In fact, he uses the plain style commentary of the narrator's asides to his audience to undercut the high-flown rhetoric of his characters and to make us aware of the humor of their situation. Typical of such an instance is that in which Pyrocles and Musidorus are interrupted in the midst of an elaborate celebration of love and friendship by the arrival of Basilius, who seeks to address similarly elaborate remarks to the disguised younger prince. The narrator's description of
the old Duke, beginning "to frame the loveliest countenance
he coulde, stroking up his Legges, setting his Bearde in due
order & standing bolt upright,"51 is humorously juxtaposed with
the romantic posturing of the princes with their floods of
tears and wringing of hands. "If," Lanham argues, "we construe
Sidney's intention here as an earnest attempt to create
nobility of sentiment by an unremitting application of gorgeous
flowers of rhetoric we shall miss all the fun. We shall feel
he has lost his sense of stylistic proportion, when the whole
purport of his romance is to show how ridiculous his characters
are when they lose theirs."52

The inability of rhetoric to effect crucial changes in
courses of action is made clear in the speech of Philanax to
Basilius regarding superstition and in the debate between
Pyrocles and Musidorus regarding the relative merits of the
retired life and the active life. Philanax sets forth clearly
the unreasonable nature of Basilius's attempt to avoid the
dangers set forth in the oracle by retiring from active rule and
imprisoning his daughters. He points out that if the oracle
is true, there is no way of avoiding it, and that if it is not
ture, the Duke is running from shadows. He emphasizes his own
clear perspective on the situation as opposed to Basilius's
personal involvement in it. But the reason shown forth through
Philanax's rhetoric cannot pierce the darkness of Basilius's
mind, blinded by conceit and by superstition.

Pyrocles remains unmoved by his friend's vision of the beauty of the virtuous life of action and of a mind governed by reason rather than by passion. Musidorus dwells on the consistency of the virtuous active life, its order and usefulness, its constant quest for knowledge. He argues against the surrender to passion as a reversal of the order established in nature, which dictates reason's control of the passions and man's superiority to woman. But none of the older prince's lively images, none of his rhetorical techniques can turn Pyrocles back to the active life of well-doing that makes a man a light among his people. The younger prince acknowledges his defeat in controversy, which Basilius does not, but he ultimately sees the whole debate as irrelevant, for his inner eye is blinded by passion. Even the sight of reason cannot compel the love which would make him follow her dictates. Instead, he dissolves into tears, and Musidorus, abandoning his own firm commitment to reason, agrees to help Pyrocles in his plan to woo Philoclea in disguise.

Sidney's narrator underscores the humor of debate in the controlled world of the Old Arcadia, where man cannot be drawn out of his predetermined path by the vision of reason's beauty. No sooner have the princes agreed that reason and virtue will have to wait for a while than the narrator takes them back to
the house of Kerxenus, who, he remarks, "though he knew them not was in love with their vertue." The poem which sums up the debate is similarly undercut, as the narrator comments on the delivery: "I might enterseyne yow (faire Ladyes) a great while, yf I shoulde make as many interructions in the repeating, as she did in the singing: For no verse did pass oute of her mouthe, but that yt was wayted on wth such abundance of sighes, and (as yt were) witnessed with her flowing teares, that though the wordes were fewe, yet the tyme was long she employed in the uttering them, Althoughthe her pawses chose so fitt tymes, that they rather strengthened a sweeter passyon then hindered the harmony." The harmony (and the sighes), serve to waken Dametas, and any vestige of serious concern with the rhetorical issues dissolves in comedy.

The poet can show the impotence of reason as expressed through rhetoric as humorous in a world in which, as he often reminds us, everything is conveniently in the hands of Eternall Justic, and where death and disaster often emerge as illusion. But in the New Arcadia the perspective has changed, and we are closer to the heroic characters and more involved with their public and private choices. The controlling hand of reasonable Providence is made to seem very far away, while war and death are near and immediate. The audience is committed to the idea that eloquence can and should be able to restore reasonable
order. Thus, the rejection of the vision of reason is much more serious in the revised version than in the original. Willful moral blindness can lead to disaster for whole countries as well as individuals, and until Pamela's declaration of faith in Divine Providence in the Captivity Episode, only reason, given form in honorable public action, seems to have any chance of holding the golden world together.

Sidney draws the audience well into the action and into his scheme of values well before Musidorus discovers his cousin disguised as a woman and wearing the ambiguous Hercules emblem as his impresa. He establishes, through the "speaking pictures" of storm and calm, wasteland and garden, civil war and domestic tranquillity, a determined set of negative and positive standards of disorder and order. The princes, through word and action, are aligned on the side of reason and order. Central to the setting up of the standard of civil order are the actions of Pyrocles and Musidorus in establishing peace in Laconia. In the military conflict the army of the Helots and the band of Arcadian volunteers fight to the same kind of stand-off as had the Helots and Lacedaemonians, but the exercise of the arts of persuasion by the young princes leads to a reasonable peace. The Helots agree to the release of Kalender, Clitophon and Argalus in return for the departure of the Arcadians from Laconia. This settled, Pyrocles proceeds to the
larger task of persuading his followers to accept the terms of peace to end the bloody civil war which had turned Laconia into a hostile wilderness. After outlining the terms, he argues in favor of them:

Which conditions, you see, carry in themselves no more contention than assurance. For this is not a peace which is made with them, but this is a peace by which you are made of them. Lastly, a forgetfulness decreed of all what is past, they shewing themselves glad to have so valiant men as you are joyned with them: so that you are to take mindes of peace, since the cause of war is finished; and as you hated them before like oppressours, so now to love them as brothers; to take care of their estate because it is yours, and to labour by vertuous doing that posteritie may not repent your joyning.55

When the Helots object to the Lacedaemonian condition which demands the exile of Pyrocles, "he as well with generall orations, as particular dealing with the men of most credit, made them throughly see how necessary it was to preferr the affection of such an opportunity before a vain affection."56

When, therefore, this reasonable young prince is so blinded by affection that he can no longer see the compelling beauty of reason and virtuous action, it is indeed a change that warrants his friend's strong opposition. The changes in Pyrocles's appearance that Musidorus observes at the house Kalender draw a relatively mild rebuke; only the suggestion that Pyrocles might be a lover provokes his friend's hope that his ear might "never be poysioned with such evill newes of
you." The older prince's pictures of the ordered active life cannot draw the younger back to that life, nor, later can his sterner oration against passion make Pyrocles "thoroughly see" the necessity of suppressing it. As in the Old Arcadia, so too in the New Pyrocles yields the victory in debate to Musidorus, but there is no cynical narrator to undercut his surrender, "if you seeke the victory, take it; and ye list, triumph. Have you all the reason of the world, and with me remain all the imperfections." Pyrocles's account of his love bears witness to the inability of the tools of human reason to show her beauty in a manner sufficiently beautiful to convert a mind blinded by passion. He himself had called to his aid all the resources of his nature and education to resist the power of love stimulated in him by Philoclea's picture, but the latter had prevailed. "Yet I take to witnesse the eternall spring of virtue," he says, "that I never read, heard, nor seene any thing; I had never tast of Philosophy, nor inward feeling in my selfe, which for a while I did not call to my succor. But (alas) what resistance was there, when ere long my very reason was (you will say corrupted) I needs confesse, conquered; and me thought even reason did assure me, that all eies did degenerate from their creation, which did not honour such beautie."
If rhetoric can be ineffective in leading blinded men to virtue, it can also be dangerously effective in leading men into evil. Such is the case when the drunken speeches of the commoners, augmented by the crafty insinuations of Cecropia's agent, the actor Clinias, bring about the uprising of the commons that threatens the Arcadian state. Clinias tells Basilius that "Public affaires were mingled with private grudges, neither was any man thought of wit, that did not pretend some cause of mislike. Rayling was counted the fruit of freedome, and sayinge nothinge had his uttermost prayse in ignorance." Even these ill-ordered speeches, "being spoken (like a furious storme) presently carried away their wel-inclined braines." The letter of Amphialus, which provokes the full-scale civil war in Arcadia, is a sophisticated version of the same sort of thing. It is not a product of reason, but of rationalization, "some glosses of probabilities might hide indeed the foulenes of his treason; and from true commonplaces, fetch down most false applications." Amphialus counts upon these to produce the desired effect "because he knew, how violently rumors doo blow the sailes of popular judgements, & how few there be, that can discerne between truth and truthlikenes, between showes and substance." His false ideas are "amplified with arguments and examples, and painted with rhetoricall colours" and "prevayled with some of more quicke
then sound conceipte, to runne his fortune with him,"64 but worse, they keep some neutral, who might otherwise have aided their rightful ruler.

Nowhere does Sidney show his reader more clearly the danger of rhetorical skill as a tool of evil and the limitations of the same skill as a tool of good than in the confrontation between Cecropia and Pamela that is the dramatic climax of the New Arcadia. Although he set up the aunt solely to defeat her, he gives her the formidable arguments of classical and Renaissance atheism so that it takes all the moral strength and wit of "Pamela of high thoughts," as Kalender called her, to defeat Cecropia's dark eloquence. Pamela's declaration of faith in God as the reasonable creator and controller of the world is the major triumph of reason in the New Arcadia. It is this argument that defines her definitely as one of the "saved pagans," as D. P. Walker has shown.65 But it also shows the limits of human eloquence, for Pamela is unable, and she knows it, to pierce the darkness of her aunt's mind, to enable her to "see throughly" the order of nature and the beauty of reason that requires for that order a first cause and a rational governor. Cecropia's inner eye is blinded by "selfnes" and evil, and Pamela's rhetorical victory just drives her aunt's infected will to greater extremes of sin.

The debate between the two begins with a consideration
of beauty, and their differing attitudes on that subject provide a key to their attitudes on the issue of faith. Cecropia regards beauty as a surface thing, like goods to be bartered for the highest return. It, rather than virtue, she regards as "the crowne of feminine greatnes," and thus a key to power. As has been shown above, Sidney's concept of beauty is that it is a harmony between outer and inner qualities, a union of physical beauties and inward grace, the latter being far more important. Pamela holds to this way of seeing: the physical beauty of her purse is secondary to the idea of patience and industry that gave it form. So, too, her personal beauty is trivial in comparison to the inner beauty of devotion that binds her to her parents and to God.

Sidney has Cecropia try to destroy Pamela's Neo-Platonic idea of beauty by undermining her faith in a transcendental reality. To do this he has her employ those materialistic arguments regarded with horror and fear by the devout Christians of the Renaissance, those typically associated with the Machiavellian villain. Her speeches, whether or not they reflect an intimate acquaintance with De Rerum Natura, as Greenlaw argued, do incorporate the mechanistic theory of the universe characteristic of the Epicureans and Lucretius, who held that it was accidentally created by the chance falling together of atoms and controlled solely by natural law.
Everything, including man, was regarded as a product of the operation of natural laws, and thus man was a temporal creature and the immortality of the soul a myth. Religion, therefore, is merely a set of beliefs and rituals based on fear and having no basis in reality. It is useful to control children and the lower orders of society, but should be abandoned by the enlightened.

Pamela's reply incorporates a direct attack on Cecropia herself, at the core of which lies a consideration of the nature of moral vision. Cecropia, she contends, simply cannot see properly with her inner eye, or she would behold the order of the universe as inconsistent with mere chance, and would see the necessity of an invisible God as the result of the blindness of sinful man. "He is not seene you say," she cries, "and would you thinke him a God, who might be seene by so wicked eyes as yours? which yet might see enough, if they were not like such, who for sport-sake willingly hood-wincke themselves to receave blowes the easier."68 Man has wilfully blinded himself through sin, but he is not so blinded that his inner eye, properly trained and governed, may not reach belief through reason. Cecropia has further corrupted her inner eye, or her perception of the order of the universe would of necessity lead her to faith in divine Providence.

Having established, to her own satisfaction, and, the
poet assumes, to the satisfaction of his readers, the existence of God by the exercise of her own disciplined reason, Pamela discusses the nature of the Divinity. Again, she concerns herself with vision. God is the perfection of moral vision, which man possesses only partially:

Since then there is a God, and an all-knowing God, so as he sees into the darkest of all naturall secretes, which is the harte of Man; and sees therein the deepest dissembled thoughts, nay sees the thoughts before they be thought: since he is just to exercise his might, and mightie to performe his justice, assure thy selfe, most wicked woman, (that hast so plaguiy a corrupted minde, as thou canst not keepe thy sickenesse to thy selfe, but must most wickedly infect others) assure thy self, I say, (for what I say dependes of everlasting and unremooveable causes) that the time will come, when thou shalt knowe that power by feeling it, when thou shalt see his wisedome in the manifesting thy ougly shamelesnesse, and shalt onely perceive him to have bene a Creator in thy destruction. 69

Cecropia is confronted with a captive who has become, in herself, alight, with a radiance "more than humaine" perfecting her human beauty. Pamela is at this point a reflection in the golden world of art of the ideal beauty of reason and virtue the inner eye should see. But it is not enough. Evil has too completely blinded Cecropia's mind. The poet's concern with vision is plain in his treatment of her response to the sight of the glorified princess, in prayer the image of devotion, now the image of faith.
. . . so fowly was the filthinesse of impietie discovered by the shining of her unstayed goodnes, so farre, as either Cecropia saw indeed, or else the guilty amazement of her self-accusing conscience, made her eies untrue judges of their natural object, that there was a light more than humaine, which gave a lustre to her perfections. But Cecropia, like a Botte (which though it have eyes to discerne that there is a Sunne, yet hath so evill eyes, that it cannot delight in the Sunne) founde a trueth, but could not love it. But as great persons are wont to make the wrong they have done, to be a cause to doo the more wrong, her knowledge rose to no higher point, but to envie a worthier, and her will was no otherwise bent, but the more to hate, the more she founde her enemie provided against her.70

Sidney's heroine had had no hope that her exercise of the art of rhetoric could so figure forth the beauty of reason and virtue that it would enlighten the "wicked eyes" that represent the moral depravity of Cecropia. For the Protestant poet of the Arcadia the limits even of heroic reason and its subordinate systems are narrow. The vision of reason that cannot conquer human passion certainly cannot turn the infected wills of human souls totally given over to evil. That miracle is to be accomplished only by the divine gift of the light of grace.
FOOTNOTES


2. Works, III, p. 4.

3. Davis and Lanham, p. 35.


12. Hoopes, p. 43.

13. Hoopes, p. 95.
\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Works}, IV, p. 6.

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Works}, IV, p. 6.

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Works}, IV, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Works}, IV, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Bush}, p. 90.

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Works}, III, p. 20.

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Works}, I, p. 22.

\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Works}, IV, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Works}, I, p. 22.

\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Works}, IV, p. 196.

\textsuperscript{24} \textit{Works}, IV, p. 103.

\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Danby}, p. 58.

\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Works}, I, p. 175.

\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Works}, IV, p. 99.


30. Turner, p. 50.


33. Davis and Lanham, p. 234.


42 Works, I, p. 203.

43 Works, I, p. 205.

44 Works, I, p. 205.

45 Works, I, p. 209.

46 Works, I, p. 410.

47 Works, I, p. 213.

48 Works, I, p. 213.

49 Works, I, p. 376.

50 Davis and Lanham, p. 238.

51 Works, IV, p. 166.

52 Davis and Lanham, p. 275.

53 Works, IV, p. 23.


55 Works, I, p. 47.

56 Works, I, p. 47.
57 Works, I, p. 59.

58 Works, I, p. 82.

59 Works, I, p. 85.

60 Works, I, p. 322.

61 Works, I, p. 323.


63 Works, I, p. 371.

64 Works, I, p. 371.


66 Works, I, p. 404.


69 Works, I, p. 410.

70 Works, I, p. 411.
CHAPTER IV

CUPID AND THE MONSTER-LOVE AND MORAL VISION IN ARCADIA

Sidney's treatment of love in his romance world, like his treatment of reason, reflects his internal tension between attitudes of Renaissance optimism and Puritan pessimism toward man and his works. The Italian Neoplatonists, whose influence pervaded sixteenth-century art and literature, had set forth a view of love as a ladder leading man to a new vision of the Divine. Puritan theology taught suspicion of earthly love and the discreteness of human and divine love that had resulted from the Fall. Because of his depravity, his egoistic pride, it was impossible for man to love correctly in this life. Only God's love and grace could redeem him and let him see again by the light of true love and reason.

The two versions of the Arcadia give evidence of Sidney's increasing concern with the ambiguous nature of human love. In the Old Arcadia love is simply a form of blindness. The distant perspective and the comments of the narrator enable us to see how distorted a view of moral problems the characters develop. Love leads not to honor, as Bembo maintains in the Courtier, but to folly and sin. In the
New **Arcadia** Sidney involves the reader more closely with the characters who love, thus making judgment more difficult. He even presents three relatively positive kinds of lovers in Strephon and Klaius, Argalus and Parthenia, and Pamela. Yet, for the most part, love is still closely bound up with the imagery of evil and distortion. Its effects are disastrous for whole kingdoms as well as private persons. The sighted Cupid of the highest form of Neoplatonic love is challenged by the demonic Cupid of sensual lust in both versions of the romance, and Sidney does not give conclusive victory to either. For him, love remains a suspect way of seeing. The inner eye of the human mind, darkened by the Fall and further distorted by surrender of the reason to passion, can only be saved if it can "to Heavenly Rules give place."\(^1\) Only Grace can turn earthly love into a way through which man can attain a perception of the divine.

i :  The Figure of Eros in the Renaissance

The Italian Neoplatonists based their views of love on Plato's *Symposium*, but their commentaries and treatises of love attempted to reconcile Platonic love with Christian *caritas*. Unable to accommodate the homosexuality of the lower stages of love in Plato within a Christian system, the Renaissance theorists drew on the conventions of courtly love,
substituting a beautiful woman for the boy who was the object of affection in the original dialogue. The lady in stilnuovo poetry is of ideal beauty and goodness that can be appreciated only by a noble heart. Most beautiful are her eyes, the windows of the soul, that cast their light on the lover and draw him to an adoration of her beauty. On the ladder of love, attraction to physical beauty should lead to an understanding of conceptual beauty, so that "This so great love and desire causes us to be abstracted in such contemplation that our intellect begins to rise; illuminated by a singular divine grace it arrives at a higher knowledge than that of human power and human speculation; it comes to such union and copulation with highest God that our intellect is more readily known to be a divine part and reason than an intellect in human form."² The object that attracted the physical sight is gradually lost to view as the mind becomes absorbed with contemplating the idea of beauty, which is necessarily linked with the good in God. For the Neoplatonists, love becomes an intellectual activity in which reason and passion are no longer at odds, but are reconciled.

Renaissance art sometimes renders this concept of love in the figure of a sighted, rather than a blind Cupid. As Panofsky has shown, the distinction is made particularly when higher and lower forms of love are being contrasted.
What in the Middle Ages had been an alternative between 'poetic love' and 'mythographical Cupid' now came to be a rivalry between 'Amor sacro' and 'Amor profano.' For instance: when Cupid triumphs over Pan who stands for the simple appetites of nature he is never blind. On the other hand, where he is fettered and punished, his eyes are almost invariably bandaged. This is particularly true of the more conscientious representations of the rivalry between Eros and Anteros which in the Renaissance was often misinterpreted as a struggle between Sensual Love and Virtue. . .Anteros is rendered as a handsome, bright-eyed youth tying the defeated Eros (Cupid) to a tree and burning his weapons; and unless the illustrator belonged to the careless kind, Cupid is blindfold.3

Although some Neoplatonic artists, according to Wind, argued for the superiority of the blind Cupid, as seeing with the eyes of the mind, art works generally follow the opposition treated by Panofsky.

Sidney's use of the figure of Cupid reflects the moral superiority of the sighted to the blinded god, following the traditional identification of light with good, darkness with evil. The sighted Cupid appears only once in the two versions of the Arcadia, and that is in the opening section of the revised romance. The two shepherds, Strephon and Claius, link Cupid's vision to the character of Urania, the shepherdess whose loss they lament on the bleak coast of Laconia. Reference to this sighted Cupid is one indication of the increased complexity of Sidney's view of love in the New Arcadia, for the earlier version has no parallel to the
Neoplatonic view of love that is figured forth in the Strephon and Claius situation. Claius meditates on the progression of their minds that results from the love they bear Urania. Her physical beauty is but the starting point for their contemplations upon her virtue and the nature of virtue in general, for though "the greatest thing the world can shew, is her beautie, so the least thing that may be prayed in her is her beauty." 4 That beauty is the catalyst for their studies, as they strive in friendly rivalry to be worthy of her: "hath not the only love of her made us (being silly ignorant shepherds) raise up our thoughts above the ordinary levell of the world, so as great clearkes do not disdaine our conference? Hath not the desire to seem worthie in her eyes made us when others were sleeping, to sit viewing the course of heavens? when others were running at base, to run over learned writings? 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 between rivals and beauty taught the beholders chastity?" 5

With his reference to the sighted Cupid, Claius supplies an emblem for the ideal combination of love and reason that went out of the golden world with the departure of Urania. Now even for her shepherds love brings misery with it, for having once seen her, "what else they shall ever see
is but dry stubble after clovers grasse." They are made servants to "that racking steward Remembrance," drawn to reckon up their losses in tears at the place they last saw her. As Katherine Duncan-Jones has shown, Sidney's departed Urania has overtones in the shepherds' speeches of Venus Urania, a type of the divine beauty and goodness which inspires heavenly love. She is not the simple shepherdess that her portrait in the parade of queens would indicate. The Cupid appropriate to the heavenly Venus is the clear-eyed Anteros of virtuous love. The departure of Urania presumes the departure of the sighted Cupid as well, so that the elegiac tone of the opening section of the New Arcadia is appropriate. Although Sidney allows us to hope for the return of perfected love to Arcadia, until Urania returns lower forms of love will dominate the golden world. Only Eros remains, the active agent of Venus Pandemos, the blind bow-boy, powerful, tyrannical and often wantonly cruel.

Eros is the god of love of Petrarchan love poetry, and it is he who is referred to in most of the Cupid imagery of both Arcadias. Sidney does not always personify the force of love, but when the characters refer to the god of love it is usually as the Anacreontic figure, "a young child or youth with wings, bow and quiver." Propertius added a torch to his equipment, and apparently the blindfold appeared in
medieval literature. Poets and painters, according to the
shepherd Dicys, are agreed in rendering the love god as
"A naked god, blynde, younge, with Arrowes twoo." The
arrows, one headed with gold, the other with lead, either
arouse love in the wounded person's heart, or harden the
heart against it.

By the time of Sidney, Cupid's blindness had become
much a part of the tradition that it is often merely a part
of his name. It has this quality in Geron's verses mocking
Mistor's envious carping at Lalus's love of Kala:

But there be your love-toyes, which still are spent
In lawlesse games and love not as you should
But with much studie learne late to repent.
How well last day before our Prince you could
Blinde Cupides workes with wonder testifie?
Yet now the roote of him abase you would.
Go to, goe to, and Cupid now applie
To that where thou thy Cupid maist avowe,
And thou shalt find, in women vertues lie.'

The poet of Arcadia does not dismiss the blindness of
the god of love so lightly. He exploits the iconographic
tradition of medieval and Renaissance art that puts the blind
Eros "definitely on the wrong side of the moral world." The
idea of blindness, Panofsky argues, "conveys to us only
something negative and nothing positive, and by the blind man
we generally understand the sinner, to speak in the words of a
medieval moralist. Blindness is therefore always associated
with evil, excepting the blindness of Homer...and the blind-
ness of justice." In Sidney's romance, Cupid's blindness
has moral overtones. In combination with his youth it accounts for his amorality and his arbitrary attacks. A blind, undisciplined child, he does not recognize the rule of reason. His great power, exercised as wantonly as that of any tyrant, brings his victims pain, moral degradation and a blindness similar to his own.

There is a third Cupid mentioned in the Old Arcadia and preserved in the New. In the Old it is the creation of the shepherd Dicus; in the New it is presented in an old book given by an old woman to Miso. It is a monster Cupid that Dicus contends is much truer to the nature of passion as it operates in the world than is the traditional figure. He asks,

Is he a God, that ever flies the Lighte?  
Or naked he disguised in all untruth:  
Yf hee bee blynde how hitte he so righte, or  
ys he younge, that tamed ould Phebus youth.  
But, arrows two and tipt with golde or leade,  
Some hurte accuse a third with horned head.13

Dicus has no faith in love as anything more than simple lust, so he creates a god of lust corresponding to its activities.

In Dicus's poem Sidney has created a monstrous Cupid more clearly demonic than the blind god of Renaissance art. He is a conglomerate of icons of vice. He is associated with a pair of gallows; his body is filled with eyes; his head is horned and his feet cloven hoofs. In the New Arcadia Miso instantly identifies him and "like a tender harted wench,
skried out for the feare of the divell."\textsuperscript{14}

The genealogy of this monster partially accounts for his grotesque shape: the hundred-eyed Argus was his sire, Io as cow his dam. The myth Sidney conceives multiplies lust upon lust, for Io was turned into a cow because of Jove's desire for her. The god turned her into a heifer to deceive his suspicious wife, but Juno trapped him into giving her the cow and then set Argus to watch the animal so that Jove could not transform her again into a woman. In the myth there is no indication that Argus sexually abused Io, but Sidney elaborates on the story to compound the bestial heritage of his third Cupid. The cloven hoofs of the monster clearly link him with the devil, and with Pan, the lusty animal god traditionally associated with the pastoral landscape. The horns are manifest evidence of his connection with illicit love and cuckoldry. The long ears are similar to those of Midas, and in them "rumor never dies."\textsuperscript{15} The motives of base love are indicated by the laurel wreath of fame and the money bag of greed.

The concept of the god of love as linked with the demonic rather than the angelic powers was basic to medieval moral thought, and was reflected in art by the addition of bestial qualities to the Anacreonic figure, as well as by the addition of the bandage symbolizing his moral blindness. In
some late medieval works Cupid appears with talons rather than feet. Similar talons, Panofsky shows, were "used in images of the devil and sometimes of Death. By this new stigma Cupid was actually transformed into the diavolo to whom Federico dell 'Amba had compared him in one of his sonnets."16 Later devils are shown with cloven hoofs instead of talons, and although such hoofs are not given to the Cupid figure in Renaissance art, Sidney is clearly exploiting the parallel, for the third Cupid's "cloven foot dothe never treade ariight."17 The third Cupid derives his name from the sin of cupiditas, which the poem calls simply "desire" and which in the writings of Christian moralists came under the domain of the devil as appetitus mali, or amor mundi, or amor carnalis.18

Finally, the third Cupid is linked to the powers of evil by his activities in the world. He is a masker, an actor who tempts souls to indulge their baser instincts.

Half an man, with man he dayly haunts,
Clothed in the shape which soonest may deceave:
. . .He prowles ech place stil in new colors deckt,
Sucking ones ill another to infect.
To narrow brests he comes all wrapt in gaine:
To swelling harts he shines in honor's fire:
To open eyes all beauties he doth rain;
Creeping to each with flattering of desire.19

As shown in the preceding chapter, Philoclea's untutored reason falls victim to Love because it does not recognize the multiple appearances of passion. The various guises of love
are reflected in her own self-deception, and only when it is too late to resist does the disguised god reveal himself.

"For now indeed, Love puld of his maske and shewed his face unto her, and told her plainly, that shee was his prisoner."20

The tools of love, like those of any tyrant (and of the devil) are force and fraud. Sidney uses the imagery of military conquest to indicate the power of Cupid, and theatrical imagery to indicate his deceitfulness. In other Renaissance art, too, the mask is the emblem of fraud. In his discussion of the Bronzino tapestry on the Time and Truth theme, Panofsky argues that the pleasures of the "Jest" figure must be regarded as deceitful, for the masks at her feet symbolize "worldliness, insincerity and falsehood."21 In a note, he adds that "Ripa mentions the mask as an attribute of Bugia, Fraude and Inganno, and when trodden upon, the mask signifies 'dispregio della fintione' . . . and 'Dispregio delle cose mondane.'"22 Wind, moreover, develops the relation between the mask and death in his discussion of the Renaissance concept of Amor as a god of death. He identifies the mask in Michaelangelo's "Night" from the Medici tomb as a symbol of death. He believes that the positioning of the Night figure is intentionally similar to that of Leda in the earlier "Leda and the Swan" and the link between love and death would be clear to the Neoplatonists of Florence. Wind
explores the link between the mask and death in Latin, where the word "larva" suggests both a mask and "death in its fearful aspect (skeleton, ghost, shadow)." Ripa, in his emblems of death, shows the figure of Death wearing a mask, "to suggest Death's disguises, le maschere della Morte." Cupid's use of false appearances to subvert the natural light of the inner eyes of the characters in Arcadia suggests the poet's concern with the demonic aspects of passion that draw man into the darkness of sin and spiritual, or even physical death.

Sidney's demonic Cupid, the god of untamed sexual passion, reflects the attitude toward love that the Puritans inherited from St. Paul, St. Augustine and the medieval moralists, who saw the devēl as "frequently the alter ego of an unsentimental Cupid." The conservative Protestant moralists were deeply suspicious of a poetic view that united the realms of nature and of grace with one Neoplatonic ladder of love. For them, human sensuality was inherently part of the realm of fallen nature, separated from the realm of grace by man's own sin in Adam. The immediate result of the Fall was the sexual self-consciousness of the first man and woman, a new vision of things that put the satisfaction of lust before God. To Christians who regarded the salvation of souls as their primary concern, sexual passion was a dangerously
powerful force that made men idolators of other human creatures. No amount of beautification and elaborate courtly ritual about love could sway the Puritan from his conviction that sexual passion contained something inherently evil that could only be properly restrained within the bonds of marriage. Blind Cupid, like his mother, the shameful Venus, is a god of fornication and the concupiscence of the flesh.\(^{26}\)

Such a stern view of love does not necessarily remove it as a subject of comedy. One way of purging men of vice is to show them that their favorite sin is laughable. "Sin," says Robertson, "may be ridiculous as well as pathetic, especially to the unromantic eye."\(^{27}\) The illogic of love makes it particularly susceptible to the ironic treatment of a sceptical writer. Sidney is just such a sceptic in parts of the two \textit{Arcadias}, and he is sometimes able to see passion in a manner similar to that of the medieval poet who wrote that

\begin{quote}
Love is an unjust judge; marrying adverse things
It causes the nature of things to degenerate.
Opposites are consonant in love: knowledge is ignorant
Wrath the jokes, honor soils, need is wealthy,
Vile deeds are good, praise reproaches, despair hopes,
Hope fears, harmful things are profitable, rewards injure.\(^{28}\)
\end{quote}

The passion of love, like other human sins, further distorts the vision of an inner eye already darkened by the
Fall. It affects the lover's perception of nature, and of the beauty of his beloved. More important, it affects the lover's perception of the order of priorities in the public and private worlds. This distortion is reflected in the art produced by the lovers, which is filled with images of sickness, desolation, imprisonment, conquest and death. Finally, if the lover has not been totally blinded to the beauty of virtue, his vision itself becomes a punishment, for his will is so enfeebled that the dream of pleasure held out to him by passion seems more attractive than the rewards of virtue, and he does wrong while knowing what is right.

ii: The first Downstep to Wickedness: Passion in the Old Arcadia

In the Old Arcadia the reader's estimate of the value of passionate vision, like his estimate of the rightness of reason, is dictated by the distant perspective and the judgments of the narrator. Sidney does not choose to make his reader dependent almost entirely upon iconography, imagery and conventional romance attitudes as he does in the revision. Rather, he has the narrator address the "fayre ladies" as a group of intelligent persons who, because they have experienced something of the passion themselves, will share his own scepticism and not accept uncritically the follies of his noble characters. From the outset, his bias
is in favor of "good mynds," "good laws," "well bringing up. . .as a most sure bonde," and "well-governed youth."29 His comments which foreshadow the behavior of the characters set out clearly the standards by which we are to measure conduct. In the case of Gynecia, for instance, the narrator assures his audience that passion is "want of vertue," and her later conduct "inconveynances." He turns to his audience at the crucial moment when Gynecia discovers that it is Basilius rather than Cleophila who has come to make love to her in the cave, and asks ironically, "yt is better to know by imagination than experience?"30 His comment on the feelings of Pyrocles as he begins to make love to Philoclea in Book III links the young prince's passion to the monster Cupid rather than to the beautiful young god, for he says that Pyrocles began now "to envy Argus thousand eyes Brierius hundred hands, feighting against a weyke resistance which did stryve to bee overcome."31 The narrator of the Old Arcadia is not a sentimentalist, but a cynical man who sees a great deal of humor in the blindness created by passion which makes it, as Musidorus says, "the first downstepp to all wickedness."32

Love so dazzles the eyes of the lover that he can no longer see clearly. Pyrocles gives an indication of this kind of blindness when he praises extravagantly the countryside around Basilius's lodge. He is, of course, arguing
against Musidorus's condemnation of his idleness and solitude, but his appeal is evidence of his own estrangement from reason, which puts relatively little stock in external appearances of beauty. His passion, rather than rational choice of argument makes him demand of Musidorus,

Do you not see how every thing conspires together to make this place a Heavenly dwelling? Do you not see the grasse, how in Coloure they excell the Emeraudes every one stryving to passe his fellowe, and yet they are all kept in an equal height? And see you not the rest of all these beautifull flowers, eche of which woulde requeyer a mans witt to knowe, and his life to express? Doo not these stately trees seeme to meytayne theyre florishing olde age with the onely happyness of theyre seate beyng cloathed with a Continuall Springe, because no beauty here shoulde ever fade? Dothe not the Ayer breath health whiche the Byrdes, (both delightfull bothe to the eare and eye) do dayly solemnize with the consent of theyre voyces... Certynly, certynly Cossyn yt must needes bee, that some Godesse this Dezart belongs unto, for, neyther ys any lesse then a Goddess worthy to be shryned in such a heape of pleasures, nor any less then a Goddess coulde have made yt so perfect a Modell of the heavenly dwellinges. 33

Pyrocles's statement might seem to be the beginning of the ascent up the ladder of Neoplatonic love. It is not. The center of interest is not in the beauty of the ideal; it remains in the beauty of the sensual, particularly of the "goddess" Philoclea. This remains true throughout the Old Arcadia, for in Pyrocles's blazon on Philoclea bathing, the
"guest within" that is the princess's soul, is all but lost in her lover's passionate attention to the physical delights of her body.

Musidorus, as yet untouched by the arrows of Cupid, points out the excesses of his cousin's praise of the Arcadian landscape, identifying them as symptoms of a diseased mind. He tries to reason his friend back to a sensible view of the scene by arguing that other places have equal beauty, yet have not compelled Pyrocles to waste his time in them. He points out also the weakness of his friend's argument, that it is merely an appeal to the senses, rather than to the mind. To the mind still governed by reason, Pyrocles's vision appears distorted, for it makes mountains out of molehills, like those of "these fantastick mynde-infected people, yt Children and Musicians call lovers."34

The role of the eye in Cupid's attack is made clear in Pyrocles's discussion of how he fell in love. The source of his problem was visual, but it was not the sight of Philoclea herself, but a mere artificial representation of her, the portrait in Kerxenus's gallery. In traditional Petrarchan fashion, the beauty of the woman, like the arrows of the god of love, pierces through the eyes to implant itself in the heart of the lover. The nature of the wound
is such that the image of the lady seems to "live" in the lover's heart, reorienting his whole inner being around itself, so that the lady does, in the lover's mind, truly become a goddess. The region of nature inhabited by the lady becomes a shrine to the lover, a sort of demi-paradise inhabited by his new deity. Similarly, any place not inhabited by the goddess, no matter how lovely it may be in itself, becomes for him a desert. Thus Pyrocles's attempt to make Musidorus see part of Arcadia as more than natural, as heavenly, is not a mere rhetorical ploy. It is, as his friend points out, a reflection of the distorted vision of a diseased mind.

The distortion of vision characteristic of the prisoner of passion becomes a moral problem for Sidney because his characters act on the basis of their visions, rather than merely contemplating them and forming them into poetry. In this particular golden world those actions are judged by their disastrous consequences to the public and private order, as they are measured by the ethical code held by the dispassionate Evarchus. There is almost no ambiguity in Sidney's treatment of love in the comedy. Love is a force which distorts the moral vision of its victims, making them behave in ways that take away from the dignity of the human condition. It makes them do things that are evil, and that
become laughable only because they ultimately prove to have no permanent ill effects, although they create temporary disorder in family and state. The god of love in the Old Arcadia has qualities of the blind child and the monster, but not of the sighted Cupid. Operating in conjunction with similarly blind fortune, Love creates the chaos which only Eternall Justice can redeem.

Pyrocles's distorted vision allows him to adopt the disguise of a woman in order to pursue his goal, the "enjoying" of Philoclea. As has been shown above, the mask in Renaissance art, is an emblem of the vice of fraud. But Pyrocles, his mind "wholly turned and transformed"35 because of his love for the princess, does not really question the morality of the method he is using. For him, as for the Machiavellian, the end is sufficient justification for the means. In single-minded pursuit of his quarry, the lover abandons many of the restrictions placed upon him by the forces that maintain the order of civilization. Thus Musidorus's horrified response to his friend's disguise is justified not only by subsequent events in the comedy, but by Renaissance concepts of order as well. The poet puts in the older prince's speech the same principles of order and reason that govern Evarchus's judgment of the actions of his son and nephew that lead to the crisis in Book V.
Despite his appeal to Pyrocles to hold on to the principles of reason, Musidorus, too, becomes the victim of passion. He, too, becomes so disoriented in his mind that the light of reason is all but extinguished by the light of the twin suns of his lady's eyes. He, too, adopts a disguise, which is only less shameful than that of his cousin because it does not sacrifice his sexual identity, but only his rank. Musidorus suffers more from the attack of Cupid, since, like the Princess Erona in the eclogues, he had rebelled against love by asserting the claims of reason above those of passion. Like Pyrocles, Musidorus makes an artifact of his misery, reflecting his conscious awareness of his mental transformation.

Come Shepheard weedes become your Master's mynde,
Yeelde owtward shewe, what Inward chaunge he tryes:
Nor bee abashed, synce suche a guest yow fynde,
Whose strongest hope in youre weyke comfort lyes.

Come Shepheard weedes attend my woofull Cryes,
Disaue youre selves from sweete Menalcas voyce:
For others bee those Tunes wch sorowes tyes
From those clere notes wch freely may rejoynce.

Then powre oute pleynte, and in one word say this;
Helpes his pleynte, who spoils him self of blis.
fynde in myself) have compassion of mee, and let thy glory be as greate yn pardoning them that he submitted to thee, as in Conquering those that were rebellious."\textsuperscript{37} This is the measure of the disorientation passion effects in the mind, for even though he cannot tell whether what he feels is virtuous or vicious, divine or demonic, Musidorus surrenders himself to "this Captiving of us within ourselves,"\textsuperscript{37a} and adopts the methods of the monster Cupid, disguise, to attain his end.

Evarchus is not affected by the attractiveness of the young princes when he judges them. He is of the same mind as is Musidorus before he falls in love, and as magistrate he holds both son and nephew morally responsible for the catastrophes brought about by their passion and their adoption of disguises. "I can not," says the just king, "keepe yow from the effects of your own doyng. Nay, I can not in this Case acknowledg yow for myne, for never had I shepheard to my nephewe, nor never had woeman to my sonne, youre vices have degraded yow from beyng Princes and have disanulde youre Birtheright: Therefore, yf there be any thing lefte in yow of Princely vertue, shewe yt in constant suffering that youre unprincely dealling hathe purchaste unto yow. For my part I must tell yow, yow have forced a Father to robb hym self of his Children."\textsuperscript{38} This is but the
last of the evil results of surrendering to the passionate way of seeing in the Old Arcadia. As Musidorus says of the dark working of love, "how endless yet ronnes to infinite evills."³⁹

The lustful love of the Old Arcadia is revealed more clearly as a form of distorted vision as it operates in the older characters of the comedy. As Richard Lanham points out, the rhetoric of the young princes is lust's disguise, giving sensual desire a beauty beyond itself.⁴⁰ The whole Petrarchan system of imagery acts as a screen to prevent the lovers from seeing themselves as they really are. Unable to separate themselves from themselves, as Musidorus had suggested that Pyrocles do; unable to look at themselves in relation to reason's order, they become trapped in interior worlds lit only by their ladies' eyes. The vice of the princes is made unmistakably clear to the readers through the parallel loves of Basilius and Gynecia as well as through the eclogues, but only the final scenes enlighten the young men.

The love of Basilius for Cleophila is a curious complement to Pyrocles's love for Philoclea. Neither man puts up a great deal of resistance to the attack of the blind god, and both acknowledge the single goal of enjoyment. The old Duke's struggle between the claims of honor and passion
lasts the length of one eclogue, "but passion ere longe, had gotten the absolute masterhood, bringing with yt the shewe of present pleasure fortified with ye authority of a Prince, whose power mighte easily satisfy his will ageanst ye farre fett, (though true) reasons of the Spirite, whiche in a man not trained in the way of vertue, hathe but slender worcking." Basilius's dancing and versifying, his plotting to possess Cleophila, are ridiculous not only because of his age, but because of Cleophila's sex. But in fact they are only a degree more ridiculous than the disguising and posturing of the princes. Sidney does not trust passion as a way of seeing in either young or old, because it leads to disorder. But in the young the folly is understandable, and in its way, beautiful. In the old Duke, it is grotesque.

The poet shows the changed vision of Basilius by having him abandon his worship of Apollo for the worship of a new "goddess." That the god of light should be the particular object of worship of the befuddled Basilius is ironically inappropriate, for light and truth perpetually evade him. In seeking to share the foreknowledge of Apollo, Basilius presumes beyond the limits appropriate to mankind and begins the chain of events that leads to the judgment scene. Saved by Cleophila from the revolt of the people
discontented in the absence of their retired ruler, the "selfnes" of the old Duke's affection makes him misinterpret the oracle to justify his love. He even has his family celebrate the victory in a hymn to Apollo that emphasizes the clarity of inner vision that Basilius himself so evidently lacks.

Apollo greate, whose beames the greater worlde do lighte, And in our little worlde dothe clere clere inwarde sight: Which ever shynes, though it hidd from earthe, by earthly shade,
Whose Lightes do ever live, but in our Darknes fade. Thow God whose youth was deckt with spoyle of Pithons skynn
So humble knowledge can throwe down the Snakish synn. Latonas sonne, whose byrthe in paynes and travell longe, Doth teache to learner the good, which Travells doo belonge.
In travell of our lyfe, a short, but tedyous space, Whyle brickle Hower glass ronnes, guyde thow our e panting race.
Give us foresightfull myndes, give us myndes to obay, What fore sight telles our thought uppon thy knowledge stay,
Lett so our fruites grow up, that nature bee meytayned, But so our hartes keepe done, wth vyce they bee not stayned.
Lett this assured Holde, our Judgment ever take, That no thinge wynnes the heaven, but what dothe eart the forsake."

Basilius inherits this hymn, like the good lawes of Arcadia, from the wise rulers of the past, but he is unable to absorb its message. Rather, blinded by his very earthy passion for the disguised Pyrocles and his certainty of the rightness of his own imperfect judgment, Basilius epitomizes the unen-lightened man. He has neither the discipline of knowledge,
the firmness of constancy, nor the proper attitude of humility towards the gods or moral law. When he later bids "Phaebus farewell, a sweeter sainte I serve," his blasphemous idolatry reveals the true darkness of his inner vision. It is but one more step to a complete disregard of moral law, and a view that sees chastity as "certeyne Imaginative Rules (whose truthe standes but upon opinion)."

The divided mind of Gynecia, tortured by its double vision of virtuous and desired behavior, is an extreme development of the internal divisions that characterize Musidorus's experience of love. Like the older prince, Gynecia is aware of the evil of her surrender to illicit passion. She knows the moral law, and does not, like her husband, simply redefine it to suit her purposes. She knows she is going to violate the bonds of marriage and suffers from her awareness of the probable consequences. Trained and practical in the ways of reason and virtue, she is nevertheless helpless before the attack of passion and becomes "a perfect Marke of the tryumphe of Love, who coulde in one moment overthrowe the harte of a wyse Lady, so, yt neyther Honor longe Meynteyed, nor Love of Husband and Children coulde withstand yt." There is no doubt that passion, for Gynecia, is a force of darkness, and that she
is a victim of the demonic tyrant Cupid. Even her own
inner eye can only see this passion for Cleophila as a moral
disaster, and the imagery she uses to reflect upon her state
figures forth the depth of her agony.

O Sunne, said shee, whose unspotted lighte directs
the stepps of mortall Mankynde, arte thou not
ashamed to imparte the Clearenness of thy presence
to suche an overthrowne worm as I am? O yee
heavens, which continually keepe the Course
allotted unto yeow, can none of youre Influences
preveyle somuche upon the miserable Gynecia, as
to make her preserve a Course so long imbrased by
her? O Desartes, Desartes how fitt a guest am I
for yeow, synce my hart ys fuller of wylde Ravenous
beastes then ever yow were, O vertue, how well I
see, thow werte never but a vayne name, and no
essentiall thinge wch haste thus lefte thy
professed Servaunt when shee had moste neede of
thy lovely presence; O imperfect proportion of
Reason, whiche can to muche foresee, and so little
prevent. . . .46

Gynecia can perceive proper moral order and that vision becomes
part of the punishment for her surrender to the disordering
force of Love.

In the Old Arcadia Sidney makes the Duchess the
example of the most terrible form of love-sexual passion
combined with jealousy. The power of her mind, once dis-
torted, becomes most dangerous to her and to others, for
she can imagine encounters between Philoclea and Cleophila
that drive her close to a tragic madness. Gynecia is rarely
comic like Basilius, for her passion is not that of an old
woman, but of a woman of middle age. It is not impossible
of fulfillment, either. The original dignity of the Duchess is not entirely lost in her passion; she remains powerful even in defeat. Her terrible jealousy is linked by the narrator to the wraths of "the Troyan woman who went to burne Aeneas shippes" 47 and to a demonic possession: "O Jelosy the fransy of wyse folkes, the well-wishing spirite & unkynde Carefullnes the self punishment of others faulte and self misery in others happyness: the sister of Envy, Daughter of Love and Mother of hate. . . Possest with these Devills of Love and Jelosy, the greater and wretched Gynecia. . .beganne to denounce warr to all the workes of earthe and powers of heaven." 48 The eye of jealousy manufactures imagined horrors and turns the wise Gynecia into a raving demoniac.

Sidney follows the Petrarchan pattern of making his god of love a god of death as well. The lover of stilnuovo poetry suffers from the disease of love that will lead to his death if it is not relieved by the beneficence of his beloved. The absence of the lady is like the departure of the sun from the sky, without which nothing can live and all is darkness and death. In moral terms, the Puritans looked upon the surrender of man to passion as a spiritual death, reminiscent of the Fall. In the Old Arcadia, the god of love leads all of the central characters near, not
only to physical, but to moral death. He is indeed the agent of "deadly desires." He brings not only the individual lovers, but the society of Arcadia to near collapse, by blinding rulers to their public duties by setting private delights before their eyes. The Duke and Duchess plan adultery, the princes accomplish seduction and near-rape. Slaves of lust, the central characters lose the sense of themselves as eternal souls only temporarily lodged in clay. The resulting surrender of the soul to the urges of the body is the surrender of the divine to the earthy, so that in fact, when

The lyfe wee Leade ys all Love,
The love wee holde ys all death.

The relationship of marriage alone can contain passion. Only the shepherds, Lalus and Kala, follow the paths dictated by law and custom in regard to love, turning, in the third set of eclogues, from the worship of Cupid to that of Hymen. Sidney does not make the parents of his shepherdess rivals for the favors of her lover, nor does he have the lover deny to them the right to dispose of their daughter's hand in marriage. The wedding has the blessings of both family and community, despite the unhappy comments of Histor, Kala's rejected suitor. Sidney juxtaposes the virtuous union of Lalus and Kala with the seduction of Philoclea by Pyrocles, inviting a comparison that reflects
unfavorably upon his noble characters. It is clear that it is the humble picture of love that the poet approves. The contrast between Pyrocles's wish for "Argus thousand eyes, Brierius hundred hands"\textsuperscript{51} and the first verse of the shepherds' epitalamion leaves no doubt about the poet's attitude.

Let Mother Earthe, now deck her self in flowers, To see her Ofspring seeke a good encrease, Where justest Love dothe vanquish Cupids powers, And Warre of thoughtes is swallowed up in peace, Whiche never may decrease; But like the Turtles \textit{fayre Live One in Twoo, a well united payre, Whiche, that no Chaunce may stayne, O Hymen longe theyre coupled joyes mantayne.}\textsuperscript{52}

The Protestant poet celebrates here love that is governed by custom and tradition, a disciplined love that is not entirely focused on itself, \textit{myopically}, but still can see the social context to which it must relate. Lust, the passion of blind Cupid, sees only the end of pleasure, which it pursues without regard for anything else.

Eternall Justice so manipulates events in Arcadia that the noble figures can come to the awareness of order that the shepherds seem never to have lost. In Book V the princes remember in prison their relation to the Divine, and are reminded in the course of the trial of their proper relation to family and community. Gynecia, her vision cleared by the apparent death of her husband, becomes her
own prosecutor. Basilius awakes to find Pyrocles unmasked, and can therefore regain a correct perception of his role in society and emerge a better ruler, humbled by an awareness of his previous failures of vision.

iii: Lightsome coulours, Deepest shadowes: Love in the New Arcadia

Sidney is much more tentative in his approach to passionate vision in his revision than he had been in the original version. Dispensing with the ironic, sceptical narrator of the Old Arcadia, the poet proceeds dramatically and experimentally, with the broader scope of heroic romance at his disposal, he explores thirty different lovers and the effects of passion upon them. He does not set up an attitude toward love that governs the reader's response to it from the outset, but uses imagery, characters and events to draw the reader to make conclusions about the nature and moral value of passion. These hypotheses must be continually revised as one works through the labyrinthine plot. Nevertheless, the poet's view of passion as an attractive but highly dangerous way of seeing in the fallen world remains basically unchanged from original to revision. The darkening of the fictional world by the introduction of the calculated villainy of Cecropia and Plexirtus, and of the realities of war and death, is barely balanced by the
treatment of enlightened love in Pamela, Argalus and Parthenia, Strephon and Claius. Passionate vision, if it is responsible for the most "lightsome coulours" of the New Arcadia, is also the cause of some of the "deepest shadowes."^{53}

The mind-distorting force of love is evident even in the treatment of Strephon and Claius. Sidney's ambiguous attitude toward their particular type of love shows up in the contrast between their personal misery and the evident satisfaction they take in the accomplishments that they have made because of love. The love of Urania has inspired them to achieve a high level of learning, but they have had to pay a terrible price for it since her departure. They reflect their state of mind in the poem "Ye Goatherd Gods." Before they became lovers, they were carefree members of the pastoral society, living in harmony with the Arcadian landscape. Even after they became lovers, so long as Urania was present their lives were joyful. Her departure, however, has turned their inner landscape to desert, for with her is gone both light and harmony. They have become slaves to Remembrance, and their music has turned to complaints, their images are monstrous mountains, screech owls and filthy cloudy evenings.^{54} Their sorrow is such that
I that was once the musique of these vallies
So darkened am, that all my day is evening,
Hart-broken so, that molehills seeme high mountaines,
And fill the vales with cries in steed of musique.\(^55\)

The common-sense Kalender does not understand these
two shepherds. In his discussion of the nature of Arcadian
society he mentions their learning with admiration,
especially since it has not significantly diminished their
neglected wealth, but he is not inclined to give the credit
to passion, for he remarks that, "it is sporte to heare how
they impute to love, whiche hath indewed their thoughts
(saie they) with such a strengthe."\(^56\) The Neoplatonic
ideal of love, measured against the standard of the calm,
peaceful and useful ideal represented by Kalender, is not
entirely satisfying.

If the frustrated love of Strephon and Claius shows
the problems the poet finds in the Neoplatonic vision of
love as a way through to an understanding of the divine,
the story of Argalus and Parthenia provides a measure of
the beauty that controlled passion can achieve. It is the
physical beauty of Parthenia that young Clitophon shows to
Argalus as a kind of local curiosity, but love gives
Argalus a vision of the inner beauty of virtue that shines
through the beauty of her person. The god of love inspires
a similar vision of the beauty of inner worthiness that
characterizes Argalus, and the vision is so compelling that
no attempt of her mother or of Demogoras to sway Parthenia from her desire to unite herself with it can make her change. The disfiguring of Parthenia makes no difference to Argalus, neither will he accept merely her external beauty when she pretends not to be herself after her cure. Only the union of himself with her virtue will satisfy him.

Such a love is capable of creating the masterpiece of love, a worthy marriage. The union of Argalus and Parthenia is desire conquered, disciplined and shaped into a miniature society. This is the ideal Sidney holds up to his readers in the domestic scene in Book III, of "a happy couple, he joying in her, she joying in her self, but in her selfe, because she enjoyed him: both encreasing their riches by giving to each other; each making one life double, because they made a double life; one, where desire never wanted satisfaction, nor satisfaction, never bred sacietie; he ruling because she would obey: or rather because she would obey, she therein ruling." 57

One of the clearest indications of Sidney's unchanging fear of the power of passion is the tragedy of the destruction of this marriage, love's work of art. Through a series of ironic turns of plot, the poet makes the one virtuous union in the revision the victim of the unleashed passions of others. Basilius commands Argalus to come to
war (which the latter obeys, bending with grief to the "tyranny of honor") as much on account of his adulterous passion for the disguised Pyrocles as for the love of his daughters or the rebellion against his state. Amphialus, his vision of true honor destroyed by the tyranny of love, is drawn to the shameful killing of Argalus and later of Parthenia. That these two lovers die "accompanied with virtue," manifesting the love and courage that seems to beautify even death, does nothing to alleviate the darkness of a world in which this can happen.

Parthenia's hopeless battle against Amphialus is the only evidence in their story of the power of passion's distorted vision, save the steward's comment in Book I that Argalus's only sin is an "overvehement constancy of yet spotless affection." Parthenia goes beyond the limits of reason in her pursuit of death. She becomes passionately suicidal, in love with death. Without Argalus, she sees the world only as a wasteland, and death comes to seem more beautiful than life to her. Thus she is driven by her own grief to the island, where, armed in the emblems of desired death, she makes death seem beautiful because it possesses her. The "spectacles of pity" make the onlookers to the tragedy see Parthenia as even more lovely in death than in life, and prevents them from seeing clearly her departure from the way of reason.
Sidney is unwilling to let his readers dwell upon the pathetic beauty of passion for long. Therefore, he interrupts the funeral procession for Parthenia with a comment upon Gynecia's arrival in Basilius's camp. This obsessed lady "was gone into the campe under colour of visiting her husband, and hearing of her daughters: but indeed Zelmane was the Sainct, to which her pilgrimage was intended: cursing, envying, blessing, and in her heart kissing the walls which imprisoned her."\textsuperscript{62} The tormented idolatry of the Queen is contrasted with the virtue of Argalus and Parthenia, who, until death separated them, managed to integrate the vision of love into a perception of existence that subordinated personal passion to public order, and to discipline their lives into a chaste work of art in marriage. Despite Parthenia's pursuit of death, she and Argalus become the martyred saints of love in the New Arcadia, and their bodies are made "the blessed reliques of faithfull and vertuous Love."\textsuperscript{63} Their lives are the masterpiece of the sighted Cupid, but their deaths give pathetic evidence of the terrible power of his blind, demonic brother.

Pamela is the only major character who comes close to achieving Sidney's ideal relationship of reason, honor and passion. Though she does fall in love with Musidorus, her
affection is checked by an overriding concern with her honor both as individual and as heiress to Arcadia. None of the imagery of blindness or idolatry associated with the others is used to figure forth her love, because passion never so distorts her vision that she becomes unable to see the context of family and community in which she must function. She alone is able to suppress her love for what she considers an unworthy object, and nothing the shepherd Dorus does can make her see him as worthy of her. Musidorus chafes against the limits of his disguise role when he discovers that "when my countenance had once given notice that there lay affection under it, I saw straight, Majesty (sitting in the throne of beauty) draw forth such a sword of just disdaine, that I remained as a man thunder stricken; not daring, no not able to beholde that power." Pamela’s honor demands that she see a correspondence between private and public worthiness before she will permit herself to look through the glass of passion.

Such control is not achieved without a struggle, however, for Sidney’s heroine is not simply unfeeling. But her achieved firmness is unchanging until Musidorus reveals himself; before that he does indeed seem to "beat a rock and get fome." Aware of the power of passion, Pamela warns her sister to "take heed; for I thinke Vertue itself is no
armour of proof against affection." She is anxious that Philoclea approve of the choice she has made, because she is concerned about the "due limits" of behavior and about the readiness with which she has believed her disguised lover's story. She is careful not to reveal her feelings to Musidorus, for having taken judgment into her own hands, she fears a mistake, and declares that "Truly I would hate my life, if I thought vanitie led me." 67

The crisis that separates Pamela and Musidorus validates her fear. Frustrated by his role-playing, and her apparent coldness, Musidorus is unable to handle her first gesture of kindness towards him. Instead of abiding by his previous promise to give due honor to "that heavenly vertue, which shines in all your doings," 68 he yields to passionate desire and seizes the first opportunity to become the "too much loving Musidorus" beyond the bounds set by reason. His attempt to kiss her enrages Pamela, who all at once starts to use the imagery of evil in regard to her love. She declares herself deceived in him who now seems "the only fall of my judgment and staine of my conscience." 69 His presumption combines with her anger to bring about his banishment, so that he is absent when Cecropia's agents carry her off to Amphialus's castle.

As noted in Chapter I above, the change in Pamela's
impresa from the original to the revised Arcadia provides a measure of the change in her character. Her jewel is a diamond set in black horn, and her motto is "Yet still myself." In the complex public and private worlds of Arcadia she remains just that. Her character proves "the sweetenesse of vertue jealous, even over itself," and her argument against the atheism of Cecropia shows that even in prison and in love Pamela remains capable of seeing with the eyes of reason, and of opposing evil with their vision of truth.

For the rest of the characters of the New Arcadia the vision of passion is clearly associated with a greater or lesser degree of moral guilt. Even if the possibility of honorable and reasonable love does exist in the golden world the road to it is fraught with danger for the soul of the lover. Often, indeed, the satisfaction becomes an end in itself, and the lover abandons all the laws that make society function in an orderly fashion. Reason, once defeated by passion, can no longer control the vision of the inner, spiritual eye of judgment, so that actions are dictated by the new order of priorities that is established on the basis of the new order of things perceived by an inner eye distorted by passion. Musidorus reflects on both the problems and the potential of his new way of life as
he takes on his disguise, saying "O heaven and earth... to what a passe are our mindes brought, that from the right line of vertue, are urged to these crooked shifts? But O Love, it is thou that doost it: thou changest name upon name; thou disguisest our bodies, and disfigurest oure mindes. But in deed thou hast reason, for though the wayes be foule, the journeys end is most faire and honorable." 72 The distorted vision of passion leads most of the characters in Sidney's revision toward a goal that violates moral law or by ways that lead through deceit, dishonor, public disorder and death. The broader dimension of evil Sidney creates in the New Arcadia does not excuse the moral deficiencies of his blinded lovers.

One form of deceit that Cupid encourages in Arcadia is masking. In the New Arcadia as in the Old masking is a moral problem. Its questionable nature is more clearly apparent in contexts other than that of the main plot, but even there the poet preserves the speeches of the princes from the original version that cast doubt on the motives of maskers.

In the public world of the New Arcadia Machiavellian deceit is treated with images of masking. Sidney particularly dislikes the masking of minds that is central to the Machiavellian concept of "pollicie," and he shows
the helplessness of virtue before it. Basilius is the victim of the "masked mind" of Clinias, the former actor who is a part-time spy for Cecropia. Clinias, to protect his cowardly self, changes roles virtually at will and thereby extends his influence over the events surrounding the rebellion and the first plot to escape from the castle. Similarly, Cecropia conceals the seizure of the princesses under the guise of a country festival, and attempts to hide her hatred for them beneath a "visard of kindness." The wicked king Plexirtus is a master role-player. Even the horrors of war are covered at first by the mask of heroic beauty.

When the princes take on their disguises for love in the world of the New Arcadia they are troubled by the dubious morality of their acts. As was shown above in Chapter II, Sidney uses Pyrocles's impresa of the disguised Hercules as a sign of his problematical state. The disorientation of his moral vision is evident as he surrenders the order of God and nature to the order of passion, by taking on woman's dress. Imprisoned by the new role he chooses, and forced to bear the unwanted love of Basilius and Gynecia, Pyrocles feels the anguish of despair and confesses that "What I call wrong, I doo the same, and more." Yet as in the Old Arcadia, he tries to absolve
himself from guilt by laying the blame elsewhere, declaring

This is thy worke, thou God for ever blinde:
Though thousands old, a Boy entitled still.
Thus children doo the silly birds they finde,
With stroking hurt, and too much cramming kill. \(^76\)

This is the same tack taken by Musidorus in his speech on
the "crooked shiftes" forced upon them by passion. \(^77\)

In the New Arcadia the problem of the masking of the
princes is magnified by the poet's development of the
dimension of their heroic past. Sidney insists on their
awareness of the moral dangers of the passionate way of
seeing by having Pyrocles recount their encounters with
various victims of love, from Dido to Helen. Even this
knowledge cannot keep them from acts they know to be wrong.
Once betrayed by their eyes into the hands of love, both
princes are metamorphosed into "miserable miracles of
affection." \(^78\)

In Sidney's golden world trouble follows those who
adopt disguises. There are three other instances of masking
in the New Arcadia, and each is linked with a death, either
of the masker or of others. Musidorus casually puts on the
discarded armor of Amphialus and, as a result, is forced
to kill the twelve knights attending Helen. Zelmane, the
daughter of Plexirtus, disguises herself as a page to serve
her beloved Pyrocles. She develops a fever on the road, but
forces herself to continue to wait on him, and finally dies
begging him to be merciful to her father. Artesia, Cecropia's ward, adopts a country disguise to trap the princesses into an ambush. Later this same girl is disguised as Pamela, and executed, as part of Cecropia's campaign of visual torture against her nieces.

For Amphialus the passionate way of seeing results in dishonor and near death. The end of his Love, the "enjoying" of Philoclea in marriage, is as fair and honorable as that of his rival Pyrocles, but it is frustrated by Philoclea's failure to return it. Amphialus is a noble man and a courageous and skillful warrior. Yet he is unable to measure his acts motivated by love against a strict standard of honor. His frustrated desire turns him into an obsessed, even a Machiavellian man, who can see his personal passion as a legitimate cause for imprisoning the princesses and rebelling against his legitimate prince. Only the deaths of Argalus and Parthenia at his hands brings him to the examination of conscience which, but for the challenge of the forsaken knight, might have brought him to a true vision of himself as he exercised "only his wittes to pearce farther and farther into his own wretchedness."79

Confession makes him "remember the mishappes of his youth, the evils he had bene cause of, his rebelling with Shame, and that Shame increased with shamefull accidents, the deaths
of Philoxenus and Parthenia, wherein he found himself hated of the ever-ruling powers, but especially (and so especially as the rest seemed nothing when he came to that) his fatall love to Philoclea: to whom he had so governed himself, as one that could neither conquer, nor yeeld; being of one side a slave, and of the other a jailor."80 His courage, his skill in arms, his friendships with noblemen, even his talents in creating poetry, costumes and artifacts are all misdirected because of his surrender to passion. In Amphialus, love is not separated from lust, for though he can make the distinction that "lust may well be a tyrant...true love...is a servant,"81 his actions are a hopeless mixture of the tyrannical and the servile. The civil war he provokes in Arcadia is no more than an outward reflection of the dark disorder of his own mind.

The terrible suffering Amphialus endures as a result of his actions enables the dual forces of sorrow and shame to bring him to a true vision of himself. "They laide before his eyes his present case, painting every piece of it in moste ougly colours: they shewed him his love wrapped in despare, his fame blotted by overthrowe; so that if before he languished, because he could not obtaine his desiring, he now lamented because he durst not desire the obtaining."82 Total awareness of the actions his mother had taken to
satisfy his desire brings Amphialus to despair, so that he seeks to take his own life. By surrendering to the god of love, Amphialus becomes an agent of death, and for him death does indeed "head his dart with the golde of Cupid's arrowe."83

Like Amphialus, Helen of Corinth has a fair and worthy object for her love. However in her the vision of passion does not bring dishonor, although it is the cause of death to others and personal misery for her. She abandons her kingdom and rides about Arcadia trying to find Amphialus and to convince him to return her love, yet Pyrocles, telling the part of the story he knows, declares that her strange conduct has not diminished the respect accorded her by public opinion: . . . "you may see by her example (in her self wise, and of others beloved) that neither follie is . the cause of love, nor reproch the effect. For never, (I thinke) was there any woman, that with more unremovable determination gave her selfe to the councell of Love..." yet is neither her wisdome doubted of, nor honour blemished. For (O God) what doth better become wisdome then to discerne, what is worthy the loving? What more agreeable to goodness, than to love it so discerned? and what to greatness of hart, then to be constant in it once loved?"84

Pyrocles's questions are those of one himself a lover,
and though this dedication to love's way of seeing is attractive, Sidney has already shown its terrible results. When Musidorus meets Helen in Book I he sees her beauty darkened with the sorrow that results from her unrequited love. She weeps continually before the portrait of Amphialus, "as if the Idol of dutie ought to be honored with such oblations" and lightly dismisses the deaths of her retainers because they dared to attack even the armor of her beloved. She herself regards her behavior as folly, yet she cannot keep from speaking of him, though before she loved she thought "foule scorne willingly to submit myself to be ruled." Amphialus teaches her shame, rejecting her declaration of love roughly because his friend is in love with her. Her unfortunate love subsequently brings about the deaths of the noble Philoxenus at the hands of his companion Amphialus, and of Timotheus, from grief at his son's death.

Blinded by her passion, Helen turns idolator and abandons her country, seeking "only to follow him, who proclaimeth hate against me." Sidney does not condemn her love. Rather, when the fragment breaks off, he seems prepared to use her to redeem Amphialus. This is a problem for the poet, though, for in the world of the New Arcadia death is real, not an illusion, even for the noble figures, and nothing short of the romance magic Sidney so pointedly avoids
can bring back the victims of Helen and Amphialus's passion.

Sidney reflects his deepest suspicion of the power for evil that passionate vision has in his treatment of Basilius, Gynecia and the characters in the interpolated stories in Book II. By surrendering to passion, these characters release forces that create massive disorder in both the private and public spheres. Incapable of seeing existence clearly, as a whole ordered by divine reason, they pursue their individual goals without counting the cost in lives, kingdoms and honor.

The sub-plot concerning the passion for Zelmane developed by Basilius and Gynecia is adapted virtually without change from the Old Arcadia. Their passions are treated as forms of blindness and disease. Much of the comic tone is gone, however, for the poet's serious interest in the private behavior of princes as it affects the public welfare leads him to measure the King and Queen of Arcadia against a stricter set of standards for royal morals. The doting love that, according to Zelmane's unsympathetic commentary, turns Basilius into a clown who, despite his eighty years tries to act like a young lover, has strategic consequences in the war against Amphialus. He fails to act against Cecropia when she sends out the lion and bear against his daughters because he is blinded to any other interests by his love for Zelmane.
He lifts the siege of the castle, against the advice of Philanax, because his passion makes him see the saving of Zelmate's life as more important than subduing rebellion. Gynecia is similarly blinded and tormented almost to madness by love for Zelmate. Her distorted vision makes her willing to sacrifice family and honor to "enjoy" the young prince who loves her daughter. There is no sentimentalizing of passion in Sidney's treatment of the passions of the rulers of Arcadia. It is a poison or disease that saps the strength of the state, a madness that makes men forget morality and duty.

Sidney's fictional world in the New Arcadia is one in which the failure to see properly can lead to disaster, but in which seeing properly is difficult, because evil often appears disguised in the forms of good. Thus evil can appear in the mask of beauty, which inspires passion. The stories of Erona and Plangus are inset parables of the disasters wrought by the passionate way of seeing in the lives of otherwise decent people. Plangus's youthful indiscretion with another man's wife sets in motion a chain of circumstances that brings death to his innocent half-brother as well as to the real Zelmate, and tyranny to the kingdom of Iberia. Erona's attempt to suppress the worship of Cupid, even though it is motivated by morally proper reasons, brings the god's
revenge in the form of an overwhelming passion that blinds her to her own best interests and those of her kingdom. For them, even more than for the rulers of Arcadia, love becomes a cup of poison.

Evil comes to Iberia in the guise of a beautiful woman, an object of love. Sidney makes clear to his readers what Plangus cannot see, but must learn through agonizing experience, that Andromana is beautiful only "if it be possible, that the outside only can entitle a beauty." The poet's theory of art and his treatment of the idea of beauty in the tournament of the queens in Book I prove that Sidney did not admit such a possibility. Andromana's mind is not virtuous; her descent into nymphomania begins with her consenting to an adulterous relationship with Plangus, in the belief that "the enameling of a princes name might hide the spots of a broken wedlock." Plangus is not dominated by passion, but is really in love with love, but his lies to his father about the character of Andromana, though honorably motivated, help stir in the older man feelings that become moral blindness. Andromana works the old king like a fish on a hook, using all her wiles to attract him but donning a "maske of vertue" when he presumes. The king becomes so infatuated that he sees "with no other eyes but such as she gave him." Plangus is exiled and disinherited by the
machinations of his former mistress, and nothing he can do can relieve his father's distorted vision or save Iberia from rule by a female tyrant. The passionate blindness of the King of Iberia is as clearly productive of evil as the failures of reason in the Kings of Phrygia, Pontus and Paphlagonia.

The tragic misdirection of passion continues to plague the second generation of the family of Iberia. Palladius, the young son of Andromana, meets his death trying to carry out the wishes of the woman he loves. Yet his love is not returned, and the true Zelzane dies in the service of Pyrocles, who cannot return her love. Both these pathetic deaths are the work of worthy passions, and the two young people, like Argalus and Parthenia, become martyrs to love.

Plangus is punished by being conquered by a real passion for the hapless Erona. She cannot return his love because she is suffering the revenge of Cupid. Her inner eye is dominated by the vision of Antiphilus, who is completely unworthy as a candidate for her affection. The arbitrary god of love sends her this blind passion, which leads to the death of her father and the massacre of the citizens of Lydia at the hands of her former suitor, Tiridates. Even her own ill treatment at the hands of the man she has made both husband and king cannot make Erona see clearly.
Even after he is dead and she is imprisoned, she continues to love, and in a kind of horrible parody of the virtuous Parthenia, desires no more than to die and be joined with her beloved.

Sidney has not completely lost his sense of the comic potential of passion, but in the complex world of the New Arcadia, with its cross-currents of private desires and public policies, what appears comic at one moment may turn to tragedy the next. The picture of the fickle lover Pamphilus being tormented by the women he has loved and left is funny, but the rescue Pyrocles effects brings about a reversal that is not funny at all, for Pamphilus and his retainers capture the woman Dido and begin to torment her. Pyrocles’s intervention again redeems the situation but sets him up as a victim of the plots of her miserly father, who seeks to sell him to his enemy, Queen Artaxia, for gold. Although Pamphilus is comically punished by marrying a whore, Dido dies, a victim of her father’s greed.

When the fragment of the revised Arcadia breaks off in the middle of Book III, Sidney is still reflecting a highly suspicious view of the crooked ways of passion as it affects human moral vision. The Puritan view of passion as a powerful force for destruction is very much part of the New Arcadia. Even in noble persons, passion can so distort
the inner eye that it makes its victims agents of evil, because they can no longer see clearly enough to see the compelling beauty of good. Sidney's view of passion as a potential force for good depends in the final analysis upon the ability of some force in the universe to control it. Pamela's speech to Cecropia and eclogue reflecting the battle between reason and passion give an indication of the possible source of that control--Divine Grace. Imperfect human reason cannot, of itself, defeat passion and convert it to a power for good. Only if man will "to Heavenly Rules give place" can reason and passion be completely reconciled, Urania return to Arcadia, and Love be clear-eyed.
FOOTNOTES

1Works, I, p. 340; IV, p. 130.


4Works, I, p. 7.

5Works, I, p. 8.

6Works, I, p. 7.


8Julia de Wolf Addison. Classic Myths in Art (Boston, 1904), p. 64. Also see Josephe Kunstmann. The Transformation of Eros (Philadelphia, 1965).

9Works, I, p. 61.

10Works, I, p. 140.


13 Works, I, pp. 238-40; IV, pp. 60-62.

14 Works, I, p. 238.

15 Works, I, p. 240.


17 Works, I, p. 241; IV, p. 62.


20 Works, I, p. 171.


22 Panofsky. Studies in Iconology, p. 89n.

23 Wind, p. 165n.

24 Wind, p. 165n.


26 Robertson, p. 126.
27 Robertson, p. 89.

28 Robertson, p. 127.

29 Works, IV, p. 1.

30 Works, IV, p. 214.


32 Works, IV, p. 16.

33 Works, IV, p. 12.


35 Works, IV, p. 15.

36 Works, IV, p. 36.

37 Works, IV, p. 38.

38 Works, IV, p. 383.

39 Works, IV, p. 17.

40 Davis and Lanham, p. 257ff.
41. Works, IV, p. 41.

42. Works, IV, p. 128.

43. Works, IV, p. 167.

44. Works, IV, p. 206.

45. Works, IV, p. 44.

46. Works, IV, p. 88.

47. Works, IV, p. 118.

48. Works, IV, p. 117.

49. Works, IV, p. 117.

50. Works, IV, p. 156.


52. Works, IV, p. 229.


55. Works, I, p. 141.
56. Works, I, p. 27.
58. Works, I, p. 422.
60. Works, I, p. 31.
63. Works, I, p. 449.
65. Works, I, p. 166.
69 Works, I, p. 355.

70 Works, I, p. 90.

71 Works, I, p. 183.

72 Works, I, p. 117.

73 Works, I, p. 324.

74 Works, I, p. 381.

75 Works, I, p. 253.

76 Works, I, p. 253.

77 Works, I, p. 117.

78 Works, I, p. 259.

79 Works, I, p. 450.


83. Works, I, p. 375.

84. Works, I, p. 284.


86. Works, I, p. 67.

87. Works, I, p. 87.


90. Works, I, p. 245.

CONCLUSION

This study of the treatment of vision in Sidney's Arcadia has shown that the poet "figured forth" a relatively pessimistic picture of man in both versions of his fictional world. His view of the nature of true art as a teaching instrument does not permit him to create characters who can be morally irresponsible simply because the world they inhabit is a fictional one. On the contrary, Sidney's version of the pastoral land of Arcadia is a world in which the laws of cause and effect do function, and the failures of moral vision in the characters cause them to do things for which they must be held accountable. In the Arcadia art is a kind of serious play, both for us as readers and for the characters within the romance as they seek to communicate with each other through its forms. The misuse of art is particularly dangerous, in Sidney's view, because it is an intentional attempt to mislead the inner eye of judgment, so that man, already prone to sin, will wander even further into the maze of error. The increased complexity of the structure of the New Arcadia reflects the poet's attempt to render formally his increased awareness of man's blindness, of the serious limitations of his moral vision.

The survey of criticism in Chapter One revealed that recent critics of the Arcadia have rejected the view that Sidney's
romance is merely a trifle. They have made us aware of the poet's highly developed sense of his craft, and have shown us his particular relationship to the genres and rhetorical devices that were so important to the verbal arts of the Renaissance. Sidney does not merely accept the attitudes inherent in the forms he inherited. Rather, he subjects them to sceptical scrutiny and shows their unfortunate results when they are translated into action in his romance world. In the Old Arcadia he makes us laugh at the follies of Petrarchan lovers and pastoral noblemen by making us see them through the glass of comedy. In the New Arcadia we are made more anxious about them when we are made to see them in the context of heroic poetry. Sidney's system of multiple modes of vision brings the limits of each single mode into focus against the others, and makes the reader aware of the limitations inherent in some of the perceptual systems of Renaissance style.

Studies of Elizabethan rhetoric have further revealed Sidney's skilled craftsmanship. We have learned to appreciate anew the complex relationships between image and meaning that should lead the worthy reader to the inner Idea or Fore-conceit" that governs the work, but that at the same time should keep the unsophisticated reader entangled in the web of its beautiful surface. Recent investigations of the formal, rhetorical structure of Sidney's poems, as well as his romance,
have led to a recognition of the importance of the "ceremonial" in courtly poetry as well as courtly life, and of the significance of the antithetical topoi of traditional debate to the comprehension of the poet's themes. The noble characters of the Arcadia are developed from theories of the courtly and intellectual life that helped to shape Sidney himself. In such a life, great importance is attached to signs, to forms that make the inner nobility of a man or woman visible in the world. The Arcadian poems, especially the experiments in quantitative verse, are just such signs. So are the costumes and jewels and knightly accomplishments of the principal characters. They show the sophisticated skill of the princely characters that sets them apart even from the gifted shepherds of the golden world.

Our investigation into Sidney's relation to the visual arts of the Renaissance and his utilization of artifacts in the Arcadia has shown his awareness of art to be that of a well-travelled, thoughtful young courtier. He saw much of the best art, if only in copies. He was used to sitting for portraits, and was able to converse with painters about some of the technical problems of their art. We have seen that he was particularly interested in the courtly art of the impresa, and that he used it in his own public activities. The assumptions behind the visual arts, as Sidney understood them, are expressed
in the *Defence of Poesie*. Painting and the other visual arts were regarded by Renaissance theorists as media for the communication of philosophical ideas. The surface beauty of the work of art is unimportant in itself, but is of value as it attracts the mind and leads it to the contemplation of the abstract "Fore-conceit" that originally inspired the artist. Only worthy minds are able to interpret the icons and thus see through the veil of surface beauty to the idea behind it.

Sidney is clearly using artifacts in the *Arcadia* as a measure of the inner worth of his characters. He makes his noble characters poets and artists. They compose poems and device or choose emblems that will make their inner states comprehensible to others. The poet himself defines his own idea of the nature of beauty through the tournament of the Queens; his commentary on the procession of portraits develops an ideal of the harmony of physical charms and inward grace against which the ladies of the romance are measured. Sidney's use of *visibia* in the *Arcadia* is not merely decorative. Rather, objects "figure forth" inner realities and help us see more clearly the persons with whom they are associated.

Sidney's treatment of human reason as a faculty of vision is part of a traditional psychology that had roots in classical and Christian thought. Man was endowed with two sets of eyes: one, the outer, physical; the other, inner set,
spiritual. Man's inner eye is illuminated by the beautiful light of truth and comes to love it. Loving truth, which is identical with reason, he acts virtuously according to its dictates. As a Renaissance man, following in the path of Aristotle and Cicero, Sidney holds that it is the duty of man to discipline his inner eye so that it may see most clearly, that is, most reasonably. It is the function of education, which includes the serious play of art, to enlighten the inner eye. Only when a man sees the beauty of reason can he translate his vision into acts of justice and honor.

In the Arcadia, however, Sidney also reflects the Christian view of man that holds that the inner eye of judgment has been darkened by the Fall. As a result, even the noblest of his characters are humiliated by what they regard as failures of moral vision. In both versions of the romance Pyrocles and Musidorus are aware that they depart from the strict way of virtue and honor when they adopt their disguises, but in their passionate blindness the way of reason is less compellingly attractive than the crooked path of love. Even Evarchus, the ideal king, cannot see through the mists of argument clearly enough to reconcile the law and mercy to effect ideal justice. In the New Arcadia, Pamela is the most consistently reasonable of the characters, yet even she fails to see clearly enough to prevent Musidorus's presumptuous kiss
that leads to their separation. All of the central characters are brought to an awareness of the limitations of vision possible to human reason by their experience of their inability to distinguish between truth and falsehood when either is hidden by a mask. Unlike Spenser's characters in *The Faerie Queene*, Sidney's princes and princesses are given no vision of the future to maintain their confidence. They have only the enfeebled inner eye of judgment, responding imperfectly to the light of truth, with which to work their way through the maze of existence.

Love is treated as a powerful and dangerous force in both versions of the *Arcadia*. It further blinds the inner eye which is already darkened by sin, and it makes the soul less able to respond reasonably to the beauty of truth and virtue. Actions based upon such faulty perceptions of reality lead to public as well as private disasters. In the Old *Arcadia* Eternall Justice intervenes to re-establish order by revealing the death of Basilius as an illusion, after human reason fails to straighten out the chaotic conditions created by conflicting human passions, save by a justice that is not equity. In the New *Arcadia*, so far as it goes, the maintaining of social order is still the responsibility of the heroic characters. However, their failures of vision have brought not only Arcadia, but other kingdoms as well, to the brink of disaster. Passion has
destroyed the marriage of Argalus and Parthenia, the best work of the sighted Cupid who combines love and reason. In the dark world of the New Arcadia, war and death become horrible realities, stripped of their masks of glory. The demonic god of love emerges as a god of death as well.

For Sidney, true art and morality are inseparable. In the Defence, poetry is celebrated as a lightgiver to ignorance. This Promethean image reflects Sidney's view of the human mind as in a condition of either darkness or light. The natural state of man is dark; in his ignorance he falls easily into the traps of sin, even as Philoclea does in the Arcadia. Art is justified only as it helps to relieve that natural darkness, to open the inner eye of the mind to the light of moral truth. This it does by first attracting the mind by surface beauty or the delight of story. But delight is only the beginning. Formal beauty must lead inward to an abstract beauty of idea. True art is a teaching instrument which aids in the creation of virtuous, morally enlightened men. But because the forms of art are available to evil men as well as to good, they may be used, as they often are in the Arcadia, either solely for delight, or specifically to deceive the mind. This is false art, in Sidney's view, for it does not serve to make sinful man better. Finally, the corrupt mind may misinterpret the beauty of art, as Cocropia does. She sees the beauty of the purse
Pamela creates, but she cannot or will not see the idea of patient submission to the will of God that lies behind it. Man's evil eyes can make him misuse and misinterpret even his best devices of moral instruction. Only when his inner eyes have been cleared by faith will art, reason and love be wholly reconciled.

Sidney uses two different systems of perspective in the Old and New Arcadias. As a result, we experience vision two different ways. We have seen that in the Old Arcadia the poet has developed a closed, linear form, similar to that of the Renaissance painters like Botticelli. The world of the Old Arcadia is one of clear outlines. Sidney uses the oracle to establish from the outset the major lines of the action and to limit the time of the action to within one year. Our interest is clearly focused on events within the borders of Arcadia. Further, the poet uses the narrator to define appropriate responses to crucial situations. Thus we are made to see from a position outside of the action, from which the borderline between reasonable behavior and error appears quite clear. The poet makes his audience join the company of "faire Ladyes" in their comfortable sense of moral and visual superiority to the actors in his comedy. We watch a predetermined pattern of events unfold, a pattern which the characters are too involved in to see. Such distant perspective allows us to
see the humor in the passionate troubles of the characters in Sidney's fictional world.

In the New Arcadia any such comfortable sense of our superior power of vision disappears. Sidney creates a complex world of shadows, masks and illusion in which it is as difficult for the reader to see clearly as it is for the characters. When he re-ordered the pattern of action on the lines of late Greek romances like the Ethiopian Story, he created a labyrinth that shows us the limitations of our own vision. We cannot even keep all the characters clearly in mind, especially when they adopt strange appearances and new names. It is difficult to remember the family relationships and even more difficult to follow the intricate convolutions of the plot. Brought into the middle of the chain of events, we find our vision of the pattern of things even less adequate, at times, than that of the characters. As in the style of later Renaissance painting, objects seem to blend into each other, and boundaries are obscured. It is no longer easy to define rational behavior, for we, like the characters, are sometimes hasty in judgment. We accept illusions, only to be forced to acknowledge our errors because of later turns of events. In his revision, Sidney places no clear limit on time or scene, and the consequences of actions reach through many kingdoms and touch multitudes of people. Thus it is far more
important for men to see clearly in the shadowy world of the New Arcadia, and far more difficult for them to do so. Sidney's increased concern with the problems of vision in the New Arcadia leads him to "figure forth" for us, through the structure of his romance, the limitations of our own inner eyes, which can only be perfected through the gift of the light of divine grace.
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