

GEORGE BUCHANAN

Poet and dramatist



Edited by
Philip Ford
and
Roger P.H.Green

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Contributors

Elwira Buszewicz, Giacomo Cardinali,
Nathalie Catellani-Dufrêne, Jean-Frédéric Chevalier,
Robert Crawford, Robert Cummings, Margaret Duncumb,
Carine Ferradou, Philip Ford, Emma Gee, Roger Green,
R. D. S. Jack, John MacQueen, James Porter,
Jamie Reid Baxter.



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Oil painting of George Buchanan by John Scougall (1693), after the painting, now lost, by Arnold von Bronkhorst, of 1580.

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May 2009

Philip Ford and Roger Green

FOREWORD

This book began life amidst the celebrations of the quincentenary of Buchanan's birth in a conference held in the University of Glasgow in July 2006. The variety of papers given on that occasion by a wide-ranging group of international scholars has now been developed into this book, one which has been carefully designed for a wide readership: for those well acquainted with the Scottish Humanist George Buchanan, for those with some acquaintance of him and an interest in particular aspects of his contribution or his background, and for those to whom Buchanan is little known or not at all. It is hoped that these and indeed other classes of reader will find in its pages not merely a reflection of conference papers but an in-depth, up-to-date account of present research into the poetry and the drama of Scotland's greatest Humanist, of some sides at least of this remarkable author and 'Renaissance man', and of his lasting impact upon cultural life in Scotland and abroad.

Throughout the book all passages of Latin, whatever their source, are supplied with a translation. Those who wish to consult, or sample, the various poetic originals for themselves are catered for, on the dramatic side, by the edition prepared in 1983 by Peter Sharratt and P. G. Walsh, and by other material cited in the following pages. As for the extensive and variegated poetry, a complete new edition of the poems is in an advanced state of preparation, but meanwhile recourse is best had to the text printed by Thomas Ruddiman, which is also that used, except where stated otherwise, for quotations in this book. That 'meanwhile' is not intended to be disparaging: Ruddiman was one of the great scholar-printers of modern Europe, and his two-volume edition of Buchanan's *Omnia Opera* has been described as 'probably the weightiest piece of literary editing ever undertaken in Scotland'. There are two editions of this, one from 1714/5 and one from 1725; the latter, prepared in Leiden with the help of Peter Burman, is in almost all aspects identical to the former, in effect a reprint, and the curious reader will generally find it the more user-friendly of the two. There is a full and highly regarded biography of Buchanan by Ian McFarlane (1981), and a helpful introduction to Buchanan's poetry and its neo-Latin elements by Philip Ford in his *George Buchanan, Prince of Poets* (1982).

P.J.F., R.P.H.G.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

ELWIRA BUSZEWICZ has been Assistant Professor in the Department of Old Polish Literature in the Jagiellonian University, Krakow, since 2000. Her interests include Polish Literature, neo-Latin literature, and literary translation. She has written books on literary descriptions of Krakow in the early modern period, and on the poetry of Sarbiewski.

GIACOMO CARDINALI is a seminarist at the Pontificio Seminario Romano Maggiore. His interests are the development of neo-Latin tragedy (Muret and Buchanan) and French tragedy, the circulation and fortune of classical texts in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance period, and pontifical palaeography and diplomatics.

NATHALIE CATELLANI-DUFRÊNE teaches at the University of Picardie Jules Verne, at Amiens. She has written papers about the aesthetics of George Buchanan's epigrammatic writing, and is preparing an edition of his *Epigrams*. She is also taking part in the group editions of the *Poemata* of Johannes Secundus and the *Adages* of Erasmus.

JEAN-FRÉDÉRIC CHEVALIER is Professor of Latin Literature and Language at Paul Verlaine University, Metz. He studies the literary reception of Classics in neo-Latin tragedies (1315–1643), and works on the first Latin tragedies written by Jesuits. He published a book on Mussato's poetry in 2000, and a book by him on dramas of Loschi, Correr, and Dati is forthcoming.

ROBERT CRAWFORD's most recent collection of poems is 'Full Volume' (Cape, 2008), and his biography of Robert Burns, *The Bard*, has recently been published by Jonathan Cape and Princeton University Press. He is Professor of Modern Scottish Literature in the School of English at the University of St. Andrews.

ROBERT CUMMINGS is an Honorary Research Fellow in the Department of English Literature in the University of Glasgow. He co-edits the journal *Literature and Translation* and has published mainly on English poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

MARGARET DUNCUMB has pursued post-doctoral research on Latin since completing her doctorate on ‘*Cantus Firmus* in Psalms of the Sixteenth Century and the Music of Claude Le Jeune’, at Clare College, Cambridge.

CARINE FERRADOU currently teaches French language to foreign students and general culture to French students in the Law Faculty at the University Paul Cézanne, Aix-en-Provence. Her Ph.D. thesis is in the process of being published, and she has published a variety of papers on Buchanan’s dramas and other subjects.

PHILIP FORD is Professor of French and Neo-Latin literature at the University of Cambridge. He prepared his PhD thesis on Buchanan under the supervision of Ian McFarlane, subsequently publishing a revised version of it in 1982. He has also published books on Ronsard’s *Hymnes* (1997), an annotated edition of Jean Dorat’s *Mythologicum* (2000), and most recently a study of the reception of Homer in the Renaissance (2007).

EMMA GEE is lecturer in Classics at the University of St. Andrews, and before that taught at the universities of Exeter and Sydney. She has written *Ovid, Aratus and Augustus* (Cambridge, 2000) and a number of substantial papers on classical and neo-Latin authors. She is now working principally on a book on science and afterlife in antiquity.

ROGER GREEN was from 1995 to 2008 Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow. As well as Buchanan, he studies Latin poets of the Later Roman Empire and the influence of the poet Vergil. He has published books on Ausonius, Augustine, and Carolingian poetry, and has recently completed a full edition of Buchanan’s *Poetic Psalm Paraphrases*, to be published by Droz.

R. D. S. JACK is Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and Professor Emeritus of Scottish and Medieval Literature at Edinburgh University, having held the chair from 1987 to 2004. His books include *The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature*, *Patterns of Divine Comedy* and *The Road to the Never Land*.

JOHN MACQUEEN is Emeritus Professor and former Director of the School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh University. With Winifred MacQueen he has edited Wyntoun’s *Scotichronicon*, Books I–V (1989–1995) and *The Latin Poems of Archibald Pitcairne* (forthcoming). He is the author of

several works on Scottish literature, most recently *Complete and Full with Numbers* (2006).

JAMES PORTER is Professor Emeritus, University of California, Los Angeles, and Honorary Professor, University of Aberdeen. He has published widely in the fields of ethnology and musicology, and is currently a British Academy grantholder for the edition of Jean Servin's *Chansons spirituelles* (1578).

JAMIE REID BAXTER, an honorary Research Fellow in Scottish History at the University of Glasgow, is a European Parliament translator. His publications include numerous essays and articles on Scottish literature, music and history, the libretto of 'The Passioun o Sanct Andraa: ane kirk opera', and poems in Scots and English.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF BUCHANAN

- 1506 February: birth of GB near the village of Killearn, Stirlingshire.
- c. 1513 Family moved to Cardross, Menteith.
- 1520–22 GB sent by his uncle James Herriot to study in Paris. Returned early because of ill health and the death of his uncle.
- 1523 GB joined forces of Duke of Albany, who led a failed attack against the English.
- 1525 GB matriculated at the University of St Andrews.
- 1526 Returned to Paris.
- 1527 October: incorporated as BA in the University of Paris.
- 1528 March: obtained his *licentia* (master's degree). Appointed to first teaching post at the Collège de Sainte-Barbe in Paris.
- 1529 June: elected Procurator of the German Nation of students (which included Scottish students).
- c. 1532 Became private tutor of Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis.
- 1533 Published Latin translation of Thomas Linacre's *Rudiments*.
- 1534 Returned to Scotland with Gilbert Kennedy.
- 1535–9 Composition of anti-Franciscan poems (*Somnium, Palinodiae, Franciscanus*).
- 1536 In the employment of James V as private tutor to his illegitimate son, Lord James Stewart.
- 1539 GB arrested, but escaped to England in January. In London by February. Returned to Paris in August. Became teacher at the Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux in September.
- 1539–43 Teacher of the *primus ordo* (rhetoric class). *Medea* performed at Collège de Guyenne 1543.
- 1543 Towards the end of the year, Buchanan went to Paris and became teacher at the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine, living with the printer Michel Vascosan.
- 1544 *Medea* published by Vascosan. Summer: Buchanan fell seriously ill. Period of convalescence in Toulouse towards the end of the year.
- 1545 Back teaching at the Collège de Guyenne. Visit to Paris later in the year.
- 1547 March: set off with colleagues from Bordeaux to found the Real Colégio das Artes in Coimbra, Portugal.

Principal Events in the Life of Buchanan

- 1548 Opening of the Colégio, 21 February. Buchanan teacher for *primus ordo*.
- 1550 10 August: Buchanan arrested by the Inquisition and taken to Lisbon for trial.
- 1551 July: sentenced, and sent to the monastery of San Bento in Xabregas. Worked on Psalm paraphrases. December: granted conditional release.
- 1552 29 February: unconditional release. Left Lisbon for London. By November, back in Paris. Obtained teaching post at the Collège de Boncourt.
- 1554 Publication of *Iephtes* (printed by Guillaume Morel). GB became private tutor to Timoléon de Cossé, son of the Comte de Brissac.
- 1556 *Alcestis* published by Vascosan. *Davidis Psalmi aliquot* published by Henri Estienne.
- 1557 August: Buchanan was naturalised as a Frenchman.
- 1558 May: received the church living of Mulleville-sur-Mer (Normandy).
- 1561 Buchanan back in Scotland in service of Mary Stuart. Declared himself a Calvinist.
- 1563–6 Member of the General Assembly of the Reformed Church of Scotland.
- 1565–6 Winter: visited France.
- c. 1566 *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica* published by Henri and Robert Estienne.
- 1566 *Franciscanus. Varia eiusdem authoris poemata* published in Basle.
- 1566–70 Principal of St Leonard's College in St Andrews.
- 1567 *Elegiarum liber I, Sylvarum liber I, Endecasyllabon lib. I* published in Paris by Robert Estienne. *Laena* published in Dijon by J. des Planches.
- c. 1568 *Franciscanus et fratres* published by Thomas Guarinus in Basle.
- 1570–78 GB appointed Guardian of the privy seal.
- 1570 Made life member of the Privy Council. Appointed tutor to four-year-old James VI.
- 1577 *Baptistes* published in London by Thomas Vautrollier.
- 1579 Appointed to investigate the affairs of the University of St Andrews. *De iure regni apud Scotos* published in Edinburgh by J. Rosseus.
- 1582 *Rerum Scoticarum historia* published in Edinburgh by A. Arbuthnet. GB died 28 September. Buried Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh.
- 1615 First collective edition of secular poems, *Poemata*, Edinburgh, A. Hart.

INTRODUCTION

In 1906, to mark the quatercentenary of Buchanan's birth, there were conferences in both the University of Glasgow and the University of St. Andrews. Each university provided from its copious resources what it could in the way of speakers and lectures, and the coverage was impressively wide, if in some cases superficial and complementary by accident rather than design. The results were a substantial tribute to Buchanan. For 2006 it was decided to arrange two conferences, each with a different theme, with St. Andrews taking the 'prose' Buchanan, in a conference that would concentrate on his political ideas and their influence,¹ and Glasgow hosting a set of papers on his poetic and dramatic achievements. The papers given at the conference held in the University of Glasgow between 26 and 29 July 2006, developed for publication and to some extent augmented, are presented in this book. One of them, that of Philip Ford, the first one in this book, was actually given in the village of Killearn, Buchanan's birthplace a few miles north of Glasgow, where the conference members were warmly received by the citizens of Killearn, and proudly shown the huge commemorative obelisk of 1788 that stands in the village.

As was noted when members of the conference were entertained by the Deputy Provost of Glasgow City Council in the City Chambers, there is no memorial to George Buchanan in the city itself, though in Glasgow's George Square the poet Robert Burns stands in sculptured dignity amidst eminent Victorians, and Sir Walter Scott, poet and novelist, soars over all atop a lofty column. It was regretfully acknowledged that questions of funding might be a problem if the creation of such a memorial for Buchanan were pursued, although given the expertise in the University the writing of a Latin inscription would present less difficulty. A modern inscription might concentrate less on foes and struggles than the Killearn one – though Buchanan was indeed controversial, and no doubt *inter fortes fortis*, bold and resolute like others of his time – and more on his manifold learning. But the obelisk duly calls him *inter doctos doctus*, and this book will indeed demonstrate his knowledge and creativity. Certainly, as Scotland's leading Humanist, and one of the leaders on the whole European scene, Buchanan deserves another conspicuous monument, and not only a Scottish one but one in the wider Europe which he adorned for much of

his life. (Paris would be the obvious candidate, but Bordeaux and Portuguese Coimbra might object.)

A new inscription would have to be carefully devised, for without forsaking the Killearn monument's stress on his great wisdom and his strength of purpose, especially in matters of religion, and without of course forgetting his influential political and historical works, the writings, and especially the poetry, of George Buchanan are so diverse and difficult to classify. Rightly or wrongly, and the present writers think the former, readers may well feel that it is easier to grasp the essence of the style, thematics and thoughts of Burns or Scott, his rivals among writers for elevation to the skies of Scotland, than the multiple styles, the diverse qualities and the many interests of Buchanan. The point is not principally that the Latin language, in the shape of the *bonae litterae* lauded by Erasmus and skilfully manipulated by the tens of thousands who used it in the Renaissance, and which in the sixteenth century (and before and after that) was one of Scotland's three current languages, has been allowed to become a language whose life and liveliness, so vigorously apparent in the literature of some two thousand years, take some effort to recapture for an increasing number of people. It is the great variety, in tone, theme and circumstance, and indeed the sheer volume of what he wrote. A very short introduction to Buchanan would be impossible to write, and a 'companion' in today's fashion a heavy addition to the explorer's rucksack.

Not that the thread of some delicate Ariadne would be unwelcome. The poetry is now classified under numerous rather bland titles, uninformative and even misleading: *Eclogues* (not always pastoral), *Silvae* (from which we may at least expect highly stylised bits and pieces), *Elegiae* (which are not Elegies), Epigrams, Iambics, Hendecasyllables, *Miscellanea*.² The title *Fratres Fraterrimi* is a little more informative and inviting. These classes do not include his longer masterpieces, or of course the dramas. In Buchanan's hundreds of poems we find the courtly and the satirical; the scholarly and the personal; the scurrilous and the spiritual; the scientific and the erotic; the lyrical and the dramatic. How do you sum this up in order to brand and sell him? The oeuvre is in some sense well suited to anthologies, whether of neo-Latin literature in general³ or of specifically Scottish literature (here in fact the harvest had been very meagre until the quincentenary year),⁴ although overall there has been little enterprise among the selectors. But, to be sure, the poems to be found there are a good basis for discussion of the enigmatic Buchanan. There is the *Epithalamium* for the wedding of Mary Queen of Scots and the Dauphin (who was soon to die, and so disappoint, if he had not already done so), or the epigram dedicating the poetic paraphrase of the psalms to Mary (which continued for centuries

to record an almost loving collaboration), the stately but sincere epitaph on John Calvin (how well were Calvin and Buchanan acquainted?), the stylised complaint about teaching in *Elegy* 1 (a strange reaction from one who was to be a lifelong teacher). Anthologists add one or two Epigrams to taste, or make a fricassée of the *Franciscanus* or add the spice of other religious satire. There also exists an interesting kind of halfway house between anthology and complete edition, which may be useful to the general reader until the new edition of his complete non-dramatic poetry emerges⁵ – a study of the ‘political poems’, with notes on matters historical and literary.⁶

The present work is itself, of course, selective. It does not aim to cover the field, whatever that might mean, or to reflect the small mini-canon outlined above. It is rather a selection of work in progress, in studies which were carefully prepared for publication. They deal in various ways with many of Buchanan’s poems, most of the dramas, and the fascinating topic of his reception. The poems include some which might be called masterpieces: the carefully wrought and rewrought, polished and repolished metrical paraphrases of the Psalms, the technically demanding and skilfully written *Sphaera*, not completely finished as he approached the end of a long and active life. At the other end of the scale, in terms of length, there is a study of one of the Epigram books, and mention is also made of the little known *Pompae*, and of one of Buchanan’s translations from Euripides, and of both his main tragedies. Our work covers, too, poems written in France, where he spent many years, and was, in the words of McFarlane, author of a biography often described with good reason as magisterial,⁷ very much ‘in the swing’; there are poems probably written in Portugal, where Buchanan taught at Coimbra and tangled with the Inquisition; and products of his shorter sojourns in England and Italy are not forgotten. It is a fact that much of his poetry was not written in Scotland – he was in France for most of the years 1525–60, a Scot abroad – but the Scottish influences upon it are not neglected. The relationship emerges most clearly, perhaps, in the *Somnium*, based obviously but loosely on a poem of William Dunbar (‘How Dumbair wes Desyrd to be ane Freir’), studied in part of Jack’s paper in this volume.⁸ As Jack argues, this effort should not be seen as a kind of ‘colonising’ by the neo-Latin poet, or simply a ‘translation’ of Dunbar’s vernacular poem done perhaps out of patriotism, but a poem which was part of Buchanan’s own anti-Franciscan agenda (to some extent supported by King James V, as Buchanan later claimed) and fully in line with Renaissance didacticism and neo-Latin elegance.

The first paper in this book, appropriately, tries to survey George Buchanan’s achievement and to identify the poetic qualities which led to

the description ‘poeta sui saeculi facile princeps’. Although this was originally used of the poetic Psalm paraphrases, in a slightly different version, by the great humanist and printer Henri Estienne, it came to be applied to the whole of his poetic output. Ford starts off his assessment by considering Buchanan’s masterful control of Latin metre, less on the technical level (though this was very high) than on the musical level, showing how his handling of common metres such as the hexameter was superbly sensitive to meaning and tone. He goes on to consider the poet’s innovative use of imitation, in which classical themes may be blended with Renaissance themes, for example in the areas of satire and love poetry, to produce a novel kind of poetry. Buchanan’s ability convincingly to represent emotion is also examined, with particular reference to the Psalm paraphrases and *Iephthes*, while the range of poetic styles which he deploys is also considered, illustrating his versatility and sensitivity to theme and circumstances. Poetry was central to his self-expression, and it allows a clear impression of Buchanan to shine through.

Robert Cummings then takes a particular area, to discuss a general theme of no little importance. The paper is based on two of the *Silvae*, nos. 2 and 3, with the titles *Desiderium Ptolemaei Luxii Tastaei*, and *Desiderium Lutetiae*, poems expressing how the poet misses his friend de La Taste and the city of Paris, and written in Buchanan’s elaborate and epideictic style. Cummings’ theme is Buchanan’s adjectives, supposedly ‘redundant’, and sometimes criticised in the context of other kinds of poem too. The two abovementioned poems are seen through the prism of Rooke’s translation of 1724 (under various aspects, the eighteenth century appears many times in the present book), in which Rooke is no less lavish than Buchanan. Cummings takes us deftly through the opinions of various eighteenth-century English critics of the time, showing what he calls a ‘typically English distaste’ for adjectives that lacked specification or expressivity. With its fluent analysis of this ‘well-distributed cultural phenomenon’, and its author’s readiness to go back to earlier authorities (or repositories) such as Quintilian and Erasmus and Ravisius Textor as well as the likes of Joseph Addison, Joseph Trapp, and William Benson (of whom more later)⁹ – not to mention the classical poets with their varying approaches – this is a valuable guide to how to read Buchanan (or perhaps rather how not to read him), and a study which also raises the perennial question of how much of the classical poets’ contexts and ‘motives’ is relevant to the reader.

Buchanan’s poem *De Sphaera* – as a tiny diagram in its *editio princeps* makes clear, the heavens are spherical, the earth too, and the air, water and fire, that surround it, and indeed God himself, reflecting the divine nature, as the Stoics had realised – is today a neglected work, with few investigators.¹⁰

But as well as being highly technical, it is ambitious, combative (against Copernicus, in particular), and skilful. In her paper Emma Gee brings to bear her expert knowledge of classical Greek and Latin poems on cosmology and astronomy, and aims to present ‘a consistent pattern of detailed and sophisticated allusions’, allusions not so much to Pliny, whose contribution seems to have been overrated, or to neo-classical poets, but to Lucretius and Ovid – and not only Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. Prominent as he is, Lucretius is not the obvious authority if one is propounding the argument from design.¹¹ The challenge to him is mounted partly by the use of Ovid, and this pioneering study of Ovid’s influence shows in detail how Ovidian allusions are used to undercut Lucretius (in fact following a path that Ovid also trod). We are far away from the world of simple ‘tags’ added by the poet, and the ‘borrowed plumage’ has serious point (though it may also – as Cummings, too, pointed out in his chosen poems – have a ‘ludic’ quality). Whatever the circumstances in which the various parts of this long poem were written, we are not in what Naiden called the ‘hard schools of Scotland, France, and the Inquisition’, in which Buchanan had ‘had to live and study and learn and unlearn’, but in an invigorating intellectual atmosphere which Gee likens to a room full of sophisticated (but noisy) ‘dialogue between ancient texts and competing philosophies’.

The epigram was the staple product of Renaissance neo-Latinists, and Buchanan was no exception in this respect. Catellani-Dufrêne chooses in her contribution to focus on the thirty-three *Iusta* of the second book of Buchanan’s Epigrams, poems written to memorialise men and women of his own times, just as the thirty-three *Icones* in the same book focus on classical figures. She demonstrates the very different treatments meted out by Buchanan to them: admiration and praise of the virtuous on the one hand, and on the other condemnation and blame of those who fell on the wrong side of the religious divide or who acted treacherously. Catellani-Dufrêne in particular highlights the mnemonic character of much of Buchanan’s writing, conveyed to a large extent by a number of repeated rhetorical devices, but also through the striking combination of argumentative themes within the tight confines of the epigrammatic form. The aim is essentially didactic, to educate his contemporaries delightfully and brilliantly through his virtuosity of style.

The kaleidoscopic variety and sustained quality of what might be called, at the risk of importing a term not entirely apt, Buchanan’s ‘secular’ poetry are remarkable; yet it comprises but about one half of his poetic output. The other half, on which his reputation rested to a considerable extent, was his verse paraphrase of the Psalms; poems – for they are poems, and it would not be unreasonable to call them odes – which render the Latin

psalms as he knew them in ways both surprisingly faithful and strikingly imaginative. Like the *Sphaera*, they were written over a long period, and not just when he was confined by the Inquisition to a monastery near Lisbon, as is often assumed; a glance at some of the many other verse paraphrases written throughout Europe – and indeed at the Psalms themselves – cuts the ground from this idea. Surely the writers were not all in sorrowful confinement when they wrote. Begun in the 1530s (under French influence, but Scottish influences may have been slightly underestimated), they were completed, and printed, soon after Buchanan's return to Scotland some thirty years later. Printing continued almost until the nineteenth century.

On the page, Buchanan's psalm-poems look like the lyrics of Horace, and are intended to; but their relation to Horace, the extent and significance of the allusions and borrowings, is not a simple one, as Green attempts to show in a detailed analysis of Psalm 19. Readers of the Bible will have known this as *Caeli enarrant* ('The heavens are telling'), and the first surprise is that Buchanan begins very differently, with the minimally changed second line of a rather light-hearted ode of Horace (1. 34): *insanientis gens sapientiae* ('race of foolish wisdom'); this leads away from Horace's mock-personal note to a note of general admonition and the ancient (but continuing) controversy between Stoics and Epicureans. Horatian themes of the brevity and uncertainty of life are neatly smuggled in a bit later, but Christian positions are not obscured in this dialogue of allusions. Indeed, the poem also has a strongly spiritual half. Buchanan does not imitate Horace for fun, nor, if closely examined, does he allow Horace – or any of the other authors whose borrowed plumage shows up – to dictate a philosophical or religious viewpoint, and his work of paraphrase and poetry, for all its diverse skill, is much more than a classicising exercise.

Another angle on the relevance of Horace, and the dialogue between the Christian and the classical, appears in the paper of Elwira Buszewicz on the lyric 'T' of Buchanan's psalms and the theme of exile. With an eloquent incipit Buszewicz argues that traditional Christian thought enacts a complete reversal of a Horatian theme; for the Christian, 'exile' is here and now, on this earth, to be terminated and consummated by the joys of heaven, but for Horace 'exile' is the unending nothingness that follows the present life. There are moments in the Psalm paraphrases (such as the extended passage of Psalm 36, quoted in her paper), when the tone is strongly 'medieval', and we may even be reminded of Abelard's hymn *o quanta qualia* ... anticipating the joys of heaven.¹² Buszewicz is by no means the only contributor in this book to detect medieval influence upon Buchanan. Another influence on Buchanan's view on earthly life – one

which could be termed both medieval and Humanist – is Boethius' neo-Platonism, which can be traced in places.

To go back further, but not in this case to Horace, the influence of classical poetry of exile may also be traced in these psalm-poems, and what has been called by Claassen the 'universalised' myth of exile, and rightly claimed as part of the Ovidian legacy.¹³ For Buszewicz this is an important part of the lyric 'I' so often apparent in the Psalms, and which in Buchanan seems to be a mixture of the Christian believer, who will always be an exile on this earth, of the Hebrew worshipper or the Jewish King David, who may be separated by exile real or metaphorical from Jerusalem and Jewish rites, and to some extent of the poet himself. Buszewicz draws a parallel here between Buchanan, when imprisoned, and John Calvin, who read the sufferings of the Psalmist as an encouragement to one who, like himself, was the victim of dangerous and obstreperous enemies. In general, as study of various psalms shows, the focus may be this-worldly or other-worldly, and the time may be the present or the past, or the future envisioned by desperate longing.

Buchanan did not, in all probability, design his Psalm-poems for singing; they derive from a poetic tradition, and continued it. It is an interesting coincidence, but indeed a coincidence, that Buchanan was working on the earlier poems exactly at the time when Clément Marot was writing the French vernacular Psalms which would enter the Genevan Psalter of 1539. However, the singing of Buchanan's Psalm-poems soon became a feature of the tradition, and we know of two very different enterprises (neither in fact designed with worship primarily in mind) before the sixteenth century was out. In 1579, three years before Buchanan's death, a French Huguenot by the name of Jean Servin came to Edinburgh with a remarkable gift, for presentation to James VI: a multi-part setting of Buchanan's version of Psalms 1–41, the first of the Psalter's five books. This move was not instigated by Buchanan, nor do any of his extant letters give us his reaction, but he was surely not left in the dark. James Porter, who has researched this 'opus of weight, profundity, and historical importance' – and one of great beauty, too, as shown by performances in St. Andrews, Glasgow and Stirling during 2006 – describes this episode, little known because historians have looked elsewhere when listing Scotland's visitors from continental Europe. It may even have been obscured, as Porter argues, by a political *démarche* in favour of Mary Queen of Scots, now imprisoned in England, accompanied by an argosy that, ironically, would make possible Servin's very handsome financial reward. Porter describes in some detail the life and previous career of Servin, his difficult and delicate journey with his precious book of polyphonic, multi-part settings, and the circumstances

of the book's production and preservation. There is no doubt of its musical eminence, but why it has been unknown and unperformed for so long is a mystery.

The other setting was born in a school context, and while musically less ambitious – it was composed not for a king and his Chapel Royal but for ordinary pupils in school – it had a long life, being ideally fitted for its pedagogical purpose in early modern Germany. It was the brainchild of Nathan Chytraeus, Rector of Rostock Gymnasium, who was responsible for a remarkably long-lived series of school commentaries on Buchanan's poetic paraphrase of the Psalms. Chytraeus asked Statius Olthof, the school's chief Cantor, to compose a set of four-part harmonisations, one for each of Buchanan's different metres, and Olthof clearly relished the task, which he performed with skill and sympathy, as Margaret Duncumb describes. The style is 'restrained and utilitarian', though, as Duncumb points out, Olthof took pains to match the mood of a Psalm to appropriate musical modes. Combining as it does instruction in religion and music, and literature and grammar, with their handmaidens of metre and prosody, this was a well-judged enterprise; it was used in Lutheran Germany throughout seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and there are hints of its wider use in Central Europe – which, as with other features of his reception, further research into Buchanan's international *Nachleben* might be able to multiply.

Another field in which Buchanan was influential, initially in a college setting but later in an international one, was the theatre. Although there is some confusion as to the date of composition of his four plays, it is clear that his interest in the Greek theatre took shape when he decided, probably in the late 1520s, to translate Euripides' *Medea* into Latin as means of improving his Greek. In doing so, he was following in the footsteps of Erasmus, whose translations of *Iphigeneia in Aulis* and *Hecuba* had first appeared in 1506. When, as a teacher at the Collège de Guyenne, he was tasked with writing plays for performance by his pupils, it was above all the *form* of Greek tragedy, with its episodes and choruses, that he took from Euripides, rather than opting for the five-act Roman play. In other respects, including poetic diction and tragic theme, Buchanan seems quite distant from the world of Greek tragedy. Perhaps, in choosing religious themes for *Iephthes* and *Baptistes*, he felt he was reconciling a number of potentially conflicting aims: providing the audience with a modern version of the still popular medieval mystery play; adapting the religious themes of many Greek tragedies to a Christian context; offering in the choruses the kind of religious lyrical expression which would reach its height in his poems on the Psalms. In any case, he saw drama as serving a didactic purpose, both in terms of the school curriculum and also as moral education. His real

impact on French vernacular writers dates not so much from his Bordeaux days as from his period as a teacher at the Collège de Boncourt in Paris, following his return from Portugal (1552). A whole generation of dramatists, including Rémy Belleau, Jean de La Peruse, Etienne Jodelle, Jean de La Taille, and Jacques Grévin would emerge from this college, where some of them may also have benefited from another teacher from the Collège de Guyenne, Marc-Antoine Muret.

There has been some debate over the years concerning the theoretical influences that may have been at work in Buchanan's two original tragedies, and it is on this that the contribution of Cardinali concentrates: how far was Buchanan aware of Aristotle's precepts in the *Poetics* on the nature of tragedy? While it is true that *Iephthes* fits quite well into the Aristotelian mould, with a hero of some standing who loses everything as the result of a rash promise, the same cannot be said of *Baptistes*, whose celebration of the saint's courage and faith may be seen to fit in better with the medieval tradition of the miracle play. By examining the various theoretical works available to Buchanan when he was writing his tragedies, as well as investigating the reception of the *Poetics* in France and Italy, Cardinali establishes very clearly that direct Aristotelian influence on the religious dramas is highly improbable. Indeed, he argues quite convincingly that Aristotle's theories would have been interpreted in the light of the rather less elaborated notions of the Roman grammarians. Buchanan would have modelled his plays on what he observed in the Greek tragedians, without neglecting more contemporary sources, such as the Baptist play by John Bale, which Buchanan may have seen in London in 1539.

Developing a suitable diction, or a range of dictions, for his original tragedies would certainly have been a concern for Buchanan, and in this respect his exercises in translating Euripides' *Medea* and *Alceste* would have provided him with the opportunity of seeing how Greek tragic style could be adapted to the very different idiom of Latin. In his paper on Buchanan's *Medea*, Chevalier demonstrates the extreme care that the Scottish humanist took to convey the nuances of the Greek text, seeking out Latin words that had the right intertextual resonances to suggest the meaning of the Greek, and showing considerable sensitivity to the rhythm of the iambic trimeter used by Euripides. Comparisons with other Latin translations of *Medea* serve to underline Buchanan's sensitivity. Chevalier shows that, rather than relying on the ready-made tragic diction to be found in the plays of Seneca, Buchanan drew on a range of classical authors, including historians, to provide him with suitable vocabulary and stylistic resources for his play.

The next contribution on Buchanan's theatre concerns his two original plays: *Baptistes* and *Iephthes*, plays which even shortly after their composition

were subject to widely differing interpretations. At a time of religious persecution by both Catholics and Protestants, it is hardly surprising that John as martyr figure may have been taken up on either side of the religious divide, while the theme of the ill-advised vow is similarly open to interpretation. Buchanan's own statements during his interrogation by the Portuguese Inquisition have understandably done nothing to reduce confusion in this area. The contribution of Ferradou and Green – both interested in the use of Biblical material in the dramas and the poetic Psalm paraphrases – looks in particular at the Biblical influences on the two plays, especially in certain of the choruses and in scenes of debate and controversy, to show how their function is integral, and certainly more than merely decorative. Biblical diction and motifs are used to add authority and historical power of various kinds to many of the principal themes developed by Buchanan in the choruses, while the confrontational scenes between Jephtha and the Priest on the one hand, and John the Baptist and Malchus on the other, see the speakers drawing on a wide range of Biblical texts to lend authority to their arguments. They conclude that the Biblical allusions in the portions analysed are of crucial importance, as well as providing the plays with their wide 'tragic frame', their necessary stylistic dignity, and often colourful allusions. They also contribute to their dramatic art and offer the audience food for spiritual reflection.

The comments of Jack on the *Somnium* have been noted already: Buchanan was there in some sense a translator, but less 'close' than he was in translating the two dramas of Euripides. The main focus of Jack's paper is to illustrate the story of 'translating' Buchanan. The Bibliography of Scottish Literature in Translation (BOSLIT), which Jack founded, and directed for many years, gives impressive testimony to Buchanan's international stature; though translations of John Barclay, author of the Latin novel *Argenis*, whose birthplace was in France and who lived and wrote in France and Italy, are a little more numerous, Buchanan was, according to Jack, 'at once a better writer and a better Latinist'. In his wide-ranging paper Jack also gives sensitive readings of Buchanan's *Jephthes sive votum* and *Baptistes sive calumnia*, with, in the first case, valuable stress on the importance of medieval influences as well as classical ones, especially in discussion of the central problem of vows. There is also fascinating detail of the ways in which these dramas were translated ('because of his reputation as a great intellect, faithful renderings proved the norm') and adapted. The process is of course affected by patronage, and the nature of audiences; the ending of *Baptistes* is changed in Heidelberg, for a young prince; in Wittenberg an executioner enters with the Baptist's detruncated

head; elsewhere Jephtha is denounced in no uncertain terms as a child-murderer, with none of the nuance of Buchanan's original.

Much can be inferred about production from translations such as these, but the performance history of Buchanan's dramas as a whole has yet to be written, and perhaps cannot be, even where drama was able to thrive. The quatercentenary of Buchanan's birth, in 1906, saw readings of prize translations of *Baptistes* in the University of St. Andrews, but evidently no more than that, whereas the quatercentenary celebrations of his death, in 1982, continued into the following year, brought actual performances. In 1982 there were two performances of *Iephthes* by students from the University of Glasgow, one of them performed in the graduation hall of the University of St. Andrews, as part of Scotland's first international neo-Latin congress. Both were able to make use, before their publication, of the translation by Peter Walsh and the introductory remarks of Peter Sharratt.¹⁴ The most successful performance was no doubt the one in Aberdeen the following year, which ran for three nights, and in his contribution to the present book its producer, Jamie Reid Baxter, describes, among other things, his approach to this task. Reid Baxter comments on the need to choose, or in this case, to a large extent, create, a translation that would do justice to the quality of Buchanan's verse and also be effective in performance. He also describes the thinking behind his *Inszenierung*, and the subdued and effective lighting, the use of masks, and the devising of movement and a generally 'hieratic' style appropriate to the drama. Turning to *Baptistes*, Reid Baxter reviews the translations available (they are more numerous), where for him the leading contenders are Garioch, who also rendered *Iephthes* with his characteristic vigour, and an anonymous version of 1643, in some ways Miltonic but now deemed unlikely to be the work of John Milton.¹⁵ Reid Baxter also offers some suggestions on how a modern production of *Baptistes* might be effected. Let us hope that this will be done soon.

But Buchanan, though famed in particular for these two influential tragedies, did not confine himself to tragedy. Reid Baxter briefly discusses the rather mysterious 'comédie' which Buchanan is said by a contemporary to have written: the *Baptistes*, in some form long before its eventual publication, might be meant, but this seems unlikely, and the puzzle remains. He also draws attention to the initially unprepossessing *Pompae* (literally, 'processions') tucked away in the edition of Ruddiman, but recently brought to life in a sparkling production in Aberdeen.

Buchanan has been famous for many things, and in many places. If one were to count printings, then the poetic paraphrase of the Psalms would win by sheer numbers, and it is clear that the work was read widely in

Scottish and European schools, and treasured in later life. It also caused considerable controversy, which, in Scotland at least, concerns not so much religious issues (which are not at all prominent in them) as literary ones. Green in his second main contribution examines three revealing episodes in their transmission and reception. In 1618 Thomas Eglisheim set up an ill-judged contest between himself and Buchanan, comparing their two versions of Psalm 104 and giving himself the victory. He was no dunce in Latin, and his name and endeavours were not forgotten, but, as Green relates, he ended up with substantial egg on his face, and as the butt of mocking poems. What emerges is that the genre was popular enough to appeal to ambitious and competitive minds, and demanded more than the parade of classical learning or religious moralising; and, of course, that in a nation devoted to verse composition Buchanan was the man to beat.

One of Buchanan's defenders was the prolific poet, Arthur Johnston, who is part of the next controversy, though perhaps only posthumously. This was in fact a battle (or became one) over reading in school, where Buchanan was firmly ensconced; but would not some Johnston, for the younger pupils, be a good thing too? (The choice of reading for beginners in Latin, whether at school or university, remains an issue, but nowadays the General Assembly of the Kirk is not consulted.) There were heated debates, especially in Scotland's capital, and the conflict if anything intensified when, across the Border, William Benson took up Johnston's cause, exploiting among other things the centenary of his death. It took a massive intervention of the scholarly Thomas Ruddiman to refute his detailed arguments, but to anyone who knows Ruddiman the surprise is not the weight of philological detail but the way in which political considerations – Ruddiman was a strong Tory, and no admirer of Buchanan's political stance – were set aside.

Buchanan will be studied in schools for another 100 years after that, his standing as Latin poet supreme. Devotees of the poetic Psalm paraphrases take their volumes to America in the eighteenth century and to China in the nineteenth. But a tide had turned when, in 1906, the University of St. Andrews' Professor Lindsay gave a strangely mixed account of Buchanan as scholar, on one hand rating him highly as a writer of Latin verse, on the other unfavourably, and in fact unjustly, deploring supposed metrical flaws in the dramas. Thanks however to the gradual progress of classical studies and the instauration of neo-Latin studies in the second half of the century the picture was redressed and serious interest in Buchanan's poetry and drama revived.

In another paper on the reception, which shows the appeal of Buchanan's poetry and his general prestige, John MacQueen takes a particular episode

in the early eighteenth century: the fictive exchange of letters between Walter Dennistoun and George Buchanan, which might be described (to parody the later language of Andrew Lang) as a correspondence between a probably Dead Author and an indubitably long deceased one. The author and deviser is Archibald Pitcairne, Jacobite, neo-Latin poet and friend of Isaac Newton, and believer (as Buchanan emphatically was not) in the Divine Right of Kings. Buchanan is asked to return from the dead to come and help Scotland; he replies in a jolly letter that he would rather not do so, for life is nice and quiet down there, with certain bishops having been reborn and sent to ravage Scotland. The impetus for this *Epistola*, and the pivot of MacQueen's paper, is a verse paraphrase of Psalm 104 made by Dennistoun – this was not part of the fiction, but a real composition of his, for which he indeed got three pounds from the Faculty of Advocates – which is offered to Buchanan with suitable expressions of modesty and deference. This favourite Psalm, translated by James VI himself into English, in fact received no fewer than eight Latin versions in eighty years, between the appearance of Eglishe's in 1618 and the publication of the *Octupla* in 1696. MacQueen briefly gives examples of their tone and Latinity, along with details of the various authors. Studied in detail, they also give an interesting picture of Buchanan's poetic influence, parallel to the testimony of Pitcairne to Buchanan's political standing as an outstanding Scot, indeed a saviour, in politically changed times.

In the final paper (actually the opening paper of the conference) Robert Crawford surveys and celebrates Buchanan's half millennium. A notable focus here is the period of the Enlightenment, while in spatial terms the background is a wider world, as Crawford pursues Buchanan to Brazil (Buchanan had much to say about Portuguese colonialism), to newly independent Philadelphia, where Buchanan was evidently present in letter and spirit, to China, where he went in the baggage of the remarkable James Legge, who had been taught as a pupil in nineteenth century Aberdeen to admire Buchanan's verse paraphrases as well as the odes of Horace. Naturally Buchanan in various ways was especially popular in Scotland, among literary and popular minds. Not only was he a fixed 'part of the Scottish educational system', but the writer who inspired a 'subShakespearian' tragedy by a young medical student at Glasgow University named Tobias Smollett, later to become famous for his English novels, the writer who was the 'star' of a deliciously unhistorical but eloquently folksy chapbook, *The Witty and Entertaining Exploits of George Buchanan*, and the writer who in one of Burns' favourite novels was presented in conversation with a veteran of Culloden. There are, indeed, various links to be made between Buchanan and Burns, which may come

as a surprise to some; there are fewer associations with Sir Walter Scott, but a nice touch in his *Waverley*, where, in Chapter 13, the conservative-minded Baron Bradwardine is said to have read the *Epithalamium* of Buchanan but the Psalms of Buchanan's supposed political and poetic rival Arthur Johnston.

Looking forward to the next half millennium, Crawford does not disguise the twentieth-century drop in Buchanan's fortunes already mentioned, and speaks of the 'unfamiliarity' of Buchanan within Scottish culture today. He deplores, as one must, the current standing of Latin, especially in the Scottish school system – Latin, the language in which Buchanan excelled, recapturing the linguistic richness, expressive skills and varied tones of the ancient poets and energising them for his own multiple purposes. But he sees cause for optimism, and a confidence that Scots can be alerted again to Buchanan's place in his nation's culture, and to the fact that Latin is one of the great languages of Scottish literature. There is so much to be done, some of it at the exploring stage, whether in translating and commenting on the poems, contextualisation of his work within its wide horizons, presentation of it to a wider world, and there must be continuing discussion of the drama and the more familiar poems. It is hoped that the various studies of George Buchanan, poet and dramatist, presented in this book will, through their discoveries, insights, methodologies, and narratives play their part in making him better known to the world-wide community that deserves to know him better.

Roger Green and Philip Ford

Notes

¹ This is expected to appear shortly.

² In Ford 1982 Ford and W.S. Watt prepared a full text and translation of the *Miscellaneorum Liber*, and a commentary on each poem (131–209).

³ Laurens and Balavoine 1975, 2. 399–433, Nichols 1979, 468–85, Perosa and Sparrow 1979, 511–8, McFarlane 1980, *passim*.

⁴ Crawford 2006. For earlier scraps in anthologies, see Green forthcoming.

⁵ This is edited by Philip Ford, and its first volume, on the poetic paraphrase of the psalms, prepared by Roger Green, is in the press.

⁶ McGinnis and Williamson 1995.

⁷ McFarlane 1981.

⁸ See pages 217–36 in this volume, and Ford 1982, 48–50.

⁹ See pages 257–9 in this volume.

¹⁰ McFarlane 1981, 355–78, Naiden 1952.

¹¹ See also pages 76–80 in this volume.

¹² Raby 1959, 243–4 (no. 169).

¹³ Claassen 1999.

¹⁴ Sharratt and Walsh 1983.

¹⁵ Berkowitz 1992, 299–346.

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PART 1

BUCHANAN'S SECULAR POETRY

POETA SUI SAECULI FACILE PRINCEPS:
GEORGE BUCHANAN'S POETIC ACHIEVEMENT

Philip Ford

When the great humanist and printer Henri Estienne first published in 1556 nineteen of the Psalm paraphrases which Buchanan had probably composed during his period of captivity in Coimbra,¹ he wrote in his liminary epistle to Buchanan (p. 3):

Atqui, aut ego fallor, aut mea efficietur opera ut posthac *Georgius Buchananus*,
vir Scotus, supra Gallos omnes atque Italos nostri seculi poetas *laudetur, vigeat,*
placeat, relegatur, ametur.

Indeed, unless I am mistaken, my work will ensure that henceforth the Scot George Buchanan 'will be praised, esteemed, appreciated, re-read, and loved' over and above all the French and Italian poets of our century.

The text quotes from *Anthologia Latina* 672. 42,² but more particularly we see here the beginnings of the phrase, coined by Estienne, which would accompany many future editions of Buchanan's poetic works: *poeta sui saeculi facile princeps*.³ Even in the context of this little edition of Psalms, the competition was considerable: the other poets included in the volume are Jean Salmon Macrin, Marcantonio Flaminio, Eobanus Hessus, as well as the less renowned Rapicius Iovita. Although Estienne was writing in the context of Buchanan's sacred poetry, his assessment of the Scottish humanist was also extended to his secular verse. In a century that abounded in neo-Latin poets, some of whom achieved considerable success, what was it in Buchanan which so impressed his contemporaries? In what follows, I hope to suggest some at least of the reasons for his poetic fame.

In the first place, one factor at least must be the sheer breadth of Buchanan's poetry, combined with its innovatory nature. Along with a substantial crop of epigrams, the staple diet of Renaissance poetry collections, he produced satires (notably the *Franciscanus* at the start of his career, and the *Satyra in Carolum Lotharingum cardinalem* in the wake of the Saint Bartholomew Massacre at the end of his career); a range of longer

poems, often of a personal or an occasional nature; a didactic poem, the *De Sphaera*; two original tragedies based on Greek models; and of course the Psalm paraphrases, so much admired by Estienne. Throughout these works, he demonstrates enormous versatility in the handling of metre, a sure sense of style and literary decorum, and a feeling for sound and rhythm which lies at the heart of his poetry.

Technical mastery

Buchanan was renowned for the skill with which he handled Latin versification and, although the odd false quantity has in the past been leapt upon by some classicists critical of neo-Latin poetry in general,⁴ by the standards of his age, as measured by Despauterius's bestselling *Ars versificatoria*,⁵ he excelled in his technical ability. Moreover, like Horace, who saw his originality as lying in the introduction of Greek metres into Latin poetry,⁶ Buchanan was not afraid to experiment with new metrical forms, especially in the Psalms. Thomas Ruddiman's *De metris Buchananæis libellus* bears witness to this.⁷

However, it is in his handling of the less well known aspects of metre, governed more by the standards of *decorum*, or appropriateness, than by strict rules that Buchanan particularly excelled. As an example, let us look at two contrasting passages written in dactylic hexameters to see how Buchanan varies his use of this, the best known of all the classical Roman metres. The first is *Silvæ* 3, 'Desiderium Lutetiæ' in Ruddiman 2. 329–30.⁸

O formosa Amarylli, tuo iam septima bruma
Me procul aspectu, iam septima detinet æstas:
Sed neque septima bruma nivalibus horrida nimbis,
Septima nec rapidis candens fervoribus æstas
Exstinxit vigiles nostro sub pectore curas. 5
Tu mihi mane novo carmen, dum roscida tondet
Arva pecus, medio tu carmen solis in æstu,
Et cum iam longas præceps nox porrigit umbras:
Nec mihi quæ tenebris condit nox omnia vultus
Est potis occultare tuos, te nocte sub atra 10
Alloquor, amplector, falsaque in imagine somni
Gaudia sollicitam palpant evanida mentem.

O beautiful Amaryllis, now a seventh winter
keeps me far from your sight, and a seventh summer;
but neither a seventh winter, bristling with snow clouds,
nor a seventh summer, dazzling with fierce heat,
has extinguished the restless care in my heart.
You are the subject of my song in the early morning, as the flock
grazes on the dewy fields, you are my song at the heat of noontide,

and when headlong night spreads forth its lengthy shadows.
Nor can night, which buries all in its shadows,
conceal your face from me. In the darkness of night
I greet you, I embrace you, and in the false visions of sleep,
fleeting joys coax my restless mind.

This comes from the opening lines of the poem, which is a pastoral poem of lament for the city of Paris (represented allegorically by the nymph Amaryllis) probably written during Buchanan’s period in Portugal. The style, in keeping with the theme, has features of a relatively high register, such as repetition, apostrophe, and the frequent use of adjectives. In line with this, Buchanan’s metrical practice follows the pattern established by ancient writers for serious hexametric verse: there are few elisions (lines 1 and 11 containing the only examples), and all the line endings are perfectly regular, with no monosyllabic words, for example. On the other hand, the rhythm of these lines contributes considerably to the overall sense of pathos. The relatively frequent use of enjambment (ll. 4–5, 6–7, 9–10, 10–11, 11–12) disrupts the normal flow of the hexameter to suggest the poet’s grief, while the preponderance of spondees in line 8, *Et cum iam longas præceps nox porrigit umbras* (— — | — — | — — | — — | — UU | — —) successfully conveys a sense of the long nocturnal hours.

If, on the other hand, we turn to the opening of the Satire against the Cardinal of Lorraine (Ruddiman 2. 602), also written in the dactylic hexameter, there are some interesting differences in metrical practice.

Esse Deum tandem, qui iustis temperet orbem
Legibus, oppressos vi qui respectet egenos,
Et premat elatos, pœna didicere magistra
Guisiadae: numerosa cohors, quæ brachia cœlo
Intentare ausa est, pietatem expellere mundo 5
Conata est, scelerique suas permittere habenas:
Ad paucos contracta fugam, latebrasque saluti
Respicit, et damnat sumta infelicitè arma:
Proque tot insana quos credulitate triumphis
Sperarat, numerat clades. Hunc dira phrenesis 10
Abstulit, hunc mœror; fugiendo dimicat ille,
Et vicisse putat, si visum evaserit hostem.

That finally there is a God to govern the world with just
laws, to care for the needy who are violently oppressed,
and to crush the high and mighty, instructive retribution has taught
the Guise clan. Their numerous ranks, which dared
to raise their arms against heaven, and sought to cast out religion
from the world, and to give free rein to their wickedness,
reduced to a handful, look to flight and concealment

to save them, and curse the weapons they unhappily wielded.
And instead of so many victories which in their insane rashness
they had hoped for, they are counting their losses. Dreadful madness
has carried off one, and grief another; a third does battle in flight,
and thinks he has triumphed if he has escaped the enemy he glimpsed.

Although satire often parodies the grand style, it was generally considered to belong to the *sermo humilis* by ancient writers, and this is reflected in the more relaxed way in which the metre is treated. Unlike the previous passage, elision is relatively frequent, with examples in line 5 (three), 6 (two), 8 (one), and 12 (one): seven examples in twelve lines, as compared with two in the *Silva*. Again, the lines are seldom end-stopped, though the overall rhythm is more staccato, with natural pauses occurring after the first words of several of the lines (2, 6, 8, 11) which deliberately disrupt the flow. The postponement of the subject of the first sentence, *Guisiadae*, until the beginning of the fourth line is particularly effective, as is its isolation from the rest of that line.

Without then dwelling any further on such technical matters, I should just like to say that Buchanan's instinctive feel for the variation in metrical practice between different genres in the ancient world is a phenomenon which does not find its way into Renaissance verse manuals, yet is something which we find throughout his writing. Moreover, he seldom gives the impression of fighting with the metre, or of using fillers just for the sake of getting the right number of syllables in a line, a feature which is not infrequent in many Renaissance poets. With Buchanan, as with any great writer, you have the feeling that the 'rules' have been so far assimilated by him that they are no longer restrictions, but rather opportunities for self-expression.

Imitation and tradition

We find a similar situation when it comes to Buchanan's use of classical models. Imitation lies at the heart of all Renaissance writing, whether in Latin or the vernacular, yet the gap between a mere reworking of a classical theme and the creative use of classical sources to form a new composition can be enormous. In musical terms, one might like to think of the difference between the student exercise of composition in the style of Bach or Mozart, on the one hand, and works such as Stravinsky's *Pulcinella* (based on music by Pergolesi) or Benjamin Britten's *Young Person's Guide to the Orchestra* (based on Purcell) on the other. Du Bellay, in the *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise*, had suggested the total assimilation of Greek and Latin literature as the solution: the poet knows his sources so well that, in drawing on them, he is merely calling upon his own inner reserves.⁹ But

imitation can be more or less conscious, more or less evident, and Buchanan appears to have had a multi-pronged approach to its use.

One important aspect where imitation and innovation come together is in the area of the new genres of composition practised in the Renaissance, and here there is no doubt that Buchanan was a pioneer. One of his earliest compositions, the *Franciscanus*, is an unusual example for its time of Juvenalian satire, which would provide a model for other poets, while the *Satyra in Carolum Lotharingum cardinalem*, which we have already looked at, takes Buchanan's satirical and vituperative style in a direction which was paralleled in the French vernacular by Agrippa d'Aubigné at the end of the sixteenth century.¹⁰ Buchanan's translation and imitation of Euripides helped establish classical tragedy in France, while his Psalm paraphrases were held up as a model of the genre.

But we can see on a more detailed level in virtually any of his compositions how he exploits classical and contemporary humanist poets to add depth and meaning to his writing. Let us consider as an example poem 20 of the *Miscellaneorum liber* (Ruddiman, 2. 410), 'In Neaeram'.

Cum pulchram roseus dies Neæram
Ostendit mihi, sic miser furore
Inquietus agor, trahor, peruror,
Ut rursus tacitas amem tenebras,
Ceui mali medicina sint tenebræ. 5
At cum nox tenebris opaca cæcis
Iam solis iubar aureum fugavit,
Et solis iubare aureo refulgens
Iubar splendidiusque, puriusque,
Formosam mihi sustulit Neæram, 10
Iam rursus tenebras malas perosus,
Pulchram cernere quæ negant Neæram,
Noctem deprecor, & diem reposco,
Quæ pulchram mihi referat Neæram,
Ceui mali mihi caussa sint tenebræ. 15
Quis vitæ manet ordo me modusque?
Cui vota ut tribuant Dei faventes,
Cum votis neque Dii dabunt faventes,
Ne miserrimus esse perseverem.
Hoc Venus probat, & probat Cupido 20
Diis votisque potentior secundis.

When rosy day reveals fair Neaera
to me, restless with frenzy, poor creature,
I am so driven and dragged and consumed with fire
that I love again silent darkness,
as if darkness were a remedy for my ill.