

CICERO [MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO] (106-43 BCE), WRITER, ORATOR, ADVOCATE, AND POLITICIAN. Member of the Roman equestrian class, Cicero was a famous orator and legal advocate, and these skills guaranteed his significant role in late Republican politics. Quaestor, praetor and finally consul, Cicero was involved in the prosecution and execution of the Catiline conspirators. During the Civil War, Cicero's support for the Republican cause did not prevent him from making peace with the victorious Caesar, although after Caesar's assassination Cicero advocated the death of Mark Antony. In 43, the Second Triumvirate ordered Cicero's execution, and he was killed during an attempt to flee Rome by sea. A prolific writer, Cicero produced works spanning a number of important classical genres, including letters, speeches, philosophical treatises, and books on rhetoric and oratory; his poetry is now sadly lost.

EDITIONS AND CONTEXTS:

For selected early modern and modern translations of Cicero's works, as well information about Cicero's reception, reputation, and translation in early modern England, see the essay 'Cicero' in "Classical Writers, their Early Modern Reputations and Translations" (*Online Companion*)

TUSCULAN DISPUTATIONS (TUSCULANAE DISPUTATIONES). Originally written around 45 BCE, *Tusculan Disputations* is a five book Stoic treatise considering the obstacles posed to the happy life by death, grief, pain, passion, and the various other exigencies and extreme emotions that dominant human life. There were two translations of this text in the period, in 1561 by John Dolman, excerpted below, and in 1683 by Christopher Wase (see 'Cicero against Catiline' below).

TUSCULAN DISPUTATIONS (1561)¹

From BOOK 4

[...]

But let us give the poets leave to trifle, in whose tales we see this vice² attributed to Jupiter himself, and let us come to the philosophers, the masters of all virtue, which deny that³ thereabout contend much with Epicurus, who therein, in my opinion, lieth nothing.⁴ For

¹ The title page of this translation reads: *Those Five Questions, Which Mark Tully Cicero, Disputed in His Manor of Tusculanum: written afterwards by him, in as many books, to his friend, and familiar Brutus, in the Latin tongue.* And now, out of the same translated, and Englished, by John Dolman, student and fellow of the Inner Temple. Dolman does not receive an entry in the DNB.

² *this vice* i.e., excessive or inordinate love/lust.

³ *that* A phrase seems to be missing here. Wase says, "that love relates to uncleanness" (256). The word used in this phrase in the Latin manuscripts is *stuprum*, a word that had several different but related meanings at the time Cicero was writing, but generally referred to an illicit sexual act, although often specifically to male same-sex sexual acts (J.N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, pp. 200-201). *Epicurus* founder of the philosophical school that came to bear his name, Epicurus believed that true happiness was to be found in pleasure, but defined such pleasure as the virtuous life, particularly in the restraint of the passions and the practice of self-discipline.

⁴ The translator's tone throughout these sections on same-sex love and desire is heavily sarcastic. Wase is more explicit here about the hypocrisy conventionally attributed to philosophers who defended pederasty: "Come we to philosophers, the professed teachers of virtue, who deny that love relates to uncleanness" (256).

what is this love that men term ‘friendship’? Or why doth no man love a foul⁵ young man, or a fair old man?⁶ Truly, I think this custom began first in the universities of Greece, in the which such love is permitted. But well said Ennius:⁷

It is the cause of much mischief,
and vice as I suppose,
That men should use in open sight,
their bodies to disclose.⁸

Which sort of men, if they be honest, (as I think they may), yet is it not without great pain and trouble. Yea, and that so much the more, for that, they do, in manner constrain themselves to restrain. And that I may overpass the love of women, which is far more natural than the other: who doubts what the poets meant by the rape of Ganymedes?⁹ Or who knoweth not what Laius in Euripides doth both speak and wish?¹⁰ Furthermore, who seeth not, what songs and ballads the most chiefest and best learned poets set forth of their own loves? Alcaeus,¹¹ being a man of good reputation in the commonwealth, yet what toys¹² wrote he of the love of young men? And all the writings of Anacreon are only of love.¹³ But most of all other, Rheginus Ibicus,¹⁴ even burned with love, as it appeareth by his writings. And now, we philosophers also (yea and that by the counsel and authority of Plato, whom Dicaearchus¹⁵ doth therefore worthily reprehend) are become the commenders and honourers of love.¹⁶

[...]

CICERO’S ORATIONS AGAINST CATILINE. In 63 BCE, Cicero delivered four orations aimed at exposing the Roman politician Lucius Sergius Catilina (c. 108-62 BCE) and his plot to overthrow the Republican government. The orations seem to have partly led Catiline to flee Rome in 62 BCE, and his forces proved no match for those of Mark Antony, who defeated them and killed Catiline in January of that year.

⁵ *foul* unattractive.

⁶ *Or why ... fair old man* Cicero interrogates the claim of some philosophers that the love of older men for young men is virtuous and free from sexual desire. If this love is really non-sexual, Cicero and others asked, then why are the pairings always between an older man and a beautiful boy or youth?

⁷ *Ennius* (239-169 BCE), epic poet and dramatist. The source of this quotation is unknown.

⁸ *That men ... disclose* referring to the ancient Greek practice of exercising in the nude (in the public sports grounds known as the *gymnasium*, open to all male citizens, and in the private *palaestra*, or wrestling school).

⁹ *rape of Ganymedes* See ‘Ganymede,’ Glossary (print anthology).

¹⁰ In Euripides’ tragedy *Chrysippus* (of which only fragments remain), Laius, king of Thebes, is a guest in the palace of Pelops, king of the Peloponnese. Laius falls in love with Pelops’ young son, Chrysippus, kidnaps, and rapes him. The boy later kills himself out of shame.

¹¹ *Alcaeus* (b. c. 625-620 BCE), lyric poet, native of the island of Lesbos, and a contemporary of Sappho. None of his love poems for boys survives, but in *Odes* 1.32 Horace names the boy that Alcaeus praised: Lycus.

¹² *toys* frivolous, trivial pieces.

¹³ See the translations from Anacreon and the *Anacreontea* in the print anthology, pp. 187-90, and the *Online Companion*.

¹⁴ *Rheginus Ibicus* Ibicus of Rhegium (fl. c. 540 BCE), lyric poet.

¹⁵ *Dicaearchus* (fl. 320-300 BCE), writer and student of Aristotle, of whose works only fragments survive. His biography of Plato (in *On Lives*) is not extant, but he apparently criticized Plato in it, and dismissed the great philosopher’s dialogue *Phaedrus*, a central text on male same-sex erotic love, as “juvenile” and “vulgar.”

¹⁶ Cf. Wase: “Now we see all these men’s amours were lustful. Philosophers are risen up of us, and our Plato is the author too, whom Dicaearchus doth, not without good reason, tax in that behalf for giving reputation to love” (257).

CHRISTOPHER WASE (1627-1690), CLASSICAL SCHOLAR AND SCHOOLMASTER. Graduate, fellow of King's College (Cambridge University), and committed royalist, Wase suffered imprisonment during the Civil War, but his fortunes improved after the Restoration, and he was appointed historiographer to the secretary of state in 1669. Friend of the diarist John Evelyn and tutor to the eldest son of William Herbert, early of Pembroke, Wase was a highly respected Greek scholar, who published translations, notably of Sophocles' *Electra* and Cicero's *Orations against Catiline*, as well as original works, including an influential assessment of free schools in England (1678), a number of dictionaries, and treatises on Cicero and Greek and Latin metrics.

CICERO AGAINST CATILINE, IN IV INVECTIVE ORATIONS CONTAINING THE WHOLE MANNER OF DISCOVERING THAT NOTORIOUS CONSPIRACY (1671)¹⁷

From THE SECOND ORATION AGAINST CATILINE

[...]

7. O happy state, if it could drain out the sink¹⁸ of the town! In truth, upon the throwing off Catiline only, the state seems to me much eased and on the mending hand. For what mischief or villainy could be devised or thought on which he did not contrive? What sorcerer in all Italy, what Hector,¹⁹ what highwayman, what assassin, what parricide, what forger of wills, what cheat, what whoremaster, what prodigal, what adulterer, what infamous strumpet, what debaucher of youth, what debauched, what desperate person can be found, but confesses Catiline was his great acquaintance? What murders have been committed these late years that he had not a hand in? What abominable rape but of his setting on?²⁰

8. Now where was there ever such a spirit of inveigling youth as in him? who did himself love some unnaturally, was scandalously prostituted to the unnatural love of others; some he promised the enjoyment of their lust, others the death of their parents, not only by his instigation, but by his assistance; and now, how of a sudden has he got together a great many men of desperate fortunes, not only from the town, but from the country also? There is none in debt, either in Rome, or any corner of all Italy, that he has not drawn into his incredible confederacy in treason.

9. And that you may perceive his different inclinations in things of a contrary nature, there is none in the fencing school anything forward to bold attempts but confesses he was Catiline's intimate; none anything wanton or loose²¹ on the stage but gives out that he and Catiline were in a manner all one. And yet this very person, inured to suffer cold and hunger and thirst, and watch in pursuit of whoredom and villainy, was cried up by these his companions as one 'hardy,' when as²² the aids of industry and instruments of virtue were wasted upon lust and violence.

[...]

¹⁷ For a modern translation of the following passages, see *Against Catiline*, 2.8.

¹⁸ *sink* sewer, cesspool.

¹⁹ *Hector* swaggering bully (in the Latin, 'gladiator').

²⁰ *setting on* encouragement; instigation.

²¹ *loose* lascivious, immodest, indecent.

²² *when as* in spite of the fact that.

CICERO'S *LAELIUS: DE AMICITIA*: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. Cicero wrote *Laelius: On Friendship* in the aftermath of the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 BCE, and the political chaos that threatened once more to overtake the Republic. Just five years before, Rome had been embroiled in civil war, with Julius Caesar fighting Pompey for control of the nation. Cicero chose the Republican side against Caesar and his supporters. The victorious Caesar pardoned Cicero, but the orator was nevertheless supportive of Caesar's assassination. Civil War broke out again from 43-42 BCE, with Rome's strongmen—Octavian [later the emperor Augustus] and Mark Antony—fighting each other for control of the state. Cicero's opposition to Antony resulted in his own death in 43.

Dedicated to Cicero's long-time friend, patron, and publisher, Atticus, *Laelius* is a dialogue featuring three interlocutors. Quintus Mucius Scaevola the Augur, one of Cicero's teachers and patrons who also features in his *On the Orator*, and Gaius Fannius Strabo, Roman historian, ask their father-in-law Gaius Laelius Sapiens ('the Wise') (fl. 2nd c. BCE), statesman, famed orator, and Latin prose stylist, about the nature of friendship. Laelius' replies constitute the bulk of the treatise, with its motivating cause being the death of Laelius' dear friend and political ally, Scipio Africanus the Younger [or Minor] (Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Numantinus) (b. c. 185 BCE), famous general, consul, and statesman. Cicero situates his dialogue very precisely in the days just following the death of Scipio. He died suddenly and unexpectedly in 129 BCE, and rumours began to circulate immediately that he had been murdered. Scipio had returned to Rome after his victory over the Numantians (in 133 BCE) and was active in opposition to the land reforms being proposed by Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus and their supporters; Scipio's wife was the sister of Tiberius and Gaius, and suspicion fell on her as Scipio's mysterious death became a cause celebre.

***LAELIUS*'S RECEPTION HISTORY AND REPUTATION IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND.** Cicero was celebrated in the early modern period as a moral philosopher and a writer of exceptional eloquence, and like many of his works *Laelius* was very popular throughout Europe, both in numerous Latin editions and in various vernacular translations; the latter began to be written and published in the early fifteenth century. French versions of *Laelius* appeared in 1418 and 1537-9, and a German version in 1534. An English translation based on the original Latin text was first undertaken around 1460 (by John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester; publ. by William Caxton, 1481). John Harington's 1550 translation and Thomas Newton's 1577 translation were based on a French version (G. Highet, *The Classical Tradition* [Oxford: Oxford UP, 1949], p. 119). The work's popularity did not flag in the Restoration and the early eighteenth century: apart from the many Latin editions published in this period and the anonymous translation that appears here, Edward Howard produced a 1673 paraphrase of *Laelius* (in his *Poems and Essays*), Samuel Parker a translation of *Laelius* and what is often considered its companion piece, *Of Old Age* (3 editions between 1704 and 1727), and Robert Hicks yet another translation of *Laelius* alone in 1713.

According to Laurens J. Mills' seminal account of friendship in Tudor and Stuart England, *One Soul in Bodies Twain* (Bloomington: Principia Press, 1937), *Laelius* was a common text for the study of Latin among early modern students, and it was without doubt the classical text that most thoroughly shaped the period's notions about male friendship, particularly in its relationship to self-interest, emotional investment, and civic responsibility. Cicero's *De Officiis* (*On Duties*), however, with its retelling of the story of those exemplary friends Damon and Pythias and its discussion of friendship was also highly influential, particularly because *On Duties* was also a set school textbook. Like *Laelius*, *On Duties* also received many early translations, and its ideas became as widely disseminated (Mills 79-82). It would be difficult, however, to overestimate the influence of Cicero's *Laelius* on the early

modern period's ideas about friendship, and the treatise is even more influential for summarizing and extending ideas on the topic found in earlier writers, particularly Aristotle, but also Plato and the Stoics (Mills 15).

We know nothing about the author of the following 1691 translation of Cicero's *Laelius*, except that he was a friend of the almost equally anonymous J.T., to whom the author dedicates the original homoerotic pastoral dialogue appended to the translation. Described as "the Honourable" on the pastoral poem's separate title page, J.T. was obviously a member of the upper class, perhaps the younger son of a peer below the rank of marquess, although by the end of the seventeenth century the appellation 'honourable' was also used to describe those who actually held peerages and titles. Although by the end of the seventeenth century 'honourable' was also applied to MPs and justices, it seems unlikely that J.T. belonged to either of these groups. The poem's genre suggests that it was written by one relatively young man for another, and while MPs might well be young men, in most cases they were men well-established in their careers. A man would not become a justice or an alderman or a lord mayor (all of whom received the title 'honourable') until he was well past the age of majority. Charles Goodall's pastoral poems for his young college friends suggest there was a precedent for young men (in particular) to use this genre for the purposes of celebrating friendship and male homoerotic love (print anthology, pp. 384-99). For an example of the homoerotic pastoral elegy, see William Lathum's *Phiala Lachrimarum* (1634; *Online Companion*). A search through the available records of some of the period's major educational institutions (Eton, Wadham, Oxford, Cambridge) did not turn up any likely candidates for J.T.

From CICERO'S LAELIUS: A DISCOURSE OF FRIENDSHIP. TOGETHER WITH A PASTORAL DIALOGUE CONCERNING LOVE AND FRIENDSHIP (1691)

THE PREFACE

[...]

Thus much by way of introduction. As for the apology,²³ though I think the translation wants it very much, (for really I don't know how to justify the presumption of an attempt to express Tully's conceptions in any other language or words than his own), yet I'm sure the poem that follows stands in most need of it, and being more my own must consequently be more obnoxious²⁴ to censure. However, I have ventured to place it at the end, as treating of the same subject, though upon a different occasion. I hope the fair sex²⁵ will not think their prerogative invaded because in that poem I prefer friendship to love, since the love I condemn there is a passion which, I dare say, the best and modestest part of them will not think themselves concerned to defend. As for conjugal love, I look upon it as a union of souls

²³ The section deleted here notes that "the usual design of a preface is either for an introduction to the book itself, or an apology to the reader for the publication of it." The author tells us that he is going to give us the former, "being the more pertinent and useful" than the latter. He proceeds to give a brief life of Cicero. *apology* defence.

²⁴ *obnoxious* liable, open.

²⁵ *fair sex* women.

as well as bodies, and a state so exactly conformable to all the laws of friendship that, methinks, the names of friend and wife should signify the same.²⁶

They who will think it something unseasonable for me to be giving rules of friendship when all the world is in arms²⁷ may as well blame Laelius for making this discourse when Rome was distracted by the ambition of Gracchus, and Tully for publishing it at a time when all Italy was divided by the factions of Pompey and Caesar. Certainly, remedies are never more necessary than when diseases are most epidemical.

I hope the reader is not curious to know whether these papers are published at the importunity of friends, by the command of superiors, or for the prevention of false copies. These are the common topics which every prefacer makes use of to justify his intrusion into the press. I shall therefore waive all evasions, and boldly put myself upon my reader's mercy; for I don't understand why an author may not have the liberty of keeping his reasons to himself, as well as his name.

[...]

Cicero's *LAELIUS*

[In response to a request from Fannius and Scaevola, Laelius agrees to speak on the definition and meaning of friendship; his friend Scipio has just died, and Laelius places his disquisition in this context.]

[...] As for me, I can only advise you to prefer friendship before all things in the world, since nothing is so agreeable to the nature of man, nothing so necessary in prosperity or adversity.

My first opinion is, that there can be no real friendship but between good men. Not to be so very nice²⁸ as some, whose notion of goodness (though perhaps it is not altogether false) is very useless to and destructive of society:²⁹ for they deny that any man can be good unless he be wise. Be it so: but their wisdom, as they define it, is such as never man yet attained. Now the wisdom I would look for in a good man is such as is useful and practicable, not an imaginary virtue that is only to be wished for. [...] Then let us speak a plain truth in plain English: they whose life and conversation is such that their honesty, integrity, justice, and goodness are generally approved; that they are neither covetous, lustful, nor bold, and have but that principle of honour that was in the persons I just now mentioned,³⁰ they (I think) are and ought to be accounted good men, who, as far as man can go, follow the dictates

²⁶ *As to conjugal love ... signify the same* The anonymous author's view here is very unconventional, not to mention un-Ciceronian, since the treatise's assumption is that true friendship is the sole prerogative of men. Cf. the Puritan discussion of friendship in Baxter's *A Christian Directory*, which responds to many of Cicero's contentions, and says that a wife can and indeed should be a married man's bosom (most intimate) friend, but that the moral and intellectual limitations of women generally make this a rare option (*Online Companion*, p. 3).

²⁷ *when all the world is in arms* In 1691, of course, the English were still involved in what came to be known as the Nine Years' War or the War of the Grand Alliance (1688-97), where a number of European countries banded together to fight French expansionism. Of course, the memory of the English Civil Wars (1642-46; 1648-51) as well as the three Dutch Wars (1652-54; 1665-67; 1672-74) would also have been very fresh when this translation was published.

²⁸ *nice* fussily precise, unreasonably particular.

²⁹ *society* specifically, relationships between individuals.

³⁰ *the persons I just now mentioned* These persons are as follows: *Gaius Fabricius Luscinus* (fl. 3rd c. BCE), celebrated Roman consul and military leader, later an ambassador famous for his incorruptibility, liberality, and austere personal life; *Manius Curius Dentatus* (d. c. 270 BCE), another celebrated consul and military leader, famed for his refusal of bribes, his austerity, and courage; and *Tiberius Coruncanius* (fl. 280 BCE), consul and a member of the Coruncanii family, famed for its ancient Roman virtues.

of nature, the best and surest guide. For (methinks) 'tis natural to all mankind to maintain a mutual society, especially where there is a relation [...] For there is this difference between affinity³¹ and friendship, that the first may subsist without love, whereas the last cannot. Take away love, and the very name of friendship is gone, though that of affinity shall remain. How great the power of friendship is, we may gather from hence, that of all the numerous and different societies which nature has appointed among men, this alone is contracted into so narrow a compass, that love is always limited to two, or very few, persons.

Now friendship is a unanimous consent of opinions in all matters relating to religion or civil affairs, with all love and kindness; which (next to wisdom) I hold to be the greatest blessing that the immortal gods ever bestowed upon man. Others may prefer riches, health, power, honour, and pleasure, (which, indeed, is the highest bliss that beasts are capable of attaining); but these are frail and fleeting enjoyments, whose possession lies not so much in our own power, as in the arbitrary disposal of fortune. They that place the supreme good in virtue are most in the right; but in the meantime, 'tis this very virtue that creates and maintains friendship, for there can be no such thing as a friend without it.

[...]

First, then, 'how can life live' (as Ennius has it³²) without an acquiescence in the mutual love of some friend? What is happier than to have a companion whom one may trust as one's self? Where were the pleasures and enjoyments of prosperity without a friend, who shall rejoice for them as if they were his own? How hard is it to undergo the burden of adversity without one that shall take the greatest share upon himself? All other things that are desirable to man are proper only for one end or occasion: riches serve for use, power for respect, honour for praise, pleasures for delight, health for ease and business. But friendship is suitable to every occasion; wherever you go, it follows you; it is neither to be excluded from any place, nor unseasonable or troublesome at any time; so that we have not more frequent occasion (as they say) for fire, air, and water than we have for friendship. I am not now speaking of the common and ordinary friendship (though that too is not without its pleasure and use), but of that which is more refined and perfect: that, I mean, which was between those few persons I have mentioned.³³ Such friendship as this is an ornament to prosperity, and a support and comfort in adversity.

But amongst all the conveniences³⁴ of friendship (which are many and great), I hold this to be the greatest: that in the lowest ebb of fortune, it still bears up with cheerful hopes of a better condition, never suffering the mind to despond or be cast down. He that looks upon his friend sees himself as in a glass,³⁵ so that absence cannot divide them, want impoverish them, sickness weaken them, nor (which is stranger) death kill them. Such esteem and honour for his memory does a man leave behind him to his surviving friend that the life of the one is glorious, and the death of the other happy. Take away mutual love from among men, and you will find that neither cities nor families will stand, nay, not so much as agriculture will last. If this does not serve to convince you of the efficacy of friendship and concord, you may learn to value it from the fatal consequences of dissension and discord. What family is so strongly

³¹ *affinity* i.e., relationships established through blood and / or marriage.

³² *as Ennius has it* Quintus Ennius (239-169 BCE), poet.

³³ *those few persons I have mentioned* The examples Laelius earlier offers are as follows: Lucius Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus, consul and military leader, friend of Laelius; Marcus Porcius Cato (the Censor) [234-149 BCE], consul and censor, famed for his virtue and incorruptibility; Gaius Sulpicius Gallus, orator, writer, and consul; Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Minor (see headnote); and Lucius Furius Philus, scholar and consul, interlocutor in Cicero's *Republic*.

³⁴ *conveniences* benefits.

³⁵ *glass* mirror.

allied, what city so well fortified, that it cannot be utterly destroyed by factions and animosities? From hence (by the rule of contraries) we may easily gather the many benefits that arise from friendship. A certain philosopher of Agrigentum³⁶ is reported to say in Greek verse, that all things in nature and in the universe, whether they be fixed or moveable, are kept together by friendship or divided by discord. The truth of this sentence³⁷ is evident to every man from his own experience. What acclamations were there in the theatre t'other day, when in my friend Pacuvius's new play, the King, not knowing which of the two strangers was Orestes, Pylades avouched himself to be Orestes, that he might die for his friend, and Orestes protested himself to be (what he really was) the true Orestes?³⁸ Now, if the bare representation of a story was so generally applauded by the audience, what do you think they would have done if it had been matter of fact? Here, Nature plainly shows her power, when men own that to be well done in another which they would not do themselves.

[...]

Now, since the power of virtue is so great as to render it lovely in a stranger, and (which is more) in an enemy, 'tis no wonder if we are affected with it when we see it every day in an acquaintance. Though I must confess, friendship is mightily confirmed by receiving some demonstrations of kindness, by an experience of love, and by frequent conversation: all of which being added to that first motive of love will flame out into a wonderful endearment of friendship; now if anyone thinks this to proceed from a weakness in ourselves, and a design to obtain private ends and interests upon others, he makes the rise of friendship mean and ignoble, by ascribing it to necessity and want,³⁹ which at that rate would best qualify a man for friendship. But 'tis quite otherwise: for he that has most assurance in himself, and is endued with so much wisdom and virtue that he wants⁴⁰ nobody but has everything that is needful within himself, this man is worthiest to gain and preserve a friend. How did Africanus⁴¹ want me? Not at all. Neither did I stand in need of him. But as I loved him out of an honour I had for his virtue, so he regarded me for some little esteem he had of mine. Time and conversation increased our affection. And though many and great conveniences on both sides did arise from thence, yet we never made the hopes of them any inducements to contract a friendship. For as we are sometimes willing to assist and oblige one another, not through any hopes of requital (for that were to put a benefit out to use⁴²), but because we are all naturally inclined to humanity, so methinks we should covet friendship, not for any expectation of an outward recompense, but because it is always its own reward.

[Laelius expounds on what friends should and should not ask of each other: "Therefore we may take this for a general rule in friendship: Neither to make nor grant any dishonourable request"; later, he phrases this same precept positively: "Therefore this must be laid down as the first maxim in friendship: To request what is just of our friends, and to perform what is just for them." Those who surrender their loyalty to their country out of a desire to support a friend's assault upon the country or state should never be allowed to use friendship as an

³⁶ *a certain philosopher of Agrigentum* Empedocles (c. 492-432 BCE), Greek philosopher, who held that the four elements were either riven apart by strife or united by friendship (love, amity).

³⁷ *sentence* wise saying or maxim.

³⁸ *What acclamations ... the true Orestes* The story can be found in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Taurus*, but the playwright Marcus Pacuvius' play has been lost. For 'Pylades and Orestes,' see Glossary (print anthology).

³⁹ *want* poverty, material need.

⁴⁰ *wants* needs, desires.

⁴¹ *Africanus* See headnote.

⁴² *put a benefit out to use* i.e., like an investment from which one gains interest (through usury).

excuse for such an evil: “Nay, I say such wicked associations as these must not only be denied the umbrage [i.e., shadow, veil] of friendship for their excuse, but should be made liable to some heavy censure, that no man may think it lawful upon any account to take up arms with his friend against his country, which, for ought I can see, as things go now, may too frequently happen.” Laelius goes on to reject the notion that a man should not have too many friends, since friends involve a man in troubles and cares of various sorts; he rejects as well the concomitant advice that a man should not engage in a friendship wholeheartedly, but be able to “have the knot of friendship as slight and loose as [he] can, that upon occasion [he] can straighten or slacken it, as [he] see[s] fit.” He also rejects self-interest as an inducement and motive for friendship.]

[...] they that make interest an inducement to friendship seem to me to loosen its most amiable tie; for 'tis not so much the advantages we receive from a friend as the love he has for us that ought to be valued; and then it is that a good turn is most acceptable, when it comes with a good will. Now 'tis so far from being true that friendship proceeds from necessity, that they who abound most in the possession of riches and virtue (which of all things has least need of any outward assistance) are generally the most liberal and readiest to oblige. Yet I question, whether 'tis always necessary that nothing should be wanting between friends. For if Scipio had never stood in need of my service, advice, or assistance, neither at home nor abroad, what proofs had there been of our mutual affection? Therefore, convenience⁴³ and interest ought not to be the causes but the consequences of friendship.

[...]

Now what can be a greater weakness than for men abounding in riches to lay out vast sums upon horses, equipage,⁴⁴ clothes, furniture, and twenty other commodities that every man may have for his money, and yet not to be solicitous in the obtaining a friend, the richest treasure and loveliest ornament of one's life? For let a man bestow never so much in the purchase of worldly goods, yet he can't tell for whom they are purchased, or who shall enjoy the fruits of all his cost and care, which may at last be snatched from him by some stronger hand; but a friend is a sure and lasting possession. Nay, though we should suppose ourselves absolute masters of all that fortune can give, yet even in that condition a life destitute of friends would be solitary and uncomfortable.

[Laelius proceeds to refute three related and (he believes) invalid notions about friendship: 1) that “we must stand equally affected to our friends as to ourselves,” which Laelius rejects as patently untrue. He points out that a man will do things for a friend that he would never do for his own benefit (e.g., suing to an unworthy man on the friend's behalf, when he would never do so on his own); 2) that “our returns of friendship must bear an exact proportion to the obligations we receive from our friends,” which Laelius rejects as a violation of the truly “generous and noble nature” that accompanies true friendship, an ignoble ‘bean-counting’ attitude that loathes to do more for a friend than the friend has done or has said he will do for you; 3) that “accordingly as a man esteems of himself, such he must be esteemed by his friend,” which Laelius rejects as “the worst” opinion of the three. He does not believe that a friend should always agree with his fellow's self-evaluation: “We frequently see some men

⁴³ *convenience* personal advantage.

⁴⁴ *equipage* perhaps, specifically, a person's carriage; or, generally, his retinue, group of servants / retainers.

dejected in mind, and hopeless of mending their condition: in such a case it will not become a friend to entertain the same mean thoughts of his desponding companion, as he has of himself; but rather to use all arts and endeavours to raise his drooping spirits.”]

But we shall find that true friendship has a nobler end than any of these; if we remember what Scipio found so much fault with, when he said, there could be no opinion more pernicious to friendship than his, who said that a man must love with this reserve, that he may one day hate.⁴⁵ He could never be persuaded that this sentence was spoken by Bias, who was one of the Seven, but rather by some lewd ill-natured fellow that had a mind to subject all the world to his interest and ambition. For how can anybody be that man’s friend whose enemy he thinks he may become hereafter? Besides, he must needs wish that his friend may offend often, that he may find more occasions to rebuke him; and he must as necessarily be displeased when he does well or succeeds well. Wherefore this doctrine (whoever was the author of it) tends to the utter dissolution of friendship. He should rather have advised us to use such caution in choosing a friend, as not to begin to love one whom at some time or other we may hate; but if we are not so happy in our choice as we could wish, ’twas Scipio’s opinion that we must rather bear with it than ever think of a separation.⁴⁶

This, in my mind, should be the chief aim of friendship, that the manners and dispositions of friends should be good, and that there may be a communication of all things between them, both of their intentions and thoughts, without any reserve.⁴⁷ And though it should sometimes fall out, that a friend’s request is less reasonable than it ought to be, yet if his life or credit lies at stake, we may step a little aside to serve him, unless we foresee that some scandalous consequence will attend our compliance. For though there are some allowances to be made in friendship, yet we must not hazard our own reputation nor that necessary instrument in all our affairs, the good will of our neighbours, which to purchase by fawning and flattery is base and mean. Above all things we must be mindful of virtue, which is the foundation of friendship.

[Laelius advises that a man pay careful attention to the behaviour, attitudes, and opinions of one whom he considers making his friend, choosing initially by a man’s virtues (he should be of “a firm, steady, and constant principle”), and that a man must become somewhat familiar with a candidate for friendship to really assess his character and whether he will make a suitable friend. He acknowledges that this approach means that a man has already created an emotional attachment with his candidate-friend, and thus a man must be wary.]

⁴⁵ *Who ... hate* As Cicero goes on to note, this saying was ascribed to Bias of Priene, one of the legendary Seven Sages. Baxter largely endorses this caution, since his instructions on choosing a ‘bosom friend’ always keep in mind the innate corruption of fallen man (‘Christian Directory,’ *Online Companion*, pp. 4, 9).

⁴⁶ *’twas Scipio’s ... separation* Baxter (‘Christian Directory,’ *Online Companion*, pp. 4, 9) and Lady Mary Chudleigh (in her essay ‘On Love,’ print anthology, pp. 415-20) both take exception to this statement. However, Cicero makes clear later that there is a distinction between the friendships of the wise and those of the ‘vulgar’ (i.e., common men). In terms of the latter, friendships can indeed be dissolved, and for many of the same reasons that Baxter and Chudleigh cite.

⁴⁷ *a communication ... reserve* Baxter disagrees with this contention, maintaining that such unreserved communication is impossible and indeed undesirable (‘Christian Directory,’ *Online Companion*, p. 9).

Therefore, a prudent man must know as well how to stop the torrent of his affection, as a good rider how to check the career of a headstrong jade.⁴⁸ Friendship must be used like managed horses; the humours⁴⁹ and dispositions of those we intend for our friends must be observed by degrees. Some are tried⁵⁰ in a little matter of money how slight their professions are; others again who are not to be tempted with a small sum will be proved in a greater.⁵¹ But if you can find a man after all that scorns to prefer your money before your friendship, where will you light upon one that will not value greatness, power, wealth, and empire above his friend, that, when these stand in competition with the laws and rights of friendship, will not choose the first before the last? So hard is it for flesh and blood to resist the temptations of honour and interest. And though they are purchased with the violation of friendship, yet some men shall think it very allowable to make bold with⁵² a friend upon so great an account. So that true friendship is hardly to be looked for from the ambitious and busy part of mankind, for 'tis almost impossible to find one among them that will wish his friend's advancement before his own. [...] He therefore that in both conditions of fortune⁵³ is a constant, firm, faithful friend, he (I say) ought to be esteemed as one of that noble, almost divine, sort of men.

Now the main foundation of that stability and constancy which is required in friendship is truth, for nothing can be lasting that is not true. We must choose a man that is plain, courteous, good-humoured, and of the same mind with ourselves; these are the inseparable marks of fidelity; for a heart that is various and full of doublings⁵⁴ can never be faithful, nor can one that is of a temper and disposition different from ours be either cordial or constant. Give me leave to add this: that a man must not be too forward⁵⁵ in laying faults upon his friend of himself, nor in believing them from others. All this belongs to that constancy which I mentioned just now.

Thus have I proved what I told you at first, that there can be no friendship but between good men, for 'tis the part of a good man (whom I may justly call a wise man) to observe these two rules in friendship:

First, that it be without any deceit or dissimulation, for 'tis more ingenuous⁵⁶ to profess an open hatred than to disguise it under the mask of love.

'Tis necessary too that there should be a sweetness of temper and a pleasantness in conversation, which certainly gives a delightful relish to friendship. Sullenness and moroseness must be avoided by all means, for though friendship admits of gravity, yet it must always be remiss⁵⁷ and easy, and disposed to all innocent cheerfulness and complaisance.

[Laelius takes up the question of whether a new friend "should not be preferred before an old one," and notes that such a question shows a misunderstanding of the nature of friendship (it is not the type of pleasure that one can be sated of), and old friends are the best. He also stresses the irrelevance of rank to the relationship between true friends.]

⁴⁸ *jade* vicious or ill-tempered horse. A rider controlling his horse is an ancient image for a man's control of his passions.

⁴⁹ *humours* predominant characteristics.

⁵⁰ *tried* tested [and thus discovered to have certain characteristics].

⁵¹ *proved in a greater* i.e., will show their true dispositions or characters in how they respond to the opportunity to make a large sum of money.

⁵² *make bold with* make free with, impose upon.

⁵³ *in both conditions of fortune* i.e., in prosperity and adversity.

⁵⁴ *doublings* double-dealings, deceits, evasions.

⁵⁵ *forward* eager, hasty.

⁵⁶ *ingenuous* honourable.

⁵⁷ *remiss* relaxed, gentle.

'Tis a great step to friendship when the superior descends to an equality with his inferior, for many times there will happen a difference in degree, as there was between Scipio and us that were his friends, yet he never would esteem himself above Philius, Rupilius, Mummius,⁵⁸ or any of his friends that were of an inferior rank, but on the contrary always respected his brother Quintus Maximus,⁵⁹ who was a worthy gentleman but no way Scipio's equal (for he was a great deal younger), as if he had been his superior, and looked upon all his friends as men that were his betters in their intrinsic worth. 'Tis pity but all men should follow Scipio's example in this, and if they have any advantage above their friends in the gifts of nature or fortune, they should freely impart it to them and share it with them. For instance, if their parentage be low or their endowments of mind or fortune mean,⁶⁰ they should increase their stock in both, and do them all the honour and service they can. As we read in romances of some heroes, who, having been brought up in mean⁶¹ families, through the obscurity of their birth and ignorance of their parentage, and, proving at last the sons of some king or god, retain their first affection to the shepherds whom 'till then they looked upon as their natural fathers. This duty is much more incumbent upon us where our real parents are known. And then it is that the fruits of knowledge and wisdom and every excellence are most certainly enjoyed by ourselves when they are communicated to others.

Therefore, as they who are any way superior to their friends should make them their equals, so on the other side they that are inferiors must not be dissatisfied if they have a friend that excels them in knowledge, fortune, or dignity. [...]

[Laelius continues by condemning those men who trumpet what they do for their friends, in a carping and criticizing sort of way; Laelius also recommends that the socially inferior friend should "in some sort raise himself to an equality with his friend."]

There is no true judgement to be made of our friendships till they are confirmed by length of time and maturity of understanding. If in our youth, we had a love for the companions of our recreations, this does not oblige us to contract a strict friendship with them in our riper years, for at that rate our nurses and tutors might justly challenge the largest share in our affection. Now though these are not to be slighted, yet they are to [be] esteemed after another manner than our friends, whom otherwise we can never preserve long. Different manners create different minds, and consequently dissolve friendship, and the only reason why good men can never love those that are bad is because there is the widest difference imaginable in their minds and manners.

'Tis a good rule in friendship to take care lest the intemperance and extravagance of our affection should hinder the occasions of our friends or prejudice their interest. For (to return to story), Neoptolemus had never taken Troy, if he had hearkened to his father-in-law Lycomedes, who had the education of him, and strove with many tears to stop his journey.⁶² Sometimes there will fall out pressing occasions that must necessarily divide friends, which

⁵⁸ Lucius Furius *Philius*, see n33. Lucius *Rupilius* was a friend of Scipio and brother of Publius, consul and military leader). Spurius *Mummius* was a legate and friend of Scipio.

⁵⁹ *Quintus Fabius Maximus Aemilianus*, consul.

⁶⁰ *mean* inferior.

⁶¹ *mean* lower-class.

⁶² *Neoptolemus ... journey* Neoptolemus was also known as Pyrrhus, son of Achilles and Deidamia; he killed King Priam of Troy and took captive Hector's wife.

he that goes about to obstruct because he can't bear a friend's absence shows a weak, impotent, and unreasonable friendship. Therefore, we must always consider what we ought to ask of our friends, as well as what we ought to grant to them.

[Although Laelius says that he is now going to speak of the friendships of the vulgar or common man as opposed to the "wiser sort," he does proceed to consider under what circumstances friends in general may become separated: 1) when a friend has injured a third party so grievously that anyone connected with the said friend also suffers "infamy"; and 2) when a friend takes on different "manners and inclinations" or different political positions than he had when you first befriended him. In both cases, Laelius recommends a gentle breaking off of the friendship. He warns that violence and quarrelling in the dissolution of a friendship will make former friends into terrible enemies. He concludes that the real dangers of choosing a friend badly may be avoided by not beginning "our friendship too soon," and not choosing one who is ultimately undeserving of true friendship.]

There are a great many that will allow nothing to be good but what is profitable, and value their friends as *grasiers*⁶³ do their cattle, accordingly as they think they will turn to account. Such as these want⁶⁴ that generous and most natural friendship, which is to be desired of itself and for itself, and never understood by any experience upon themselves, how great the force and efficacy of friendship is: for a man loves himself not because he expects any reward or return of his own affection from himself, but because everyone is naturally dear to himself. Now he that does not find he stands thus affected towards another can never be a true friend: for a friend is one's other self. [...] [W]e must certainly conclude that these inclinations are much more strongly imprinted in the heart of man,⁶⁵ and that 'tis natural for him to love himself, and to seek some other with whom he may so mingle souls as to unite two into one.

[...]

[...] the friendship I mentioned is thoroughly established when two men equally affected to one another have so entirely mastered those appetites to which the greatest part of mankind is enslaved as to find a pleasure in virtue and integrity, and to delight in the mutual performance of all friendly offices, neither party desiring anything from the other but what is fair and honest, and both having a regard as well as a love for each other. For he that would separate modesty from friendship will rob it of its greatest ornament. 'Tis a great heresy in friendship to think that it gives any encouragement to a loose⁶⁶ and licentious life. For certainly a friend was designed by nature for an assistant to virtue not for a companion in vice, that because a solitary virtue would be helpless and unable of herself to reach that degree of perfection which she aims at, she might be enabled by the assistance of some companion to obtain her desires. If therefore this noble association ever was, is, or can be found between any two persons, they are to be looked upon as the best guides to this greatest blessing of human nature. This, this is the society in which is to be found all that man can wish for: virtue, honour, peace of mind, pleasure, and every solid enjoyment that makes our lives happy, and without which they cannot be comfortable. This, doubtless, is the highest consummation of human felicity; and if we would attain to it, we must make virtue the means, without which we can never deserve a friend nor anything that's worth our wishes; and which being neglected, they that think they have friends will (too late) find their error, when they have

⁶³ *grasiers* those who graze and care for cattle.

⁶⁴ *want* lack.

⁶⁵ *much* [...] *heart of man* i.e., than in that of animals, which Laelius has just been describing.

⁶⁶ *loose* amoral.

occasion to make use of them. Therefore (for I cannot repeat it too often) we must try⁶⁷ before we love, and not love before we try. But as our neglect in other matters of moment is too visible, so it is chiefly blameable in the choice and management of our friendships, in which many of us use very preposterous methods and (in spite of the proverb) frustrate our own designs. For sometimes we suffer⁶⁸ ourselves to be so encumbered with our own worldly concerns, or engage ourselves so deeply in public affairs, that upon the least distaste or disappointment in them we immediately take pett⁶⁹ and fall out with our friends.

But nothing can excuse our want⁷⁰ of care in a matter of so great importance, for friendship is the only thing in the world concerning whose usefulness all men agree. Nay, though virtue itself is derided by some, and passes with them for singularity⁷¹ and ostentation; though many that content themselves with a little, despise riches; though honour and greatness, which inflame the ambition of most men, are so slighted by some that nothing is thought more vain and empty, (and so for other things of this nature that are admired by some and contemned⁷² by others), yet all men have the same respect for friendship. The statesman and the philosopher, the idle man and the man of business, nay even those that mind nothing but their pleasures will tell you that there is no living without a friend, if you mean to live happily.

[Laelius traces humanity's universal appreciation of friendship to our species' inherently sociable nature; all men prefer society and community to solitude. However, he also notes that friendships may be plagued by "suspicions and distastes," and that "it requires a great deal of discretion to preserve the truth and faithfulness of a friend, without giving offence at some time or other." Laelius discusses a man's obligation to rebuke and admonish his friend, and acknowledges the difficulty of admonishing in such a way as to maintain one's friendship. However, he points out that by "indulging [a friend] in his faults," a man will ruin his friend by allowing "him to run headlong into destruction." Laelius recommends telling the truth gently and gauging the extent to which one may indulge one's friend without being reduced to flattery or being "a pander to vice."]

And therefore 'tis the property of cordial friendship mutually to admonish and to be admonished, and as the one is to be done with all freedom but without any sharpness, and the other to be taken with all patience and without any murmuring, so we may be sure that there is no greater canker to friendship than flattery, fawning, and assentation.⁷³ This vice has too many names as well as shapes, and is the infallible symptom of a base, deceitful temper that speaks and acts everything out of a love to compliance more than truth. But dissimulation, besides that 'tis odious in all cases (for it corrupts and destroys our judgement), is utterly inconsistent with friendship, because it is repugnant to truth, without which the name of friendship is but taken in vain. For since the end⁷⁴ and excellence of friendship is to unite our minds, how can that be effected where one man has not always one and the same mind, but is

⁶⁷ *try* test. Proverbial, 'Try before you trust' (Tilley T595).

⁶⁸ *suffer* allow, permit.

⁶⁹ *take pett* take offence, become bad-tempered or sulky.

⁷⁰ *want* lack.

⁷¹ *singularity* eccentricity, oddity.

⁷² *contemned* despised.

⁷³ *assentation* obsequious agreement with the opinions of another.

⁷⁴ *end* goal; purpose.

unsettled, inconstant, and inconsistent with himself? What can be so flexible and slippery as his mind, who conforms himself not only to the will, but even to the very looks of another?

[...]

For here, unless your friend unlocks his breast to you, and you do the same to him, there can be no trust or confidence between you; you cannot so much as love or be beloved, but will be forced to doubt the sincerity of each other's affection. [...]

[Laelius then discusses the injury that flattery does to the one who desires it and allows it to be given him; such a man is inevitably one who also flatters himself.]

[...] But this is not friendship, where one does not care to hear truth, nor the other to speak it. [...] Any man that has his wits about him may quickly discern an open flatterer: but we can't use too much caution in arming ourselves against the subtle insinuations of the sly, undermining sycophant, who shall then be most guilty of assentation when he seems the spirit of contradiction; who all the while he pretends to oppose you, shall only amuse you, and at last in complaisance to you shall suffer himself to be convinced, so that he who is most in the wrong shall seem to have the better side of the question: Now what is more gross⁷⁵ than to be thus imposed upon? [...]

[...]

My discourse has deviated I know not how from the friendships of the more refined, that is, the wiser sort of men (I mean here such wisdom as man is capable of), to those of smaller account; let us now return to the first motive of friendship, and end with it.

'Tis virtue, virtue (Gaius Fannius and Quintus Mucius) that creates and preserves friendship; in that alone we shall find all that is agreeable, faithful, or constant. Virtue, having raised herself above the common pitch, and showing her own light, sees the same, and knows it in another, to whom she joins herself by a mutual giving and receiving of all that is needful for both. From hence proceeds love or friendship, which are both derived from the same word (*amo*) in Latin. Now love is nothing else but a well-wishing to him whom you affect, without any inducement from necessity or interest, for the latter will naturally follow upon friendship, though you do not think of it. This sort of affection I had when I was young, for Lucius Paulus, Gaius Gallus, Publius Nasica, and Tiberius Gracchus⁷⁶ (my friend Scipio's father-in-law) who were all of them old men. This is more eminently perfect between those of the same age, as between me and Scipio, Lucius Furius, Publius Rutilius, and Spurius Mummius.⁷⁷ Again, when we grow old, we are pleased with the conversation of younger persons, as I am with yours and Tubero's.⁷⁸ Nay, I take great delight in my familiarity with Publius Rupilius and Aulus Virginius,⁷⁹ though they are very young.

⁷⁵ *gross* monstrous.

⁷⁶ For *Lucius Aemilius Paulus* Macedonicus and *Gaius Sulpicius Gallus*, see n33. *Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio*, consul (138 BCE). *Tiberius Gracchus* the Elder (217-154 BCE), father of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, the famous land reformers; Scipio Africanus Minor married Tiberius Gracchus the Elder's daughter, Sempronia. See headnote to 'Laelius.'

⁷⁷ For *Lucius Furius Philius*, see n33; for *Spurius Mummius*, see n58. *Publius Rutilius Rufus* (fl. 115-90 BCE), military tribune and consul, famed for his integrity.

⁷⁸ *Quintus Tubero*, nephew of Scipio; he spoke the funeral oration for Scipio, which Laelius wrote.

⁷⁹ For *Publius Rupilius*, see n58; *Aulus Virginius*, famed lawyer.

Now, because the condition of our life and nature is so ordered that one age grows out of another, it might be wished that as we began the race of life together with our equals, so we might all along continue it and end it with them. But since all things in this world are so frail and uncertain, we must never be without someone whom we may love, and by whom we may be mutually beloved, for without friendship, there is no enjoyment of life.

Though Scipio was suddenly snatched from me, yet to me he still does and always will live, for I loved his virtue, and that can never die. That is not only continually before my eyes, in whose arms it sometimes was, but will be signally famous to all posterity. No man will think of any gallant and extraordinary undertaking but he will copy out his actions from Scipio's life. Among all the blessings that fortune or nature ever bestowed upon me, I know none that I can compare with Scipio's friendship. With him I advised and agreed in the management of all public and private affairs; in him was treasured up my happiness. I never offended him (to my knowledge) in the least. I never heard anything from him that I could wish unsaid. Our lodging and diet was in one house and at one table, and not only our warfare but our travels and our retirements were always together, not to mention our studies, which, having withdrawn ourselves from the eyes of the world, we spent in the search of knowledge.

Now if the remembrance of these things had died with Scipio, I could never have borne the loss of so dear and loving a friend. No, that can never decay, but is rather continually strengthened and renewed by the frequency of my thoughts, and the freshness of my memory; nay, though that too were gone, yet I should find some comfort from my age, for by the course of nature I cannot want⁸⁰ him long; and what is but short must be borne patiently, though it be grievous.

This is all I have to say upon this subject, and let me advise you, gentlemen, to have that esteem for virtue, without which there can be no amity, as to think that (that⁸¹ only excepted) nothing is more excellent than friendship.

FINIS.

A PASTORAL DIALOGUE CONCERNING FRIENDSHIP AND LOVE.⁸²

ALCON AND LYCIDAS.⁸³

ALCON. Say, Lycidas, why all alone?
Is thy Dorinda false or does she frown?
Dost thou to this dark desert fly
To vent thy own or blame her jealousy?

LYCIDAS. No, shepherd, no; the maid was ever kind,
Dear to my eyes and charming to my mind;
(Nay, I remember with her parting breath
She blessed our loves, and smiled and kissed in death).
But oh! She's gone! Like a fall'n blossom cast

⁸⁰ *want* lack; miss.

⁸¹ *that* i.e., virtue.

⁸² The poem's separate title page continues: 'Occasioned by the death of the Honourable J.T.' The epigram (in Latin) is from Virgil, 'Eclogue 5.20': "For Daphnis, untimely killed by a cruel death, the Nymphs wept."

⁸³ *Alcon* and *Lycidas* Both names are taken from Virgil's *Eclogues*. See 'Alcon' and 'Lycidas,' Glossary (print anthology).

From its fair stalk by some untimely blast;
 Forever gone! Whilst I distracted rove,
 Tell the sad tale to ev'ry conscious grove,⁸⁴
 And mourn the dear remembrance of our injured love.

ALCON. Look up, despairing youth, and see
 With pitying eyes, a sadder wretch than thee.
 My friend, my soul, my Daphnis is no more,⁸⁵
 Snatched like an early flower,
 Which some rude hand had cropped before its hour;
 Whilst I through many a pathless way
 With heedless sorrow stray,
 Led hither by my wand'ring sheep
 With much more tears a dearer loss than thine to weep.

LYCIDAS. A dearer loss! Rash swain, take heed;⁸⁶
 With emulous grief you wrong the beauteous dead!⁸⁷
 My tears can brook a rival now no more
 Than could my flames (my hapless flames) before.
 Fate has not killed my passion, but improved,
 For dead I worship what alive I loved.

ALCON. Fond youth! In yon' soft myrtle shades⁸⁸
 To amorous boys and wanton maids
 Tell thy sad tale, whilst 'every conscious grove'⁸⁹
 With tattling sounds mocks thy unmanly love;
 Be silent here: where reason holds the scale,
 Thy *passion* needs must yield, my *friendship* must prevail.

LYCIDAS. Here then with mournful strife we'll both contend;
 And let yon' swain our fleecy charge attend,
 Whilst I a *mistress* weep.

— ALCON. But I a *friend*.

LYCIDAS. Come all ye nymphs, a beauteous mournful train,
 (Beauteous indeed now my Dorinda's gone),
 Come all, and teach the list'ning plain
 To tell our loss, and weep its own.
 Ye nymphs that crowded round her graceful side,
 Whilst she, your envy and your pride,
 With all your myrtles, all your praises crowned,
 In tuneful measures struck the gladsome ground;
 And all ye swains, whose emulous harmony,
 Taught by the equal motions of her feet

⁸⁴ *conscious* privy to or witnessing human actions and/or secrets.

⁸⁵ *Daphnis* another name taken from Virgil's *Eclogues*; see 'Daphnis,' Glossary (print anthology).

⁸⁶ *swain* shepherd, rural inhabitant.

⁸⁷ *emulous grief* grief that seeks to rival, emulate, or challenge.

⁸⁸ *myrtle* The myrtle was sacred to Venus, the goddess of love.

⁸⁹ '*every conscious grove*' Alcon mockingly echoes Lycidas' earlier phrase.

Thence grew artful, thence grew sweet,
 Ye swains that courted her and envied me:
 Come all, with mingled grief combine
 To mourn your own despair, and pity mine.
 O'er her sad hearse
 Pour out your tears,
 And with them write this melancholy verse:
Here fair Dorinda lies, Dorinda here did fall,
Who one blessed shepherd loved, herself beloved of all.

ALCON. Come all ye youths, ye dear companions come,
 (Now dear indeed, since Daphnis is no more)
 With equal tears our common loss deplore,
 And bless his fame and beautify his tomb.
 Ye youths that round my Daphnis proudly rode,
 Whilst he the grace, the terror of the wood,
 With active force and fatal certainty
 By his own shafts instructed yours to fly;
 Ye virgins too, that thronged the joyful place
 To seek the conquests of a nobler chase,
 To seek indeed, but all in vain,
 Whilst Daphnis' charms an unsought triumph gain;
 As many darts as the loved shepherd threw
 As many Cupid shot, as many wounded you:
 Come all, with mournful care
 Your freshest, latest gifts prepare;
 Round his beauteous, his cold head
 The short-lived honours of mixed garlands spread,
 And oh! awhile their short-lived honours cheer
 With many a sigh and many a tear.
 Alive ye loved him all, all weep him dead.
 Weep all, and say — Daphnis *lies here,*
Whom ev'ry maid did court, each shepherd did commend,
Daphnis the loveliest swain, Daphnis the kindest friend.

LYCIDAS. Flowers to the vale are grateful, lofty pines⁹⁰
 To the proud mountain's head, embracing vines
 To the rich garden, cypress to the grove,
 To me more grateful far Dorinda's love.

ALCON. Frosts to the flowers are hurtful, the rude storm
 To lofty pines, to vines the cruel worm,
 Fire to the wasted grove, to me than those
 More hurtful far my much loved Daphnis' loss.

LYCIDAS. Oh! She was innocent, she was fair,
 As are those spotless sheep

⁹⁰ *grateful* pleasing to the mind or senses; agreeable, acceptably welcome. 'Grateful' might possibly be a printer's error for 'graceful.'

The dying dear wished me to keep,
 My wretched wealth and my unwelcome care.
 Was there a youth o'er all the plain
 But for Dorinda sighed, and sighed in vain?
 Gay Dorilas, old Melibaeus' heir,⁹¹
 And rich Menalcas (rich indeed,⁹²
 His thrifty father late dead)
 With rival arts and presents courted her,
 And one his kids, and one his fruits would bring.
 Both she refused, or deigning to receive,
 To me the kinder maid would give.
 One well could play, and one could sweetly sing:
 Deaf to their arts, and with their gifts unmoved
 She stood, and me, even happier me, she loved.
*"Now all forlorn these pious tears I shed
 To Love deserted and Dorinda dead."*

ALCON. Daphnis was sweet and gentle as yon' flood,⁹³
 Whose list'ning waters loved to crowd
 Towards the glad shore, whilst his soft melody
 Made them forget their parent sea,
 Admire his music, and indulge their stay.
 The swans too, gladly held by the late tide,
 Heard his delightful strains, then tried
 To imitate the voice, and died.⁹⁴
 Daphnis was tall and graceful as the hart
 That wept the skilful anger of his dart;
 Like our Melampus faithful, like him fleet,⁹⁵
 (If little things we may compare with great);
 Our poor Melampus wand'ring round the plain,
 Hark! with shrill howls laments his master slain.
 Was there a maid could hide her conscious flame,⁹⁶
 When some glad tale was blessed with Daphnis' name?
 Youthful Galatea, (fair⁹⁷
 When your Dorinda was not there)
 Alcippe, Nysa, Chloë strove⁹⁸
 For the wished triumph of his love.
 Each her officious presents would prepare,
 Fruits for his scrip, and garlands for his hair:⁹⁹

⁹¹ *Melibaeus* the name of a shepherd who appears in Virgil's *Eclogues*.

⁹² *Menalcas* the name of another shepherd who appears frequently in Virgil's *Eclogues*.

⁹³ *yon' flood* yonder river, that river over there.

⁹⁴ *The swans ... died* Traditionally, swans were believed to sing beautifully just before they died.

⁹⁵ *Melampus* named for one of the dogs of the ill-fated hunter Actaeon (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 3.307); when Actaeon was turned into a stag by the incensed goddess Diana—a punishment for Actaeon's crime of gazing on the naked goddess while she bathed—Melampus and Actaeon's other hunting dogs tore their master to pieces.

⁹⁶ *conscious flame* i.e., a desire that she herself is aware of and which is obvious to others.

⁹⁷ *Galatea* the name of a country girl in Virgil's 'Eclogue 3.'

⁹⁸ *Alcippe* and *Nysa* the names of countrywomen in Virgil's *Eclogues* 7 and 8; *Chloë* a name often bestowed on beautiful and innocent country girls in Latin literature (an alternate name for Ceres, goddess of the harvest).

⁹⁹ *scrip* shepherd's bag or wallet for carrying food and other necessities.

Each pressed with glad amazement to the ring,¹⁰⁰
 And when he danced, each strove to sing.
 Their gifts he would receive, their music he would hear
 Till wearied with their praises he
 Thanked their civility,
 Refused their love, and hastened home to me.
 There in a clasped embrace we lay,
 And with sweet talk deceived the livelong day,
 Pitied the wretches that in vain had wooed,
 Smiled at their passion and our own pursued.
*"Now left alone, with hopeless grief I moan
 My ill-starred friendship wronged, my Daphnis gone."*

LYCIDAS. 'Twas in a fatal hour,
 When the loved maid impatient of my stay,
 Had decked, and did forsake her bower¹⁰¹
 To chide my sloth, whilst in the treacherous way
 In fair deceit a murd'rous viper lay.
 There as with eager haste she trod the ground,
 There her swift foot received the sudden wound.
 In vain (alas!) the wond'ring maid
 From the following danger fled;
 Death proud of his fair conquest grew,
 And all his cruel speed employed and hastened to pursue.
*"Now I these tributary sorrows shed
 To Love deserted and Dorinda dead."*

ALCON. Cursed be the deadly steel
 By whose much lamented pow'r
 In a black inauspicious hour
 My dear, unhappy Daphnis fell.
 'Twas a sad morn, when he, the loved he, rose
 From my unwilling breast and his disturbed repose;
 Back to my arms the struggling youth I pulled,
 Told him how young the day, the air how cold,
 Asked him what was th' unwonted cause¹⁰²
 That broke our close embrace so soon?
 He told me, *I should hear of him ere noon*,
 Fetched an ill-boding sigh and said — *He must be gone*.
 What was the cause (ah me!) too well I know,
 Too soon; for an ill dream was scarcely past
 And waking thoughts my sleeping fears increased,
 When every tongue and every eye spoke woe,
 And every maid and every shepherd said,
 Oh cruel fate! Oh, Daphnis dead!
 Cursed be that idol honour! Doubly cursed
 The wretch that with its nice exceptions first

¹⁰⁰ *ring* an open space for dancing.

¹⁰¹ *decked* dressed.

¹⁰² *unwonted* unusual, uncustomary.

Stained the free mirth of our infected plain,
 And taught destructive swords
 To be the judges (how unfit) of words!¹⁰³
 For this ev'n me my Daphnis left,
 Of him and happiness bereft;
 For this the youth with early brave disdain
 Challenged, went forth, contended, and was slain.
*"For this sad I with hopeless grief bemoan
 My ill-starred friendship wronged, my Daphnis gone."*

LYCIDAS. Thy ill-starred *friendship*, swain, lament no more,
 I my deserted *love* deplore.

ALCON. Thy *love*! The dying flames of loose desire
 Look pale and tremble at my chaster fire!

LYCIDAS. Then let just Pan our cause's merit try,¹⁰⁴
 Whilst mighty *Love* I sing —.

ALCON. Whilst mightier *Friendship* I.

LYCIDAS. I have a pipe on which I've often played
 To the lovely list'ning maid;
 None disliked my artless lays,¹⁰⁵
 She'd find something out to praise.
 On this I'll play. *"Ye mighty pow'rs of Love
 Inspire my willing pipe, my happy choice approve."*

ALCON. I have a pipe on which my Daphnis played,
 Whilst ev'ry lovely list'ning maid
 Would leave her flocks to hear his artful lays,
 And ev'ry wond'ring youth his ev'ry strain would praise.
 To this I'll sing — *"Kind Friendship, bless my choice,
 Whilst to thy pow'rful harmony I tune my willing voice."*

LYCIDAS. Tell me what kind power of old
 Enriched the world, and named the age from gold?¹⁰⁶
 When ev'ry nymph and ev'ry swain
 Loved, and was beloved again.
 When falsehood and disdain were yet unknown,
 And innocence and love were one?
 Each amorous shepherd chose a willing maid
 Above the cares of honour, birth, or state,
 And in affection richly paid;
 The willing maid his plain address received,
 His unprotested love believed,¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ *Cursed ... words* Daphnis has been killed in a duel.

¹⁰⁴ *Pan* See 'Pan,' Glossary (print anthology).

¹⁰⁵ *artless lays* simple or natural songs.

¹⁰⁶ *named the age from gold* In the ancient world, human history was depicted in terms of a set of increasingly degenerate ages: gold, silver, iron. The age of gold was the age of original human and natural perfection.

And neither vowed, yet neither was deceived.
 Then new delight did each new hour employ,
 Love was their life, their life one lasting joy:
*"Assist, almighty Queen of Heav'n and Love,
 Inspire my willing pipe, my happy choice approve."*

ALCON. Tell me, ere all this beauteous world was framed,
 Or your fond age from glittering gold was named,¹⁰⁸
 When heav'n and earth were one rude heap,
 And wild confusion filled the pregnant deep,
 What nobler cause, what kinder pow'r
 The melancholy mass did stir,
 And made the appeased embryos friends?¹⁰⁹
 The appeased embryos never since
 Have to that friendly knot done violence;
 That knot nor chance nor force can e'er destroy,¹¹⁰
 Their very being *friendship* is, their *friendship* one long joy.
*"Almighty Friendship, bless my noble choice,
 Whilst to thy pow'rful harmony I tune my willing voice."*

LYCIDAS. Seest thou yon' bird that in the cypress grove
 With busy flight from tree to tree
 And untaught melody
 Calls his dear mate, and says — "*I am in love*"?
 And, Alcon, see! from yonder bough
 His dear mate flies and answers — "*I love too.*"
 Their happy care through all the spring
 Is only how to love, and how to sing.
 Then look, grave moralist, and learn from these
 To imitate their flames, and to improve thy bliss.
*"Assist, almighty Queen of Heav'n and Love,
 Inspire my willing pipe, my happy choice approve."*

ALCON. Seest thou yon' oak, which many a year has stood
 Gracefully firm, itself a wood?
 Why does it raise its lofty head,
 And all around diffuse a friendly shade?
 See, Lycidas, a circling ivy joins¹¹¹
 Its mingled root, and round the glad trunk twines
 Its willing leaves. Wind, cold, and age they scorn
 Whilst one can still defend, and one adorn.
 Thus their embracing honours each extends,
 Both flourish, both are happy, both are friends.
 Hence thy gross joys, fond amorist, improve;¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ *unprotected* in the sense that his love is not sealed by a public declaration or solemn assertion.

¹⁰⁸ *fond* foolish.

¹⁰⁹ *appeased embryos friends* i.e., made those original living beings friends.

¹¹⁰ *nor ... nor* neither ... nor.

¹¹¹ The *oak* and the *ivy* were emblems of friendship, as well as faithful marriage.

In *Friendship*'s purer flames refine thy drossy love.¹¹³
 "Almighty Friendship, bless my noble choice,
 Whilst to thy pow'rful harmony I tune my willing voice."

LYCIDAS. 'Twas *Love*, great *Love* that from his awful throne
 Charmed the am'rous Thunderer down;¹¹⁴
Love made the Horned Deity
 At fair Europa's feet submissive lie;¹¹⁵
Love taught the feathered god to go
 To Leda and a happier heav'n below.¹¹⁶
 Strange power! that rules the noblest souls
 And turns divinities to beasts and fowls! —

ALCON. To beasts indeed! who blindly place
 In lawless lust their sovereign happiness.
 'Twas *Friendship*, nobler *Friendship* could inspire
 Leda's famed sons with a much happier fire
 Than e'er inflamed their wanton sire.
 Friendship taught the generous pair
 A mixed divinity to share,
 And made them, that they might unite
 Their souls, divide their friendly light.¹¹⁷
 Then boast no more thy worthless passion when
 'Tis *love* makes beasts of gods, but *friendship* gods of men.
 "Almighty Friendship, bless my noble choice,
 Whilst to thy pow'rful harmony I tune my willing voice."

LYCIDAS. Oft have I heard, and I remember well,
 When under our tall poplar shade
 To me and to the dear dead maid
 Oft faithful loves old Aegon used to tell,¹¹⁸
 For faithful love what Priam's son could do,¹¹⁹
 (Priam's son a shepherd too);
 How Venus he did worthily prefer
 Or to the Queen of Heav'n or to the Queen of War.¹²⁰
 Venus recompensed his voice,
 Venus blessed his noble choice;

¹¹² *Hence* henceforward, from this time on. *gross* coupled with the language of metallurgy here, probably meaning 'material, earthly, non-spiritual in nature.' See 'drossy,' n113. *fond amator* foolish devotee of sexual love.

¹¹³ *drossy* full of impurities (an image taken from metallurgy where the dross [impurity, waste products] in a metal would be separated out from its valuable component through heating).

¹¹⁴ 'Twas *Love* ... *down* Jove, king of gods (*the Thunderer*) often descended from Heaven to Earth in order to have sex with mortal women. See 'Jove,' Glossary (print anthology).

¹¹⁵ *Love* ... *lie* *Horned Deity* Jove. For the myth, see 'Europa,' Glossary (print anthology).

¹¹⁶ *Love* ... *below* *feathered god* Jove. For the myth, see 'Leda,' Glossary (print anthology).

¹¹⁷ *Leda's famed sons* ... *light* See 'Castor and Pollux,' Glossary (print anthology).

¹¹⁸ *Aegon* the name of a shepherd who appears in Virgil's *Eclogues* (3.2; 5.72) and Theocritus' *Idylls* (4.26ff).

¹¹⁹ *Priam's son* Paris, prince of Troy. For the following narrative about Paris' judging of a 'beauty contest' between Juno (the *Queen of Heaven*), Minerva (the *Queen of War*), and Venus (the goddess of love), see 'Paris,' Glossary (print anthology).

¹²⁰ *Or* ... *or* Either ... or.

Though Heav'n and Greece his choice denied,
 Venus gave the beauteous bride.¹²¹
 For love's happy violence she
 Despised the dangers of the sea,
 The dangers of the battle he.
 Oft have I heard how, when war's rude alarms
 From chaste Penelope's unwilling arms
 Her dear Ulysses forced, the widowed fair
 Sat pensive twice ten tedious year;
 In vain at Troy unhappy Hector strove
 To reach the faithful Hero's guarded head;¹²²
 At Ithaca in vain with hated love
 His rivals strove to stain her spotless bed.
 Love preserved the happy pair,
 Eased his toils, and cured her fear.
 Whilst he abroad maintained, whilst she at home a war.¹²³
 Aegon would oft the grateful tale renew,
 And to it add some happy pleasant truth
 That blessed the smiling vigour of his youth;
 Oft would he bid us these fair tracks pursue,
 And told us *Love* would bless us too.
 But oh! in moving words he would relate
 Eurydice's untimely fate,
 For whom sad Orpheus left alone
 In sweet mournful strains did moan,
 And echoing Rhodope was heard to groan.
 For whom (blessed pow'r of *Love*!) his harmony
 Changed arbitrary Fate's decree,
 Broke wond'ring death's till then resistless chain,
 And to his longing bosom did the joyful nymph regain.
 Oh! that like him (for I like him have mourned)
 My dearer loss I might retrieve!
 Oh! that like her, the maid might be returned,
 And (for like her she died) like her again might live.¹²⁴
 "*But oh, in vain these fruitfulest tears I shed*"¹²⁵
 For Love deserted and Dorinda dead."

¹²¹ *the beauteous bride* Helen of Troy. See 'Paris' and 'Helen of Troy,' Glossary (print anthology).

¹²² *In vain ... head* Unclear; Hector was a Trojan prince and the city's chief warrior-hero; Hero was a priestess who loved the beautiful youth Leander; she committed suicide when he drowned in the Hellespont trying to swim to her dwelling place, Sestus. Neither seems to belong in this passage that concerns the relationship between the hero Ulysses (Odysseus) and his wife Penelope. However, Hector was well-known for his faithful love to his wife, Andromache; and Hero was also known for her tragically devoted love to Leander. It is Ulysses who returns finally from Troy to find his wife Penelope resisting a group of suitors (*his rivals*); it is Penelope's *spotless bed* that the suitors seek to *stain*.

¹²³ *From chaste ... war* For the story of the Greek hero Ulysses' long journey to return home to Ithaca and to his constant, chaste wife, Penelope, see Homer's *Iliad*. Penelope's refusal to believe that Ulysses was dead and her steadfast refusal to marry one of her harassing suitors made her an emblem of female marital fidelity.

¹²⁴ *Eurydice's ... live* See 'Orpheus and Eurydice,' Glossary (print anthology). *Rhodope* a mountain in Greece.

¹²⁵ *fruitfulest* most fruitful, most abundant.

ALCON. I too have heard ('twere impious to forget)
 When beneath yon' spreading tree
 To Daphnis dearly known and me
 Of faithful friends wise Thyrsis would relate¹²⁶
 How Sicily's envying tyrant grieved to know
 That his delighted realm could boast of two
 Happier, happier far than he
 With all his pow'r and royalty.
 Two for faithful *friendship* famed,
 Damon (I think) and Pythias they were named:¹²⁷
 And one in cruel fetters he confined,
 T'other disdained his useless liberty
 To set his loved companion free,
 He less afflicted that was left behind.
 This the wond'ring tyrant saw,
 And owned the juster pow'r of *Friendship's* law;¹²⁸
 Their blessed acquaintance humbly he did woo,
 If haply of the strong-linked chain¹²⁹
 The least kind portion might remain,
 Which to the pleasing yoke might join a monarch too.
 Oft of the Grecian pair our priest would speak,
 Whose *friendship* Fate itself could hardly break:
 How when sad garlands crowned Orestes' head
 And with cruel piety
 The destined victim to the shrine was led,
 His Pylades did all his skill employ
 With kind deceit to frame the gen'rous lie,
 And for his dearer self, himself to die.
 Both strove to fall, both happily in vain,
 The fatal conquest neither could obtain;
 The smiling goddess did to *friendship* give
 Its just reward, and bade them love and live.¹³⁰
 With glad remembrance Thyrsis would commend
 The wondrous faith of some old friend,
 Whose strong surviving love still warmed his breast,
 Then bid us thus be friends, and thus we should be blessed.
 But oh! with strange concern the bard would tell
 How, when his loved Perithous fell,

¹²⁶ *Thyrsis* See Glossary (print anthology).

¹²⁷ *Damon ... named* See 'Damon and Pythias,' Glossary (print anthology).

¹²⁸ *owned* acknowledged, admitted.

¹²⁹ *haply* by chance, perchance.

¹³⁰ *How when sad garlands ... love and live* For this ancient pair of male friends, see 'Pylades and Orestes,' Glossary (print anthology). In Euripides' play *Iphigenia in Tauris*, Orestes and Pylades attempt to carry off the statue of Artemis (Diana) in order to fulfil the terms of an oracle that says this statue must be taken to Athens to purify Orestes of the crime of murdering his mother Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus. Arriving in Tauris, the friends are arrested and condemned to be sacrificed to Artemis, the customary treatment for strangers in the land. The priestess Iphigenia offers to spare Orestes if he will bear a letter for her into Greece; Orestes finally convinces a reluctant Pylades to do so, but when Iphigenia discovers that Orestes is her brother, all three escape with the statue. When they are apprehended again, Athena, the goddess of wisdom, aids them and they all return to Greece.

To amazed Styx bold Theseus did descend,¹³¹
 And lost himself to find his friend.¹³²
 How when the dear, the mournful captives lay
 To death's unpitying king a hopeless prey,
 Both to redeem, the fair Alcmena's son
 (Alcmena's son did not disdain
 To feed his herds and love the plain)
 To the frightened shades went down;
 Both he redeemed, from both he did remove
 All bonds but those of grateful love.
 This noble act his less famed labours crowned,
 Made him for courage much, for *friendship* more renowned.¹³³
 Oh! that like him, a meaner shepherd I
 Could make the unrelenting pow'r
 My dear lamented youth restore!
 Oh! that with me he lived, or I for him could die!
 Oh! that, like them, he might return, for he
 Was dearer far than both to me.
*"But oh! in vain with hopeless grief I moan
 My ill-starred friendship wronged, my Daphnis gone."*

LYCIDAS. Kind *Friendship*, swain, has blessed thy noble choice;
 Pan has inspired thy pipe, and tuned thy voice:
 Thy voice at least this conquest shall obtain,
 That since the matchless maid is slain
 I'll never, never love again.

LYCON. Oh! Yield a little farther yet,
 And make my conquest and my joy complete;
 For, since my dearest Daphnis bled,
 Too justly I despair to find
 A youth so true, a friend so kind,
 Unless to Daphnis Lycidas succeed.

LYCIDAS. Though all unworthy I,
 And rude in *friendship's* well-sung mystery,¹³⁴
 Yet would Alcon deign to show
 The happy means, (for Alcon well does know)
 I fain would learn (methinks) and practice too.¹³⁵

¹³¹ *amazed* able to cause terror or wonder.

¹³² *How when ... friend* See 'Pirithous and Theseus,' Glossary (print anthology). Myths differ as to why Theseus descends into the Underworld; some say it was to bring his friend Pirithous back to the land of the living, others that the two descended together intending to steal away Proserpine, wife of Pluto, god of the Underworld.

¹³³ *How when the dear ... renowned Alcmena's son* See 'Hercules,' Glossary (print anthology). In one ancient version of his exploits, Hercules descends to the Underworld to rescue his friends Theseus and Pirithous, after they are imprisoned and tormented by Pluto for their attempt to kidnap his wife, Proserpine. See above, n132.

¹³⁴ *rude* ignorant.

¹³⁵ *fain* willingly, eagerly.

ALCON. Then may all strife in this blest union end,
And kindness only here contend:
So thou a *mistress* scarce hast lost —

LYCIDAS. — So thou hast found a *friend*.