

THE POETICS OF PROSTITUTION: BUCHANAN'S 'ARS LENAE'

Charles Platter
University of Georgia

Barbara Welch
Gladwyn, Pennsylvania

[Welch, a scholar of Sixteenth-Century French literature, spotted the text and its relevance to *Celestina* studies and has here provided the introductory matter. Platter, a Classics scholar, has provided the translation and the extensive notes. Ed.]

Introduction

Unlike George Buchanan's political history and religious writing, his elegiac and erotic poetry have received little critical attention.¹ There has been no English translation of the Scottish poet's elegy *Apologia pro Lena*. The translation and notes offered here are particularly valuable for the scholar of the *Celestina* and its literary tradition in French letters. Buchanan's unusual elegy on the *lena* theme and his importance, together with that of Erasmus, in the development of extended verse satire in France, render his erotic poetry compelling for the student of the literary heritage of this theme.

In the 1540's Buchanan lived with Baif and had contact with Dorat and the young French poets Du Bellay and Ronsard.² Du Bellay's choice of Latin as the language of much of his poetry may have been due, in part, to Buchanan's influence, and his French translation of Buchanan's first elegy is well known. Likewise, his "Adieu aux Muses" is closely based on Buchanan's first elegy, "Quam misera sit". In

particular, Buchanan's poems addressed to Leonora and Neaera seem to have struck a chord with the early Pléaïde poets.³ In these iambic poems, Buchanan treats the courtesan Leonora with a range of emotion from near affection to detached amusement and harsh, vituperative satire similar to Catullus' treatment of Lesbia. Indeed, in Catullus the *lena* bears the brunt of the poet's wrath for corrupting his mistress, a *topos* that evokes the work of the Augustan poets, most notably of Propertius, and the theme of the *exclusus amator*, whose erotic ambitions are frustrated by various elegiac figures).⁴ Iambi 4 is Buchanan's most vituperative attack on Leonora. After having loved her, the poet is overcome with reason. He wonders in retrospect how he could have loved the creature he now graphically describes as painted, dirty, rotting, wrinkled and fat. The condemnation is specific and personal. By contrast the treatment of prostitution--and by implication of the prostitute--in the *pro Lena* is both positive and abstract. Indeed, to argue that prostitution is simply good and natural perhaps demands a measure of abstraction. Fittingly, the only proper names Buchanan includes--beyond that of his addressee Briand de Valleé--are from mythical *exempla*. The only local references are passing allusions to Bordeaux, specifically to an edict closing the brothels, and to the wild youth of Briand de Valleé (Vallius)⁵.

The *pro Lena* is addressed to Briand de Valleé, a *conseiller* in the Bordeaux Parliament from 1527-1544 and close friend of Buchanan. Buchanan exploits de Valleé's profession by rhetorically incorporating various legal terms and strategies into the structure of his poem. Further, after an initial expression of incredulity that Vallius should be opposed to whores, the defense of prostitution depends for its structure on an accumulation of points, as in traditional legal disputation. The appropriation of a non-poetic vocabulary for poetry is also reminiscent of Catullan aesthetics--for example, Poem 5, where the poet takes the unpoetic diction of business and finance and adapts it to his own purposes. Taken as a whole, Buchanan's diction and neoteric tendencies suggest the overall importance of Catullus as a model for the *pro Lena*, as the notes will show.

The relationship of the *pro Lena* to its literary heritage in late Republic and Augustan erotic poetry is very strong. The delicate argument on poetics which the text sustains gains an imperative voice if

one considers the poem's contemporary European climate and its receptiveness to paradoxical literature. We find striking examples of mock encomia for prostitution in passages of *Celestina* and Aretino's *Ragionamenti*. In addition there are eulogies on the same subject which share properties with the *pro Lena*. Niccolo Franco (Aretino's secretary) provides one such example in his *Epistle to Whores* (*Le pistole vulgari*, 1539). In a veritable catalogue of worldly delights, Franco credits courtesans with having reintroduced all the epicurean pleasures into Italy. Buchanan's text will go one step further by locating prostitution squarely among the virtues.

In the French tradition the Seigneur de la Borderie, in *L'amie de Court* (1543), presents a young woman's defense against all of love's entrapments. In exchange for goods and services, she entertains "serviteurs" in her bed, all the while proclaiming her "franc vouloir" and resistance to evil. The satirical eulogy ends with an ironic twist: acknowledging that beauty does not last forever, the protagonist admits her desire for marriage and conceives an imaginary marriage based on wisdom, honesty and mutual pleasure (rejoining Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptameron* by the back door, so to speak).

Panurge's "Praise of Debt" in Rabelais' *Tiers Livre* provides a well-known example of satirical eulogy in the French tradition, but more interesting are the similarities and differences between Buchanan's poem and Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* (1508), the Renaissance progenitor of all mock *apologia*. There, despite her roaming discourse, Folly's presence ultimately serves a didactic end: she exposes human failings and ignorance as well as healthy spontaneity and pleasure. Similarly, Buchanan's *pro Lena* displays a steady emphasis on the positive effects of the *lena* on man: she fires the imagination, cures diseases, ensures the continuation of the species, etc. The first-person narrator of the *Praise of Folly* adduces many personalized confirmations of Folly's argument. Buchanan's text differs radically by virtue of the narrator's apparent lack of personal interest in the subject and by the abstract nature of his defense. The institution rather than the individual is in question. Another difference between the two texts stems from the form of their respective arguments. Folly continually alters the subject of her attack, producing a highly digressive argument. Buchanan's defender of the "ars lenae" relies on the elucidation of interdependent causes and effects:

But if pleasant Venus multiplies the generations of living
creatures

And if it is right to apply her medical skill to diseases:
If it is right to seek what it was right to have done,
To consult a doctor, then it is right to consult Venus.
(53-56)

Such arguments are highlighted elsewhere by rhetorical question, e.g. *pro Lena* 21-22. Both texts, however, have a structural appearance which suggests legitimacy. Erasmus' eulogy can be divided into the units of classical forensic rhetoric: exordium, narration, partition confirmation, etc; Buchanan's text, through its appropriation of legal metaphors, appears to seek the same sort of indirect endorsement.⁶ The similarities between these two works point to the common literary heritage of the Renaissance and, in the case of Buchanan, to direct literary influence. The differences, as well as the analysis of Buchanan's diction found in the notes, recall Buchanan's indebtedness to classical antiquity and indicate that reading him means entering into a dialogue between the literary world of the sixteenth century and that of the Augustan elegists and their predecessors.⁷

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

¹Some exceptions are I.B. Macfarlane, *Buchanan* (Bristol: 1981); see also I.D. MacFarlane, "George Buchanan and France," *Studies in French Literature Presented to H.W. Lawton* (Manchester: 1968), pp. 223-245; P. G. Ford, "Leonora and Neaera: A Consideration of George Buchanan's Erotic Poetry," *BHR* XL (1978), pp. 513-524; P.G. Ford *George Buchanan: Prince of Poets* (Aberdeen: 1982); V. Chaney, "The Elegies of George Buchanan in Relation to those of the Roman Elegists and to the Latin Elegies of John Milton" (diss. Vanderbilt: 1961).

²An immediate problem arises in any attempt to date Buchanan's eloquent prostitution manifesto or to estimate its impact on the Pléaïde poets. I.D. MacFarlane points out that, though little of Buchanan's writing was printed until after his death (earliest *Poemata quae extant*

printing--1641), there is evidence that his verse circulated in France in manuscript form in the 1550's. A Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript prepared in the 1550's comprises a majority of the poems addressed to Neaera and Leonora and includes the *pro Lena*.

³See Ford (1978), pp. 513-524; see also MacFarlane (1968), pp. 223-245.

⁴See F. Copley, *Exclusus Amator* (Ann Arbor: 1956); for Ovid alone see J.T. Davis, *Fictus Adulter*, (Amsterdam: 1989).

⁵One reason for dating the *pro Lena* before 1544 is that Buchanan would have been unlikely to develop his playful defense of prostitution around the figure of Vallius after the latter's death. Cf. MacFarlane (1981), pp. 87-88.

⁶The *pro Lena* is also indirectly connected to the Latin rhetorical tradition, which, in the late Republic and under the Empire, practiced declamation through arguing various unreal cases called *suasoriae* and *contraversiae*. See E.J. Kenney, *The Cambridge History of Latin Literature* (Cambridge: 1982), pp. 8-9.

⁷For valuable studies on the indebtedness of Renaissance culture to the classics see now *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition*, eds. P. Godwin and O. Murray (Oxford: 1990).

AD BRIANDUM VALLIUM BURDEGAL. PRO LENA APOLOGIA

Posse putet quisquam fieri, doctissime Valli,
in famulas Veneris durus ut esse queas?
Idem posse suos in fontes flumina labi
Credat, & aversis astra redire rotis.
5 Et tamen in fontes ut flumina lapsa recurrant,
Et retro aversis astra ferantur equis:
Non erit in Veneris, Valli, censura ministras
Aspera, nec rigidis contrahet ora minis.
10 Non ea rusticitas, rigor est nec tetricus illi,
Cordaque montanis asperiora feris:

Sed facilis candor, doctisque exulta Camoenis
 Pectora, quae saevae nil feritatis habent:
 Quae jocus & salibus capiat condita venustas,
 quaeque juvent risus, gratia blanda, lepos.
 15 Adde quod est levibus non impenetrabile telis
 Cor tibi: sensisti tu quoque quid sit amor.
 Inter & ingenuas, praestas quibus omnibus, artes,
 Materiam flammis repperit ille suis.
 20 Cum tibi jucundo pectus premeretur amaro,
 Serperet in curas & nova cura tuas,
 Quae tibi mens! Quae vita animi, miserande, fuisset
 Tum tibi, si fidam lena negasset opem?
 Olim tu quod eras, alios nunc esse putato:
 Quaeque tibi fuerant, iis modo grata puta.
 25 Aut potius, iuvenes ceu sis revolutus in annos,
 Ante tuum hanc caussam finge tribunal agi.
 Finge ream lenam, iuveni quod morte sub ipsa
 Officii fuerit fida ministra sui:
 30 Quod medico certam nullo spondente salutem,
 Spem misero vitae fecit, opemque tulit:
 Quod natum patri, civem servaverit urbi:
 Haec, age, quo poenae nomine digna putes?
 At vos majorum requiescite molliter umbrae,
 Vestraque purpureo floreat urna croco,
 35 Qui bene servati statuistis praemia civis,
 Ut premeret fortes querna corona comas.
 Illo debuerat mulier tam strenua nasci
 Tempore, virtuti cum suus esset honos.
 40 Clarior haud esset Latiis Laurentia fastis,
 Aut Dea, quae nuda vult meretrice coli.
 At nunc invidiae est virtus: contemptus honesti,
 Neglecto recti pondere, regna tenet.
 Quae fora tot caperent statuas, si digna fuissent
 Reddita virtuti dona, virago, tuae?
 45 Quae nunc, me miserum, es rea criminis, id modo crimen
 Si sit, quo demto vivere nemo potest.
 Officium si crimen erit, si nocte dieque
 Aspera blandiloqua frangere corda prece:
 Vincula si Veneris sunt noxia, legibus arce:

- 50 Nulla dehinc ornet limina festus Hymen.
 Ne liceat gravibus medicos arcessere morbis,
 Si nullum, medicos qui vocet, esse licet.
 Sin & blanda Venus generantum secla propaget,
 Et medicam morbis addere fas fit opem:
- 55 Poscere sin fas est, quae fas fecisse, rogare
 Et medicum, & Venerem conciliare licet.
 Quod si parva licet magnis componere, lenae
 Munere comperies quot placuisse Deos?
 Anne aliud quam lena Venus, quam leno Cupido?
- 60 Quaeque praeest primis pronuba Juno toris?
 Quique domas duras Domiti, & Domiduce puellae
 Ductor ad externos cum venit illa Lares?
 Anne Jugatinum tibi, Pylumque Premamque,
 Pertundam, & Subigum, teque Hymenaeae canam?
- 65 Cumque Libentina Mantumam, Volupiamque,
 Et quae de timida virgine nomen habet?
 Sedula multorum, Valli, si lena Deorum
 Implevit partes, crimen id esse putas?
 Dedecus est homini, quod numinis aequat honores?
- 70 Res erit huic poenae quae dedit astra Deis?
 Sed neque connubiis praesunt haec numina solis,
 Et sine connubio est non inamoena Venus.
 Respice Pieridas, Valli, tua numina, Musas;
 Virgo in virgineo vix erit ulla choro.
- 75 Orphea mulcentem silvas agnoscit & amnes
 Calliope genetrix, Uranieque Linum.
 Furta tegens uterus reliquas facit esse pudicas:
 Quae casta est? sterilis, vel sine teste parens.
 Nec taedis super astra fides servata maritis,
- 80 Nec patrem appellas ipse, Gradive Jovem.
 Forte pudicitiae seclis fuit ampla vetustis
 Gloria: sed titulo gloria sola tenus.
 Quam nunc utilitas, mos, consensusque recusat
 Publicus, haud falso si licet ore loqui.
- 85 Cum mare, cum tellus homines populetur, & ignis,
 Tot pereant morbo, tot fera bella necent:
 Cumque hominum in pejus solertia callida semper
 Inveniat caussas in sua fata novas:

- Tun' prohibere potes Veneris commercia? lenas
 90 Si tollis, Veneris commoda quanta vetas!
 Tun' prohibere audes Veneris commercia, sola
 Humanum poterunt quae reparare genus?
 Nam neque Partheniis nunc quercubus editur Arcas,
 Curetes pluvio nec geniti imbri cadunt:
 95 Nec gravida fratres funduntur nube bimembres,
 Nec vivunt Pyrrhae saxa animata manu:
 Myrmidonas nusquam gignit formica, nec usquam
 Ficta Prometheo spirat imago luto.
 Una quidem superest, superest ars unica, Valli,
 100 Quae reparat nostrum continuatque genus.
 Huic quota pars restat detracto munere lenae,
 Sive torus, Veneris seu vaga furta placent?
 Lena toros auget foecunda prole maritos,
 Ne serie soboles deficiente cadat.
 105 At si legitimi serventur foedera lecti,
 Opprimet illustres quanta ruina domos?
 Juppiter & Bacchus succurret munere lenae,
 Atque geret partes Mars & Apollo viri.
 Gignit Alexandrum serpens, qui Persida vincat,
 110 Perniciem Libyes Scipiademque draco:
 Aut personatus juvenis sub nomine amicae
 Sacra Bonae intrabit non temeranda Deae.
 Sed neque conjugium conjux castum expetet ullus,
 Si quicquam sano in pectore mentis habet.
 115 Quae casta est, tetrica est, eadem tristisque, nec octo
 Diducit risu mensibus ora quater:
 Oscula dat veluti pulla cum sindone mater,
 Funera quae nati luget acerba sui.
 Praetereo prudens quos nox, thalamusque torusque
 120 Continet occultos & sine teste jocos:
 Quos mihi si tollis, nec casta Lucretia conjux
 Hac placeat lecto conditione meo.
 At quae furtivae Veneris commercia novit,
 Mille virum tristem leniet illa modis.
 125 Si peregre it, plorat: redeuntem amplectitur, ulnis
 Comprimit, exanimis deficit inque sinu:
 Accusatque moras, & verbis oscula jungit:

- Oscula dum jungit, fletibus ora rigat.
 Et queritur ceu laesa prior suspiria ducens,
 130 Percursatque agili sedulitate domum.
 Haec bona si doctae debent connubia lenae,
 Quantum illi coelebs debeat ergo torus?
 Debet ei coelebs, gelido quod sidere brumae
 Non cubet oclusas frigidus ante fores:
 135 Fabula quod non sit vulgi rumore sinistro,
 Aptam quod officiis tempora liber agat.
 Ipse tibi es testis, (quid enim manifesta negemus?)
 Ars lenae quantum commoditatis habet:
 Quae sit opera quondam te destituisset amantem,
 140 Venisset studiis heu mora quanta tuis?
 Publica Burdegalae prohibent decreta lupanar:
 Iudicio lenae nec licet esse tuo.
 Quid facient inopes juvenes peregrinaque turba?
 Quid miseri mystae, Funigerique greges?
 145 Quid Monachi reliqui? quorum tentigine nervos
 Assidue vexant vina, Juventa, quies?
 Claudere cum precibus possint Acheronta polumque,
 Et coeli, Stygias & reserare fores,
 Secure ut precibus possint intendere, apud te
 150 Illorum justas fac valuisse preces.
 Adde quod è furto proles feliciter exit,
 Quam cum legitimo vincula more ligant.
 Nempe quod assuetae Veneris fastidia gignit
 Copia, nec gratum quod licet, esse solet.
 155 Sensus hebes languet, torpetque ignava voluptas,
 Acrius ardescit saepe repulsus amor.
 De Junone Jovi satus est modo Mulciber unus,
 Claudus ab Aetnaeis squalidus usque rogis.
 Mars furto, & Pallas, Phoebus, Bacchusque Venusque,
 160 Et qui saxificae Gorgonis ora tulit:
 Quique tulit coelum, quique extulit igne parentem,
 Quemque suum auctorem Martia Roma vocat.
 Quosque foret longe numerare molestius, undae
 Quam Lybicae fluctus si numerare velis.
 165 Nec tamen hic metuit livor confingere crimen,
 Esse ubi par merito gratia nulla potest.

Nec satis hoc visum est meritis non praemia reddi,
 Sed vitii officio nomina falsa damus.
 Peccet ut hic vulgus, quisque ignorantia crassa
 170 Obsita Cimmeria pectora nube premit:
 Absit ab ingenio, Valli, foedissima labes,
 Barbaries mores nec notet ista tuos;
 Quod fuit officium quondam melioribus annis,
 Ut vitium, crimen, nequitiamque putes.
 175 Nam neque vim vertit, nativaeque nomina rerum,
 Ut niveas tingit cana senecta comas.
 Nec si mutarit tempus cum corpore formam,
 In vitium virtus degenerare potest.
 Sola manet patiens aevi, securaque damni,
 180 Nec metuit longas temporis una moras.
 Virtutem appellem? quidni? quae noxia nulli,
 Eximia multis commoditate placet.
 Ut tibi non prosit, seris neque serviat annis,
 Utilis at nato forte erit illa tuo.
 185 Attamen haud Veneris tibi sic deferbuit ardor,
 Nullaque sub docto pectore flamma calet,
 Ut veteres penitus possis abdicere amores,
 Nullaque Cyprigenae gaudia nosse Deae.
 Nulla quoque ut capias, nimium livoris iniqui est,
 190 Queis careas, alios velle carere bonis.
 Nam licet acer equus senio sit fractus inertis,
 Bellica cum raucae signa dedere tubae,
 Mente furit, terramque ferit pede, surrigit aures,
 Robore adhuc retinens deficiente minas.
 195 Ductor & emeritis Martem qui deserit armis,
 Et procul à castris otia lentus agit,
 Instruit exemplis juvenes, hortatibus implet,
 Nec sibi calcatas obstruit ille vias.
 Absit, ut inideas aliis tendentibus illuc,
 200 Quo tibi, sed lenae munere, facta via est.
 Per Charites, Musasque tuas, Valli optime, quarum
 Funguntur lenae carmina saepe vice;
 Mystica per Veneris, quarum est lena una sacerdos,
 Perque Cupidineas, tela timenda, faces;
 205 Per Veneris comites Bacchum, risusque salesque,

Quaeque hilarent genium, gaudia laeta, tuum:
 Vel mitte innocuam, vel lenam absolve nocentem,
 Si modo, quod lena est, lena sit ulla nocens.
 Finge tibi pariter cunctas procumbere lenas,
 210 A quibus officium sedulitatis habes:
 Finge tibi pariter cunctas astare puellas,
 Oreque blandiloquo talia verba queri:
 Aut una damnato omnes, aut crimine solve,
 Juncta etiam nostris est tua caussa malis.
 215 Damna, si damnare potes, quae noxia nulli,
 Grata sua multis sedulitate fuit:
 Quam nemo accusat, quam nemo coarguit, idem
 Quin testis culpam publicet ipse suam.
 Illa potest mores, populo vel teste, tueri:
 220 Legitimus quaestus nunc facit esse ream.
 Si vitium esse putes, poteris non credere factum:
 Si factum credas, ne vitium esse putes.

To Briandus Vallius of Bordeaux: A Defense of the Lena

Most-learned Vallius, does anyone among the slaves of Venus
 Think he could become as hard as you?
 If so, let him also believe that rivers slip back into their sources
 And that the stars will turn back, their motion reversed.
 5 Nevertheless, even if the fallen waters run back to their sources,
 And if the celestial chariot reverses the stars' courses.
 Still, Vallius, there will be no harsh censure for the agents of
 Venus,
 Nor will her face be drawn from stern threats.
 She is not rude and has no gloomy stiffness
 10 No heart harsher than the wild mountains.
 But her kindness is easy to bear, and the perfect breasts of the
 learned Muses
 Have no trace of cruel wildness;
 What joke or refined elegance can hold without her,
 What laughter pleases, what pleasant grace and charm?

15 In addition, your heart is vulnerable to her light shafts;
 You also have know love.
 Even among the noble arts in which you shine
 Love found material for his flames.

20 When your breast was pressed by the pleasant bitterness
 When a new care wound its way among the old.
 How did you feel? What life would you have had, O suffering
 one,

If the Lena had neglected her work?
 Believe that others are now as you once were.
 What pleased you is the same for them.

25 Or rather, just as if you had returned to your early years,
 Have this case brought before a court.
 Take the lena as defendant, since in the face of death
 She was the faithful minister of her duty for a young
 man.

30 Since when no doctor could promise certain health,
 She gave to the patient hope of life, and performed her
 duty.

She saved the father a son and the city a citizen.
 Say what sort of punishment these crimes deserve!
 But rest in the shadow of your ancestors
 And let your urn flower with purple crocus,

35 You who established rewards when a citizen's life was saved,
 So an oak crown would burden his strong head.
 Such an industrious woman should have been born
 When virtue had honor.

40 Laurentia would have been no more renowned on the Latian
 calendar than she,
 Or the naked goddess worshipped by a bawd.
 But now there is virtue in envy, and contempt for reputation
 Holds sway, and the weight of virtue is ignored.

If they were worthy, many market places would set up statues,
 The rightful rewards, Maiden, for your virtue.

45 You who now--wretched me!--are accused of a crime,
 If you can call something a crime without which no one
 can live.

If duty is a crime, if night and day
 To break harsh hearts with seductive requests.

If the chains of Venus are harmful, forbid them with laws;
 50 Henceforth, let festive Hymen decorate no doorways;
 Nor let doctors ward off grave diseases,
 If no one who calls a doctor does rightly.
 If pleasant Venus increases the generations of living creatures,
 It is right to apply her medical skill also to diseases,
 55 But if it is right to seek what it was right to have done,
 Then it is right to consult both Venus and a doctor.
 In fact, if it is just to compare small things with great
 Learn how many times the gods have favored the art of
 the lena.

Is Venus anything but a lena, and Cupid a leno?
 60 Who is the Nuptual Juno who stands before the first
 marriage bed?

And who Domitius, and Domidecus
 When a bride first comes to her new household gods?
 And shall I sing for you of Jugatinus, or Pylumus, or Prema,
 or Subigus, Pertunda, or you Hymenaesus?
 65 And with them Libentina, faithful Manturna, and Volupia.
 Which of these takes a name from "timid virgin"?
 If the busy lena plays the parts of many gods,
 Vallius, can you think that is a crime?

Is it a disgrace for a man what equals the honors of the divine?
 70 Shall we be punished for what heaven grants them?
 But these powers do not appear in marriage alone,
 And without marriage Venus is still pleasant.
 Observe the Pierian Muses, Vallius, your own goddesses:
 There is scarcely a virgin in the virgin group.
 75 Mother Calliope acknowledges Orpheus, charmer of woods and
 rivers,
 And likewise Urania her Linus.

A womb with secrets make the rest seem modest:
 Who is chaste? A barren woman, or a secret parent.
 Nor is faith in marriage torches held on high,
 80 Nor do you yourself, Gradivus, call Jove "father".
 Maybe in the past there was abundant glory in modesty ,
 But glory is only a word
 Which now utility, custom and public sentiment refuse,
 If it is permitted to speak truly.

I prudently pass over those hidden jests unwitnessed
 120 Which night, the bedroom, and the bed conceal .
 Once you have experienced them, I think, not even chaste
 Lucretia
 As a wife would please your bed.
 But she who has known the work of secret Venus
 Will soothe her husband a thousand ways
 125 If he travels abroad she weeps: returning she embraces him,
 Pins him with her arms and falls breathless in his lap;
 Blames him for delays, and joins kisses with words.
 While she kisses her mouth is taut with tears
 And through her sighs she complains as though just struck,
 130 And she runs through the house with nimble care.
 If they owe this good marriage to the learned lena
 How much does an unmarried bed owe to her?
 A bachelor owes her since in the icy season of winter
 He does not lie shivering before closed gates.
 135 This would not be a malicious story for the crowd
 Since a man free from business might pass some fit hours
 there.
 You yourself are a witness. Could we deny what is plain?
 The lena's art has a degree if of pleasantness.
 And if they had failed you when you were a lover
 140 Alas! what a delay it would have been to your studies?
 The people of Bordeaux outlaw brothels by decree.
 By your judgement the lena should not exist.
 What will the hapless youth do? and the travelers?
 The miserable pilgrims, crowds of mourners
 145 And the remaining monks, whose nerves
 Wine, youth and sleep continually harass with lust?
 They could close Hades and the pole of the heavens with all their
 prayers,
 Shut both the Stygian gates and those of Heaven.
 So they can make their prayers securely
 150 May you consider their prayers just.
 In addition, a secret brood comes forth more happily
 Than when legal chains and custom bind.
 For truly there is great disdain of customary Venus,
 Nor can what is allowed always be pleasing.

- 155 A dulled pleasure grows wearisome and unknown pleasure
smolders
But rejected love often burns more sharply.
Mulciber alone was born from Juppiter and Juno,
Ever-dirty shut up under the piles of Aetna.
But Mars was born in secret, and Pallas and Phoebus and
Bacchus; even Venus,
- 160 And he who carried the head of the stone-making
Gorgon;
So also he who bore the heavens, and he who carried his parent
from the flames,
And the one Martian Rome calls "father".
It would be more difficult to count the rest
Than if you wished to count the waves of the Libyan sea.
- 165 Nevertheless, malice does not fear to bring an accusation here,
Where nothing can be pleasing on its merit.
It did not seem enough that rewards were not given to the
deserving,
But we give false names of vice to a duty.
As a result the crowd 'sins", and ignorance presses on each one's
heart,
- 170 Dark with a thick Cimmerian cloud.
Let this foul defect escape your character, Vallius,
Let it not notice your barbarian habits.
Since what was once duty in better years,
You now regard as vice, a crime and a waste of time.
- 175 Your strength is not overthrown, not the proper names for things
Though white old age touches your snowy hair.
Not even if time shall have changed your body and its beauty
Can virtue degenerate into vice.
She alone remains patient through time, free from condemnation,
And she alone does not fear long delays.
- 180 Shall I call it a virtue? Why not? That which is harmful to none
Pleases many with great advantage.
Although she may not benefit you nor aid your older years,
She may by chance be useful for your son.
- 185 Still, the passion of Venus has hardly cooled from you,
And by no means have flames ceased to warm your
learned breast.

So that you can renounce old loves deep within
 And know no joys of the Cyprian goddess.
 But let it be that you have none of these things--excessive malice
 is unfair.

190 The goods you lack you deny to others as well.
 But a sharp old horse can be weak from sluggish old age.
 When they give the war call on the harsh trumpet,
 His mind rages, and he paws the earth with his foot, and pricks
 his ears,

 Keeping his old aspect, though his strength fails.
 195 So also the leader who leaves Mars and returns his weapons
 And slowly spends his leisure far from the camp.
 Still he instructs the youth with examples, fills them with
 exhortations,

 And he does not block the trodden roads.
 Release your envy of those others heading on that path
 200 Where your road was made by the lena's craft.
 By the Graces, by your Muses, most excellent Vallius,
 Whose songs the lenas often perform in turn;
 By the initiates of Venus, of whom the lena is the priestess,
 And by the Cupids, their fearful shafts and wedding
 torches;

205 By the comrades of Venus, Bacchus, laughter and wit,
 And whatever happy joys please your spirit.
 Either judge her harmless, or forgive her the injury she does.
 If the fact that she is a lena at all makes her injurious.

 Cause her to lie down beside the other lenas
 210 Whose service you have enjoyed.
 Have her stand beside all the girls
 And speak such words as these with a pleasing voice:
 "Condemn all together, or absolve us from crime;
 Your own case is linked to our evils."

215 Condemn if you can condemn, what is harmful to none,
 And pleasing with great service to many;
 Whom no one accuses, whom no one convicts.

 Let the witness truly publishes his own guilt.
 She can see the character of the crowd or the witness.
 220 This inquest now makes her a defendant.
 If you think it a vice you cannot believe in the deed--

If you believe in the deed, do not think it a vice."

COMMENTARY

The poem is written in elegiac couplets, a form which has implications that go beyond the poem's rhythm. It locates the *pro Lena* within the tradition of Roman elegy which begins with Catullus and has its fullest expression in the work of Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid. Buchanan's diction in the *pro Lena* relies most heavily on Ovid but borrows frequently from Propertius, Martial and Tibullus as well.¹

The elegiac tradition was in turn the Roman translation of the techniques and aesthetics of the Greek Alexandrian school, particularly of Callimachus. This poetry is characterized by its self-consciousness and the exclusiveness of its implied audience, a condition determined by the erudition required to read and appreciate it. In Roman hands this poetry became a vehicle for the sophisticated young poets to amuse each other and to develop a corresponding poetic diction which privileged ideas such as delicacy, lightness, style and wit. In addition, there is a distinct concern for virtuosity, as demonstrated by one's ability to make poetry from even the most unlikely source--the Alexandrian poet Nicander had written a poem about snakes. Thus, new metaphors are created by the poetic application of vocabularies never previously associated with poetry. A typical example is Catullus 5 (*da mi basia mille . . .*), where Catullus appropriates the language of business and accounting to articulate the subversive character of his passion for Lesbia. Though Ovid, from whom Buchanan borrows most heavily is not, strictly speaking, a neoteric, he is certainly a continuator of that part of the Catullan tradition and shares with Catullus the assumption of an audience both cosmopolitan and erudite.

Buchanan, therefore, takes over in his elegies a vocabulary enriched by the elegists, their contemporaries and successors. His *pro Lena* echoes both the vocabulary of the neoterics and the elegists, and also employs some of their methods, for example, Buchanan's appropriation of the apologetic conceit for the "defense" of the Lena, which is permeated with Roman legal terms (e.g. *noxia, rea, crimen*, etc.). In addition, Buchanan takes the sophisticated diction of the Roman poets

and redeploys it, thereby creating a work that is simultaneously imitation and continuation. It is this interplay of imitation and reformation that these notes seek to set out in some detail, for it is in the context of Buchanan's formal debts to his predecessors that his re-presentation of the *lena* can be most fully understood.

1. **doctissime**. **Doctus** is "educated" in the conventional sense, and by extension "cultivated" or "learned." The latter senses becomes prominent in poetry after Catullus, frequently with an ironic sense as the superlative **doctissime** here. Cf. Cat. 1.7, a dedication in which the poet refers to the history of Nepos as set forth in **volumes doctis . . . et laboriosis**. See also Horace, Sat. 1.5.3: **Graecorum longe doctissimus**. Cf. also the notes ad 131 and 186.

2. **famulas . . . durus**. Cf. Ovid A. 2.7.21-22: **quis Veneris famulae conubia liber inire . . . velit**. The sense of Buchanan's **famulas Veneris** is, however, unattested. It suggests a metaphor more closely connected with the depiction of Venus as a **domina**, the standard Latin term for describing the relationship between mistress and slave; e.g. Ovid A.A. 148: **tu Veneri dominae plaude favente manu** (see also Prop. 3.5.1–below). **Amor**, however, clearly is a slaveholder. Propertius (2.13a.35-36) imagines his own epitaph:

**et duo sint versus: qui nunc iacet horrida pulvis
unius hic quondam servus Amoris erat.**

Like **doctus** and other poetic words, **durus** cuts several ways: on the one hand it suggests the difficulties of the **amator**, whose desires are often frustrated by a multitude of agents: it is a favorite Propertian word in such contexts. **Amor** (Cupid) and **Liber** (Bacchus) are described as **durus** **uterque deus** (1.3.14). Likewise it is an epithet of the beloved: **quamvis dura, tamen rara puella fuit** (1.17.16). Her deeds disclose the same harsh character: **saepe ego multa tuae levitatis dura timebam** (1.15.1), though this is tempered by the sexual associations of the military metaphors. Thus Propertius makes a plea for peace in the name of **Amor**, whose blessing is enough for him: **stant mihi cum domina proelia dura mea** (3.5.1). The most fully developed representation of the lover as soldier is Ovid's A. 1.9 which begins **militat omnis amans, et habet sua castra Cupido**.

Durus appears in the other elegists also, often of the lover whose way seems forever barred by the gatekeeper before the "harsh gates" of the beloved (Tib. 1.1.56, 1.2.6, Ovid A. 1.6.24, Ars 3.587, etc.). The idea is as early as Catullus, as well as a suggested solution. In the face of a harsh environment, the lover must find a way to be equally hard. In Poem 8, ostensibly an address to himself, the poet uses the verb **obduro**, "toughen up", three times within the last nine lines, concluding with the poet's self-admonition to continue his new harshness. The voice is uncertain, however, and the poet's prospects for success seem remote.

The word appears in Buchanan, too, as a standard impossible to attain or to be rejected. This sense seems primarily to derive from Ovid, who often seems self-conscious of the possibilities in the language raised, though not explicitly formulated, by his predecessors. Ovid uses **durus** as Propertius and Tibullus do, but takes the next step and treats the idea as a literary device. Concerning conventional features of Menander he says

dum fallax servus, **durus** pater, improbus lena
vivent et **meretrix blanda**, Menandros erit

(A. 1. 15.17-18).

The underscored words all figure prominently in Buchanan's poem, and Ovid's rhetorical question in the *Remedia Amoris* closely resembles Buchanan's opening, while again locating **durus** within a poetic context: *quis poterit lecto durus discedere Gallo?* ((Rem. 765). For the collocation of **durus** and **quies** (nominal form of the verb *queo--pro Lena 2*), see also Prop. 1.18.27-28: *et datur inculto tramite dura quies*. Exile from Cynthia means peace, but at a price; the **dura quies** the poet experiences is not only separation from the beloved but also exile from the 'cultured' world she represents (*inculto tramite*).

Such an extended discussion of a single word in an apparently frivolous poem might seem at first glance unworthy, but if we are correct, the *pro Lena* is more than just a mock defence of the *ars lenae*. The opening address to Vallus and exordium are programmatic, exhibiting clear affiliations with Latin elegy and its relations, and invoking with the genre its self-conscious concern for poetics. Buchanan thus begins several poems here, one a light-hearted defense of prostitution, which itself has precursors going back as far as Gorgias' encomia for Helen of Troy and for salt, through Roman rhetorical education with its passion

for arguing irrealia; secondly, there is the humanist dialogue with classical Latin poetry and its poetics; thirdly, there is the tension between the parts of Buchanan's own oeuvre regarding prostitution, with the indulgent *pro Lena* at one end of the spectrum and the disapproving *Deanaera* and *Neaera* poems at the other.

3-4. *in fontes flumina labi . . .* The *adynata* topos goes all the way back to Archilochus (fr 78). Ford (Phillip Ford, *George Buchanan: Prince of Poets* [Aberdeen: 1982], 61) identifies Buchanan's model as Ovid's *Tristia* 1.8.1-2:

**in caput alta suum labentur ab aequore retro
flumina, conversis Solque recurret equis**

The theme, however, is a commonplace, for example:

**carmina sanguineae deducunt cornua lunae
et revocant niveos solis euntis equos;
carmine dissiliunt abruptis faucibus angues
inque suos fontes versa recurrit aqua;**

(A 2.1.23-26)

Cf. also Prop. 2.15.31-33, 3.19.6, etc.. For the phrase *aversis . . . equis* see Ars 3.786: *ut celer aversis utere Parthus equis*. Note that the metrical position of the two lines is identical. For the *adynata* topos in literature see E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W.Trask (New York: 1953), pp. 95-96.

7. *censura, . . . ministras*. *Censura* permits several connotations. The first is political, for the office of Censor was the summit of a political career under the Republic. This sense of the word appears even in poetry, as at Prop. 4.11.67: *filia, tu specimen censurae nata paternae*.

Another sense of *censura* is erotic and abusive, as at Martial 1.4.7-8:

**innocuos censura potest permittere lusus:
lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba.**

Likewise, Martial 1.34.9-10:

numquid dura tibi nimium censura videtur?

deprendi veto te, Lesbia, non futui.

Minister works similarly. Though primarily a poetic word, it can mean no more than an "agent"--of Augustus, for example. At the same time, it appears frequently in erotic contexts. Ovid dedicates his poems on the altar of Venus, calling them his *fidas . . . ministras* (A. 1.11.27)--a conceit borrowed by Buchanan in *Iambi* 4 and 5 (cf. also Horace *Odes* 1.5.13-16). Propertius, too, describes how *noctis et instituet sacra ministra Venus* (3.10.30). One might note already that Buchanan's rhetorical strategy seems to be to praise the *lena* through her undeniable association with Venus. This abstraction allows the poet considerably more freedom in his argument. Consider in this respect the equivocation it allows him to make at line 11 (*ad loc.*).

8. *rigidis . . . minis*. The precise phrase seems to be from Ovid A. 1.7.46: *nec nimium rigidas intonuisse minas*, but the sentiment is Propertian and, in particular, from the *Monobiblos*. Cf., for example, 1.7.12; 1.17.6; 1.19.24. Buchanan uses it elsewhere in his elegies (2.86): *De tetrica rigidas excute fronte minas*.

9. *rusticitas . . . tetricus*. *Rusticitas* is the antithesis of the elegiac ideal and apparently was a term of scorn. Cicero writes about the old Latin practice of dropping final -s, which he refers to as *subrusticus* and adds that the "'new poets' now flee it" (*Orat.* 161.1-6). Venus, as the goddess of sophisticated erotic pleasure, has no rustic face. Ovid uses the word as a contemptuous synonym for shame: *ei mihi, rusticitas, non pudor ille fuit* (*Ars* 1.672). There as here, however, one must keep in mind the highly rhetorical color of elegiac diction, with its self-conscious euphemisms (and dysphemisms). Ovid freely admits that he slanderously misrepresented the body of his girl (*Rem.* 315-22) and goes on to offer advice for manipulating the language:

et poterit dici 'petulans', quae rustica non est;
et poterit dici 'rustica', si qua proba est.

(329-30)

Tetricus occurs frequently in erotic contexts, associated with the grimness of chastity. In Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* (1.721-722) the poet describes a seduction:

hoc aditu vidi tetricae data verba puella

qui fuerat cultor, factus amator erat.

Martial is proud to find his books circulating among the residents of Vienna and to have readers as unlikely as the *coram tetrico casta puella viro* (7.88.4). Here *tetricus* appears to be connected to chastity. Buchanan himself brings the two together later in the argument, their association heightened by double elision: *Quae casta est, tetrica est (pro Lena 115)*.

10. *cordaque . . . asperiora*. See Martial 10.103.12.

11-12. *doctisque exulta Camoenis pectora*. *Camoena* is a Latin version of the Greek *Mou'sa*, or Muse. The phrase *exulta Camoenis* is borrowed from Martial: *fila lyrae movi Calabris exulta Camenis*, "I moved the strings of the lyre refined by the Calabrian Muses" (12.94.5).

Martial's epigram is a *recusatio*, a literary refusal to write more dignified verse such as tragedy or epic. It is a characteristic feature of the elegists as well (cf., for example, Ovid *A.* 1.1; 3.1; Prop. 1.7). It is interesting that such a context should be invoked at this point in the *pro Lena*, where Buchanan makes a further slide from his ostensible defense of prostitution. Where he seemed to be praising the *lena* through her association with the evident sophistication of Venus' gifts (1-10), we now discover that the learning of the Muses themselves somehow justifies the poet's claims. But about what? Surely not prostitution itself, and Buchanan, at this point in the poem has not yet begun to develop the connection between the Muses and Vallius (*pro Lena* 73, 201). In view of the passages cited above, which appear to connect the language of the *pro Lena* with the vocabulary of poetry (see *durus*, 2), it is possible to ask whether the poem could be a tacit defense of poetry itself. If so, the phrase borrowed from Martial's *recusatio* would hint at the intention of the poet to justify his practice before his admirers, an intention that would be no less present for its obscurity and the cleverness of its execution.

A comparison of respective usages tends to support this possibility. *exulta Camenis* occupies the same metrical position in Buchanan's line as in Martial's, implying that Martial is clearly the source text for Buchanan. The meaning of the phrase, however, is completely different. In the Martial passage *inculta* modifies *fila*, "string". Buchanan's syntax is completely different: *Camoenis* is dative, not ablative of agent, a fact that causes *exulta* to lose its passive sense (pf. pass. part. *excolo*) and become an adjective. Thus Buchanan's quotation

from Martial cannot be said to carry the same semantic value as the source text. Instead, what is invoked is the context of Martial's *recusatio*, his defense of the proper way to write poetry. Taken together with the extraordinary slide Buchanan makes in his argument at this point--based on the assumption that the implicit attack on Venus is equally an attack on the "learned Muses"--these aspects of the *pro Lena* make it reasonable to suspect that there is a complex poetic agenda at work here which coincides with the facetious defense of the *ars lenae*.

12. *quae saevae nil feritatis habent*. The model is Ovid, *Tristia* 5.7.46: *quamque lupi, saevae plus feritatis habent*. The immediate reference is the lawless men among whom the exiled Ovid finds himself. The greatest indignity, however turns out to be that no one there can speak good Latin, and therefore, no one can appreciate Ovid: *ille ego Romanus vates--ignoscite Musae!* he exclaims (5.7.55). Thus again Buchanan chooses to develop the vocabulary for his defense of prostitution from models inextricably linked with the writing of poetry.

13. *jocus & salibus . . . venustas*. *iocus* and *sal* are common in Latin poetry as prerequisites for entrance into the cultivated elite for which the poets write. A representative early example is Catullus 16 (*Pedicabo ego . . .*), a mock defense of neoteric poetic practice. He identifies *sal* along with *lepos* (cf. *pro Lena* 14) as the key ingredients of his verses:

*qui tum denique habent salem ac leporem,
si sunt molliculi ac parum pudici, (7-8)*

iocus is more closely connected with conviviality, as in Catullus' admonition to Marrucinus Assinus, the dinner guest who stole his host's napkins in *ioco atque vino* (12.1-3); cf. also Catullus 50.6. in this sense and in the literary sense discussed below.

Ovid makes clear an erotic link with his disposition of goods in the *Ars Amatoria* (2.175-76):

*proelia cum Parthis, cum culta pax sit amica
et iocus et causas quicquid amoris habet.*

He also makes the connection between *iocus* and adultery, a subject treated in detail by Buchanan later in the *pro Lena* (71 et seq.). Ovid's lovers attempt to conceal their affair from outsiders with, among other

things, *furtivos . . . iocos* (*Ars.* 3.640). For a further literary connection see Martial and his drunken books: *lascivis madidos iocis libellos* (4.14.12); cf. also 1.35.10. *venustas* is connected with *sal* at Catullus 86.3. It is also a *figura etymologica* recalling Venus.

14. *blanda*, *lepos*. Both words are poetic shorthand for the aesthetic values of the neoterics and their continuators the elegists. *Lepos*, "charm", figures most prominently in Catullus. For example, it appears in Poem 16 (cited in part above), which forms something like an obscene manifesto of this movement. His Poem 50 (*Hesterno, Licini, die . . .*) shows similar aesthetic allegiances; it is addressed to friend and fellow-poet Licinius Calvus, with whom he had spent the day extemporizing poetry:

*reddens mutua per iocum atque vinum.
atque illinc abii tuo lepore
incensus, Licini facetiisque, (6-8)*

Lepos and poetry are similarly combined in Martial (3.20.8-9):

*an otiosus in schola poetarum
lepore tinctos Attico sales narrat?*

Blandus, "pleasant", is associated directly with pleasure, even in Lucretius (*blanda voluptas*, RN 2.966), and appears frequently. Propertius writes as if were a label: *non sum de nihilo blandus amator ego* (2.3.16). It is connected with *blanditia* and both are staples of the Latin poetic repertoire, especially of Ovid and Propertius. See, for example Ovid's *quis sapiens blandis non misceat oscula verbis* (*Ars* 1.663) cf. also Prop. 1.8b.39-40:

*hanc ego non auro, non Indis flectere conchis,
sed potui blandi carminis obsequio*

Buchanan himself has *blanda Venus* (*pro Lena* 53) and twice uses the unclassical adjective *blandiloquus*, "sweet-speaking" (48, 212). His technique in the opening lines of the *pro Lena* appears to involve a virtual cataloguing of elegiac and neoteric tropes dealing with the interconnected practices of love and poetry.

16. *quid sit amor*. Buchanan alludes to the personal life of

Vallus, a theme to which he will return at 137-50. Vergil's poetry does not often directly influence the pro Lena, but this phrase goes back to *Eclogues* 8.43 (*nunc scio quid sit amor*), where it necessarily occurs in a hexameter line rather than in a pentameter as in Buchanan. Buchanan may well have it via its later development, however. Tibullus (Lygdamus) remodels the phrase within the context of elegy, again, however, at the beginning of the hexameter: *nescis quid sit amor* (3.4.73). Cf. also Ovid *Met.* 13.762-63 for the phrase introduced by the verb *sentire*:

*quid sit amor, sentit validaque cupidine captus
uritur oblitus pecorum antrorumque suorum.*

17. *inter & ingenuas . . . artes*. The phrase appears four times in Ovid as practically a synonym for the production or appreciation of poetry. Most revealing is *Ars* 2.121-22:

*Nec levis ingenuas pectus coluisse per artes
cura sit et linguas edidicisse duas.*

The pleas for bilingualism, however, turns out to have its application in Ulysses, who embodies the spirit of poetic versatility. Ovid explains his hold on Calypso by appealing to his abilities to constantly reshape Homeric narrative (2.128): *ille referre aliter saepe solebat idem*. For other occurrences see *A.* 3.8.1, *Epist. ex Ponto* 2.9.47, *Tristia* 1.9.45.

18. *materiam . . . repperit*. The "material for love" which, according to Buchanan, is furnished by Vallus has a parallel in Ovid, where the poet begins to advise the would-be seducer where to pick up girls (*Ars* 1.49-50:

*tu quoque, materiam longo qui quaeris amori,
ante frequens quo sit disce puella loco.*

Ovid's most common use of the word, however, is to describe the subject of his poetry in contrast to the meter, as at *A.* 1.1.1-2:

*arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam
edere, materia conveniente modis.*

A few lines later he concludes his complaint to Cupid for making him write elegy with the following: *nec mihi materia est numeris levioribus apta* (1.1.19). Most striking of all, in relation to the *pro Lena* and its appropriation of judicial language, is his remark in the *Remedia Amoris*:

*si mea materiae respondet Musa iocusae,
vicimus, et falsi criminis acta rea est.* (387-88)

Buchanan leads us to believe that there is material in Vallus for Love to work on (cf. especially *pro Lena* 140-42). From a poetic perspective Vallus is Buchanan's material as well, providing the basis for this exploration and defense of the aesthetic values of elegy. This point is strongly corroborated by Buchanan's choice of a metaphor that Ovid uses to describe both a potential subject for love and the amatory content of his own poetry. The double image in Ovid becomes collapsed in Buchanan into a single one, while apparently retaining all the associations of the Ovidian models. Such a method would seem to be analogous to the cataloguing technique Buchanan uses in his recreation of elegiac aesthetic principles (cf. note on 14).

repperit ille suis is perhaps based on Ovid's description of Daedalus: *audacem pinnis repperit ille viam* (*Ars* 2.22).

19. *cum . . . pectus premeretur*. The image suggests Prop. 1.1.4: *et caput impositis pressit Amor pedibus*.

20. *serperet*. For a similar idea see Ovid (*Rem.* 105): *interea tacitae serpunt in viscera flammae*.

22. *fidam lena . . . opem*. Outside of the title this is the first mention of the poet's ostensive subject. The move from Venus and the Muses to the defense of the Procuress is not a simple one, for the *lena* does not appear primarily in Latin poetry as the agent (*ministra*) of Venus. Far from it. Roman comedy is full of greedy pimps, male and female. They were borrowed from Greek New Comedy, particularly from Menander where they appear as stock figures, as Ovid indicates:

*dum fallax servus, durus pater, improbus lena
vivent et meretrix blanda, Menandros erit*
(A. 1. 15.17-18).

The elegists occasionally treat the word *lena* abstractly as that which 'sells' a woman. So Ovid in the *Ars Amatoria* encouragingly

explains:

grata mora venies, maxima lena mora est;
etsi turpis eris, formosa videbere potis; (*Ars* 3.751-52)

Much more frequently, however, she is an impediment to love due to her insatiable greed. Tibullus pictures her in as particularly monstrous (1.5.47-49):

haec nocuere mihi. quod adest huic dives amator,
venit in exitium callida lena meum.
sanguineas edat illa dapes atque ore cruento

Before the *lena* the elegiac lover finds the riches of the rival (the *dives amator*) preferred to his own extravagant passion. In Propertius 4.5 the poet delivers a long harangue against the rapacity of the *lena*, beginning and ending with the wish that her grave be covered by sharp spines or stones, and in addition to these, curses (*verba mala* 78). The spells belong to the *lena* herself in Ovid: *illa magas artes Aeaeaque carmina novit* (A. 1.8.5). Her Aeaeian (from Aeae, the home of Circe) songs turn back the rivers (6) and have alienated the poet's faithless mistress from him with the promise of a wealthier suitor (19-34). For further discussion of Buchanan's unelegiac representation of the *lena* see V. Chaney, "The Elegies of George Buchanan in Relation to those of the Roman Elegists and to the Latin Elegies of John Milton" (diss. Vanderbilt: 1961), pp 54-55. Thus, the expression "faithful work of the procuress", in addition its hyperbole, is also a virtual oxymoron, since inconstancy is the essence of the procuress' message. Buchanan's *pro Lena* may have in its background other mock encomia such as Lucian's *de Parasitu* or Erasmus' *Encomium Moriae*; nevertheless, it is an audacious move for him to attempt to rehabilitate the *ars lenae* within a poetical tradition so patently hostile to it. It is scarcely odd, then, that he takes great pains to prepare his path by the elaborate evocation of elegiac aesthetics and the powers of love.

26. *ante tuum hanc caussam finge tribunal agi*. The elegists were fond of borrowing legal words, particularly those denoting criminality (*iniuria*, *crimen*, etc.) but Buchanan expands the concept from frequently used but isolated metaphor to a full-fledged conceit. Ford (59) connects this with Briand de Valée's legal profession, a supposition

corroborated by the way Buchanan personalizes his hypothetical inquest by referring to **tuum . . . tribunal**. **Agere** is a common judicial word in prose as well; **rem agere** is to hear a case, **reos (reas) agere** to prosecute. The expression **ingere causas** is itself flexible, due in part to the extreme malleability of **ingere**, which means both 'consider' and 'fabricate'; cf. Tibullus on the unexpected consequences of teaching deceit to his lover:

. . . heu heu nunc premor arte mea.
ingere tunc didicit causas ut sola cubaret,
 cardine tunc tacito vertere posse fores

(16.10-12)

27. **ingere ream**. The repeated use of **ingere** may suggest in advance the innocence of the Procuress. **Reus (rea)** is neutral in prose, but in the hyperbolic language of elegy "to be accused" is often "to be wrongly accused." Cf. Ovid in the *Remedia Amoris* (387-88):

si mea materiae respondet Musa iocosae,
 vicimus, et falsi criminis acta rea est.

The phrase was so good he quoted himself years later in the *Fasti* (4.308).

28. **officii . . . fida ministra sui**. This collocation picks up associations established earlier in the poem: **Veneris . . . ministras** (7)--among whom we are presumable to include the Procuress--and the **fidam . . . opem** which the Procuress did not "deny" (28) are here fused into a single image. Cf. also **opemque tulit** (30).

29. **Quod medico . . .** This claim occurs in the middle of this short catalogue of the Procuress' virtues. She performs her **officium** (cf. 47, 136, 168, 173, 210, cures the incurable, and is patriotic beyond measure (29-31). The medical parallel, however, is revived and expanded later in the poem (51-56), where Buchanan argues that the validity of putting oneself under a doctor's care is the equivalent of seeking relief from the Procuress. It is also here where Buchanan begins to develop the idea of the **ars lenae**, which reappears throughout the poem (99-101, 137-40).

32. **poenae**. This rhetorical question of this line, which follows the catalogue of human virtues possessed by the Procuress, is balanced by another: **Res erit huic poenae quae dedit astra Deis?** (70), a part of

Buchanan's justification of sexual activity by appealing to the behavior of the gods.

33-36. The allusion is to the honors paid a Roman soldier who saved the life of a citizen in battle. For an account from Imperial times see Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.21.8-10:

Rufus Helvius gregarius miles servati civis decus rettulit
donatusque est ab Apronio torquibus et hasta. Caesar addidit civicam
coronam,

querna corona (36), as noted by Ford (61), is based on Ovid (*Tristia* 3.1.36), where the reference is to a crown given to Augustus, but the context here makes clear that the traditional Roman appreciation of individual heroism in battle is what Buchanan intends to apply to the Procress. Note also the addition of the *civicam coronam* by Tiberius in Tacitus' account.

33. *at vos majorum requiescite molliter umbrae.* Cf. Vergil, *Ecl.* 7.10: *requiesce sub umbra*, for the pastoral conceit of shaded rest from the mid-day heat makes possible the singing of the shepherds. For the funereal sense, particularly in view of the next line, see Ovid's memorial to Tibullus (*A.* 3.9.67-68):

ossa quieta, precor, tuta requiescite in urna,
et sit humus cineri non onerosa tuo.

Likewise, Martial writes of the untimely death of a child (10.61.1): *hic festinata requiescit Erotion umbra.*

Molliter is another word with elegiac associations. Its delicacy links it with words like *blandus* and *lepos*, as well as its adjectival form *mollis*. Like the rest of the line it has funerary and poetic associations as well; see Vergil, *Ecl.* 10.33-34:

. . . o mihi tum quam molliter ossa quiescant,
vestra meos olim si fistula dicat amores.

For the funerary alone see Prop. 1.17.22, Ovid, *A.* 1.8.108, *Her.* 7.164. The poetic connection is perhaps best seen in Ovid (*Ars* 3.343-44):

deve tribus libris, titulo quos signat AMORUM,

elige, quod docili **molliter** ore legas,

34. **floreat urna**. The allusion is to the burial urn and flowers growing upon the grave. Cf. Juvenal 7.207-08:

Di, maiorum, umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram,
spirantesque crocos et in urna perpetua ver.

39. **Laurentia**. Acca Larentia was the nurse of Romulus and Remus, as Livy relates (1.3.10). He gives two explanations of the twin's salvation. In the first they are suckled by a wolf (**lupa**) until discovered by Faustulus, husband of Acca Larentia, who raised them. The rationalizing account of the story has the boys given to Larentia, a prostitute (**lupa**), thus doing away with the miraculous suckling by the literal she-wolf. Cf. also St. Augustine *De Civitate Dei*, 6.7. The Larentalia, a festival in her honor to which Buchanan alludes was held on the 23rd of December. Larentia as prostitute is a perfect emblem for Buchanan's **lena**. Just as she saved the life of Rome's founder and was honored (*melioribus annis*, 173), so the **lena**, who performs an analogous service for the state, has an equal claim to the city's gratitude.

40. **dea . . . nuda . . . meretrice**. The word placement is elegant. **nuda** falls at the end of the first hemistich. The **-a**, therefore, is of uncertain metrical quantity so as to be taken equally with the goddess or the prostitute. The poetic connotations of **meretrix** are far less unpleasant than those of **lena**. Ovid's **meretrix blanda** (A. 1.15.18) has been quoted already. The same indulgence appears in his provocative claim **sacrilegas meretricum** ut persequar artes (Ars 1.135), which perhaps is behind Buchanan's idea of the **lena's** artisanship (*pro Lena* 29-30, 148, et passim).

41. **invidiae est virtus**. The transvaluation of ancient virtues in contemporary life is a common figure. Buchanan's poem, however, is the most flagrant example of all, when it comes to an attempt to overturn the mores maiorum with the rehabilitation of the Procuress. The jingling repetition of **vi-** is heightened by elision, which causes the **-ae** of **invidiae** to be dropped. The line is highly rhetorical, even in a poem so dependent on rhetorical artifice. It recalls Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* 323-24, with the alliterative collocation of virtue and ill will:

et mala sunt vicina bonis: errore sub illo

pro vitia virtus crimina saepe tulit.

Cf. also note on *rusticas* (9), which quotes the continuation of this passage for Ovid's discussion of the spin an elegiac poet can put on his subject.

44. *virago*. A particularly elevated and audacious description of the Procuress. Related to *virgo*, "virgin", the word is only used in the *Aeneid* (12.468) and the *Metamorphoses* (2.765, 6.130), and there only to describe the virgin goddesses Juturna and Minerva.

45-70. Buchanan returns to the dubious question of the Procuress's crime and punishment.

45. *me miserum . . . rea criminis. me miserum* is the standard elegiac cry of lament. Cf. Prop. 1.1.1: *Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis*. For the judicial conceit, see note ad 26 and 27.

47. *officium si crimen erit*. The description of the Procuress as a patriotic soldier (31-38) bolsters Buchanan's earlier characterization of her work as *officium*, "duty", which is repeated here and will allow him to make a more dignified link between her work and the divine duties of *blanda Venus* (53).

48. *aspera blandiloquo. blandiloquus*, as mentioned before, is unclassical. Martial has *silvis aspera, blanda domi* of a hunting dog (11.69.2). The violent image *frangere corda* perhaps has a model in Tibullus 3.2.5-6:

non ego firmus in hoc, non haec patientia nostro
ingenio: frangit fortia corda dolor.

For *aspera . . . corda* cf. *pro Lena* 10: *cordaque . . . asperiora*. The juxtaposition of opposites here as elsewhere (*fidam lena*, 22; *invidiae est virtus*, 41, etc.) is appropriate in a poem that attempts a complete rehabilitation of the reviled Procuress.

49. *vincula . . . si sunt noxia*. The lover's chains are a common feature of elegy. Here, however, the elegiac vocabulary is fused with the language of the law. *noxia* in legal language denotes a particular type of *iniuria*. On this and related terms see David Daube, "Noxa and Nocere," *The Cambridge Law Journal*, 7 (1939-41), 23-55. The above protasis, though rhetorically expressed as a simple condition, is regarded as absolutely unreal by the poet, as is indicated by his later use of *noxia*. He uses it twice more, both times in his characterization of the *ars lenae*

as *noxia nulli* (181, 215). *legibus arce*, the apodosis of Buchanan's condition, continues the judicial motif and also stands in ironic contrast to the *publica Burdegalae*, who have in fact closed the brothels by their laws (141).

50. *Hymen*. The god of marriage, under whose auspices the bride and groom were conducted home by their crowd of well-wishers on their wedding night.

51-56. The skill of the Procuress appeared first as a supplement to the defective art of medicine (cf. 29-30); now the poet implies that they form a single continuous art, such that to reject a part is to reject the whole (51-52). He makes a similar claim for the relationship between prostitution and marriage, for he claims that the denial of the one will lead to the obliteration of the other (50). It is the analogy based on the following proportion:

ars lenae : marriage : : *ars lenae*: medicine

Thus, both marriage and medicine can now be used interchangeably as premises in the argument that follows and justifies the joint consultation of doctors and of Venus (53-56).

53. *sin et blanda Venus generantium secla propaget*. The expression is from Lucretius, the only poet to use *saeclum*, "age", in this way: *efficis [sc. Venus] ut cupide generatim saecla propagent* (RN 1.20). Cf. also RN 2.173: *et res per Veneris blanditur saecla propagent*. This strictly utilitarian view of marriage makes it easier to see how prostitution can be seen as a supplement to marriage, rather than a subversive alternative. It also will provide the poet implicit support for his praise of *Venus sine connubio* (71-84). for *blanda Venus* see also Ovid, A. 3.2.55 and *Ars* 1.362.

57. *parva . . . magnis componere*. The phrase is Vergil's. See G. 4. 176-77:

non aliter, si parva licet componere magnis,
Cecropias innatus apes amor urget habendi

Cf. also *Ecl.* 1.23; Ovid, *Met.* 5.416-17.

59. *aliud quam lena Venus . . .* This reformulation of the Venus-lena relationship inverts the previous, in which the lena was styled by the poet as a Venus or, at the very least, her *ministra* (7, et

passim). The reputation of the procuress was bolstered by assimilating her with the goddess in the early part of the poem. Now it is the goddess who takes on the characteristics of the human *lena*, as the divine basis for prostitution is given.

60-80. The justification of the Procuress' art from a divine perspective is divided into two sections, concerning legitimate (60-70) and illegitimate (71-77) sexual activity, respectively.

60-65. This catalogue of Roman marriage gods is borrowed almost entirely from St. Augustine, who satirizes the profusion of Roman divinities in farming and doorkeeping as well (*De Civitate Dei*, 4.8 and 6.9--summarized below, notes 61-65). They derive--as Augustine makes clear--from the Roman encyclopaedist Varro.

60. *pronuba Juno. pronuba* is a standard epithet of Juno in poetry. Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 4.166, Ovid, *Her.* 6.43, *Met.* 6.428, 9.762.

61. *domiti . . . domiduce*. This sequence is hysteron proteron. According to Augustine, Domiducus is the god under whose auspices the new bride was escorted to the home of her husband. Domitius was entrusted to see that she remained there.

62. *ad externos . . . lares*. The Lares, along with the Penates, were an important part of daily household cult. A consequence of marriage was that the bride passed out of the old cult of the Lares of her blood relatives and into that of her husband's family.

63-65. *Jugatinum, etc . . . Jugatinus* was invoked at the marriage ceremony to join the couple; *Pilumnus* is derived from *pilum*, "pestle", and is one of the three gods who guard a woman after childbirth. *Prema* (Presser) and *Subigus* (Subdoer) are female and male divinities connected with the consummation of the marriage, as is *Pertunda* (from *pertundare*, "thrust through"; cf. Catullus 32.11). Augustine sends this last away for the preservation of at least some modesty and adds: *agat aliquid et maritus*. *Hymenaeus* is the marriage god par excellence. His name is shouted by the revelers escorting the newly-married couple homewards; e.g. Ovid, *Ars* 1.563, *Fasti* 2.561. *Manturna's* name comes from *manere*, "remain", who sees to it that the bride remains with her husband. *Libentina* and *Volupia* are goddesses of lust and pleasure, and provide the poet a transition from licit to illicit liaisons.

67-68. *si lena deorum implevit partes*. The relationship between human and divine is again reversed (cf. 59 and note), with the Procuress taking on the functions of the gods. Buchanan inverts this as well when he discusses how *geret partes Mars et Apollo viri* (108).

70. *Res erit huic poenae . . .* This rhetorical question balances that of line 30, and continues Buchanan's denial of criminality on behalf of the Procuress. *res*, though a common word, has a specific legal sense in phrases like *rem agere*, "to hear a case."

73. *Pieridas*. The Muses are regarded as native either to Helicon, a mountain in Boeotia or to Pieria, a district in northern Thessaly between Mount Olympus and the sea.

74. *Virgo in virgineo . . .* The alliterative effect of this line is intensified by the placement of *vix* immediately after the mandatory caesura between the two hemiepes.

75-76. *Orphea . . . Linum*. For the collocation of these two singers, both sons of unchaste goddesses for Buchanan's purposes see Vergil, *Ecl.* 4.55-57:

non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus
nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit,
Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo.

Buchanan follows Vergil in making Orpheus the son of Calliope, but for obvious reasons chooses the version of the Linus myth told by Pausanias (9.29.6) which has the singer born to Amphimarus and the Muse Urania. For the effect of Orpheus' song see Ovid, *Met.* 11.1-2.

77-78. *Furta tegens . . . sine teste parens*. The rest of the Muses are implicated by the absence of evidence. Though perhaps bad reasoning from an appellate perspective, the reasoning is appropriately elegiac. Deception is a standard feature of erotic poetry and once introduced, it is impossible to control. Tibullus' self-reproach for having taught Delia to deceive has been quoted already (see note ad 26). *sterilis* is often used of land and plants; e.g. Ovid, *Met.* 8.789 (of Scythia): *triste solum sterilis sine fruge sine arbore tellus*. *sine teste* should refer to a birth "unwitnessed", but it is possible that there is a pun on *testis*, "testicles". Cf. Martial, 7.62.6, where the same pun is made on *sine teste*.

80. *Gradive*. *Gradivus* is a common epithet of Mars, often used metonymically for battle. Though usually reckoned a son of Jupiter and Juno, Ovid preserves a rare version (*Fasti*, 5.255-58) in which she conceives without him.

81-106. After acknowledging that modesty (*pudicitia* 81) may have had a place in the distant past Buchanan turns to consider the need for human reproduction. This inspires a catalogue of dangers to human

life (85-86) sea, earth, fire, disease and war. The progression is natural. The first four depend on nothing but man's presence for their danger; the fifth, however, is bound up with the arts (man's *solertia callida* 87) and is capable of indefinite expansion (88). Thus, not only is the art of the Procuress an acknowledged benefit for man by nature (83-84), but its importance will only continue to grow as man's technological prowess increases, lest the earth become depopulated.

89-92. *tun' prohibere potes . . . reparare genus*. *Tune* suggests emotional color, if only rhetorically; cf. Prop. 1.8a.1: *Tune igitur demens, nec te mea cura moratur*. The incredulity of the first question, "Can you forbid . . ." is replaced by an even stronger version, "Dare you to forbid . . ." The use of the shortened colloquial version further heightens the immediacy. *Commercium* is a common prose word used infrequently as a metaphor by the poets. Ovid (*Ars* 3.549) asks girls to be kind to poets since "*est deus in nobis et sunt commercia caeli*." *reparare genus* is unparalleled as a combination, but Buchanan's model is clearly Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 1.363-64:

O utinam possim populos reparare paternis
Artibus atque animas formatae infundere terrae!

The speaker is Deucalion after the devastation of the flood. Both his father, Prometheus, and his wife/sister, Pyrrha, are mentioned by Buchanan in the short catalogue of asexual births that follows (94-98).

93. *Partheniis . . . Arcas*. The name of the mountain appropriately suggests *parqevno*, "virgin." The allusion to Arcas is obscure. He was the eponymous ancestor of the Arcadians, and a son of Jupiter and the nymph Callisto, who was turned into a bear (see Ovid, *Met.* 2.401-95). He is said to have been given to Maia, mother of Hermes, to raise after the death of his mother. There is no trace of a birth from oak trees, though Pelasgus, Arcus' great grandfather, who first settled Arcadia even before the moon was in place, first taught his subjects to eat acorns (in place of poisonous plants, etc.); these became the staple of the proverbially frugal Arcadian diet.

94. *Curetes*. The Curetes were Cretan demigods known for their boisterous dancing, which drowned out the cries of the baby Jupiter hidden in a cave on Mount Ida in Crete. Buchanan's model is Ovid, *Met.* 4.282, where they are called: *largoque satos Curetas ab imbri*.

95. *fratres . . . bimembres*. These are the Centaurs. Their father

Ixion was overcome with desire for Juno. Jupiter made an image of her in the shape from a cloud and the result of this union were the Centaurs. Vergil (*Aen.* 8.293) names two and describes them as *nubigenas* (cf. also *Aen.* 7. 674, Ovid, *Met.* 12.211).

96. *Pyrrha*. Deucalion and Pyrrha, children of the Titan Prometheus, survived the deluge in a boat. When the waters receded, they were counseled by Themis to take the bones of their mother and throw them over their shoulders. After their initial horror, they decided that Earth was the mother of all and that stones were her bones. Taking up these they threw them over their shoulders and humans began to form from them, male and female, according to who had thrown them (see Ovid, *Met.* 1.363-413).

97. *Myrmidonas*. The Myrmidons' name means "ants" (fr. *muvrmhx*). Jupiter caused them to be human to replenish the island of Aegina after a plague (Ovid, *Met.* 7.615-57). They were led by Achilles in the *Iliad*.

98. *Ficta Prometheo*. Prometheus formed the first human from clay. To be "made from Promethean clay" was a proverbial expression of ancient ancestry, as in Martial 10.39.4, the model for Buchanan's line: *ficta Prometheo diceris esse luto*.

99. *superest, superest*. The anaphora suggests the inescapability of the poet's conclusion.

104. *serie . . . deficiente*. The phrase is perhaps modeled on Tibullus 1.1.69: *et teneam moriens deficiente manu*, closely imitated by Ovid (*A.* 3.9.58): *me tenuit moriens deficiente manu*.

105. *legitimi . . . foedera lecti*. Buchanan's inclusion of *legitimi* is not fortuitous. The appropriation of *foedus*, "pact", by the poets began with Catullus (e.g. 64.335). It is the later elegists, however, who exploit the metaphor most profitably. *foedere lecti* appears first in Tibullus, where the irony of a *foedus* in an illicit liaison is made clear: *parce tamen, per te furtivi foedere lecti* (1.5.7). Propertius similarly tips his hand: *incorrupta mei conserva foedera lecti!* (4.3.69). Cf. also Ovid, *Ars* 3.593, *Her.* 5.101, *Met.* 7.710, etc.

107. *Juppiter et Bacchus succurret*. The so-called *schema pindaricum* (pl. subject, sg. verb) usually occurs with pairs of nouns—as here and in the next line. *succurrere* has definite associations with erotic poetry. Best known is probably Ovid's advice to his mistress for secret signs at a dinner party (*A.* 1.4.21-22):

cum tibi succurret Veneris lascivia nostrae,
purpureas tenero pollice tange genas;

Cf. also Prop. 1.5.23, Tib. 1.3.27, etc.

109-12. The reference to the Bona Dea affair (see note below) makes the sequence of exempla somewhat obscure. The cases of Alexander and Scipio seem to follow naturally from Buchanan's claim that the gods will do their part to prevent the extinction of great houses (106-08). The entire series, however, leads up to the climax of 113-14: many remarkable things can happen "but let no spouse expect a chaste marriage."

109-10. **gignit Alexandrum . . . Scipiodemque draco.** Both Alexander and Scipio Africanus the Elder were reportedly conceived by snakes. This, of course, was taken as an indication their future greatness. For the details see Livy 26.19.

111-12. The cult of the Bona Dea was a women's cult whose proceedings could be viewed by no man. Even her name is a secret, though less scrupulous writers report it variously. The implication, of course, is that male intrusions such as this provided the occasion for illicit liaisons. Cf. Ovid, *A.* 3.634-36. The specific allusion is to Publius Clodius, arch-enemy of Cicero and brother to Catullus' Lesbia (Clodia Metalla). Clodius, dressed as a women, attended the festival, which was being held in the house of Julius Caesar with whose wife he was allegedly having an affair. For the diction cf. Tibullus 1.6.21-22, which looks like Buchanan's model:

exhibit quam saepe, time, seu visere dicet
sacra Bonae maribus non adeunda Deae.

113. **coniugium conjux castum.** The alliteration emphasizes the absurdity of such an expectation.

115-30. The life of chastity is again criticized (cf. 78ff. and by implication 8-14), this time for its lack of eros. Instead of denying the possibility of chastity, Buchanan contrasts it with the **furtivae Veneris commercia** (123).

115-16. **quae casta . . . ora quater.** For the phrase cf. **quae casta est?** (78). Ford (61) identifies Horace, *Sat.* 1.10.7 as the model for the rest of the couplet: **non satis est risu diducere rictum auditoris.**

117-22. **Oscula dat . . .** Martial 11.104 heavily influences the

thought here. He complains to his wife that she needs to follow his tastes (*moribus . . . nostris* 1), and continues with a list of her faults:

*basia me capiunt blandas imitata columbas:
tu mihi das aviae qualia mane soles.* (9-10)

In Buchanan the "grandmother kisses" become those of a mourning parent. He continues with a *praeteritio* (119) that at first seems obscurely motivated and out of place. His satirical description of the chaste woman does not seem to need a reference to *occultos et sine teste jocos* (120). They more easily go with the *mille . . . modis* with which a good wife will please her husband (124). His *prudens*, likewise, seems too strong for the vague language he uses and has used elsewhere (note the repetition of *jocus* (13) and *sine teste* (78) earlier in the poem). The key to Buchanan's practice lies in the continuation of the Martial epigram, where the poet continues with a graphic catalogue of sexual acts, which he alleges other notable Roman matrons were willing to perform for their husbands (13-20). It is to this catalogue which Buchanan alludes and decorously omits to imitate. At the same time his "prudent" *praeteritio* makes it clear to his reader just what part of the poem he declines to render.

121-22. *Lucretia . . .* The last of the Roman kings, Tarquinius Superbus raped Lucretia while her husband was away with the army. She reported the deed and thereupon stabbed herself in the chest. The vengeance extracted by her family and friends drove the Tarquin dynasty from Rome and led to the foundation of the Roman Republic. Her name becomes proverbial for female chastity. Buchanan's disavowal of Lucretia comes from the same epigram. Martial concludes:

*si te delectat gravitas, Lucretia toto
sis licet usque die; Laida nocte volo.* (22-23)

123. *Veneris commercia.* Cf. 89-90. Such commerce has an application in happily married life. The description that follows (125-30)--Buchanan's rewrite of Martial 11.104--creates an elegiac fantasy using the appropriate vocabulary. One could say that Buchanan describes what it would look like if the elegiac dream of a true *furtivi foedera lecti* (cf. note on 105) were realizable. Most of the words are explicitly erotic; others like *sedulitas* (130) can be appropriated in that

way, as Ovid does: *sit suus in blanda sedulitate modus* (*Ars* 2.334).

131. *doctae . . . lenae*. As discussed above (cf. note ad *doctissime* 1), *doctus* is a key word in Latin poetry. Catullus' decision to call his mistress "Lesbia" is a learned complement, referring to Sappho. Propertius represents Cynthia as a singer as well and in another poem (1.7) describes what he hopes will be his *fama* (9) as follows: *me laudent doctae solum placuisse puellae* (11). They attract Ovid, too, though he views them with characteristic irony:

*sunt tamen et doctae, rarissima turba, puellae;
altera non doctae turba, sed esse volunt.
(Ars 2.281-82)*

132. The importance of *eros* in married life serves also to underscore the importance of the same *commercia* for bachelors.

133-34. *Debet ei coelebs . . .* As has been discussed, Buchanan inverts the usual elegiac representation of the Procuree (cf. note on 22). In choosing to depict her as a true facilitator instead of as an impediment to love, he avoids the need to discuss the fate of the elegiac lover who invariably becomes an *exclusus amator*. Only here does Buchanan allude to this figure, standard in Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid who lies before the gates (*fores*) of his beloved in the cold (variously described) and addresses the gates; cf. Prop 3.7.72, Ovid, *Ars* 3.581, A. 2.21-22, Tib. 1.1.56, etc. For the figure of the *exclusus amator* see F. Copley, *Exclusus Amator* (Ann Arbor: 1956).

135. *Fabula*. For *fabula* denoting a source of gossip see Tib. 2.3.31, Prop. 2.24.1, Ovid, A. 3.1.21. *rumore sinistro* appears at Persius 5.164.

137-150. Buchanan abruptly addresses Vallus, recalling the innuendo of 15-16, 21-26, and giving for the first time a motive for his poem: a recent decree closing the brothels of Bordeaux.

137. *tibi es testis . . . manifesta*. *Testis* has already occurred twice, both times in the phrase *sine teste* (78, 120). On each occasion an erotic situation is discussed for which there are no witnesses due to the privacy of the act. The only witnesses are the participants. Vallus' competence to judge in this case before his tribunal (21-26) turns out to be an admission about his own sexual misconduct, a fact elegantly restated here. *Manifestus* is a legal term for a crime discovered in *flagranti delicto*. Ovid cautions his reader: *ne sis manifesta, caveto* (*Ars*

3.801). For the phrase *manifesta negare* see his *Her.* 4.111.

140-46. The reference to Vallus' younger days introduces the crowd of students, monks and others that are a familiar feature of Buchanan's epigrammatic and iambic invectives against the courtesans Neaera and Leonora (e.g. *Iambi* 5). Buchanan later in the *pro Lena* denies that in *vitium virtus degenerare potest* (178), but in these poems the virtues of prostitution disappear completely.

147-48. *Acheronta . . . Stygias*. Styx and Acheron are both rivers of Hades that stand metonymically for the Underworld as a whole. *coeli* with *polum* is pleonastic. The expression here is somewhat exaggerated.

149. *intendere*. Buchanan introduces another legal term; *intendere* means "to bring a charge." Lucretius says that nature *iustam intendere litem* (3.950); cf. *justas . . . preces* (150).

151-64. Buchanan returns to the pleasures of Venus *sine connubio* (cf. 72, 131-32), which had been interrupted by the personal appeal to Vallus. His concern again is with with "furtive Venus" (123). He earlier couched the praise of her strictly in terms of divine behavior (72-80) and in his fantasy of nuptial bliss (123-30--see note). Now he maintains his indirect praise of extra-marital affairs by appealing to the example of the gods, but also introduces it with a less 'prudent' justification of adultery from the perspective of the elegiac lover.

152. *vincula*. For the chains of Venus cf. 49: *Vincula si Veneris sunt noxia, legibus arce*. Attempts to regulate *eros* through *mos*, "custom" are here shown to be equally vain.

153-54. *assuetae Veneris fastidia gignit copia*. "Customary Venus" seems borrowed from Prop. 1.1.36, although the sentiment is completely the opposite, as Propertius cautions lovers to remain faithful: *neque assueto mutet amore locum*. For *fastidia* cf. Ovid (*Rem.* 542: *et fastidia non iuuet esse domo*).

155. *sensus hebes languet torpetque ignava voluptas*. The line is a patchwork of Ovid; see his *languet amor* (*Ars* 2.436), and a few lines later:

*sic, ubi pigra situ securaque pectora torpent,
acribus est stimulis eliciendus amor.*

(2.443-44)

Cf. also *Ars* 3.799-800:

infelix, cui torpet hebes locus ille, puella,

quo pariter debent femina virque frui.

156. Acrius ardescit saepe repulsus amor. For *acer* in this context see Ovid, *Ars* 2.244 (quoted above on 155). *saepe repulsus amor* is likewise from Ovid (*A.1.8.76*): *neve relentescat saepe repulsus amor*.

157-64. Buchanan returns to the behavior of the gods and their numerous and fruitful extra-marital liaisons.

157-58. Mulciber. Mulciber is another name for Vulcan. His claim to be the only legitimate child of Juno and Jupiter is consistent with Buchanan's version of Mars' birth from Juno alone (80, alluded to again at 159). His forges are located deep within Mount Aetna in Sicily.

159. Mars, etc . . . Mars and Pallas (Minerva) were born a a single parent, Mars from Juno, Minerva from the head of Jupiter, as related in Hesiod's *Theogony*. Phoebus and Bacchus were sons of Jupiter through affairs with a Titan (Leto, mother of Apollo) and a mortal (Semele, mother of Bacchus). Buchanan apparently follows the tradition that Venus was born from Jupiter and Dione (see Ovid, *Met.* 14.585).

160-62. Buchanan passes on to heroes. Perseus killed the Gorgon Medusa. Ovid refers to her *saxificos vultus* (*Met.* 5.217). *Quiqui tulit coelum* apparently refers to Hercules, who held up the heavens while Atlas fetched for him the apples of the Hesperides as one of his famous labors. He was the son of Jupiter and Alcmena. Aeneas carried his father out of the flames of Troy (cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 2, Ovid, *Met.* 13.624). His mother was Venus, whom Jupiter caused to be overwhelmed with lust for the Trojan shepherd Anchises. Mars was the father of Romulus (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15.863). His mother was Rhea Silvia, one of the Vestal Virgins.

163-64. numerare molestius . . . For the conceit see Ovid, *Ars* 3.149-51:

sed neque ramosa numerabis in ilice glandes,
nec quot apes Hybla nec quot in Alpe ferae,
nec mihi tot positus numero comprehendere fas est.

Cf. also Martial 6.34.1-3 for the inclusion of the ocean waves among the numberless:

basia da nobis, Diadumene, pressa. 'quot' inquis?
Oceani fluctus me numerare iubes

et maris Aegaei sparsas per litora conchas.

165-70. Buchanan returns again to consider the unhappy decision to call the art of the *lena* a crime (cf. 32,45,68). *contingere* is the legal term for the fabrication of a crime. The jurist Ulpian discusses *homicidium fingere* (*Dig.* 48.18.1.27). *livor* means "bruise" and by extension "spite". The representation of the criticism of the *lena* as defective corresponds to Buchanan's later description of it as a *foedissima labes* (171). *labes* is another term for defect, used to describe the blemish that disqualifies a sacrificial victim and, by extension, defects of character. Cf. Ovid, *A.* 3.5.44.

167. *meritis non praemia reddi*. The phrase suggests returning a favor, as opposed to giving a reward. See Ovid, *A.* 1.6.23: *redde vicem meritis: grato licet esse, quod optas*.

168. *officio*. The bases of Buchanan's defense has been his characterization of prostitution as both an art and a duty (*officium*) in the service of the city (28, 47, 136). This conception of *officium* leads up to its next appearance at 210, where it is deflated by its euphemistic application to Vallus' own sexual liaisons.

169-70. Presumably the crowd only *thinks* it is sinning because the citizens of Bordeaux have spitefully declared that prostitution is a crime. Thus their ignorant hearts are oppressed by care. *queis* is an alternate form of *quibus*. The land of the Cimmerians (modern Crimea) was proverbial for bad weather thanks to Ovid. Cf. for example, *ex Ponto* 4.10. 1-2.

173. *melioribus annis*. For the phrase see Ovid, *Tristia* 4.10.93, Vergil, *Aen.* 6.649.

174. To *vitium* and *crimen*, ideas that have come up frequently in his defence, Buchanan now adds *nequitia*, "triviality". It is used ironically by Ovid of his own poetry (*A.* 2.1.1-2):

hoc quoque composui Paelignis natus aquosis
ille ego nequitiae Naso poeta meae;

Martial uses it in an explicitly erotic context, asking whether someone prefers *sobriasque . . . certae nequitias fututionis* (1.106.5-6).

176. *cana senecta*. The standard depiction of "white old age", with the assurance that time does not change all things, prefigures the exemplum of the old war horse who pricks his ears at the sound of battle

(191-96). the expression recalls Tibullus (1.8.41-42):

heu sero revocatur amor seroque iuventas
cum vetus infecit cana senecta caput.

Cf. also Catullus 108.1, Ovid *Her.* 14.109.

177-78. **mutarit . . . degenerare potest.** **mutarit** is a syncopated form of **mutaverit**. For the mutability topos see Horace, *Epist.* 2.1.94: **coepit et in vitium fortuna labier aequa.**

179-81. The transvaluation of the lena's art takes its final step here as it is assigned among the 'virtues' and is therefore timeless (**patiens aevi**, etc). Unlike those educated in the **commercia Veneris** (123) who criticize delays as an expression of their passion (**accusatque moras** 127), her art is so secure that even long delays do not affect it at all (**nec metuit longas . . . moras** 180).

181. **noxia nulli.** The phrase seems to be adapted from Prop 1.2.21: **sed facies aderat nullis obnoxia gemmis.** Cf. also Ovid, *Met.* 15.853.

182. **multis . . . placet.** This line is modeled on Ovid, *A.* 2.2.13-14:

sed gerat ille suo morem furiosus amori
et castum, **multis quod placet**, esse putet;

183-84. Buchanan reprises his advice that Vallus not censure what served him well in his youth (cf. 23-24, 137-50). The advice is further personalized by the suggestion that the beneficiaries shall not be simply the anonymous **inopes juvenes** (143) and lustful monks, but Vallus' own son.

186. **docto . . . calet.** For the implications of **doctus** see notes on 1 and 131. **docto pectore** appears in poetic contexts; cf. Martial 9.77.3-4:

et multi dulci, multi sublimi refert,
sed cuncta **docto pectore.**

See also Martial 1.25.1-2. **flamma calet** seems derived from Ovid (*Ars.* 1.525-26):

ecce, suum vatem Liber vocat: hic quoque amantis
adiuvat et flammae, qua calet ipse, favet.

188. *Cyprigenae*. Venus was connected with Cyprus from earliest our earliest literary sources. *Cyprigena*, however, appears in no classical sources. Buchanan's use of the word may come via a later author or through Plutarch, who uses *kuprigeneiva* (*Art.* 28).

189-90. The political world of Bordeaux collapses into the experience of Vallus. Their motive for outlawing prostitution—obscure up to now except for the vague *livor* of 163—is now seen to be Vallus' expression of resentment (*livor*) at his sexual impotence.

191-94. The picture of the old war horse is drawn from Ovid, *Met.* 7.542-44:

acer equus quondam magnaue in pulvere famae
degenerat palmas veterumque oblitus honorum
ad praesepe gemit leto moriturus inerti.

It is combined with a description of an active horse (*Met.* 3.704-05):

ut fremit acer equus cum bellicus aere canoro
signa dedit tubicen pugnaeque adsumit amorem

The *robore . . . deficiente* of the horse who is to serve as a model for Vallus, alludes to the threatened ruin of illustrious houses *serie . . . deficiente* (104-06). *Signa dedere tuba* (192) recalls Ovid, *Met.* 10.652: *signa tuba dederunt . . .* For *ferit pede* Chaney (p. 148) notes *Fasti* 1.506: *Pinea non sano ter pede texta ferit.*

195-97. *Ductor . . . hortatibus implet*. The world of *arma* is usually a part of the elegiac poet's *recusatio*; e.g. Ovid, *A.* 1.1.1: *arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam*. Buchanan's understanding of the relevance of the *exemplum*, however, is thoroughly elegiac. Even in his retirement the old general attempts to inspire his the young with a love of their duty. When this *exemplum* is applied to Vallus he becomes a metaphorical *leno* himself, equivalent to the *praeceptor amoris*, a role created by Ovid for himself in the *Ars Amatoria* (1.17). *otia lentus agit* is perhaps modeled on Ovid, *Fasti* 2.724, where Ovid describes a lull in camp: *luditur in castris, otia miles agit*. Cf. also *Fasti* 4.926: *nil opus est illis; otia mundus agit*.

199-200. The road metaphor is continued from the *calcatas* . . . *vias* of 198. The principle of reciprocity is again invoked. Vallus should not block the road the *lena* made for him earlier.

201-06. The divinities are invoked who have a share in the *lena's* art. The Muses and the Graces take pride of place. Given the frequency with which the art of the *lena* and its defense have been linked with poetry, it comes as no surprise that the *lena* seems to stand in for the Muses by the end of the poem where we learn that the assembled Procuresses frequently perform the Muses' songs (202). She is also a priestess of Venus, a designation anticipated as early as *Veneris* . . . *ministras* (7). For the faces of Amor see Prop. 1.16.16, Ovid, *Rem.* 140. The mention of *risusque salesque* likewise recalls the description of Venus the poem's beginning (13--see note for parallel passages).

207-12. The final section of the poem returns to the *apologia* proper. Note the repetition of *finge* (209 and again at 212) from the passage where Buchanan decided to constitute a tribunal with Vallus at its head (26). The poet frames his plea to the judge (Vallus) as a dilemma (207-08). Suddenly, however, the abstract *lena* of the previous 208 lines becomes individualized. Nor is it a single Procuress that appears, but all of them whose "zealous duty" Vallus had benefited from in the past (210). It is they who make the final address to the court.

210. officium sedulitatis. Both words have a history in the poem, *officium* as the inflated expression of the *lena's* work (28, 47, 136, 168, 173), *sedulitas* as the zeal with which the fantasy wife seeks to please her husband (130). Both terms rebound on Vallus here, as Buchanan returns to the claim he makes from beginning about Vallus' mores: *sensisti tu quoque quid sit amor* (16).

212. oreque blandiloquo. For *blandus* and *blandiloquus* in the poem cf. 14, 53, 48.

213-22. The address of the Procuresses to Vallus alludes to his former complicity, they say: "Your cause is joined to ours" (214) and call him a witness who publishes his own guilt (219). Their address is a tissue of themes reiterated from the body of the defense. *caussa* (214) recalls *ante tuum hanc caussam finge tribunal agi* (26). *noxia nulli* (215) is repeated from Buchanan's assignment of prostitution among the virtues (181). *Grata . . . multis* (216) repeats *multis . . . placet* (182), as does *sedulitate* (216 = 130, 210), *testis, teste* (218, 219 = 78, 120, 137), *legitimus* (220 = 105, 152) *ream* (220 = 27, 45). The concluding dilemma proposed by the *cunctas puellas* (211) addresses for the final time the

spurious claim that prostitution is a defect (*vitium* 221). The logic of the Procuresses is valid, but completely *ad hominem*; in their view the belief that prostitution is a vice is incompatible with taking advantage of its pleasures. The only person named in the poem with a history of these practices is the judge, whose assumed agreement to hear the case turns out to be equivalent to his dismissal of it.

¹As G.W. Pigman notes, it is often difficult in Neo-Latin poetry to judge accurately where unconscious reminiscence leaves off and engaged imitation begins. He cites an illuminating example of the Petrarch's theory and practice. G.W. Pigman III, "Neo-Latin Imitation of the Latin Classics," in *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition*, eds. P. Godwin and O. Murray (Oxford: 1990), pp. 199-210. Nevertheless, unlike Buchanan's hendecasyllabic poetry, for example, which heavily borrows from Catullus, his elegiac borrowings are from elegy. This suggests conscious rather than unconscious imitation and, therefore, the imitation and the source texts should be regarded as having a complex intertextual relationship.



Aucto XVI. Valencia 1514



Aucto XIX. Artista: Feledy Gyula (traducción húngara, 1979)