STARKEY, Penelope Schott, 1942-
DOUGLAS'S ENEADOS: VIRGIL IN "SCOTTIS".

The City University of New York, Ph.D., 1971
Language and Literature, modern

University Microfilms, A XEROX Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan

DOUGLAS'S ENEADOS: VIRGIL IN "SCOTTIS"

by

PENELOPE SCHOTT STARKEY

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1971

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in English in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

June 6, 1971
date

Coleman O. Parsons
Chairman, Examining Committee

June 28, 1971
date

Frank Brady
Executive Officer

Helaine Newstead

Allen Austin Chairman

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

FOREWORD

Gavin Douglas's Scottish Aeneid is the first metrical translation of a classical work in any dialect of English. In addition to its importance as a landmark of translation, it is a major literary work in its own right.

This monograph will offer an immediate critical reading of the text rather than the result of extensive research. There remains much subsequent room for new work on the intellectual background and precise theological and philosophical influences. Both the commentaries and Saint Gelais's French translation deserve careful study and comparison with Eneados. Also productive would be an art-history approach to Douglas's visualization of the setting and action of the Aeneid and the scenery of the seasonal prologues. In regard to the latter, Mrs. Helena Mennie Shire has particularly suggested closer attention to the calendar literature of the period.[1]

I have chosen, however, to stay close to the text as the necessary preliminary basis for further work. While there have been a few recent articles and dissertations on the Eneados, there has as yet been no full-length study treating the poem as an integral work. The only book on the Eneados, Watt's 1920 Douglas's Aeneid,[2] is generous in quotation but

[1]In conversation, February 1971.

[2]Lauchlan Maclean Watt, Douglas's Aeneid (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920).

inadequate in synthetic analysis, failing to offer any definition or characterization of Douglas's achievement. Coldwell's recent Scottish Text Society edition contains a useful introduction, but its emphasis on the political nature of the translation is at the expense of other aspects and, therefore, does not provide a full or balanced reading.

Thus, although the Eneados invites further study of contemporary manuscript and printed sources, it must first be read as an independent work. I have here undertaken that necessary first step. I shall examine Douglas's intentions, techniques, and personal involvement in his translation. In this way I hope to show the ambitious scope and intensely Scottish and individual nature of his completed oeuvre.

I would like to thank Mrs. Shire for her letters and for the time she gave me during a brief visit to New York. Although most of my work had been completed before then, I have benefited from her wide view and patriotic enthusiasm. Most of all, I am indebted to Dr. Coleman O. Parsons, the kindest of dissertation advisors, for his warm interest and hard work:

> Lawd, honour, praysyngis, thankis infynyte
> to the... (I, Pro., 1)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

GOALS, DICHOTOMIES, AND CONFLICTS

Introductory

Gavin Douglas finished his translation of the Aeneid on July 22, 1513.[1] King James IV and many of his nobles were killed at Flodden on September 9, 1513. Within less than two months after Douglas had completed his work, his patron was killed, he lost most of his potential courtly audience, and the literary climate was for a time destroyed. After Flodden Douglas became involved in royal and family political struggles and died in England in 1522, an accused traitor to Scotland. His translation was not published until 1553 and then in England rather than Scotland. As a result of these events, Douglas's Eneados never reached its intended audience.

The purpcse and guiding principle of his translation, I believe, was to make Virgil's Aeneid accessible to all lowland Scotsmen. The vividness for which the translation is

[1]Douglas, in the concluding section, Tyme, space and dait. All references to the text of Eneados will be to the Scottish Text Society in four volumes published in Edinburgh between 1957 and 1964 and edited by David F. C. Coldwell. References to editorial material will be cited as Coldwell, followed by volume and page; references to Douglas will be cited in parentheses within the text of the monograph, indicating book, chapter, and line. All quotations from Virgil's Aeneid will be taken from the Loeb Virgil, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, 2 vols. (1916: Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967). While Douglas, of course, had access to a different text, the Latin does not vary significantly in any of the passages cited here.

most famous is part of a larger attempt to make the poem available to a "modern" reader or listener.

His ambitions went beyond the border. In the Conclusio following Book XIII, he describes his hoped-for literary immortality:

> Throw owt the ile yclepit Albyon
> Red sall I be, and sung with mony one.
> (Conclusio, 11-12)

Beyond the immediate Scottish audience, he directed his translation to all of Britain. He claims with pride that he writes in Scottish, "Kepand na sudron bot our awyn langage" (I, Pro., 111), but in 1513 Scottish was on the way to being a major European literary vehicle. As Surrey's later efforts at translation prove, Scottish was easily read in England. Furthermore, the 1553 London editor of Eneados went to great pains to Protestantize but none to Anglicize the work.

Douglas himself represents a juncture of European and Scottish literary traditions. His earlier work, The Palice of Honour, written in 1501, is in the wider European vein of the allegorical dream vision, introduced to England by Chaucer. Elements of the genre occur in Eneados as well, particularly in the prologue to the twelfth book. Other parts of Eneados, however, are essentially Scottish. Most strikingly so are the alliterative eighth prologue and all the bad weather and battle descriptions. The combination of uniquely Scottish and more generally European characteristics reflects Douglas's

desire to create in Scottish a major European work. It is the counterpart to the diplomatic machinations which would lead to the later accusation of treason. Politically, his attempts at personal and family advancement might be seen as legitimate and even honorable, but his wider political negotiations were ahead of his time. The treason charge came as a result of his dealings with Henry VIII of England, but Douglas's alliance with the English faction in Scotland came from a premature but realistic understanding of the ultimate need for union. Of course Douglas's unhappy political career began only after he had completed his great work and after the great watershed of Flodden. It is relevant to the translation only in so far as his Scottish nationalism is joined to a wider concept of "Albyon." He writes first for Scotland, then for Britain, and then for Western Europe.

The importance of Eneados as a landmark of translation is very great. It must be remembered that Douglas was making one of the first full translations from, rather than the adaptation of, the classics into English. To find anything comparable, one must go back to King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon translations.[1]

[1] In the preface to one of these, King Alfred explains his use of the vernacular and his aim of reviving and spreading learning. Gregory's Pastoral Care, ed. Henry Sweet (London: EETS, 1871-72), I,6.

But when Douglas was writing, this early venture in translation had been forgotten. King Alfred's work was revived only by those same antiquarians who would comb Douglas himself for obsolete vocabulary which might clarify Anglo-Saxon words. Apart from Wycliffe's fourteenth-century Biblical translation, Chaucer's Boethius, and the possibly Chaucerian fragment of the Romaunt of the Rose, there was virtually no translation. From the classics there were only adaptations and romances. A familiar example of the medieval substitute is Chaucer's summary of the Aeneid in Book I of the Hous of Fame. Thus the very idea of full translation was significant and new.

There are humanistic aspects in both intention and performance, that is, in educational goals and relative fidelity to text. The clearest statement of Douglas's purpose comes in the final stanza of his closing "Exclamatioun aganyst detractouris." In the venerable tradition of the "Go, little book" motif, he sends his work out into the world. As he has done repeatedly, he defends his work against those who would be overcritical. But here it is not his knowledge of Latin or his rhetorical skill which he offers as a defense, but rather the ultimate worthiness of his purpose.

> Go, wlgar Virgill, to euery churlych wight
> Say, I avow thou art translatit rycht,
> Beseyk all nobillys the corect and amend,
> Beys not afferyt tocum in prysaris sycht;
> The nedis nocht to aschame of the lycht,
> For I haue brocht thy purposs to gud end:

> Now salt thou with euery gentill Scot be kend,
> And to onletterit folk be red on hight,
> That erst was bot with clerkis comprehend.
> (Exclamatioun, 37-45)

There are several significant aspects of this stanza. First, by the choice of this opening, Douglas aligns himself with major poets from Ovid through Chaucer. While he may not be their equal, he puts himself in the line of tradition and hopes for future fame. Then, while he places himself with them, in contrast to them he writes not only for the "gentill" reader but to "euery churlych wight." These uneducated people are not entitled to correct the translation but they are expected to hear it. Virgil will now be known to all literate classes, even those who are literate only in the vernacular and not in Latin. In addition, there is the surprising suggestion that Douglas's Eneados will be read aloud to the illiterate. If Douglas is serious in this, there are parallels with those reformers who wanted to make the Bible known to all men--on the lips of the plowman at his labor. Finally, says Douglas, the Aeneid will no longer be the exclusive property of "clerkis"--of ecclesiastics and scholars.

This is a magnificent vision of all the people of Scotland receiving Virgil from the pen of Douglas. Optimistic respect for human capacities and worth as well as great respect for Virgil lead to such a vision. Douglas intends a

great gift to his country. The power of this idea is caught in the often-quoted lines from Scott's Marmion:

> A bishop by the altar stood,
> A noble lord of Douglas blood,
> With mitre sheen and rocquet white;
> Yet show'd his meek and thoughtful eye
> But little pride of prelacy;
> More pleased that, in a barbarous age,
> He gave rude Scotland Virgil's page,
> Than that beneath his rule he held
> The bishopric of fair Dunkeld.
> (Marmion, VI,xi,17-25)

But the great gift was not received. After Flodden circumstances were greatly altered both for Scotland and for Douglas himself. He had produced a translation carefully suited for the Scotland of his day, yet it remained almost unknown until the times for which it was written had changed. The "gentill Scots" did not read it, for the most part, and it was never read aloud to "onletterit folk." Instead it was ransacked by antiquarians and is now read by graduate students. It deserves better.

Recent Criticism

Until recently Douglas's Eneados has been noted primarily for its three nature prologues. The new movement in "Douglas studies" is toward a unified reading of the entire work, emphasizing the underlying ideas.

The newest edition of Douglas's translation, published 1957-1964 by the Scottish Text Society, reflects the current prevailing interpretation. Its editor, David Coldwell,

stresses the importance of the Eneados or the Aeneid itself as a mirror for princes. This reading of Eneados was first suggested in print by Bruce Dearing in 1952. He reexplains Douglas's departure from the romance reading of the Aeneid not so much as purism but as consistency for the sake of argument. Aeneas cannot be shown as a traitor, "either political or venereal,"[1] because he must embody the manly and political virtues. Thus Dearing and Coldwell are in substantial agreement about what they consider the major characteristic of Douglas's translation.

The most significant modifications to this view have been offered by Louis Brewer Hall, who insists that the political reading of the Aeneid goes back to at least the twelfth century and that Douglas's new contribution was his unified reading.

> Douglas' innovation was not to conceive of Aeneas as a model for princes, but to give the story of Aeneas without splitting it, in the medieval manner, into littera and sententia.[2]

While Douglas understands Virgil's technique as sometimes concealing truth "vnder the clowdis of dyrk poecy" (I, Pro., 193),

[1]Bruce Dearing, "Gavin Douglas' Eneados: A Reinterpretation," PMLA, LXVII (1952), 853.

[2]Louis Brewer Hall, "An Aspect of the Renaissance in Gavin Douglas' Eneados," Studies in the Renaissance, VII (1960), 186.

he does not see the ultimate meaning or truth of the poem as somehow lying outside of it. Rather, suggests Hall, the moral implications arise directly from the action of the poem. By such a reading from the surface, the Aeneid offers exempla rather than allegory.

Such simplification of the traditional allegorical interpretation is the result of Douglas's unified reading. It is this departure from the medieval separation of the dulcis and utiles which permits translation. Seeing this "unified understanding" as Douglas's most important contribution, Hall concludes:

> Instead of changing the text to suit the ideas of his own times, he took his times back to the text. Before him were the adaptations and after him the translations.[1]

Because Douglas respects Virgil's poem as a total creation rather than a repository of useful bits, he attempts to convey the whole. While he will sacrifice "eloquens" to "sentens," his understanding of "sentens" requires a full and highly immediate and available translation. Most characteristic of Douglas is Hall's statement that "he took his times back to the text." This immediacy, I believe, was intended to constitute the bridge between Virgil and the wide audience which Douglas envisioned.

[1]Hall, p. 192.

Douglas's Intentions

Douglas's primary intention in translating the Aeneid into his own language was to create that wide audience for Virgil's poem. There were more people who could read and understand Scottish than the select educated few who could read Latin. Furthermore, it is possible that Douglas anticipated the illiterate among his audience. More probably, however, the "unlettered" (Exclamatioun, 44) are merely those who do not know Latin. First there are the reasons why he wanted his countrymen to read the Aeneid at all. The example of Aeneas would encourage emulation of his virtues, and this example of the virtuous monarch would be, as Coldwell puts it, "propaganda for a monarchial political thesis."[1] Then, besides the political, it taught philosophic lessons. Furthermore, there are the reasons why Douglas wanted the Aeneid to be available in the Scottish language. Such a translation would have two major results. First, it would elevate, "dignify and adorn"[2] the Scottish language, and second, it would be useful educational device for those learning to read the original. Finally, there is the motive which is present for any writer: Douglas translates for his own fame and glory.

[1]Coldwell, I,45.

[2]Coldwell, I,45.

Douglas feels a patriotic concern with adorning his native language and demonstrating its capabilities. Even when he complains of its limitations, he turns around and places the blame on his own inadequacies. He has used foreign-based neologisms "Quhar scant was Scottis" (I, Pro., 118), and yet he hastens to add;

> Nocht for our tong is in the selwyn skant
> Bot for that I the fowth of langage want
> (I, Pro., 119-20)

Still, Douglas himself lacks no "fowth" of language, and the evidence of the translation is a momument to the possibilities inherent in Scottis. In hindsight, the debacle of Flodden vindicates Douglas's concern with his country's language. A. M. Kinghorn makes this point,

> Douglas wrote it under the spell of righteous patriotism at a time when the military and political threat from England was rapidly increasing. His immediate object was to stabilize and to enrich his native language which, as has been noted, he called 'Scottis,' and to endow it with eminence as a European literary medium fitted, like Latin, for heroic utterance.[1]

Kinghorn goes on to say of Douglas:

> Temperamentally, as a poet, he is a patriot and works in the European tradition of linguistic experimentation.[2]

Certainly Douglas is concerned with the separate and unique nature of his own language and is interested in using it fully.

[1]A. M. Kinghorn, ed. The Middle Scots Poets (London: Edward Arnold, 1970), p. 32.

[2]Kinghorn, pp. 33-34.

Yet his antagonism is at least as great to French as it is to English. It is hard to remember that before Flodden, before the Reformation and English prayerbook, before the union of the Crowns, French was equally a rival. When Douglas asks his readers to cast Caxton aside, he refers to his version of the Aeneid as "This othier buke"

> Quhilk vndir cullour of sum strange Franch wycht
> So Franchly leys, oneith twa wordis gais rycht.
> (I, Pro., 269-70)

But he adds a conciliatory word:

> I nold zhe trast I said this for dispyte,
> For me lyst with nane Inglis bukis flyte,
> (I, Pro., 271-72)

Whether or not Douglas is concerned with "flyting," he sees his own achievement in nationalistic terms:

> All thocht he stant in Latyn maist perfyte,
> Zit stude he nevir weill in our tung endyte
> Less than it be by me now at this tyme.
> (I, Pro., 493-95)

While the Aeneid is perfect as it stands in Latin, he, Douglas, has done something of great value by putting it into "our tung." This represents a gain for the language and therefore for the country. Such cultural patriotism is like the motivation for later Elizabethan translations. For example, Hoby's 1561 translation of the Book of the Courtier suggests in its dedicatory epistle that men should store the English tongue with learning,

> that wee alone of the world may not be still

> counted barbarous in our tongue, as in time
> out of mind we have bene in our maners.[1]

Thus, like Hoby's, Douglas's work in its ambitions for national improvement in manners and language is highly patriotic.

Douglas's other motivation for spreading a vernacular knowledge of the Aeneid is specifically educational and therefore similarly patriotic. The idea of sharing Virgil with the masses is not wholly new. In his 1502 edition of Virgil, Sebastian Brant explains that this book is intended for the unlearned rather than the scholarly.

> Virgilium exponant alii sermone deserto,
> Et calamo pueris; tradere et ore iuvet,
> Pictura agresti voluit Brant; atque tabellis;
> Edere cum inductis; rusticolisque viris,
> Nec tamen abiectis labor hic; nec prorsus inanis,
> Nam memori servat mente figura librum.[2]

Douglas's intentions are similar to those of Brant.

In the Direction of the book, following Book XIII, Douglas makes a very specific claim about the educational usefulness of his work. Because his translation follows the original so closely, it will aid those teaching Virgil in Latin.

[1]Baldassare Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, trans. Sir Thomas Hoby, New York, 1948, p. 5, as quoted in Julia G. Ebel, "A Numerical Survey of Elizabethan Translations," The Library, 5th Series, XXII, (1967), 124.

[2]Sebastian Brant, prefactory epigram, quoted in Anna Cox Brinton, Maphaeus Vegius and his Thirteenth Book of the Aeneid (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1930), p. 43.

> Ane othir proffit of our buke I mark,
> That it salbe reput a neidfull wark
> To thame wald Virgill to childryn expone;
> For quha lyst note my versys, one by one,
> Sall fynd tharin hys sentens euery deill,
> And al maste word by word, that wait I weill.
> Thank me tharfor, masteris of grammar sculys,
> Quhar ze syt techand on zour benkis and stulys.
> (Direction, 41-48)

Note the terms in which it will be helpful. It will allow the teacher to "expone" the text, not only to translate but to explain. Although in the first prologue Douglas denies the possibility of literal word by word translation, he asserts with pride and frequency that his translation offers to the reader "hys sentens euery deill."

Such a view of the usefulness of translating the classics is not unique to Douglas. In the note on the passage above, Coldwell refers to John Palsgrave's translation of The Comedy of Acolastus by Fullonius. This work, first published in 1540, sets forth its educational function on the titlepage, claiming that it is

> translated into oure englysshe tongue, after such manner as chulderne are taught in the grammer schole, first worde for worde, as the latyne lyeth, and afterwarde accordynge to the sence and meanyng of the latin sentences: by shewing what they do value and countervayle in our tongue, with admonitions set forth in the margyn, so often as any such phrase, that is to say, kind of spekyng vsed of the latyns, whiche we vse not in our tonge, but by other wordes, expresse the sayde latyn maners of speaking,...[1]

[1]Fullonius, The Comedy of Acolastus trans. John Palsgrave, ed. P. L. Carver, (London: EETS, 1937), title page.

The fact that Palsgrave is more specifically concerned with language clarifies what Douglas accomplishes. He omits the intermediate step of translating "as the latyne lyeth" and proceeds immediately to "the sence and meanyng of the latin sentences." It is in this depth that he wishes to "expone" Virgil to his fellow Scotsmen--and their children. Thus Douglas thinks his own work is valuable for its contributions to language and meaning, and it is for these that he hopes to be appreciated.

Some Special Qualities of the Translation

In translating the Aeneid, Douglas makes many changes, but of all the changes, the most striking is expansion. As he proceeds from book to book, the amount of expansion increases. He seems to become more at home with his task and gradually makes the poem more his own.[1] In the first book, his version is only a little more than half again as many lines as Virgil. Some of the increase is of course due to the change in language and verse form. Even in Loeb versions, Latin is always more concise than English. Then the verse

[1]John Hollander believes the "interpretive translation" is "like a peculiarly constructed sort of distorting mirror, or a carefully chosen ratio of enlargement or reduction, aimed always at selecting particular features of the original for emphasis, or even for being rendered visible at all." "Versions, Interpretations, and Performances," On Translation, ed. Reuben A. Brower (1959; New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 214.

form requires more space: pentameter couplets automatically increase the number of lines required to translate unrhymed hexameter. But, as I have said, the rate of expansion does not remain constant. There is an almost regular increase in relative length. In the second half of the Aeneid, Douglas more than doubles the number of lines in each book. The chart below indicates the exact ratio in line length of Douglas to Virgil, from 1.7 in Book I to 2.4 in Books VII, X, and XII.

I:	1.7
II:	1.8
III:	1.9
IV:	1.9
V:	1.9
VI:	2.1
VII:	2.4
VIII:	2.3
IX:	2.3
X:	2.4
XI:	2.3
XII:	2.4

By the time Douglas reaches the post-Virgilian Book XIII of Mapheus Vegius, he is so at home in his work that he expands this book also in the ratio of 2.3 to one of the original.

The last special quality I want to mention here is Douglas's reputed realism. Realism, unfortunately, is a difficult and often misleading term. Even if the philosophical sense is totally ruled out, literary usage remains unclear. Certainly the realism of Eneados is neither a deterministic naturalism nor a one-to-one correspondence

between "fact" and description or representation. But even such exact correspondence, were it feasible, would not be "realism for its own sake" because of the act of recording it. When something has been deliberately written down, there is some selecting and shaping involved. Therefore realistic aspects necessarily have some particular purpose beyond accurate imitation. The so-called realism of some of the prologues and part of the text where it is deliberate seems intended to make the translation easier to understand. It helps to make the story immediate and contemporary. The greater use of recognizable and local detail reflects, like the expansion and rearrangement, Douglas's own assimilation and transformation of his material. All of these are part of the effort to give a total translation.

The Sections Discussed in this Dissertation

My object in this dissertation is to illustrate the distinctive qualities of Douglas's Eneados both as a translation and as an independent literary work. In order to do this, I shall discuss certain of the prologues and books which best exemplify these qualities, dealing with them in the order in which they appear. For the most part the books which I have chosen correspond to those which Douglas laments

are omitted by Caxton. These complaints concerning Caxton are treated in the next chapter, where I discuss the first prologue. In some cases there are other sections which exemplify equally well the quality at issue, but the selection I have made is intended to give a balanced overview. I have included the famous nature prologues, VII, XII, and XIII, in order to show that rather than being isolated virtuoso pieces they form an integral part of the total work. The non-Virigilian thirteenth book is particularly included for two reasons. First, it has received virtually no critical attention, and second, it is of major importance to Douglas's whole reading of the Aeneid. His work has many interesting features in its ongoing attempt at clarification and Christianization, but along with these and at times opposed to them is the underlying and unspoken approach to the original poem. Some of the sections I have selected for discussion will help to reveal this inner counterpoint of intention and belief.

The Central Conflict of the Aeneid--As Differently Perceived in Virgil and Douglas

Above issues of language and specific "sence and meanyng of the latin sentences," there exists a central conception of the conflict present in the Aeneid as a total poem. This is larger than the disagreements among the gods,

the battle between Aeneas and Turnus, or even the founding of the Roman Empire. Rather it is a statement by implication about the place of man in the world and the final values of human existence. The poet himself need not be aware of these implications in his work. Yet I suspect that Virgil was intensely aware while Douglas was not.

In Virgil's Aeneid, the implication is not really so much a statement as a dichotomy and a question. This is also true of Douglas's translation, but the dichotomy he presents and the question with which we are left is a very different one. I believe it is this difference which, apart from all matters of intent or style, most fundamentally shapes Douglas's work. Unperceived as it may be, it is the informing characteristic of the translation and the work as a whole. It is reflected in the prologues, the additional sections, and the inclusion of the post-Virgilian thirteenth book. This central conflict is best understood in contrast to that sensed by Virgil.

Both Virgil and Douglas present a world where affirmation meets futility. The differences lie in the terms of their affirmation and negation. At the end of his opening section, Virgil writes "tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem" (I, 33). This duality of success and struggle runs through the whole poem. It is well described by R. W. B. Lewis. He finds that Virgil sets forth

> The classic drama of a necessary and sanctified return--the return of the dead to life, the return of the race to its homeland, the restoration of peace and order out of violence and disorder, along with the renewal of the year, of the ceremonies, of the human spirit.[1]

But along with this positive achievement, there is an undercurrent of another kind. He adds,

> Or rather, to be precise, he is enacting all that in part: in part, the Aeneid steadily mirrors an action of an opposite kind, a self-propelled movement of an opposite kind, a self-propelled movement toward defeat and death.[2]

This undercurrent is the "lacrimae rerum" (I, 462), which pervades the poem from Book I until at the end of Book XII Aeneas stabs Turnus, "vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras" (XII, 952). By now it has been well established and there is no need to elaborate on the fact that Virgil was neither naive nor a rampant patriot. The triumph of "good" over "evil" or "higher" over "lower" is never final or complete. Putnam discusses Virgil's doubts about the methods required to establish the empire he praises, arguing that the end of the poem shows the failure of individual man to be reconciled with "the larger universals of history and the development of empire."[3] The founding of the empire is not a total good.

[1]R. W. B. Lewis, "On Translating the Aeneid: Yif That I Can," Virgil, ed. Henry Steele Commager (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 49.

[2]R. W. B. Lewis, p. 49.

[3]Michael C. J. Putnam, The Poetry of the Aeneid (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 193.

> Instead, the end of the Aeneid presents a tragic victory of the very violence and irrationality which Aeneas had up to this point withstood.[1]

Within the final triumph is the perennial loss. The struggle undercuts the goal and the achievement is forever ambiguous. Thus the dichotomy for Virgil lies in the glory and sadness of empire.

Notice, however, that both sides of the vision are well rooted in this world. Nature and the gods are important in the poem but they are brought into it, the poem is not extended to them. Viktor Pöschl illustrates this in his discussion of the theme of control in Book I.

> In the Neptune episode, for example, a natural event explained by means of a political event serves to show that nature is a symbol of political organization.[2]

Here nature serves to illustrate an aspect of human life, and despite the cosmic relationships of the empire, the final truth concerns man on earth.

When Douglas translates the Aeneid, he attempts to render the "sentens" but transforms the basic assumptions. He, too, expresses an underlying conflict, but in his work it is shaped by Christianity and the Scottish battle ethic. In the struggles to found the Roman Empire he feels the glory

[1]Putnam, p. 193.

[2]Viktor Pöschl, The Art of Virgil, trans. Gerda Seligson (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), p. 23.

but not the Virgilian sadness. The tears of things which Aeneas feels on viewing the representation of the Trojan war become a kind of Christian resignation in Douglas:

> Thir lamentabyll takynnys passit befor
> Our mortal myndis aucht to compassioun steir.
> (I, vii, 78-79)

There is compassion but not heartbreak; this too will pass away. The sadness expressed by Douglas is the more specific and immediate pity for personal loss, the farewells and laments for the newly-dead. Yet it does not disturb him as it does Virgil that Aeneas triumphs only through slaughter. The battle scenes in Douglas are correspondingly more vivid and bloody, reminiscent of the violence in Barbour and Blind Harry. I shall discuss the similarities in Chapter VIII where I treat Book IX. Also Douglas is more enthusiastic about the successful founding of the Roman Empire. He does not stop with the somber death of Turnus but continues, in Book XIII, with the triumph and celebration. Unlike Virgil, Douglas makes the sadness and struggle part of the affirmation and earthly glory.

Instead, the problem for Douglas lies in his delight in earthly life in all its aspects. His vivid, active, and colorful style in the translation is an expression of his pleasure in the good and evil of this world. This delight is a problem because at the same time Douglas feels bound by the Christian rejection of this world. Here is his dichotomy and conflict. The final emptiness of earthly joy

sounds through the prologues like a refrain: "All erdly glaidness fynysith with wo" (II, Pro., 21), "Temporal ioy endis wyth wo and pane" (IV, Pro., 221), "Sen erdly plesour endis oft with sorow, we se" (V, Pro., 62). Of course this is a medieval commonplace; it occurs in Chaucer and Dunbar.[1] It fits the recommended rhetorical pattern of the proverb as an artistic conclusion. Yet its reiteration in Douglas is more than cliche; it is his dilemma to believe this but to make temporal things appealing.

The problem of worldly versus spiritual values is most clearly focused in the issue of the Roman Empire. In Book I, Jupiter consoles Venus by promising lasting empire to the Romans:

> his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;
> imperius sine fine dedi. (I, 278-79)

or in translation,

> To thir folkis quhou lang thar ryng remanys,
> Nowder term of space nor boundis of senzeory
> Nane wil I set, for to thame grant haue I
> Perpetual empyre, bot end to lest. (I, v, 84-87)

Thus Douglas renders the prophecy with reasonable accuracy, but he needs to qualify it somehow. Therefore in the commentary attached to Book I he cites "Sanct Augustyn" who "mokkis at this word,"

[1]Chaucer, MLT, 421-22, 1133; NPT, 4395; Dunbar "Of the Changes of Lyfe," "All Erdly Joy Returnis in Pane."

> "Bot Virgill was crafty," sais he, "that wald
> not on his awyn behalf rehers thir wordis, bot
> maid Iupiter pronunce thaim--and as he is a
> half fenzeit god, swa is his prophecy."
> (I, v, 85, note)

This is the prelude to the struggle and great achievement. Then in Book XIII when all is triumph and celebration, there is intruded a long passage on the futility of Turnus's death, the wheel of fortune, and the vanity of earthly glory (XIII, iii, 39ff.). In the last chapter of this book, Jupiter promises Venus that he will raise Aeneas to heaven, and, along with him, any of his kin who show the right combination of virtues and attitudes.

> I sall alsso heich ony of hys kyn,
> Quhilk of thar proper vertu lyst do wyn
> Perpetuall lovyng by dedis honorabill,
> And doith contemp the wrachit warld onstabill;
> (XIII, xi, 53-56)

Was the struggle to found Rome worthwhile? Perhaps only for the virtues which it elicited from those who struggled. Ultimately temporal kingdoms are vanity. The lesson of the Aeneid, as read by Douglas, must go beyond this world. The eleventh prologue on true chivalry makes this point explicit:

> Exempill takis of this prynce Ene,
> That, for hys fatale cuntre of behest,
> Sa feill dangeris sustenyt on land and see,
> Syk stryfe in stour sa oft with speir in rest,
> Quhill he hys realm conquest bath west and est:
> Sen all this dyd he for a temporall ryng,
> Press ws to wyn the kynryk ay lestyng,
> Address ws fast fortill opteyn that fest.
> (XI, Pro., 177-84)

The only values which Douglas can set forth as true and eternal are not of this world. He must deny the appeal of human life and success in favor of the world to come. Yet his best poetry sounds and shines with the fullness of life on this earth. To translate the Aeneid as well as he did, he had to share Virgil's earthly values. Although he would "contemp the wrachit warld onstabill" his belief in the value of literature and his own fame is a belief in "temporal joy." It is this conflict which gives life and energy to Douglas's translation of the Aeneid.

CHAPTER II

PROLOGUE I: THE TRANSLATION AND THE MAN

Douglas's first prologue, unlike the others which are tied to the books they precede or follow, serves as introduction to the entire work. Significantly, it does not introduce Virgil's poem; instead, it is clearly intended to prepare the reader for Douglas's poem.

This first prologue is necessarily one of the longest because it has the most to do, explaining the guiding principles of Douglas's Eneados. By its aureate opening, the prologue demonstrates Douglas's belief in the high importance of his translation. He here asserts the worth of Virgil and the consequent value of putting him into Scottish poetry. Next he discusses the issue of language and the general problem of translation. Then he must set his work in context by disposing of his English predecessors, Caxton and Chaucer; his translation will be more accurate than Caxton's, and his treatment of Aeneas more just than Chaucer's. Finally, but all important, he must Christianize the Aeneid. This pagan poem must be transformed into a Christian poem for the benefit of his audience and for his own self-justification. Such concern for his dual role as poet-priest will be a recurring theme.

The prologue demonstrates the stylistic variety which characterizes the whole work. Douglas's verse shifts readily in level, tone, and speed. It is this flexible voice and the

continuing presence of Douglas's personal hopes and uncertainties, first apparent here, which become the animating forces of the Eneados.

The Problem of Language

The elaborate opening praise of Virgil leads by contrast to the problem of rendering his great work into Scottish. The first lines are extravagantly ornate in an attempt to offer adequate praise to the great poet.

> Lawd, honour, praysyngis, thankis infynyte
> To the and thy dulce ornat fresch endyte,
> Maist reuerend Virgill, of Latyn poetis prynce
> (I, Pro., 1-3)

and so the praise continues. Virgil is a "peirless perle" (I, Pro., 5), a "Chosyn charbukkill" (I, Pro., 7), and several more lines of splendid things; in sum, he is most perfect. The question is, then, why should Douglas with his own inadequacies try to translate this great work, and how can he presume to do it "With bad, harsk spech and lewit barbour tong?" (I, Pro., 21). The difference between his language and Virgil's will be greater than that between night and day. But because of his love for Virgil's work,

> And that thy facund sentence mycht be song
> In our langage alsweill as Latyn tong--
> Alsweill? na, na, impossibill war, per de--
> Zit with thy leif, Virgile, to follow the,
> I wald into my rurall wlgar gross
> Wryte sum savoryng of thyne Eneados.
> (I, Pro., 39-44)

He wants Virgil to be sung in Scottish as well as Latin, but fears that "alsweill" is impossible. Nevertheless, he will do what he can to transmit some sense of the original in his own less cultivated tongue.

Douglas insists that he undertakes this task only at the urging of "My speciall gud Lord Henry, Lord Sanct Clair" (I, Pro., 86), and to him he dedicates this book "Writtin in the langage of Scottis natioun" (I, Pro., 103). Because Virgil's poetry is inherently difficult, the translator goes to great pains to make his version "braid and plane" (I, Pro., 110) by putting it into Scots,

> Kepand na sudron bot our awyn langage,
> And spekis as I lernyt quhen I was page.
> (I, Pro., 111-12)

Yet he is compelled to borrow from southern English or French "Quhar scant was Scottis" (I, Pro., 118). Here Douglas seems to adhere to the widespread contemporary belief in the poverty of the vernacular.[1] But then his patriotism surmounts his initial worries and he hastens to add that it is "Nocht for our tong is in the selwyn skant" (I, Pro., 119), but that the deficiency lies within himself. Douglas continues to have doubts about the adequacy of his language, both national and personal, but he ultimately knows that for all its failings,

[1]This general belief is documented in Richard Foster Jones, The Triumph of the English Language (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1953), see especially Chapter I, "The Uneloquent Language," pp. 3-31.

his translation does indeed put Virgil into Scots. Towards the end of the prologue, where he warns off his potential critics, Douglas insists on his achievement.

> Ellis haue I said thar may be na compar
> Betwix his versis and my stile wlgar.
> All thocht he stant in Latyn maist perfyte,
> Zit stude he nevir weill in our tung endyte
> Less than it be by me now at this tyme.
> (I, Pro., 491-95)

Finally, despite his doubts, Douglas is justifiably proud of his attempt. Douglas achieves something new and significant for his native Scots.

The Act of Translation

While Douglas disclaims rhetorical achievement, he is satisfied that he has transmitted the meaning. He cannot duplicate the language, but he can provide the "sens" of the original. Here one touches the traditional translator's dilemma--to translate "after the Word" or "after the sense"--but for Douglas there has been no question. Indeed he is willing to go farther from the word in order to come closer to the sense as he understands it. His allegiance to the sense, however, puts rigorous limitations on him. He describes those limitations in a well-known figure:

> Quha is attachit ontill a staik, we se,
> May go na ferthir bot wreil about that tre:
> Rycht so am I to Virgillis text ybund.
> (I, Pro., 297-99)

And he abides by the bonds,

> Less sum history, subtell word or the ryme
> Causith me mak digressioun sum tyme.
> (I, Pro., 305-6)

A description of Douglas's translation, however, would soon become description of those numerous digressions.

Because Douglas is so concerned with translating the meaning he is infuriated by Chaucer's claim in the "Legend of Dido"[1] that Douglas insists that such complete fidelity would be impossible, or at least the results would be incomprehensible. To justify his position he gives examples of Latin words which cannot be accurately rendered in English without circumlocution.

> For thar be Latyn wordis mony ane
> That in our leyd ganand translatioun hass nane
> Less than we mynyss thar sentens and grauyte
> And zit scant weill exponyt. (I, Pro., 363-66)

He is certainly not willing to diminish either "sentens" or "grauyte."

In addition to specific words for which there is no good Scottish equivalent, there are the words or passages of more than one possible meaning. Douglas acknowledges that the commentators may have good evidence for their multiple meanings, but he himself is so concerned with meaning that he insists on establishing the primary one and making it unambiguously clear.

[1]The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957), p. 500.

> All this is ganand, I will weill it swa be,
> Bot a sentens to follow may suffice me.
> (I, Pro., 355-56)

The single most important meaning must be chosen and clarified.

Douglas then returns to the problem of word by word translation. Such a literal version, or even a version which attempted to duplicate the eloquence of the original, would be impossible to understand.

> To follow alanerly Virgillis wordis, I weyn,
> Thar suld few vndirstand me quhat thai meyn.
> The bewte of his ornate eloquens
> May nocht al tyme be kepit with the sentens.
> (I, Pro., 391-94)

For this position Douglas has the support of Saint Gregory and of "Horatius in hys Art of Poetry" (I, Pro., 400):

> Sanct Gregor eik forbyddis ws to translait
> Word eftir word bot sentence follow algait:
> "Quha haldis," quod he, "of wordis the properteis
> Full oft the verite of the sentens fleys."
> (I, Pro., 395-98)

In all of these passages, the significant words are "vndirstand," "sentens," and "verite." These are the key to Douglas's intentions.

Douglas's Objections to Caxton's Version

The second section of the prologue, most of lines 105 to 282, is Douglas's attack on Caxton's version of the Aeneid. Because, aside from what was done by Caxton and Chaucer before him, there were no other attempts to put the Aeneid into the

vernacular, they are the standard upon which Douglas would improve. Douglas himself defines his work by the differences from Caxton.

Caxton's major fault, according to Douglas, is the omissions. Except for the storm, "The thre first bukis he hass ourhippyt quyte" (I, Pro., 154). Then there is the treatment of the Dido story which is "haill pervertit so" (I, Pro., 64), that besides being wrong it occupies almost half his book. Next Book V is a total loss:

> The fyfte buke of the festis funerall,
> The lusty gamys and plays palustrall,
> That is ourhippit quyte and left behynd--
> Na thing tharof zhe sall in Caxtoun fynd.
> (I, Pro., 173-76)

The emphasis on the omission of Book V corresponds to the lavish treatment which Douglas accords that book. Then, as Caxton himself acknowledges, Book VI is also totally omitted:

> The saxt buke eyk, he grantis, that wantis haill,
> And, for tharof he vnderstude nocht the taill,
> He callis it fenzeit and nocht forto belief;
> (I, Pro., 177-79)

Because Douglas, with the help of the commentators, has taken on the problem of Christianizing the whole of the Aeneid, he does not share Caxton's unwillingness to tackle Book VI with its eschatological problems. Finally, there are the battle books, traditionally slighted in the medieval versions of the Aeneid.

> The last sax bukis of Virgill all inferis,
> Quhilk contenys strang batalis and werys,
> This ilk Caxtoun so blaitly lattis ourslip
> I hald my tung for schame, bytand my lyp.
> (I, Pro., 249-52)

Now it is these very books, seven through twelve, where Douglas reaches his stride and his most unique success. His list of the details neglected by Caxton is a guide to those details which he himself accentuates.

> The gret afferis of athir host and array,
> The armour of Eneas, fresch and gay,
> The quent and curyus castis poeticall,
> Perfyte symylitudis and exemplis all
> Quharin Virgill beris the palm of lawd,
> Caxtoun, for dreid thai suld hys lippis scald,
> Durst nevir twich. (I, Pro., 253-59)

Douglas, however, dares and succeeds. His numerous expansions in these books attest to his enjoyment. Thus, looking over Douglas's account of the omissions in Caxton, the reader finds the shape of Douglas's emphases. Because he stays so close to Virgil, he of necessity gives full account of Books I through III. Four, the Dido story, is reduced to its original proportions. Five, the "lusty gamys," is given lusty treatment. Six, the religiously troublesome descent to the underworld, is included with a blanket of explanations. Seven through twelve are translated fully and appreciatively. In other words, Caxton's omissions are Douglas's richest development.

There is another aspect of the translation in which Douglas attacks Caxton and performs differently, the rendering of geographical and personal names.

> The namys of pepill or citeis beyn so bad
> Put by this Caxtoun that, bot he had beyn mad,
> (I, Pro., 221-22)

he could never have messed them up so. Douglas provides a list of examples and concludes,

> Quhat suld I langar on hys errouris dwell?
> Thai beyn so playn and eik sa monyfald
> The hundreth part tharof I leif ontald.
> (I, Pro., 246-48)

This concern with the correct identification of people and places is part of Douglas's total effort at clarification and the education of his readers. In my discussion of Book I, I shall illustrate his method of rendering and explaining names.

The Attack on Chaucer and the Vindication of Aeneas

Apart from Caxton, Chaucer is the only other person who has put any version of the Aeneid into English. He gives parts of the story in the "Legend of Dido" and The Hous of Fame, concentrating in both on the Dido episode and representing her as ruthlessly abandoned by an evil Aeneas. Because Douglas wishes to portray Aeneas as an ideal leader and proto-Christian prince, and because he does not wish to distort his original, he must clear Aeneas of these charges. Thus he vigorously asserts the nobility of the work and its hero:

> For euery vertu belangand a nobill man
> This ornate poet bettir than ony can
> Payntand discryvis in person of Eneas--
> Not forto say sikane Eneas was
> Zit than by hym perfytely blasons he

> All wirschip, manhed and nobilite,
> With euery bonte belangand a gentill wycht,
> Ane prynce, ane conquerour or a valzeand knycht.
> (I, Pro., 325-32)

The didactic purpose which Douglas finds is underlined by his suggestion that perhaps Aeneas was not really so perfect but that he serves nonetheless as a model or blazon or princely perfection.[1] But whether or not he was perfect, he would not have been the man to betray Dido, and Douglas's attack on Chaucer is really a vindication of Aeneas. He offers a long list of extenuating circumstances: the gods told him to leave, so any reproach should be to them; when the Trojans first reached Carthage, Ilioneus told Dido that they would sail on to Italy; and, even according to Dido herself, Aeneas never made her any oath or bond to stay. "Thus hym tobe maynsworn may nevir betyde" (I, Pro., 440), for he followed divine commandment, as all men should.

> Sen the command of God obey suld all
> And vndir his charge na wrangwyss deid may fall.
> (I, Pro., 443-44)

Having thus elaborately demonstrated that Aeneas was not forsworn, Douglas relents in his attack on Chaucer. He excuses

[1]This unquestioning acceptance of Aeneas as a genuine historical figure is similar to Douglas's discussions with Polidore Vergil concerning the legendary rulers of Scotland. One perceives here a measure of enlightened gullibility. Their conversation is described in Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas, 4 vols., ed. John Small (Edinburgh: Paterson 1874), I, cxvii, clix-clx; and discussed in John MacQueen, "Some Aspects of the Renaissance in Scotland," Forum for Modern Language Studies, III (1967), 210-11.

him with a measure of forbearance:

> Bot sikkyrly of resson me behufis
> Excuss Chauser fra all maner repruffis
> In lovyng of thir ladeis lylly quhyte
> He set on Virgill and Eneas this wyte,
> For he was evir (God wait) all womanis frend.
> (I, Pro., 445-49)

Chaucer is indeed a great poet, but he was overly susceptible to women, at least in literature.

Yet one suspects Douglas of sharing similar susceptibilities as he labors doggedly to vindicate Aeneas. In his earlier Palice of Honour he too had joined in the general condemnation of Dido's deserter. Here in his Eneados, however, such a false hero would never be acceptable. But even as Douglas works to convince the reader of Aeneas's innocence, he himself feels an undercurrent of doubt. This doubt he relegates to the commentary on the prologue. In his notes he reasserts the falseness of the pagan gods and concludes:

> It followis than that Eneas wroucht nocht be command of ony goddis, bot of his awyn fre wyl, be the permission of God, quhilk sufferis al thing, and stoppis nocht, na puttis nocht necessite to fre wyll. He falit than gretly to the sueit Dydo, quhilk falt reprefit nocht the goddess diuinite, for thai had na diuinite, as said is befoir. (I, Pro., 425, note)

Beyond this he makes no more of Aeneas's possible guilt and subsequently disregards it. The doubt itself, however, is characteristic of Douglas's occasionally over-literal or heavy-handed approach. Clearly, despite any residual doubts,

the reader is meant to accept Aeneas's behavior so that he can serve as a model of princely virtue.

By this interpretation of the Dido episode, Douglas departs from his medieval predeccessors and returns to Virgil's original intentions. With reluctance and pain, Aeneas leaves Dido, and thereby he does the thing which is good and necessary for the prince. Because Douglas's translation of Book IV has been thoroughly treated in another dissertation,[1] I shall not pay special attention to it here. However, I shall demonstrate that Douglas's reading of Book IV is reinforced by the minor changes he makes in the underworld meeting in Book VI between the former lovers. This reassertion of Aeneas as genuine virtuous hero rather than blackguard is essential to Douglas's intent and the function of the Aeneid as civic and moral instruction.

The Pagan-Christian Problem

Despite all the appreciation accorded Virgil's fourth Eclogue with its glorious birth and prophecies of a golden age, Virgil was not ever truly thought to be a Christian. Readers and commentators knew they were dealing with a pagan poet, and long before Douglas set about his translation,

[1]Quentin George Johnson, "Gavin Douglas as Poet-Translator: Eneados and Aeneid IV" (Diss. University of Oregon, 1967).

there had been numerous efforts to align the Aeneid with sound Christian doctrine. Of these, it was the work of Christopher Landinus on which Douglas relied most heavily. In addition to the specific treatments of Virgil, there was a wider effort to reconcile the whole of classical literature with the requirements of the Christian age. Here it was, of course, Boccaccio's de Genealogia Deorum which was most important.

Douglas made use of these works and others in his efforts to make the Aeneid morally acceptable and useful to his audience. While he made only minor changes in the text, his major Christianizing effort occurs in the prologues preceding each book, most overtly in Prologues I, IV, VI, X, and XI, but in the others as well. In a sense, the prologues determine the total meaning of Douglas's Eneados. In the first prologue the specific religious problem is raised in conjunction with Caxton's omission of Book VI. Caxton excludes it from his version because he considers it "faynd" and unworthy of belief.

In the course of his general attack on Caxton, Douglas offers some argument for the inclusion of this underworld book and, by extension, a defense of the underlying truth of Virgil's entire work. Here is a prose synopsis of lines 177-218 of Prologue I.

> Caxton skips Book VI entirely; because he didn't understand it, he calls it feigned. Perhaps all Virgil is, because the pagan gods never existed. We do not accept necessity or transmigration of souls and many things written by Virgil, though in translating them I am following him. But trust well, Virgil was a philosopher, and the clouds of dark poetry hide many important things. The truth is deliberately hidden; it is not false, but made fair. It is as possible for Aeneas as it was for Hercules or Theseus to go to hell, which was no lie, as explained by Boccaccio. Who knows if he went in a vision, by magic, sorcery, or enchantment, to speak with his father's soul, or in the likeness of a spirit as Saul spoke with Samuel. I won't say that all Virgil is true, but such things are possible, because in those days there was more illicit magic than there is now when the faith is firmer.

Douglas does not actually take a position on the truth or falsehood of the narrative here. It is symbolic; on the other hand, it may be true. The truth cannot be stated bluntly but is concealed by poetry. Finally, Douglas is willing to allow the existence of things beyond his own understanding. As he must accept the Christian mysteries, so he acknowledges the possibilities of these others. The reference to illicit magic reminds one of the era of witch-hunting yet to come in Scotland and elsewhere. But, asserts Douglas with confidence, even if such magic were once possible, it couldn't happen now in our enlightened day and age.

Clearly this by itself is not an overpowering argument for the Christian legitimacy of Book VI. There is a more elaborate justification in the prologue to that book. But it is an initial preparation for the overall Christianization of Douglas's Eneados.

Douglas's Variety of Styles and Genres

This first prologue raises by example the problem of stylistic level. The opening praise of Virgil is at the pinnacle of the aureate tradition, complete with phrases from every other tour de force of aureation. Yet when Douglas gets to his attack on Caxton, his vehemence approaches that of flyting. He resorts immediately to proverb: Caxton and Virgil are "na mair lyke than the devill and Sanct Austyne" (I, Pro., 143). The essence of the stylistic indecorum is neatly caught in this couplet concerning what Caxton did to Virgil:

> Hys ornate goldyn versis mair than gilt
> I spittit for dispyte to se swa spilt.
> (I, Pro., 149-50)

Douglas finds nothing incongruous in the descent from golden verses to contemptuous spitting. After he has critically demolished Caxton's production, Douglas goes on to challenge the reader in broadly colloquial terms:

> And bot my buke be fundyn worth sik thre
> Quhen it is red, do warp it in the see
> Thraw it in the fyre or rent it euery crum.
> (I, Pro., 279-81)

There is nothing elevated about these suggestions for the disposal of his own work if it doesn't surpass the miserable standard set by Caxton.

Clearly Douglas is not constrained in this prologue by any desire for consistency of stylistic level. Yet his

obvious indifference to any such consistency does not mean that he is unfamiliar with the rhetorical doctrine of decorum. In the prologue to the ninth book, he describes at length the proper attributes of "The ryall style, clepyt heroycall" (IX, Pro., 21). Yet within the 98 lines of that prologue, Douglas shifts levels without compunction. It is clear therefore that Douglas, as a well-educated man, was perfectly aware of stylistic decorum but did not choose to adhere to it. Such free movement among levels is perhaps characteristic of much Middle-Scots poetry.

This stylistic variety in Middle-Scots has been most frequently noted in the work of William Dunbar. Edwin Morgan has found in Dunbar's work what he terms the aureate style, the anti-aureate style (deliberately harsh), a "fusion of native alliteration and French-based verse-form," and flyting and satirical invective.[1] James Kinsley has pointed out Dunbar's disregard for the conventional separation of the Kinds.

> His resources are boldly used. He draws into service, with scant respect for the restrictive proprieties of the "Kinds," aureate words and "terms of art" from the professions and crafts, tags from the romances and phrases from the Latin of the Church, gnomic colloquialisms, alliterative phrases from both courtly and popular poetry, and obscenities.[2]

[1]Edwin Morgan, "Dunbar and the Language of Poetry," Essays in Criticism, II (1952), 145.

[2]William Dunbar, Poems, ed. James Kinsley (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. xv.

While Douglas is not quite so flamboyant a virtuoso, he moves with similar ease among levels and genres. It has been suggested by Gilbert Highet that in addition to vocabulary enrichment, another function of Renaissance translation is the enriching of style--the introduction of new forms, meter, images, and verbal devices.[1]

But the question of stylistic variety in Douglas's Eneados is more than the juxtaposition of the aureate and colloquial. Just as there is enormous variation from line to line, so too there is variation from section to section. The prologues in particular have great diversity of verse form and subject matter, and the actual translation exhibits a range including aspects of chronicle, romance, dream vision, elegy, and moral tract. The key to understanding this diversity is to understand Douglas's conception of his work.

He is obviously doing more than a journeyman's job of straight translation. Instead, starting with Virgil's Aeneid as a revered basis, he is here creating a new work. Thus the translation along with the prologues and additional sections must be taken as a total oeuvre. That oeuvre is intended as a new and important piece of Scottish literature. In order to justify its standing as a major work and in order to ornament and elevate the langauge in which it is written,

[1]Gilbert Highet, The Classical Tradition (1949; New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 112.

it deliberately incorporates all of the important Scottish verse forms and styles. More than an anthology, it is intended to be a compendium of types of poetry, demonstrating the full potential of the Scottish language. Therefore, the juxtaposition of levels and kinds is not perceived by Douglas as any sort of incongruity. He makes no attempt to explain or excuse it. It is, rather, the method for his total achievement. It contributes to the vitality of his work and makes his Eneados a monument of Scottish literature.

Two Personal Preoccupations

In discussing the Prologue to Book I, I have taken the opportunity to examine the issues of language and style, Douglas's objections to and variations from Caxton's work, his theory of translation and over-riding concern with "sentence," the attempt to Christianize, and the necessary rehabilitation of Aeneas. In addition to these aspects of content, there are two further characteristics of the prologue which seem instead to be aspects of the translator's personality. Both are concerns extremely common to the period of the work, but neither is often so vigorously and frequently harped upon. These two preoccupations are the disavowal of the pagan gods and the anticipation of and defense against adverse criticism.

Such disavowal of pagan gods and muses was a venerable

tradition by the time Douglas wrote. Speaking specifically of the turning away from the pagan muses, Curtius writes,

> This rejection then becomes a poetic topos itself, the history of which can be traced from the fourth to the seventeeth century.[1]

Douglas, having previously asserted that Juno and Venus "goddessis neuer wer" (I, Pro., 181), conventionally seeks Christian rather than pagan divine assistance. It is to God he appeals, "Thou be my muse" (I, Pro., 454), to the Christian God "In personys thre" (I, Pro., 458).

> On the I call, and Mary Virgyn myld--
> Calliope nor payane goddis wild
> May do to me na thing bot harm, I weyn:
> (I, Pro., 459-61)

Thus Calliope must be introduced in order to be rejected. Still, within the broad scope of the first prologue, this concern is not unreasonably introduced. That the problem of pagan literary auspices truly distresses Douglas becomes more apparent in the prologue to the tenth book. Here in an otherwise consistently elevated tribute to the glory of God, there occur the following two stanzas:

> From the begynnyng and end be of my muse:
> All other Iove and Phebus I refuss.
> Lat Virgill hald hys mawmentis to him self;
> I worship nowder ydoll, stok nor elf,
> Thocht furth I write so as myne autour dois.

[1]Ernst Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. Willard R. Trask (1948; New York: Harper, 1963), p. 235.

> Is nane bot thou, the Fader of goddis and men,
> Omnipotent eternal Iove I ken;
> Only the, helply Fader, thar is nane other:
> I compt not of thir paygane goddis a fudder,
> Quhais power may nocht help a haltand hen.
> (X, Pro., 151-60)

Apropos is a line from the nursery rhyme about the farmer's daughter: "Nobody asked you, Sir, she said." He doth protest. In his edition, Coldwell has noted:

> Douglas is anxious--unimaginatively over-anxious, it seems to the modern reader--to repudiate any personal belief in the pagan gods.[1]

Douglas does not seriously think that his readers will take him for a pagan, but there is an element of serious concern. At various points in the work, he raises the issue of whether he should be devoting his time to this enterprise. Much as in his defense of Book VI, both in Prologue I and VI, he feels obligated to certify the Christian acceptability of his work. He must justify the work, the translation, and the appropriateness of <u>his</u> doing the translation.

The other personal preoccupation suggested in the prologue to Book I, Douglas's fear of adverse criticism, somewhat resembles his religious scruples. Again, the attitude is conventional, but the intensity is personal. Much of the emphasis on the wonderful complexity of Virgil is excuse as well as praise. After the introductory part of the prologue, praising Virgil and telling how he translates by

[1]Coldwell, I, 48.

request and "only to assay quhou it mycht be" (I, Pro., 94), the second section opens with a plea for leniency:

> Fyrst I protest, beaw schirris, be zour leif,
> Beis weill avisit my wark or zhe repreif,
> Consider it warly, reid oftar than anys;
> Weill at a blenk sle poetry nocht tayn is.
> (I, Pro., 105-8)

Douglas points out that even "Lawrens of the Vaill" (I, Pro., 117) didn't understand everything in Virgil, so "thou or I, my frend" (I, Pro., 131) cannot expect to either. Furthermore the work wasn't even correct when Virgil died: "Thus for small faltis, my wyss frend, hald thy pess."

Douglas's great fear is that he will be criticized by the ignorant.

> Syne I defend and forbiddis euery wight
> That can nocht spell thar Pater Noster rycht
> Fortill correct or zit amend Virgill,
> Or the translatar blame in hys wlgar stile:
> (I, Pro., 283-86)

He admits readily the deficiencies of his style and, because he has already acknowledged them, does not want them pointed out by others. Furthermore, he is enormously ambivalent about his potential wide audience. On the one hand, he patriotically wants to "improve" his fellow countrymen by educating them, but on the other hand he is an aristocrat who scorns them. Other instances of this class snobbery will be particularly apparent in Book V. Douglas says of Virgil that he "ganys nocht for rurall estait/Nor hys fresch memor for bowbardis" (I, Pro., 316-17); and Douglas himself has no use for the unappreciative.

> he or scho
> Quha takis me nocht go quhar thai haue ado--
> The sonnys lycht is neuer the wers, traste me,
> All thocht the bak hys brycht bemys doith fle.
> (I, Pro., 317-20)

Although he wants to educate, Douglas writes for "gentill ingynys" (I, Pro., 321), and "na lewyt rebalddaill" (I, Pro., 323). There is a patronizing attitude toward those who are not "gentill" which both contradicts and corresponds with Douglas's desire to spread knowledge of the Aeneid.

The fear of criticism seems to be a fear of malice.

> I schrynk nocht anys correkkit for tobe
> With ony wight grundit on cherite
> (I, Pro., 479-80)

The emphasis on charity is clear in the final plea that the reader examine the work carefully and "do to me as zhe wald be done to" (I, Pro., 501). He will accept legitimate suggestions for improvement but he insists that they be just that. It is perhaps his position as a member of the powerful Douglas family which brings about this apparent "paranoia"; some readers might find fault with his translation for reasons unrelated to content or style.

The two concerns I have been discussing, those of religious acceptability and adverse criticism, are obviously more than passing notions with Douglas. They reoccur together in two sections after the end of Book XIII and before the Tyme, space and dait. Referred to by Coldwell as the "Direction of the Book" and "Exclamatioun...," these two sections

should be related to their fuller headings.

The first is headed:

> Heir the translatar direkkis hys buk
> and excusis hym self etc.

The Direction is the dedication of the work to his patron and kinsman, the powerful St. Clair, and here Douglas specifically asks protection against malicious criticism. One can almost sense the tension of the court.

> zhe be my scheld and defens
> Aganys corruppit tungis violens,
> Can nocht amend, and zit a falt wald spy:
> Quhen thai bakbayte, quhen evir thai clepe and cry,
> Gyf neyd beys, for zour kynysman and clerk
> Than I protest ze ansuer, and for zour wark.
> (Direction, 11-16)

Presumably all Douglas's troubles now are his patron's fault for getting him into this in the first place:

> Zhe cawsyt me this volume to endyte,
> Quharthrow I haue wrocht myself syk dispyte,
> Perpetually be chydit with ilk knak,
> Full weill I knaw, and mokkyt behynd my bak.
> (Direction, 19-22)

The subject of this backbiting is the religious issue again. Apart from Douglas's own words, there is no evidence extant of any such criticism, but he presents a convincing picture of the attack against him.

> Nane othir thyng, thai threpe, heir wrocht haue I
> Bot fenzeit fabillys of idolatry,
> .....
> Plente of lesyngis, and ald perversyt synnys.
> (Direction, 25-26, 30)

Again he returns to the justifications offered in the prologues to Books I and VI, attempting to reconcile pagan and Christian,

attempting to demonstrate the acceptability of his work. There is a note of desperation in the defense, and one is not surprised when Douglas finally gives up and exclaims, "I rak nocht quhidder fulys hald me devill or sanct" (Direction, 71).

This religious criticism seems to bother him because with a part of his mind he is in sympathy with it. Perhaps he has indeed misappropriated his time:

> Quhar that I haue my tyme superexpendyt,
> Mea culpa, God grant I may amend it,
> (Direction, 31-32)

In order to settle such doubts, either his own or those of his readers, Douglas then gives a list of the uses of his work. All in all, this section seems more intent on excusing than on directing.

The second section following Book XIII deals with Douglas's fears of malicious criticism. Here is the fuller title of the Exclamatioun:

> Ane exclamatioun aganyst detractouris and oncurtass redaris that beyn our studyus, but occasioun, to note and spy owt faltis or offencis in this volum, or ony other thryfty warkys etc.

Of the five nine-line stanzas of this section, the center three are devoted to a scathing attack on those "detractouris and oncurtass redaris." He pictures these readers tracking down minute errors and publicizing them:

> All that thai fynd in hydlys, hyrn or nuyk,
> Thai blaw owt, sayand in euery manis face,
> "Lo, heir he failzeis, se thar he leys, luyk!"
> (Exclamatioun, 16-18)

Then there are those to whom slander is the breath of life.

> Bot forto chyde sum beyn so brym and hoyt,
> Hald thai thar peax, the word wald scald thar throte,
> And hass sik custum to iangill and to bakbyte,
> That, but thai schent sum, thai suld bryst for syte.
> (Exclamatioun, 31-34)

There appears to be genuine anger behind this irony; Douglas is not merely re-using a convention. He is aware of the magnitude of his project, of its extent and difficulties, and his involvement with it is more than intellectual. Despite his inner hesitations and worries, Douglas asserts his genuine accomplishment.

Douglas's greatest achievement, in his own view, is that he translated the "sentens." He has sacrificed rhetorical splendor for what he sees as absolute fidelity to meaning. His apparent variations from that fidelity are frequently attempts to clarify meaning, to make the strange familiar. Here he defines the terms of his success; now anyone may read Virgil,

> Kepand na facund rethoryk castis fair,
> Bot haymly playn termys famyliar,
> Na thing alterit in substans the sentens.
> (Direction, 93-95)

Even at his most apologetic, Douglas comes around and affirms "Bot weill I wait, of hys sentens wantis non" (Exclamatioun, 25). Douglas's own claims about the intentions and achievements of his translation must be taken seriously. He has

done some things of which he was less aware, but he also did what he set out to do. As I shall illustrate throughout this monograph, many apparent peculiarities of the translation, particularly the expansions from the original, arise from these declared intentions.

The concluding sections, the Direction and Exclamatioun, serve much the same function as the prologue to Book I. While I have brought them into the discussion in relation to Douglas's personal worries, they obviously have a much wider importance. They and the first prologue stand together as Douglas's most self-aware critical comment on his own work.

Conclusion

The prologue is an exceptional production. It places the work within the literary tradition as it discusses the complex issues of thought and art and indicates the main emphases of the new work by its comments on predecessors. Then there are the incidental indications of the translator's very personal involvement with the work. Just as it is wrong to read novels for autobiography, it would be wrong to venture to say too much about the personality of the translator. Yet the personal concerns which intrude themselves into the prologues and additional sections do reveal that Douglas is exceptionally worried about the orthodoxy of the Aeneid and

his own orthodoxy in undertaking his translation. This concern about the legitimacy of his task and the consequent use or misuse of his time runs as a theme through several of the prologues. The meaning of his text will be constantly redefined and clarified as he introduces each book by means of its prologue, and even when he comes to the end, he adds additional sections to buttress his self-justification.

This evidence of a real man deeply occupied with the work at hand augments the intensity and general readability of the whole Eneados. Along with the ease and colloquialism of many parts of the text and prologues, there run the doubts, misgivings, and ultimate sense of triumph of a major poet. All of these are immediately present in this first prologue.

CHAPTER III

BOOK I: THE EFFORT AT CLARIFICATION

Douglas believes that the most worthwhile achievement of his translation is the clear communication of the "sentens" of Virgil's Aeneid. Once he has made the poem suitable to a Christian audience, he wants to be sure that it is also comprehensible. All of the civic, moral, and literary advantages inherent in the work can be transmitted only if the translation is clear and easy to follow. An audience unfamiliar with the Aeneid and the classics in general needs various kinds of help. Douglas feels this need and meets it explicitly. Therefore he opens the translation itself by emphasizing the elements which will be crucial to a reading of the rest of the poem. Because a reader who gets lost in Book I has little chance through the rest of the poem, Douglas in this first book is particularly concerned with explaining and clarifying.

Douglas's concern with clarification is most obvious in the commentary which begins with the first prologue and persists through most of Book I. This commentary takes the form of notes on selected lines of the text. While some of these notes are original, many simply paraphrase, with or without acknowledgment, the words of earlier commentators. Douglas appears to take his larger framework from Landinus but for briefer explanations leans on the commentaries of Servius and Ascensius. Douglas's editor, Coldwell, does not believe

that the commentators provide anything central to his version[1] but provide useful incidental clarification. Certainly much of what Douglas takes from the commentaries is minor, but in an overall sense, he is highly dependent on them. They, and particularly Landinus, have done the groundwork in converting the Aeneid from a pagan epic to a potentially Christian instructional work.

While Douglas drops the commentary toward the end of this first book, he retains it long enough to introduce all the major techniques whereby pagan mythology can be converted to or at least accorded with sound Christian doctrine. Thus, for example, at the point where the gods interfere, Douglas summarizes the total allegorical reading of Landinus (I,iii, 100, note). While this allegory does not enter the text directly, it is reasserted in the prologue to the ever-suspect sixth book as Douglas assures the reader that Virgil contains "hyd sentence" (VI, Pro., 13). Here he gives a sketchy summary of the traditional analogy between the adventures of Aeneas and the life of man on earth:

> In all his warkis Virgil doith discrive
> The strait of man, gif thou list vnderstand,
> Baith lif and ded in thir fyrst bukis fyve;

[1]"In no single case would I insist that Douglas has borrowed from Ascensius, because most of the commentator's information is common knowledge and many of his paraphrases are elementary translations of poetry into prose, but there is cumulative evidence that Douglas made extensive use of the commentary with the object of simplifying his version of the poem--and such simplification was desireable for the audience of a sixteenth-century translation." Coldwell, I, 62.

> And now, intil this saxt, he haue on hand,
> Eftir thar deth, in quhat plyte saulis sal stand.
> (VI, Pro., 33-37)

Once the commentary on the text is discontinued, its theological functions are taken up by the various prologues. Like the sixth prologue from which I have just quoted, several of the others deal specifically with potentially sticky issues in the books which they precede. But the initial approach to this problem of Christianizing a pagan poem is definitely made in the commentary on Book I.

This commentary serves another function in addition to establishing the philosophical framework. It is also part of the total effort at clarifying the smaller details of the text. In this function, however, it is not of major importance and when it lapses there are no consequent additions to the text or compensations by means of the prologues. Even when the commentary provides explanations for the text, it does not obviate the incorporation of such explanations into the text itself. Because Douglas is consistently aware of the need to identify, clarify, and explicate, he does so from the beginning and keeps on in a similar fashion with or without the additional commentary.

There is only one explanatory function of the commentary which is not equally well performed by the text, its usefulness as a sort of index. Douglas does use these notes to explain unfamiliar names and to refer to their later occurrences.

Thus in the opening passage of the first book, he says of Lavyne (I,i,3, note), that it "was cyte of the king Latynus, of quham eftyr in the vii buyk;" of Latio (I,i,8, note), "Quhat is Latium or Latio, luyk eftyr in the vi c. of the viii buyk;" and of Alba, "Of Alba cyte luyk eftyr in the fyfte c. of this buyk and in the first c. of the viij buyk" (I,i,11, note). Similarly, he cites future references to Hebe, Ganymede, Acestes, Sylla and Charybdis, and many others. Such a guide to further occurrences of these names is part of the intent to orient the unfamiliar reader.

The commentary thins, however, and there are only two notes after chapter vi. The only note on chapter vii lacks any scholarly or philosophic aspirations; it is a four-line jingle to identify the "Attrides":

> Attrides beyn in Latyn clepit thus
> Thir nevois reput of kyng Attryus,
> That in our language are the broder tway,
> Kyng Agamenon and Duke Menalay. (I,vii,70, note)

The last pale effort at commentary is on I,x,19 where Douglas notes, "Of Typhon or Typheus, in the xi c. of the ix buke." There is no real need for the commentary, once the allegorical value of the Aeneid has been asserted. Douglas has successfully incorporated virtually all necessary notes into the body of the translation.

Clarification of Names

The greatest need for clarification is names, both of

people and places. Such identifications are particularly necessary at the beginning of the poem to avoid the Virgilian equivalent of the "Russian Novel Syndrome," that is, the confusion resulting from multiple names for the same group, person or place. Many of these identifications also occur in Ascencius and Servius, but they are otherwise not particularly arcane.

Douglas uses several techniques for identification. One of these is doubling, or giving two alternate names in the same passage where Virgil has given only one. In the opening Juno drives the long-suffering Trojans "Frawart Latium, quhilk now is Italy" (I,i,57). But the Italy-Latium issue is not given uniform treatment, as at the very beginning "Italiam" and "Latio" are rendered only by "Ytail" and "Latio" respectively. Thus they are not always doubled. Also, occasionally the doubling seems intended to fill out the line as when Jove tells Venus that Ascanius will rule after Aeneas's victory and "Quhen thre someris in Latio or Itail" (I,v,65) have passed. This prophecy of Ascanius's eventual rule does contain a useful explanatory doubling. Virgil tells us: "(Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno)" (I,268) while Douglas tells the reader that Ascanius was also called Iulus,

> For he in Ilion was of the blude ryale,
> Quhill that of Troy and Ilion stude the ryng.
> (I,v,70-71)

Then, when Jove tells Venus that the house of Anchises shall

rule Argos, Douglas writes that they shall "dant al Grece and Arge" (I,v,98), just in case Greece is more familiar than Argos. This sort of explanatory doubling continues sporadically through the whole translation.

In addition to doubling, the translation uses substitution of the better known name. "Saturnia," or the daughter of Saturn,is rendered as Juno. Aeneas laments that he was not killed before the walls of Troy by the son of Tydeus, translated by Douglas as Diomed. Hector died "Aecidae telo," or "On Achillis speir" (I,99: I,iii,11).

National or racial names are also given in their better known version. This occurs twice in the passage where Venus compares the hard fate of Aeneas with the good luck of Antenor, who is, of course, no traitor in the Aeneid. Antenor escaped from among "Achivis" (I,242) and founded a city "Teucrorum" (I,248); or, in Douglas:

> Sen Anthenor mycht throu myd ostis thring
> Of Grekis... (I,v,28-29)

finally, Thar netheless of Padva the cite
A dwelling place for Troianys biggit has he.
(I,v,35-36)

Both of these substitutions are frequent throughout the poem.

Place names are also clarified. When the survivors land and prepare a meal, Aeneas distributes the wine given them by Acestes when they left "litore Trinacrio" (I,196), or "At his departing from Sycilly the cost" (I,iv,66). When Venus, in her huntress garb, leaves her son, she goes to Paphos, "Thar

is hir tempill into Cypir land" (I,vi,183). Aeneas sees himself in the portrayal of Troy as the Trojans chase the Greeks "uti bellantes Pergama circum (I,466), or "Abowt the wallys of Troy as thai dyd fyght" (I,vii,89). In order to trap Dido into love, Venus tells her son Cupid to impersonate Ascanius who is on his way "ad urbem/ Sidoniam" (I,677-78), or "To the cyte of Cartage" (I,x,41).

Individuals as well as places are additionally identified. Just as some names are changed or substituted, others are given identifying tags. Where Virgil has provided only the tag, Douglas adds the name. After Jupiter has reassured Venus that all will be well, he sends Mercury down to put the Carthaginians in a welcoming frame of mind. Here "Maia genitum" (I,297) is reidentified for the reader:

> This beand said, Iupiter ful evyn
> His son Mercury send doune frm the hevyn,
> (I,v,121-22)

Other names are added. When Aeneas asks if his disguised mother is "Phoebe soror?" (I,329), Douglas has him ask "Quhidder thou be Dyane, Phebus systir brycht?" (I,vi,42). Humans as well as gods are tagged. During the fatal banquet, Cupid drives from Dido's mind all thought of "Sychaem" (I,720), or, in Douglas, of "Sycheus, hir first husband" (I,xi,52). The usefulness of this addition is particularly great for someone who is hearing or reading the Aeneid for the first time. In Books IV and VI the identity of Sycheus is crucial.

Thus Douglas takes many approaches to unfamiliar names. He uses doublets, he substitutes, and he glosses. These techniques reoccur throughout the translation but never to greater effect than in Book I.

General Information

The problem of clarification is often more than that of names. There is a whole world of classical customs and background which was by no means common knowledge among Douglas's potential audience. Some form or equivalent of footnotes was indispensable, and Douglas chose the kind which cannot be overlooked. His explanations are in the body of the text. Often they are particularly "modernized."

The first important case of this kind of clarification arises with the winds which blow Aeneas to Carthage at the beginning of Book I. At Juno's request, Aeolus creates a storm with three winds,

> Eurus, Nothus and the wynd Affricus,
> Quhilkis est, south and west wyndis hait with ws.
> (I,ii,57-58)

When this comes to the attention of Neptune,

> He callis till hym Eurus and Zephirus,
> Tha est and west wyndis, (I,iii,63-64)

and all four winds have been identified for the vernacular audience. Other natural phenomena also require explanatory translation. For example, at the banquet toward the end of this first book, Iopas sings of the natural world, including,

> The rany Hyades, quhilk ar the sternys sevyn,
> And eik Arcturus, quhilk we cal the laid stern.
> (I,xi,100-1)

Douglas wants his audience to receive the immediate impact of every detail and thus tells them what "we cal" something or how it would "hait with ws."

Like the winds and the stars, the nymphs are a possibly confusing idea. Thus when Douglas recreates the lovely scene of the natural grotto in the rocks, he describes it,

> as it ane howss had beyn
> For nymphis, goddessis of fludis and woddis greyn.
> (I,iv,23-23)

Once nymphs have been clarified, they too can serve as gloss. When Dido is compared with Diana leading her "Oreades" (I,500), Douglas calls Diana's followers "nymphis" (I,viii,12), resorting to a now familiar term.

Another possible unknown for Douglas's audience is "Belli portae" (I,294), which Jupiter promises Venus shall finally be closed under Aeneas's great descendant. Douglas cares less about the fact that that descendant is Augustus, than that his readers might not know what the gates of war are. Thus "claudentur Belli portae" (I,294) is translated:

> The drediful portis salbe schet, but faill,
> Of Ianus tempill, the takynar of bataill
> (I,v,113-14)

That which "tokens" must always be clarified. Douglas cannot safely assume that his audience will know these things. Therefore in order to be true to the sense, he feels obligated to explain.

Here, before it lapses, the commentary is useful in giving a local or contemporary amplification of the potentially unfamiliar. In line 13 of the opening, Douglas translates "O thou my muse, declare the causis quhy"...and so forth, but worries that his vernacular audience may not be at home with the muses, and therefore notes in the commentary:

> Musa in Grew signifeis an inuentryce or inuention in our langgage, and of the ix Musis sum thing in my Palyce of Honour and be Mastir Robert Hendirson in New Orpheus. (I,i,13, note)

Such a note puts the reference in a Scottish context. Likewise, when he glosses the rocks which the Italians call the Altars, ("saxa vocant Itali," I,109) he cites Servius and Boccaccio, then adds:

> And thir schald bankis of sand heir nammyt bein the twa dangeris of the sey Affrican, callit Syrtis, the mair and the less; mar perellus than Zairmuth sandis or Holland cost. (I,iii,29, note)

More of his readers, he thinks, will know these seas than will know the "sey Affrican." Then, when the sea-weary Trojans eat and drink, he expands on Ascensius's note on wine (I,iv,98):

> Wyne the eldar the bettir, sa that it be fresch, and euery man knawis vennyson owt of ply tynys the sesson. (I,iv,98, note)

These notes are similar to many of the expansions in the body of the text.

The Clarifying of Motives

There is also a kind of narrative incorporated footnote, generally clarifying motivation. The major example in Book I is the lavish care given to explaining Juno's anger. Because this anger is much of the force behind the entire story, including what precedes the events of the Aeneid, the reader must understand it. The heading to the first chapter of the first book shows Douglas's interest and predicts which aspects will be stressed:

> The poet first proponyng his entent
> Declaris Iunois wreth and mailtalent.

Incidentally, while these couplet chapter summaries are rather pedestrian as poetry, they often reveal Douglas's reading and emphasis in the section to follow. In this first chapter Douglas stays close to the content of the original until he returns to the remembered causes of Juno's anger against the Trojans. Here Virgil merely alludes to the three reasons, but Douglas expands the allusions with additional details and causal connections.

First there is the remembered Judgement of Paris:

> manet alta mente repostum
> iudicium Paridis apretaeque iniuria formae
> (I, 26-27)

which Douglas enlarges to:

> Ful deip engravyn in hir breist onkynd
> The iugement of Paris, quhou that he
> Preferrit Venus, dispisyng hir bewte.
> (I,i,44-46)

Here Douglas has incorporated the essential issue, not only was Juno slighted, but by Venus, mother of Aeneas. Then there is the fact that she hates the Trojans, they are "genus invisum" (I,28), and Douglas feels compelled to explain why.

> Also Troiane blude till hir was odyus,
> For Iupiter engenderit Dardanus
> Fra quham the Troianys cam in adultry,
> (I,i,47-49)

Thus, the reader discovers, the reason Juno hates the race is that it springs from another slight to her. Finally there is Jupiter's elevation of Ganymede at her expense. She remembers "rapti Ganymedis honores" (I,28) but again the issue is not envy of the gain to Ganymede but the loss to her own prestige.

> Jupiter Ganymedes revist abuf the sky,
> Maid him his butler, quhilk was hir douchteris office),
> (I,i,50-51)

The causes of Juno's anger are now clear. Correspondingly, when she speaks to herself she is more hurt and angry.

> Cum Iuno, aeternum servans sub pectore volnus
> haec secum: (I, 36-37)

becomes

> Quhen that Iuno, till hir everlestand schame,
> The etern wound hyd in hir breist ay greyn,
> Ontill hir self thus spak in propir teyn:
> (I,i,66-68)

To her lament and question as to who will worship her, Douglas adds: "Gif I ourcummyn be thus schamefully?" (I,i,86). Thus it is made clear to the reader that a very real threat to her dignity lies behind "Junois wreth and mailtalent" (I,i, heading).

These expansions early in Book I are crucial for the rest of the action as influenced by divine interference.

There are other less developed expansions intended to clarify motivation. One instance occurs prior to the substitution of Cupid for Ascanius at the banquet which traps Dido into love. Venus explains to Cupid that she will hide Ascanius in her grove. Virgil offers no reasons, but Douglas adds,

> That our dissait he nowder persave ne knaw,
> Nor onprovisitly cum thidder, thocht he mycht.
> (I,x, 48-49)

This addition is more than plodding; it is a clear spelling out of alternatives, adding plausibility to the action. Douglas has fully imagined the situation and makes it possible for the reader to do likewise. Such explanations are a major characteristic of the translation. Florence Ridley in discussing Douglas's intent to be "braid and plane" notes that,

> Douglas gives both the action and another word to underscore its purpose.[1]

Such explicit concern with motivation contributes to the immediacy of the translation. Like the commentary, the identification of names, and the incorporation of general information, it is part of the deliberate effort at clarification of the poem as a whole, the effort to eliminate barriers between the poem and the reader.

[1]Florence H. Ridley, The Aeneid of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), p. 38.

Historical Sense

Book I necessarily creates a framework and approach for the rest of the poem. Much of what Douglas does, the efforts at Christianizing and the several types of clarification discussed above, is clearly deliberate. There are other aspects of Book I, however, in which Douglas is less self-aware. Yet they too establish patterns for the rest of the poem. One of the most fundamental aspects in Book I is Douglas's sense of history.

Much has been said about the very late development of such an historical sense. C. S. Lewis writes categorically,

> All medieval narratives about the past are equally lacking in the sense of the period.[1]

He concludes:

> It is doubtful whether the sense of period is much older than the Waverley Novels.[2]

Similarly, Panofsky has offered explanations of the lack of separation between past and present in art and elsewhere:

> For the medieval mind, classical antiquity was too far removed and at the same time too strongly present to be conceived as an historical phenomenon.[3]

[1]C. S. Lewis, The Discarded Image (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 182.

[2]Lewis, p. 183.

[3]Erwin Panofsky, Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance (New York: Harper, 1962), p. 27.

What they and others have said about medieval conceptions of the past seems to apply to Scotland in 1513.

Douglas is not totally unenlightened about history. In the commentary he does cite Livy as being more reliable than Guido (I,v,28, note), but the impact on his own basic views is minor.

The first thing which must be said about the sense of history in epic and translation is that Virgil has a great deal and Douglas has almost none. Virgil's own antiquarianism and respect for the old religion is well known. The Aeneid is pervaded by the sense of time past. This is not felt by Douglas. The details of politics, warfare, and daily life seem all of the immediate present. Morton W. Bloomfield's article on "Chaucer's Sense of History"[1] applies equally well to Douglas. He speaks first in general terms.

> The Middle Ages generally, however, tended to ignore the implications of a historic sense on matters outside of religion.[2]

Even at the beginning of the sixteenth century this is true for Douglas. There are some brief attempts at period stage-setting, as in the banquet given by Dido at the end of Book I:

> And as thai come, the quene was set at dess
> Vndir hir gloryus stentit capitale;
> Amang provd tapetis and mych rych apparale
> Hir place scho tuke, as was the gyss that tyde,
> Ourspred with gold amyd a beddis syde. (I,xi,6-10)

[1] JEGP, LI (1952), 301-13.

[2] Bloomfield, p. 302.

The guests enter and take their places, and next:

> To wesch thar handis seruandis brocht watir cleir,
> Syne breyd in baskettis, eftyr thar maner,
> With soft serviatis to mak thar handis cleyn.
> (I,xi,15-17)

There are, apart from these, virtually no other secular references reflecting cultural diversity. There are, however, repeated references to differences in religious activities. The phrase "as was the gyss" becomes the standard rendition. This expression must be taken as rather casual and off-hand: "You know what I mean, that's how they were then." "Gyss" rhymes with "sacryfyss" and the rhyme occurs repeatedly. In Book VIII, for example, I specifically note its use four times, three of them to meet Douglas's needs, and the fourth to translate Virgil's "morem" (VIII,v,4; VIII,282). But the precedent is less Virgil's awareness of antique mores than previous models in English. As Bloomfield has pointed out, the "Knight's Tale" contains accounts of actions from another culture. Here is the scene in which Emily leads her maidens to the temple of Diane:

> Hir maydens, that she thider with hire ladde,
> Ful redily with hem the fyr they hadde,
> Th'encens, the clothes, and the remenant al
> That to the sacrifice longen shal;
> The hornes fulle of meeth, as was the gyse:
> Ther lakked noght to doon hir sacrifise.
> (11.2275-80)

Then, when Arcite is to be cremated, there comes a great procession,

> And after that cam woful Emelye,
> Witn fyr in honde, as was that tyme the gyse,
> To do the office of funeral servyse.
> (11.2910-12)

Similarly, when Aeneas buries his nurse Caieta, the suggestion of due rites is expressed in such terms:

> At pius exsequilis Aeneas rite solutis,
> aggere composito tumuli, (VII, 5-6)

This becomes in Douglas:

> The reuthfull than and devote Prince Ene
> Performyt dewly thy funerall seruys,
> Apon the sepultur, as custom was and gyss,
> Ane hepe of erd and litil mote gart vprayss,
> (VI,xvi,10-13)

Since I have strayed from Book I, here is another brief detour. In Henryson's Testament of Cresseid, the problem of pagan religious customs is also confronted. Here too the poet is reportorial rather than orthodox:

> As custome was, the pepill far and neir
> Befoir the none vnto the tempill went
> With sacrifice, devoit in thair maneir;[1] (11. 113-15)

Douglas, like Chaucer and Henryson, minimizes the differences between pagan and Christian religious ritual. This acceptance of cross-cultural similarities leads to what are apparently anachronisms. When Jupiter reassures Venus with prophecies of the great future awaiting the descendants of Aeneas, he speaks of Ilia, "regina sacerdos" (I,273), the mother of Romulus and Remus:

[1]Robert Henryson, Testament of Cresseid, ed. Denton Fox (London: Nelson, 1968), p. 65.

> Quhil Ilya, nun and dochter of a kyng,
> Consavit of Mars, twa twynnys do furth bring;
> (I,v,77-78)

The OED defines nun as "A priestess or votaress of some pagan deity," and cites similar uses in King Alfred's Orosius, Surrey's Aeneid, and Drayton's Heroical Epistles. The usage is therefore not without precedent or subsequent occurrences. Douglas does not, however, communicate Virgil's deep appreciation for the beliefs of an earlier civilization. Again he is merely translating for the benefit of his modern audience. Ultimately whatever historical sense he has is put to the service of updating his work to increase its immediate accessibility. The values of piety and ritual are stressed only as examples of proper leadership and a well-run society.

The Good and Bad Ruler

This concern with the proper functioning of society is important to both the original and the translation. Early in Book I when Neptune arises to calm the winds loosed by Aolus, Virgil compares him to a great man who can calm a base and angry crowd. This is translated by Douglas in his usual ample way with an additional note in the commentary:

> Noyte Virgill in this comparison and symilytud, for therin and in syk lyke baris he the palm of lawd, as I haf said in my proheme.
> (I,iii,92, note)

Obviously, both Virgil and Douglas like the political figure. The "magno" (I,148) or "man of gret autorite" (I,iii,97) whom

the unruly rabble sees is an aspect of the ideal leader represented by Aeneas. Also, while Douglas gives Aeneas somewhat more personality than does Virgil, he remains for both of them primarily an exemplification of virtue and destiny. When Aeneas introduces himself to his disguised mother, saying, "Rewthful Ene am I" (I,vi,125), it seems to raise the problem that "sum pius Aeneas" (I,378) raises for many people first reading the Aeneid. On the surface this is boasting, and not even conventional epic boasting. Servius made a note on the matter and Douglas expands on it.

> That Eneas heyr commendis his self, it is not to be tayn that he said this for arrogans bot forto schaw his styll, as a kyng or prince onknawin in an onkowth land may but repreif reherss his estate and dygnite to mak him be tretyt as afferis.
> (I,vi,125, note)

The commentary continues at some length along the same lines. In other words, Aeneas is not being crass or "goody-goody" but adhering to proper diplomatic protocol. In later books of the poem there is further development of the character of Aeneas as the ideal prince.

In so far as the Aeneid and Douglas's translation are manifestoes for good government, Aeneas is not the only example; Dido, Latinus, Evander, Mezentius, Turnus and others illustrate aspects of good and bad rule. Except for Dido, these figures occur in later books, and the major part of the Dido story is, of course, in Book IV. Her increased

condemnation in Douglas's translation of that book has been fully traced by Quentin George Johnson in his highly detailed dissertation. I believe that her more rapid rate of decline begins in Book I. Douglas first augments the original idealization of her as the good ruler, increasing in Book IV the distance of her fall from that ideal to her end as a creature of destructive passion.

Dido first appears to Aeneas and the reader as she leads her maidens to the temple, "Lyke to the goddess Dian" (I,viii,8). Thus her chastity is asserted at the time of successful rule. She is seen "instans operi regnisque futuris" (I,504), which is expanded to

> Sikane was Dido, sykane hir blithly bair
> Amyd thame all, the warkis and weilfair
> Providing for the realm in tyme tocum.
> (I,viii,17-19)

In this scene she is presented as wisely giving laws and assigning tasks to her people. She generously welcomes the Trojans while explaining the necessity for stern guard on the coast of her new kingdom. When Aeneas breaks through the surrounding cloud and praises her nobility, the praise is as real as its irony in light of the future. As Dido first looks at him, her susceptibility is apparent:

> The queyn Dido, astonyst a litill wie
> At the first syght, behaldand his bewte
> (I,ix,61-62)

Her welcome is gracious and warm:

> quare agite, o tectis, iuvenes, succedite nostris.
> (I,627)

becomes Tharfor haue done, gallandis, cum on zour way,
Entir within our lugyng, we zou pray.
(I,ix,87-88)

Having led them in, Dido proclaims a sacrifice, "simul divum templis indicit honorem" (I,632). In Douglas there is a hint of greater frivolity as she leads Aeneas in,

And tharwith eik commandis halyday,
Throwe owt the cyte all suldbe game and play.
(I,ix,95-96)

When the preparations for the banquet are underway, Venus speaks to Cupid of her distrust of Dido. Douglas gives Venus a harsher version of Dido's hospitality. In Virgil,

hunc Phoenissa tenet Dido blandisque moratur
vocibus, (I, 670-1)

but in Douglas,

Now hym withhaldis the Phenycian Dido
And culzeis hym with slekit wordis sle,
(I,x,26-27)

Clearly Dido is not to be trusted. The next failing which Douglas accentuates is her sensuality. Venus foresees her taking the supposed Ascanius to her lap or bosom, "cum te gremio accipiet" (I,685) and embracing and kissing him. In the translation, Douglas is still more vivid. Here Dido will hold the disguised Cupid "Into hir skyrt perchance, or on hir kne" (I,x,54) amid the wine.

And gan the forto hals and to enbrace,
Kyssand sweitly thi quhyte nek and thi face,
(I,x,57-58)

Distracted from her other duties, Dido is no longer aware of her condition. As the banquet proceeds,

> Scho with hir sycht and all hir mynd rycht that
> Hym to behald sat musand in a stayr;
> (I,xi, 45-46)

Douglas thus emphasizes that her destruction is already accomplished. His audience does not need to wait for Book IV to know that her walls no longer rise; she has already ceased to function as a queen.

Without discoverable precedent, Douglas has taken the first twelve lines of Virgil's second book and added them to his translation of Book I. In part, this is effective because it leaves Book II devoted exclusively to the fall of Troy. The shift also serves to accentuate Dido's total engrossment in Aeneas. Despite the pain which the narrative will cause him, Aeneas will tell the story because she has "tantus amor" to hear it (II,10). This "amor," translated in Loeb as "longing," is rendered by Douglas as "sic plesour and delyte" (I,xii,18). Where in Virgil Aeneas says merely, "incipiam" (II,13), in the translation, "Zit than I sal begyn zow forto pleyss" (I,xii,24). Her captivation is complete and from this point on she thinks not of her duties but of her pleasures. This early devaluation of Dido is a prerequisite to the subsequent exhibition of Aeneas as princely ideal. In light of the more usual medieval view of Aeneas's conduct towards Dido, that expressed in Ovid's Heroides and even in Douglas's earlier Palice of Honour, the devaluation of Dido in Book I is particularly important. For the reader

brought up on the medieval versions of the story, this early reversal of expectations is indispensable. When from the very beginning Dido's failings are suggested, when the weaknesses are shown to be hers rather than those of Aeneas, the entire poem is more likely to be read correctly. Like the explanations of names and places, this clarification of the relative merits of Dido and Aeneas is most effectively achieved in the first book of the poem.

What Douglas Accomplishes In Book I

Book I of Douglas's Eneados makes an excellent beginning in the task of more than literal translation. If his work is to be "braid and plane," it must be so from the start. The commentary which continues through most of the first book provides the wider framework in which the Aeneid may be read as an acceptably Christian poem. By the time it lapses, it has furnished the humanist interpretation of legend and myth necessary to that conversion.

Apart from the commentary, the text itself provides necessary information of a more limited sort. The stress on names, places, and the possibly unfamiliar details of classical society prepares the reader to follow the narrative without confusion. The extra emphasis on Juno's grudge against Aeneas gives point to the long narrative of his successive misfortunes. By the end of Book I, Douglas has established

his cast of characters and prepared the reader for their subsequent actions and fate.

Because he himself does not feel at a chronological distance from the events he is to describe, he does not go to particular trouble to bridge that distance. It is only the issue of specific ritual observances that creates a problem for him. This he meets in two ways: first, in the commentary he presents the combined thinking of the Christian era in its effort at reconciliation; and then, in the text, with a sort of verbal shrug, he asserts that it was their "gyss." "That's how they lived then, but here you have it on good authority that classical literature can be made theologically safe, and anyway it's all really allegorical." Having faced or safely skirted these problems in Book I, Douglas can go on with his Eneados.

CHAPTER IV

BOOK V: JOY AND SORROW

Book V is one of the most vivid in Douglas's translation. Its central action concerns the funeral games marking the anniversary of the death of Anchises, and Douglas reports those games with the lusty enthusiasm of a sports announcer. The games are not, however, the only events of the fifth book.

> The fyft contenys funerale gemys glaid
> And how the fyre the navy dyd invaid.
> (from Contentis, preceding Book I)

The closeness of joy and sorrow is caught in the phrase "funerale gemys glaid" and this closeness underlies all of Book V as well as much of the entire poem.[1]

Aeneas sails from the death of Dido to games, but they are funeral games. While the men and boys are thus occupied, the women are tricked into setting fire to the ships. Enough ships are saved or repaired to allow a successful departure,

[1]Putnam, in his recent study of the Aeneid, sees the duality in terms of "Game and Reality." In his chapter on Book V, he elaborates on the unity between the games and the death of Palinurus: The two occurrences elaborated at any length during the course of Book V, the games, which dominate its opening section, and the divinely contrived death of Palinurus, with which it draws to a conclusion, are indeed disparate, at least from the narrative point of view. Yet they are united by one theme, which lies just beneath the surface throughout the book--the necessity of sacrifice through suffering, sometimes even self-sacrifice, to reach for, and on occasion to achieve, the goals of heroism. The fact that during the course of the games the sacrifice is never actually forced to the point of destruction of human life is what separates the games from the main narrative of the Aeneid, where death is the constant tragic condition of hero's progress toward self-knowledge. Putnam, pp. 65-66.

preceded by sad farewells. The Trojans set off with favoring winds, but Palinurus is killed. This double vision of joy and sorrow is in a sense the subject matter.

The Prologue to Book V

The prologue to Book V deals specifically with the pleasures and problems of earthly gladness. In the prologues to Books II and IV Douglas has repeated the truisms "All erdly glaidness fynysith with wo" (II, Pro., 21), and "Temporal ioy endis wyth wo and pane" (IV, Pro., 221); the line is virtually repeated in the prologue to Book V. Yet that prologue opens with a defense of and claim for the necessity of this same joy. The green gladdens the ground, the birds gladden the boughs, the weary hunter is happy to find his prey.

> The clerk reiosys hys bukis our to seyn,
> The luffar to behald hys lady gay;
> (V, Pro., 5-6)

and so each seeks that which most pleases him. After two stanzas of such examples, Douglas offers this defense of the legitimacy of human joy:

> Plesance and ioy right hailsum and perfyte is,
> So that the wyss tharof in proverb wrytis,
> "A blith spreit makis greyn and floryst age."
> (V, Pro., 19-21)

The rest of the third stanza translates from Virgil's earlier work a plea for joy in youth:

> Myne author eyk in Bucolykis endytis,
> "The zong enfant fyrst with lauchtir delytis
> To knaw hys moder, quhen he is litil page;

> Quha lauchis not," quod he, "in thar barnage,
> Genyus the god delytyh not thar tabill,
> Nor Iuno thame to kepe in bed is habill."
> (V, Pro., 22-27)

It is not, perhaps, in keeping with Christian doctrine to aspire to Juno's bed ("dea nec dignata cubili est," Eclogue IV, 63), but this and other pleasures are here recommended, and Virgil is again praised by Douglas for his "hie wysdome and maist profund engyne" (V, Pro., 28). If Virgil's "engyne" is sufficiently profound, the apparent contradictions may be assumed to be ultimately resolved. Yet Douglas is aware of variation in Virgil's poetry, claiming that it is "so crafty wrocht" (V, Pro., 31):

> He altyrris hys style sa mony way,
> Now dreid, now stryfe, now lufe, now wa, now play
> Langeir in murnyng, now in melody, (V, Pro., 33-35)

Douglas is about to emphasize the "play" in his account of the funeral games. He will translate the "sportis, myrthis and myrry plays" (V, Pro., 46) which Virgil wrote and which William Caxton "knew nevir al hys days" (V, Pro., 49).

In the first prologue Douglas accues Caxton of omitting all of Book V.

> The fyfte buke of the festis funerall,
> The lusty gamys and plays palustrall,
> That is ourhippit quyte and left behynd--
> Na thing tharof zhe sall in Caxtoun fynd.
> (I, Pro., 173-76)

Notice that the emphasis here is on the game and play. In that same prologue he says that Virgil has drunk dry the

flood of Helicon so that henceforth all men must "purches drynk at thy sugurit tun" (I, Pro., 59). Here in Prologue V Douglas returns to "tun" and uses it to make a kind of mild pun on Caxton's name, "Cask-tun";

> [Caxton's] Hys febil proyss beyn mank and mutulate,
> Bot my propyne com from the press fute hait,
> Onforlatit, not iawyn fra tun to tun,
> In fresch sapour new from the berry run.
> (V, Pro., 51-54)

While the pun is not side-shaking, it is in the spirit of play which Douglas finds and enlarges in Book V.

At this point the stanza form changes from the nine-line used thus far to two concluding stanzas of rhyme royal, a traditional choice for high seriousness. Douglas says he will not call on Bacchus, Proserpyne or Victory, "Bot he quhilk may ws glaid perpetualy" (V, Pro., 60). He now rejects and avoids earthly joy in order to obtain eternal joy. Here is the entire stanza.

> Sen erdly plesour endis oft with sorow, we se,
> As in this buke nane exemplys ze want,
> Lord, our prottectour to all trastis in the,
> Bot quham na thing is worthy nor pvssant,
> To ws thy grace and als gret mercy grant,
> So forto wend by temporal blythness
> That our eternale ioy be nocht the less!
> (V, Pro., 62-68)

After all his praise of earthly joy, he must "wend by" or stay away from it for his eternal salvation and bliss. Here is the contradiction which exists in so much thinking before and after Douglas and which lies at the heart of his translation. Even while Douglas feels he must reject this world,

in Book V he heightens the pleasures of human life.

My reading of this fifth prologue is rather different from that offered by Coldwell. Describing the prologues, he writes,

> Five, mainly on natural inclinations and their gratification, is connected with the inclinations of the Trojans, who eagerly accept their mission to found Rome, and joyfully fulfill the demands of ancestral piety.[1]

The reverence to the dead is gladly given, but surely the attempted burning of the ships and the group which remains behind suggest a reluctance to proceed. It must always be remembered, "tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem" (I,33). Rather, Douglas keeps hoping to find a way to reconcile natural inclinations and pleasures with a good Christian end. He does not find it. Instead he writes of woe and gladness, their proximity and sequence. In the book introduced by this prologue, his translation becomes almost a celebration of the earthly value of those temporal realities, so vividly presented here that one almost forgets they must perish.

Book V

The so-called realities of life are given larger-than-life treatment in Douglas's translation of the fifth book.

[1]Coldwell, I, 87.

When he treats one of Virgil's similes, he expands it to the degree that the object to which it is compared becomes more important than the original thing being compared. The desire to make the abstract concrete operates throughout. There is a constant effort to make Virgil's poem immediate and local, part of current human experience.

There is an interesting example of such immediacy in the edition of Virgil from which Douglas probably translated. The illustrations to Brant's 1502 edition have much in common with the apparent realism of Douglas's version. In this edition the pictures of the Trojans' ships have a contemporary source. Brant had published in 1493 or 1494 an illustrated booklet including the text of Columbus's letter to the Crown Treasurer of Aragon, and in 1502 Brant simply reused the illustrations of Columbus's caravels as the pattern for Aeneas's ships.[1] There are the Trojans sailing on the Nina, the Pinta, and the Santa Maria. In a sense Columbus's ships are a kind of equivalent of Douglas's reputed realism. While their reuse was printer's economy, they are emblematic of a peculiar intersection of medieval and Renaissance thought. They combine the traditional view of the ancient world as contemporary with the immediate excitement of the new secular world. Like Brant, when Douglas uses ships, he uses real ships.

[1]Brinton, p. 41.

The sea and ships are very important in both the original Aeneid and Douglas's translation. Virgil himself had real knowledge of the sea. From his small village near Mantua he moved eventually to Campania near Naples where he lived many years by the sea.[1] His descriptions are precise in visual and auditory observation.[2] His seascapes are characterized by "'sound-painting,' the use of imitative alliteration and assonance to make the sound reinforce the sense,"[3] similar to that which Douglas would later employ. It was, ironically, a voyage to the scenes of his Aeneid, which led to Virgil's premature death.[4]

Like Virgil's, Douglas's ships and seascapes are doubtless drawn from firsthand acquaintance, especially as his patron was Captain of the Great Michael, that wonder ship of the age, only completed in 1511 and sold to France after the defeat at Flodden.[5]

[1]W. F. Jackson Knight, Roman Virgil (London: Faber and Faber, 1944), pp. 38-44; Tranquillus C. Suetonius, Suetonius, trans. J. C. Rolfe, 2 vols. (1913; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), I, 474-76.

[2]"Virgil must have stood awed by the sights and sounds of the sea timelessly eroding the lava flows, the reefs and the cliffs along the Campanian shoreline, working ceaselessly over the sandy shoreline between Palinuro and Anzio." A. G. McKay, "Virgilian Landscape into Art," Virgil, ed. D. R. Dudley (New York: Basic Books, 1969), p. 140.

[3]Francis A. Sullivan, "Some Vergilian Seascapes," The Classical Journal, LVII (1962), 304.

[4]Suetonius, I, 474-76.

[5]Agnes Mure Mackenzie, The Rise of the Stewarts (1935; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 360.

Some of the authenticity of his description of wild seas may derive from personal as well as literary experience. Douglas himself had traveled to France and had some acquaintance with the waters of the Channel. In his earlier note on the "Altaris" passed on the voyage to Carthage, he compares Mediterranean rocks and shoals to those of Holland and the Isle of Wight; they are "mar perellus than Zairmuth sandis or Holland cost" (I,iii,29, note).

One of the first modern critics to appreciate Douglas, C. S. Lewis, said, "his poem as a whole smells much more strongly of salt water than the original."[1] One would notice this immediately as the opening storm in Book I is very convincing in its intensity. Then in Book III the narration of the Trojans' voyaging is filled with realistic nautical detail, beyond that given by Virgil. But Book V also contains many fine expanded passages on ships and the sea, in the stormy arrival, the boat race, and the rebuilding of the ships after the fire.

Ships in Book V

> Ene fra Cartage salys, and quhou belyve
> He with the tempest was in Sycill dryve.

This heading to the first chapter in the translation of this book prepares the reader for the storm to follow. The storm

[1]C. S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p.86.

is so fierce that darkness descends over all, leaving nothing visible. The travelers lose sight of the coast they have been following. The scene is effective in its ugliness and sense of disorientation.

> Bot fra the schippys held the deyp see,
> That now na mair sycht of the land thai se,
> Salve hevyn abufe, and fludis all about,
> A watry clowd, blak and dyrk but dout,
> Gan our thar hedis tho appeir ful rycht,
> And down a tempest sent als dyrk as nycht;
> The streym wolx vgsum of the dym sky.
> (V,i, 15-21)

This recalls the famous passage in Barbour where the Bruce is sailing to Rathlin. His ships rise on the waves and fall "Rycht as thai doune till hell wald draw"[1] until his men too lose sense of direction.

> The wawys reft thar sycht of land.
> Quhen thai the land wes rycht ner hand,
> And quhen Schippys war sailand ner,
> The Se wald ryss on sic maner,
> That off the wawys the weltrand hycht
> Wald refe thaim oft off thar sycht.
> (III, 715-20)

Here in this initial description of the storm, Douglas derives less of mood and language from Virgil than he does from his Scottish predecessors. The picture is already ominous in Virgil as Palinurus describes the conditions to Aeneas:

> mutati transversa fremunt et vespere ab atro
> consurgunt venti, atque in nubem cogitur aer.
> (V, 19-20)

[1]John Barbour, The Bruce, ed. Walter W. Skeat (Edinburgh: STS, 1894), p. 78.

Douglas enlarges on this with good Scots phrases:

> The wynd is contrar, brayand in our bak saill,
> Hard in our berd vpblawand wondir sayr,
> And al with bubbys ombesett is the ayr;
> (V,i, 34-36)

The passage goes on with tempetuous alliteration, until the reader must share the experience and recognize it as his own.

Like the storm scene, the boat race is saltier than in the original, as will be obvious when I discuss that contest. Here, however, I want to deal with still another part of Book V in which ships and general nautical detail are given expanded treatment. After Juno has sent Iris to incite the Trojan women to burn their ships so as to cease traveling, the fire is divinely extinguished and the ships are rebuilt. Then Virgil's two lines on rebuilding are expanded to give a sense of all the activity of a shipyard.

> Thar hechis and thar ourloftis syne thai beit,
> Plankis and gestis gret, squair and meit,
> Into thar schippis ionand with mony a dynt,
> In sted of thame war with the flambys brynt;
> Thar cabillis new, and thar hed towis reparis,
> And gan to forge newly wrayngis and ayris.
> (V,xii, 159-64)

After the ships are repaired and the long farewells completed, there is at last the departure. This too is touched into vivid life, as Douglas creates what Virgil merely reports.

> "Heyss heich the cross," he bad, "al mak thaim bown,
> And fessyn bonnettis beneith the mayn sail down."
> Than al sammyn, with handis, feit and kneis,
> Dyd heyss thar sail, and trossyt down thar teys;

> Now the le schete, and now the luf, thai slak,
> Set in a fang, and threw the ra abak;
> Baith to and fra al dyd thar nokkis wry;
> Prosper blastis furth careis the navy.
> (V,xiv, 3-10)

In this passage Douglas has converted the reported command to direct dialogue and added details on the handling of the sails.

The Games

As Douglas reads Book V, the major feature is those "funerale gemys glaid" and he develops them more than fully. There are in all four actual contests and then the equestrian display by the boys. The four contests are the boat race, the foot race, the boxing match--misread by Douglas as a contest with sticks, and an archery contest. Of these, all but the archery contest are greatly expanded from the original. In this regard, it is interesting to remember that the Scottish forces were weakened at Flodden, among other reasons, by the inferiority of their archers. Yet I hesitate to make too much of this as when Iris sets out to cause the fire, Douglas converts the figure of the rainbow to the bolt of the cross-bow in describing her swift descent, as "Thys virgyn sprent on swyftly as a vyre" (V,xi, 16). In any case, archery is least developed of all the games.

The Boat Race - Dialogue and Crowd

The four participating ships are described, as is the

rock they must circle. Virgil describes the rock merely as "gratissima" (V,128) to gulls but Douglas has his eye more closely on the gulls:

> A standing place quhar skarthis with thar bekis,
> Forgane the son, glaidly thame pronze and bekis.
> (V,iii, 49-50)

As the racing boats churn the water to foam, Virgil compares their speed to that of a chariot race. Here, as frequently, Douglas expands the simile until it almost overpowers what it was meant to illustrate. Thus he incorporates Ascencius's "Spumes abundantia" and makes his mariners into convincing "cartaris":

> The cartaris smate thar horssis fast in teyn,
> With renzeys slakkyt, and swete drepand bedeyn.
> (V,iii, 83-84)

After this we come to another passage where Douglas inserts direct dialogue, adding to the immediacy of the scene. His changes add to the sense of a watching crowd. Here is the original:

> tum plausu fremituque virum studiisque faventum
> consonat omne nemus, (V, 148-49)

Douglas translates:

> For, throu the gild and rerd of men so zeld,
> The egyrness of thar frendis thame beheld,
> Schowtand "Row fast," all the woddis resoundis.
> (V,iii, 85-87)

In both, the contest is clearly reported and full of suspense. Gyas is leading but Cloanthus pulls ahead as he takes the turn closer to the perilous rock. This angers Gyas who throws his

pilot Menoetes from the boat and takes the helm himself. The watching Trojans laugh at Menoetes as he sputters and struggles onto the rock spitting sea water. In the translation they laugh with still greater hilarity:

> The Troianys lauchys fast seand hym fall,
> And, hym behandand swym, thai keklyt all,
> Bot mast, thai makyn gem and gret ryot,
> To se hym spowt salt watir of his throte.
> (V,iv, 39-42)

The crudeness here fits the Scottish sense of humor and suggests the harsher battle ethic which I shall discuss in reference to the fighting in Book IX.

Next we see Mnestheus whose ship is trailing the other three. His men sweat and strain, the panting rowers pull hard "apon athir wail" (V,iv,76) and he himself shouts encouragement. From the shore the avid crowd cheer the pursuers. Virgil's reported cheers are duly incorporated into the translation:

> The noyss and brute tho dowblys lowd on hycht,
> For, on the costis syde, fast euery wight
> Spurris the persewaris to roll bissely:
> "Set on hym now! Haue at hym thar," thai cry,
> The huge clamour fordynnyt al the ayr.
> (V,iv, 123-27)

While Mnestheus pulls ahead of Gyas and Sergestus turns too close, scraping the treacherous rock and is grounded, it is Cloanthus who comes in first. Although he wins by virtue of a vow to the gods of the sea and the ensuing shove of a band of Nereids, the reader has held his breath, caught up in the suspense, and the contest has been more real than its

metaphysical implications. When Sergestus finally gets clear of the rock after all the prizes have been distributed, his limping return is compared to the motion of a wounded snake. Douglas stays fairly close to Virgil's generous description of such a snake upon a highway, but feeling the action in Scotland,[1] he adds "in the hait symmyrris day" (V,v, 56), for when else would the snakes of Scotland be on the roads.

The Foot Race - A Study in Personality and Class

The second contest, the foot race, betrays Douglas's aristocratic class consciousness. There are several references to mere commoners. In the initial list of contestants he gives the names of Nisus, Euryalus and many others and concludes with those whose names are not known. Of these Virgil writes merely "multi praeterea, quos fama obscura recondit" (V,302), but Douglas explains why their fame is hidden:

> Seir othir come eik quhais namys onknaw is,
> For that thai war of law stait and degre.
> (V,vi, 32-33)

It is class as well as the process of long years which has left these runners forgotten. Then when the fallen Nisus

[1]Just as Douglas's boat race is local and immediate while faithful to Virgil, so Virgil's original account corresponds to contemporary detail while imitating Homer. Mary Bradford Peaks, "Virgil's Seamanship," Classical Weekly, XV (1922), 201.

trips Salius in order to let his friend Euryalus win, Douglas inserts a similar comment. Where Virgil merely says that Euryalus takes first place amid applause and cheers, Douglas writes:

> With rerd and favorabil hailsyngis furth he sprang,
> As oft befallys, syk tymys, commonys amang.
> (V,vi, 89-90)

It seems his aristocratic sense of fair play has been offended. Yet, for all this apparent narrowness, Douglas keeps a sense of humor and even imparts a larger share of it to Aeneas himself. After the foot race is declared won by Euryalus, Salius steps forward covered in dirt to claim that he should have won. In Virgil, Aeneas looks and smiles from the height of his nobility:

> et simul his dictis faciem ostentabat et udo
> turpia membra fimo. risit pater optimus olli
> (V, 357-58)

but in Douglas, the sense of a joke is emphasized:

> Hys face he schew besmottyrit for a bourd,
> And al hys membris in mud and dung bedoyf.
> Than lewch that ryal prynce on hym to goyf,
> (V,vi, 124-26)

Here the "bourd" is clear, Aeneas can "lewch," prince that he is, and he is in no way above staring, as we see him "goyf." Thus Douglas's aristocratic scorn is countervailed by a sense of play which breeds community and a willingness to descend from a role. Perhaps this reflects the situation in Scotland where while there were clear demarcations between classes, there were always close contacts.

The Misunderstood Match

There are two major parts to the third match, first the description of the competitors and then the fight itself. When the contest is announced, Dares steps forward and a murmur goes up from the crowd. His previous feats are recounted--in the translation, they are more clearly recounted by the spectators rather than the narrator. Then, as no man challenges him, he calls for the prize and is seconded in this request by the eager crowd.

cuncti simul ore fremebant
Dardanidae reddique viro promissa iubebant.
(V, 385-86)

This reported request is made direct in the translation as the crowd speaks out. "'Reyk to the man the pryce promyst,' all cryiss" (V,vii, 42). But Dares is not automatically awarded the prize as the old champion Entellus is urged into fighting one last time. Here Douglas makes his major mistranslation of the poem. As Entellus brings out his "caestus" (V,401), glossed by Ascencius as "instrumentum pugilum," Douglas seems unfamiliar with such metal-weighted leather bands and translates the term as "burdonys" (V,vii, 68), compounding his error by dressing the two fighters in armor. But this misreading in no way dimishes the excitement of the fight.

The eighth chapter of Douglas's fifth book, which is devoted to the actual contest, is enormously expanded.

Douglas adds blow-by-blow details which would have been of no interest to Virgil but which clearly interest him. The fight opens with one line in the original, "immiscentque manus manibus pugnamque lascessunt" (V,429), expanded to ten. Of these, the last nine are the translator's elaboration of a good fight.

> Now, hand to hand, the dynt lychtis with a swak:
> Now bendis he vp hys burdon with a mynt,
> On syde he bradis fortil exchew the dynt;
> He etlys zondir hys avantage to tak,
> He metis hym thar, and charris hym with a chak;
> He watis to spy, and smytis in al hys mycht,
> The tother keppys hym on hys burdon wycht;
> Thai foyn at othir, and eggis to bargane.[1]
> (V,viii,10-17)

While there is not this degree of expansion throughout, the whole fight has the same immediacy, and when Aeneas calls a halt to save Dares from old Entellus, the reader has felt the danger. Entellus's last triumph may occur only in this temporal realm, but despite the transience of such a victory, in the translation it is convincing and glorious.

The Boys' Tournament

While the third contest, the archery, has no special characteristics in Douglas, the final mock equestrian tournament is of interest. Again the reported command is changed

[1]Coldwell refers to this passage in his introductory volume: "In certain kinds of scenes, Douglas expands deliberately because he likes the subject. The most conspicuous example of this appears in the description of a boxing-match, where Vergil's phrase "pugnamque lacessunt" (V,429) is expanded to eight lines." (V,viii, 11-17), I, 58.

to direct dialogue as the mounted boys receive the signal to break into three groups. Epytides gives the "signum" (V, 578), and Douglas translates:

> Epytides on far a syng gan mak,
> Smait with a clap, and cryis, "Go togidder!"
> (V,x, 60-61)

The groups then stage a mock battle and make peace, in Virgil "facta pariter nunc pace feruntur" (V, 587). In usual fashion, Douglas becomes more specific, adding the hand shake:

> And, some eftyr, assemmyl wald with a crak,
> Thar handis schak, and pess togyddir mak.
> (V,x, 75-76)

Besides the usual extra dialogue and action, the tournament is notable for its specific concern with the boys' horses. First there is the practical concern as to where they got the horses. In the original Virgil merely tells the reader:

> cetera Trinacriis pubes senioris Acestae
> fertur equis. (V, 573-74)

He does not bother to explain why they used Acestes's horses or if they were given or lent. Douglas, however, has his boys ride "Sycill horssis" (V,x,50), "That from the auld Acestes purchest wer" (V,x,51). The underlining is mine but the concern is the translator's. Douglas also adds descriptive details beyond the slight indications in the original. Young Priamus's white horse is further said to have "rynggyt the forthir e" (V,x,40), Atys is "on a cursour bay" (V,x,41), and Iulus is on a horse "of cullor quhyte" (V,x,47). None of these details is important to the action or meaning, but it

is characteristic of Douglas to add such traces of here and now.[1]

The addition of such "realistic" details and direct dialogue makes the mock tournament like the other athletic contests. All have in the translation greater immediacy, more sense of struggle, crowd, and excitement. The foot race adds something more, a hint of aristocratic superiority. All of these characteristics are put into the translation by a man who must have had enormous worldly interest in this life.

Erdly Plesour Endis Oft With Sorow

Before all the games, however, the prologue to this fifth book stands as a reminder that the joys of this earth are not lasting. The sequence of "plesour" and "sorow" is a necessary truth of human experience. As this is true for Virgil in the more human terms in which he conceived his poem, so it is correspondingly more forceful for Douglas who feels that he must ultimately reject any human definition of life. For Douglas the sorrow is especially necessary as he has asked

[1]Here, as at many points, Douglas is more concrete than Virgil, perhaps because Virgil remains concerned with the larger view. C. M. Bowra says of him, "His task prevents him from really enjoying a tale for its own sake, from concentrating entirely on the excitement of what happens. Beyond the actual events there is always something else, a problem or a principle or a hint that what occurs has some other claim than its immediate interest." From Virgil to Milton (London: MacMillan, 1945), p. 37.

God's help in avoiding "temporal blythness" (V, Pro. 67), in order that "our eternal ioy be nocht the less!" (V, Pro., 68).

Book V provides Douglas with several occasions for a pathos which serves as a counterpoint to the gladness of the games. There are of course many instances of such pathos outside of Book V. For the most part, these passages share the same medieval gift of being maudlin with delicacy. The three major instances in Book V are the lament of the women before Iris leads them to burn the ships, the parting of Aeneas from the spirit of Anchises, and the final separation of the two groups of Trojans, those who remain in Sicily and those who go on to Italy.

The lament of the women sitting on the seashore far from the delights of the games is made more specific and therefore more poignant in the translation. Virgil has them say merely:

> "heu! tot vada fessis
> et tantum superesse maris!" (V, 615-16)

Douglas makes this more clearly apply to the women and gives more sense of the sea journey ahead:

> "Allace! behald, samony stremys gray,
> And of thir salt fludis sa braid a way
> Remanys zyt, fortyl ourslyde and sayll,
> By ws wemen irkyt of lang travaill!"
> (V,xi, 29-32)

Later, when in Book IX the mother weeps over slain Euryalus, one remembers that so many of the other mothers stayed behind

but that she did in fact bear the long journey, sailed "Samony stremys gray" to be with the beautiful and devoted son she is to lose.

After the fire has been put out, the image of Anchises appears to Aeneas at his tomb to direct him to the underworld. When they have finished speaking, Aeneas wants to give his father a farewell embrace, but, like Creusa in Book II, he eludes him. Aeneas asks why he rushes away so.

> "quo deinde ruis? quo proripis?" inquit,
> "quem fugis? aut quis te nostris complexibus arect?"
> (V, 741-42)

Douglas makes the questioning still more intense and personal, including the realization of the answer.

> "Quhidder bradis thou now sa fast, without abaid?
> Quhidder hastis thou swa? Quhom fleys thou?...Me, allace?
> Quhat is the let I may the nocht enbrace?"
> (V,xii, 140-42)

Here, as elsewhere, Douglas excels at departures and farewells. Two such moving farewells occur in Book II in the account of the destruction of Troy. First, the spirit of the slaughtered Hector appears to Aeneas, as in the original, but departs with this line, unprecedented in Virgil: "Adew, fairweil, for ever it is endit" (II,v, 82). The same feeling is present when the ghost of the lost Creusa appears to Aeneas, telling him to forget her and go on. Virgil's simple "vale" (II, 789) becomes "Adew, fayrweil, for ay we mon dissevir" (II,xii, 54). Such farewells augment the general sadness of the partings. They

also serve, something like Aeneas's laughter after the foot race, to make that "pius" prince a warmer and more human figure. As I shall demonstrate in the next chapter, the translation also shows greater human distress in Aeneas when he encounters Dido in the otherworld.

Another scene of parting, if not really pathetic, does have a more overt display of emotion. That is the separation between the two groups of Trojans. They have come this far together but now those who can bear no more traveling are staying in the kingdom of hospitable Acestes, while the fighters go on to Italy and the founding of Rome. The preparations for departure are elaborate and speedy, but when all is ready they still linger. The wailing, embracing and delay are all in Virgil, but only in the translation is there the glut of emotionalism:

> Bot quhen thai moste depart, lord, quhou thai weip!
> Quhat huge waling rayss all the costis bay!
> Brasand and halshand thai dwel al nycht and day.
> (V,xiii, 8-10)

Thus even as the ships are saved and the voyagers can go on, there is always a regret as those who stay wish they too were going.

The voyage from Sicily to the Italian coast has the blessings and aid of Neptune who is cooperating by the request of Venus. There is only one shadow on this successfl trip--to save many, one man is to be sacrificed. Thus the final episode in Book V is the divinely-caused death of the trusty

helmsman Palynurus. The way in which this joy and sorrow are bound up is well characterized by the heading to the fourteenth chapter:

> Throu owt the flude merely salys Ene,
> And Palynurus drownys in the see.

Aeneas sails merrily and Palynurus drowns. This double vision epitomizes the fifth book.

Earthly gladness may well jeopardize one's chances for eternal bliss, and besides it is at best a mixed commodity in this life. Yet, despite Douglas's nagging doubts about earthly joy, the strongest impression left by his translation of Book V is the excitement of life, the fighters sparring and the four eager captains cutting across each other as they circle the marker rock.

CHAPTER V

BOOK VI: CHRISTIAN AND SCOTTISH ESCHATOLOGY

The sixth book of the Aeneid is more than numerically central to the poem as a whole. It marks the end of the wandering and a change in direction, after which Aeneas proceeds in a straight line toward his ultimate goal. Its central position has always been recognized by commentators and allegorizers.[1] Yet at the same time Book VI is traditionally the most troublesome to a Christian audience. Because it deals with Aeneas's descent to the lower world, it raises complicated metaphysical issues. Of all the books of the poem, it offers the most perplexing Christian-pagan problems.

In his translation, Douglas is repeatedly aware of the work of his predecessor, Caxton. In the first prologue, as we have seen, he comments specifically and at length on Caxton's omission of this sixth book. That omission was of course intentional; Caxton thought the book false and not to be believed. Such an excuse is unacceptable to Douglas. In the prologue to Book I, functionally the introduction to the entire work, he devotes more than forty lines to a defense of Book VI.

[1]W. F. Jackson Knight comments, "The Sixth Aeneid is central, to Virgil's eschatology, to his poem, and perhaps to all non-Christian religious history; it comes near to being central for Catholicism too." "Virgil's Elysium," Virgil, ed. D. R. Dudley (New York: Basic Books, 1969), p. 165.

Despite this long discussion in the first prologue, when Douglas actually reaches that suspect sixth book he feels the need for further justification. The 168 lines of this justification range from vituperation--of those who don't accept the book--to great reverence. In the opening stanza he asks "Sibil" to guide him, but toward the end of the prologue he clarifies "Thow art our Sibill, Crystis moder deir" (VI, Pro., 145). After the opening stanza, Douglas launches into two vigorous stanzas of attack on those readers who would doubt the underlying validity of the sixth book. In the attack he is colloquial and proverbial.

> Quhat wenys fulys this saxt buke be bot iapis,
> Al ful of leys or ald ydolatryis?
> O hald zour pace, ze verray goddis apis!
> (VI, Pro., 9-11)

He reasserts the "hyd sentence" and tells those who fail to consider it that they should "Heich on zour hede set vp the foly hat" (VI, Pro., 16). The second stanza of attack on the doubters is just as energetic. Furthermore, its terms seem closely tied to the atmosphere of augmented ghastliness which Douglas translates into Virgil's underworld. Here he imitates the doubters' complaints:

> "All is bot gaistis and elrich fantasyis,
> Of browneis and of bogillis ful this buke:
> Owt on thir wandrand speritis, wow!" thou cryis;
> (VI, Pro., 17-19)

He goes on in a kind of parody of those who assert the error of the episode, calling it all heretical superstition, re-

ferring to "Pluto that plukkit duke" (VI, Pro., 23), and "Sibil, deir of a revyn sleif" (VI, Pro., 24), in other words, of no value whatsoever. Having entertained vicariously all the objections of the doubter, Douglas turns to him and asks, "Wald thou I suld this buke to the declare?" (VI, Pro., 25). And then he does, drawing on Servius, Ascencius, and Saint Augustine. He summarizes the reading of the entire Aeneid as an allegory of human life and then explains the Christian parallels with the descent into hell. Although Virgil is not a Christian, he says, certain parts of what he writes are absolutely correct.

> And, thocht our faith neid nane authorising
> Of gentiles bukis, nor by sik heithin sparkis,
> Zit Virgil writis mony iust clauss conding,
> Strenthing our beleve, to confound payan warkis.
> (VI, Pro., 57-60)

Douglas would have it both ways; we don't need Virgil, of course, but still he is very useful. Also there is Virgil's medieval reputation as a kind of proto-crypto-Christian as supposedly evidenced by the fourth Eclogue which Douglas mentions here (VI, Pro., 71-72). Having asserted the worth of Virgil as a theologian, Douglas does admit that at times his writings do not correspond to the faith. Then, firmly planted in his ambivalence, he offers this defense of Virgil: "Na wondir! he was na Cristyn man, per De" (VI, Pro., 78). Having made this admission, Douglas devotes the rest of the prologue to showing how Virgil's narrative and gods can be

made to correspond to the tenets of Christianity. He uses Boccaccio's naturalistic explanation of the pagan deities, equates Sibil and Pluto with Mary and Satan, and asserts his disbelief in the powers of Pluto. "I favour nocht the errour of Manache" (VI, Pro., 155). After he has explained away all the theological troublespots ahead, Douglas asks Mary to help him assail the kingdom of Dis "in the lyknes this mysty poetry" (VI, Pro., 167). He does not end on this elevated note but returns to the earlier colloquialism. Referring once again to Pluto, he concludes with a flourish, "I sal hym hunt of sty" (VI, Pro., 168). Somehow cheerfulness keeps breaking in, and the devil is attacked with vigor. Thus serious theology can be expressed in colloquial language.

Treatment of Religious Issues in the Text

The religious problems in Book VI are faced in the text as well as in the prologue. The geography of the other world invites continual comparison with Christian eschatology. Some of the trip can be directly transferred into Christian mythology while other parts require more change before assimilation or must be disregarded. I shall devote particular attention to three instances in which changes are made to de-paganize if not fully to Christianize. These are the modified characterization of the Sibyl, the emphasis on Elysium as Heaven, and Anchises's theological explanations to his son.

Because Douglas has transferred the first eight lines of Virgil's Book VI, those dealing with the arrival at Cumae, to the end of Book V, he begins his version of the sixth book with Aeneas approaching the cavern of the Sibyl. Their encounter contains many apparently discrepant features, some of which reflect Douglas's peculiar reconciliation of the pagan and Christian. The differences in the translator's treatment of the Sibyl become immediately obvious. In the original Aeneas approaches the cavern "horrendae...Sibyllae" (VI,10), but Douglas sends him to the "secret hald of Sibilla the may" (VI,i, 6). The updating is begun. As Douglas renders the description of the temple of Apollo built by Daedalus, he not only updates but brings it nearer home. The Chalcidian hill where Daedalus is first said to have landed becomes for Douglas analogous with the landscape he knows best:

> Bot, at the last, softly he gan alicht
> Of Chalcydonys apon the castell hicht;
> (VI,i, 19-20)

The only precedent for the castle is the view up the High Street from Saint Giles, of which Douglas was Provost.

When the Sibyl appears and speaks to Aeneas, Douglas is unselfconscious about his adaptation. "Cessas in vota precesque" (VI,51), she cries. But in the Scottish:

> "Blyn nocht, blyn nocht, thou gret Troiane Ene,
> Of thi bedis nor thi prayeris," quod sche.
> (VI,i, 99-100)

Since the Sibyl is the Virgin Mary, the reminder that Aeneas should tell his beads is quite in keeping.[1]

After Aeneas has prayed aloud, the Sibyl gives forth her prophecies and Aeneas cites his previous toils as evidence of his willingness to face these new hardships. The prophecies come in Douglas's chapter ii, and the heading he gives that chapter suggests the style of its translation:

> The answeris and the wordys to and fra
> Betwix Eneas and this Sibilla.

Such a forecast of contents promises something rather more chatty than the dark enigmas of the classical Cumaean Sibyl, and Douglas's Sibyl is indeed chatty, as her prophecy is interspersed with colloquial conversational filler. In the twenty-four lines of her prophecy, she puts in these phrases among others: "I tel zou al and sum," "I wil onto the say," "to conclude," "God wait"--hardly a pagan remark, and "traist me" (VI,ii, 7,12,15,26,28). Some of these are obviously inserted merely as a convenient way to fill out a line, but the total change in tone is part of the style of the translation. The final effect is not elevated but down-to-earth narrative. It is this tone which justifies the otherwise inappropriate

[1]Holland's Livy also speaks of beads. F. O. Matthiessen, Translation: An Elizabethan Art (1931; New York: Octagon Books, 1965), p. 212. Discussing the way in which the Sibyl urges Aeneas to stop studying the gates and to perform his religious observances, W. F. Jackson Knight writes, "'not to neglect his church-going' would be a modern equivalent." "Virgil's Elysium," Virgil, ed. D. R. Dudley, p. 166.

conclusion to Aeneas's interview with the Sibyl. Virgil's formal closing, "dixit pressoque obmutuit ore" (VI,155), is strangely transformed in the Scottish version. Here is what Aeneas must do,

> quod scho, and tho gan sess,
> Hir mowth clappit to giddir, and held hir press.
> (VI,ii, 157-58)

Such a "dixit" may not be formal, but it is direct. Here the Sibyl is a rather inappropriate Mary, but at least she is successfully debunked as a pagan holy figure.

Elysium as Heaven and The Meeting With Anchises

In his treatment of "the plesand plane of Elyse" in his tenth chapter, Douglas makes changes in the direction of stylistic and spiritual elevation. As Aeneas and the Sibyl emerge from the dark sights of Tartarus, they come to a very different place:

> devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta
> Fortunatorum Nemorum sedesque beatas.
> (VI, 638-39)

This locus amoenus may be taken as the classical prototype for the vast progeny of May Gardens which blossom through the Middle Ages, in Douglas's own Palice of Honour, and beyond.[1] The now-familiar garden is the translator's cue. Virgil's two lines are expanded to five:

[1]Curtius, p. 192.

> Ontil a plesand grond cummyn ar thai,
> With batill gyrss, fresch herbys and beyn swardis,
> The lusty orchardis and the hailsum zardis
> Of happy sawlys and weil fortunat,
> To blissyt wightis the placis preparat.
> (VI,x, 24-28)

Douglas feels at home in this landscape and freely inserts the appropriate vegetation. He then amply translates the additional description of scenery, athletics, and music. The music and dance he adapts to the expectations of his audience. Virgil writes simply: "pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt" (VI,644). In the translation Douglas expands the one line to a familiar scene:

> Sum other hantyng gan ane other sport,
> As forto dansyng, and to leid the ryng,
> To syng ballatis, and go in karalyng.
> (VI,x, 38-40)

In a similar adaptation Virgil's "Threicius...sacerdos" (VI, 645) becomes "the preist and menstrale sle,/ Orpheus of Trace" (VI,x, 41-42) and, as in Henryson's treatment of Orpheus, his music is given technical explanation. All these additions reinforce the "May Garden" associations of Virgil's locus amoenus, but there is also a different kind of addition which works toward converting the earthly paradise to the heavenly paradise, bringing Elysium closer to the Christian Heaven. Aeneas sees the blessed feasting, "laetumque choro paeana canetis" (VI, 657). In translation the idea of hymns to the highest god is more explicitly expressed:

> Ympnys of pryce, triumphe and victory
> All syngand glaid togydder in falloschip
> And pryncipaly Apollo to worschip;
> (VI,x, 70-72)

Minor changes such as this reinforce the analogies between pagan and Christian afterlife. By such changes Douglas works to demonstrate the orthodoxy of the text of Book VI.

Medieval and Scottish Characteristics

> "All is bot gaistis and elrich fantasyis,
> Of browneis and of bogillis ful this buke:"
> (VI, Pro., 17-18)

Although Douglas defends Virgil's sixth book against this accusation, it is in fact even more true of Douglas's version. The very terms of the denial reveal the translator's familiarity with the literary and folk traditions of his native Scotland. There is also the model of Robert Henryson's description of Orpheus visiting the underworld in search of Eurydice, a journey replete with frightening detail.[1] In his journey Orpheus had come to a "flude,/ Drubly and deip, and

[1]"In the treatment of a Classical theme in Scots, Henryson had already shown the capabilities of the language, as it then was, in parts of his Orpheus and Eurydice. His descent of Orpheus offers a comparison with Douglas's descent of Aeneas in Book VI. Although the later descent is fairly literal translation, it has again the essentially Scots and medieval quality of the Orpheus descent. There is the presence of the mythological folk-imagination of the Middle Ages as distinct from that of the Classical world." John Speirs, The Scots Literary Tradition (London: Faber and Faber, 2nd ed. 1962), p. 75.

rythly doun can rin" (11.275-76),[1] and then later "our a mure, with thornis thik and scherp,...a wilsum way he went" (11.289-90), all this leading to the deepest pit of hell,

> O dully, place, and grundles deip dungeoun,
> furness of gyre, and stink intollerable,
> pit of dispair, without remissioun (11.310-12)

Thus landscape of hell has already been presented in Scots. When Douglas has to take Aeneas into the underworld, he deepens the horror. The cave and Avernus are forbidding in the original:

> spelunca alta fuit vastoque immanis hiatu,
> scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris,
> (VI, 237-38)

This sufficiently ominous picture becomes still more ghastly in translation:

> Thar stude a dirk and profound cave fast by,
> A hidduus hoill, deip gapand and grisly,
> All ful of cragis and of thir scharp flynt stanys,
> Quhilk was weil dekkit and closit for the nanys
> With a fowle layk, als blak as ony craw,
> And skuggis dym of a ful dern wod schaw
> (VI,iv, 3-8)

Thus Aeneas enters an underworld made more graphic by Northern vocabulary and alliteration. Even the scenery is recognizable.[2]

[1]Robert Henryson, The Poem and Fables, ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 2nd ed. 1958), p. 138.

[2]"In Douglas' Aeneid Hell is in fact Scotland in its wilder aspects, the mountainous and craggy wastes, the gloony waters, and the wild and lawless inhabitants of these regions, as they might be viewed and feared at the oncoming night; the medieval poet conceives Hell in these images--as a physical--as well as a metaphysical--reality." Speirs, p. 170. This seems to me somewhat romanticized as an interpretation of the scenery, but Speirs is certainly correct regarding Douglas's sense of the physical aspects of the metaphysical concept.

Along with the stark and dramatic aspects of this Northern portrait of hell, there is another quality, the proverbial crow-blackness of the lake. Such use of proverb occurs in Book VI at other equally ominous points. Aeneas's whole journey will be characterized by just such a combination of ghastliness and more colloquial detail. In this setting the Sibyl is "voce vocans Hecaten caeloque Ereboque potentem" (VI, 247), or, appropriately,

> Apon Hecate cryand, with mony a zell,
> Mychtful in hevin and dym dungeon of hell.
> (VI,iv, 23-24)

The yell and dim dungeon are in no way incongruous for the atmosphere which Douglas is creating.

At the very jaws of hell, the travelers come to an assembly of personifications, Diseases, sad Age, Fear, Famine, Want, and Death. In Virgil this is clearly meant as a list of abstractions, characterized by one adjective at the most. Douglas, however, invests these abstractions with a greater reality, raising them to the personifications made familiar by such descriptions as those of the temples in Chaucer's "Knight's Tale" (11.1995-2030, for example).

> and thar at dwellis eyk
> Pail Maladeis that causys folk be seik,
> The feirful Dreid, and als onweldy Age,
> The fellon Hungir with hir ondantit rage;
> Thar was alsso the laithly Indigence,
> Terribill of port and schameful hir presence,
> The grysly Ded at mony ane hess slane,
> (VI,iv, 79-85)

The line on Death recalls the revelers' complaint against death in the "Pardoner's Tale" (11,676;754). The only figure developed by Virgil is "Discordia demens,/ vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis" (VI, 280-81), and even she takes on more convincing life in the translation:

> Witless Discord, that wondryng maist crewell,
> Wymplit and buskit in a bludy bend,
> With snakis hung at euery harys end.
> (VI,iv, 92-94)

Here as elsewhere Douglas does not merely report; instead he must describe as fully as possible.[1]

Passing this crowd, Aeneas and his guide come to the "hellys flude of Acheron" (VI,v, 2). Its mud and turbulence anticipate the description in the seventh prologue of winter rivers in Scotland. Guarding the crossing stands Charon, "portitor...horrendus" (VI, 298). The terror of Virgil's description is intensified by Douglas:

> Thir ryveris and thir watyris kepit war
> By ane Charon, a grisly ferryar,
> Terribil of schap and sluggart of array,
> Apon his chyn feil cannos harys gray,
> Lyart feltrit tatis; with burnand eyn red,
> Lyk twa fyre blesys fixit in his hed;
> Hys smottrit habyt, own his schulderis lydder,
> Hang pevagely knyt with a knot togiddir.
> (VI, v, 7-14)

Few individual details are added to the original, but there are extra adjectives and a clearer focusing of the material.

[1]Quoting Douglas's translation of Aeneas's sacrifice to Pluto (VI,iv, 28-38), Ezra Pound comments, "Suffers nothing if compared to witch passages in Macbeth." ABC of Reading (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), p. 110.

The "lyart feltrit tatis" seems a logical addition suggested by the beard, and Charon's flame-like eyes are still more frightening when Douglas writes of them as "red" and "fixit in his hed." This last phrase, though a handy line filler, increases the impression of staring. Apparently the development of the eyes matters to Douglas as in the same scene where Virgil refers to Charon as "navita...tristis" (VI, 315), Douglas portrays him as "this soroful boytman, with brym luyk" (VI,v, 41).

But this same grisly ferryman has a less frightening side, a certain matter-of-factness which almost constitutes charm. The reader is prepared for it by the Sibyl's account of the souls awaiting passage. According to her, they must be properly buried,

> "Than, at the last, to pass owr in this boyt
> Thai beyn admyt, and costis thame not a grote."
> (VI,v, 71-72)

Obviously the discussion of the fare is Douglas's addition: in the midst of the horror, the comment intrudes more everyday concerns.

When Aeneas seeks passage, Charon explains that he cannot convey the living as others have tried to steal their queen, "'hi dominan Ditis thalamo deducere adorti'" (VI, 397). In translation Charon sounds like a medieval storyteller:

> "The tother twa gret violence wald aue done;
> The fresche Proserpyne, Plutois lady gay,
> Furth of hir bowr begouth to led away."
> (VI,vi, 24-26)

It is unexpected that Charon should perceive Proserpine as "Plutois lady gay" living in a "bowr."

Then this same surprising boatman turns to his work with all the nautical expertise common to the translation. Instead of merely clearing the gangway of other passengers as in Virgil (VI, 412), "He strekyt sone hys ayris, and grathis his saill" (VI,vi, 58). Thus the portrait of Charon is made more terrible and more human. The final total effect is that often achieved in the translation, a sharper and more intense immediacy.

The sixth book offers Douglas many other opportunities for the amplification of ghastliness. In the place of dead warriors Aeneas meets many of the Greeks and Trojans he had known. The Greeks try to shout in fear, but their voices are a faint gasp:

> Sum rasyt a cry with waik voce, as thai mocht;
> Bot al for nocht, thar clamour was ful skant,
> The sovndis brak with gasping or a gant.
> (VI,viii, 34-36)

Among these enfeebled warriors, Aeneas meets the Trojan prince Deiphobus, badly mutilated. In answer to Aeneas's horrified inquiries, Deiphobus explains how he was betrayed by Helen. Here is his original statement:

> "Sed me fata mea et scelus exitiale Lacaenae
> his mersere malis; illa haec monumenta reliquit."
> (VI, 511-12)

The translation is very different in tone.

> "Bot my hard fatis war wers than thou wenyt,
> For the detestabil cursyt wikkytnes
> Of Helyn born in Lacena, I gess,
> Hass me involuyt in thir harmys ze se--
> Thir ar hir last luf drowreis left with me."
> (VI,viii, 70-74)

Whereas the Latin account scorns to name Helen, Douglas mentions her specifically and with harsh comment. The unfortunate addition of "I gess" is one of Douglas's less felicitous line-fillers. Yet it does give the conversational latitude for the greater irony of the last line. "Monumenta" as "luf drowreis" is not only ironic, but a rather poignant summary of all that has gone before. Again in this episode, the shudder created by the translation is more extreme than that evoked by the original, and Deiphobus is less stylized and more real.

In the next chapter Aeneas is escorted close to the deepest pit of hell, ordained for punishment. The road passes "Ditis magni sub moenia" (VI, 541), brought up to date as "the hie wallys of Schir Ditis kyng" (VI,ix, 15). According to the chapter heading, the Sibyl tells Aeneas "The tormentis of deip drery paynful hell." From the tormented, Aeneas hears "gemitus" (VI, 557), translated in good Northern verse as "Murnyng, graynyng, gowlyng and duylfull beir" (VI,ix, 50). All of the torments are documented in this same generous style. Douglas has defended the inclusion of all these episodes for their moral value, arguing in the prologue,

> Schawis he nocht heir the synnys capital?
> Schawis he nocht wikkit folk in endless pane?
> (VI, Pro., 41-42)

While not neglecting the instructional worth, he develops the sensationalism even more. Again the proverbial intrudes; having described the tormented wicked, he concludes: "Heir evyrmar the charge lyis on thar nek" (VI,ix, 208).

The last great opportunity for horror in Douglas's sixth book is actually incorporated from Virgil's Book VII, as he appropriates the first 24 lines of the next book. This change brings all the departure from the underworld into Book VI.[1] Here as Aeneas and his men sail away, they pass near the shore of Circe's kingdom. In the night they hear the noise of the animals into which she has transformed her captives: the growls of lions, the raging of boars and bears, "ac formae magnorum ululare luporum" (VII, 18). These last become in translation,

> And gret figuris of wolffis eik infeir
> Zowland with zammering grisly forto her.
> (VI,xvi, 37-38)

Even as they sail after the trip to the underworld, the alliterative grisliness persists. There is a suggestion of soundplay in the Latin which Douglas develops to its full effect. It is fitting that Douglas's sixth book close with such a sound and picture. Like the geography of hell, the

[1]"Douglas is probably justified aesthetically in moving this Chapter from the beginning of Book VII, but the shift seems to be original with him." Coldwell, I, 203.

portrait of Charon, the embodied personifications and other aspects, this glimpse of the land of Circe shows Douglas's skill and delight in the craft of the ghastly. The ghastliness he succeeds in painting is not the chilling sublime but is full of the life and vigor of the folk tale.

The Character of Aeneas and Other Political Implications

Douglas has gone to great trouble in both Book IV and the first prologue to clear Aeneas of blame in the Dido episode. When they meet in Book VI Douglas has a further opportunity to demonstrate the goodness of his hero. His seventh chapter contains several small variations from the original which reinforce his argument. The basic strategy is not to say that his leaving did not matter, but to show Aeneas's awareness of Dido's plight and to allow him to show his own very deep regret. First Douglas emphasizes the misery of Dido. In Virgil the place where she is shown is called "Lugentes Campi" (VI, 441), translated as "the large fieldis wyde/ And boundis of Complaynt, all voyd of lycht" (VI,vii, 38-39). In this darkness, Aeneas sees those hurt by love, among them Dido, "recens a volnere" (VI, 450). Douglas portrays her "The greyn wound gapand in hir breist all new" (VI,vii, 57). Her plight is thus accentuated. Douglas's Aeneas does not ask whether he was responsible for this but avows, "Allace, I was the causar of thy ded!" (VI, vii, 69).

While Douglas emphasizes the gloom of the place and the sad state of the wounded queen, he maintains his defense of Aeneas. Here Douglas runs into a problem: having previously undercut the pagan gods, he must now use Virgil's "iussa deum" as reason and excuse for Aeneas's abrupt departure from Carthage. To reestablish their validity, he therefore translates the phrase as "the commandment of the goddis onfenyt" (VI,vii, 76). By making Aeneas himself insist on the truth of the gods, Douglas hopes to exculpate him from the charge of wicked desertion.

When Aeneas speaks with Dido in the underworld, he implores her to stay a moment. Douglas amplifies the appeal in the original: "Abide, thou gentil wight" (VI,vii, 85). She leaves unrelenting and Aeneas follows with tears. In Virgil, he is most contrite.

> nec minus Aeneas, casu concussus iniquo,
> prosequitur lacrimis longe et miseratur euntem.
> (VI, 475-76)

In the translation Aeneas demonstrates still greater concern and pity, following after her quickly and persistently.

> And, netheless, fast eftir hir furth sprent
> Ene, perplexit of hir sory cace,
> And weping gan hir follow a weil lang space,
> Regretand in his mynd, and had piete
> Of the distress that movit hir so to fle.
> (VI,vii, 104-8)

In these lines dignified regret is changed to more active pursuit. Douglas appears to feel that he cannot really vindicate Aeneas, despite the gods' "unfeynt" commands,

but at least he can demonstrate his sharp regret. That is the best he can do to preserve Aeneas as the ideal prince.

This concern with a model of princely behavior persists throughout Book VI as elsewhere. The catalogue of the torments and tormented in the deepest hell, chapter ix, moves toward its climax with the warning words of Phlegyas "vmquhile kyng of Thessaly" (VI,ix, 187) to all would-be evildoers, "'discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere divos'" (VI, 620). Notice to whom Douglas addresses this warning:

> "Be myne exampill all wightis, prynce and kyng,
> Lernys," quod he, "to hant iustice and rycht,
> And not contem the goddis strentht and mycht."
> (VI,ix, 190-92)

"All wightis, prynce and kyng" should take the warning to heart. Douglas understands the Aeneid as morally instructive for the individual man and also of great potential value for the kingdom. Its effect on the kingdom is of course predicated on its influence on the ruler.

There is at least one passage in which the political message of the Aeneid is shaped by the translator to be specifically applicable to the Scotland of his time. Douglas's preoccupation with government is revealed in his heading to chapter xv:

> Anchises gevis Eneas gud teching
> To gyde the pepill vnder his governyng.

The couplet is a distortion of the contents of the chapter but an accurate guide to Douglas's interests. Here occur the

famous lines on Rome's role in dominion and as a civilizing force; Anchises speaks of the time to come:

> "(hae tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem,
> parcere subiectis et debellare superbos."
> (VI, 852-53)

The translation emphasizes the last part:

> "Thir sal thy craftis be, at weil may seme,
> The peax to modefy and eik manteme,
> To pardon all cumis zoldin and recryant,
> And prowd rabellis in batale forto dant."
> (VI,xv, 15-18)

The political life of Scotland in this period was characterized by an ongoing struggle between the central government and powerful families of the nobility. As a member of the house of Douglas, the translator was well aware of this power struggle. "Prowd rabellis" are more than an abstraction in this situation, and the "artes" of Rome could be put to good use in Edinburgh. Book VI is thus important for the attempt at rehabilitation of Aeneas as an ideal model and for larger political objectives.

Total Shaping and Placing of Book VI

Perhaps because he remains uneasy about including Book VI at all, Douglas is careful to stress its connection with what precedes and follows. The simple "explicit" of most of the books is expanded in the case of Book V in order to lead into the difficulties of the sixth book.

> Heyr endis the fift buke of Virgil in
> Eneados and begynnys sum preambeis
> in the sext buke tharof and first
> twiching the opinionys that the
> poetis and ald philosophouris had of hell
> and placis tharof.

At the conclusion of Book V Douglas is already beginning his argument for the inclusion of Book VI. Here he disclaims responsibility for orthodoxy as he says he will write of the opinions of others. The sense of sequence and therefore justification are felt at the end of Book VI as well. By incorporating the opening of Virgil's seventh book, Douglas effects a smooth transition out of hell and is ready to recommence with the dawn and the long-desired arrival in Italy. All of the danger, including passing the kingdom of Circe which is another kind of hell, has been put in the sixth book. There is still a further kind of framing of the journey to the underworld, and that is the seventh prologue with its hellish description of winter. I shall discuss this in the next chapter.

The carefully contrived continuity is the only part of Douglas's effort to give Christian acceptability to Virgil's portrayal of the afterlife. The question is also closely argued in the prologues to both Books I and VI. Once he has done all he can to answer any objection, Douglas goes on to issues which correspond to his most immediate interests. As I have illustrated above, his abstract political ideals are

shown to be useful for contemporary Scotland. In the same way, the creation of atmosphere and verbal ghastliness has touches of his native scenery and literature, and the use of proverbs makes the terrible akin to the familiar. Such a combination of the ghastly and the colloquial works towards Douglas's goal of making Virgil clearer and more immediately accessible to a Scottish audience. Even in the midst of eschatological dilemmas, the translator does not neglect his usual three-dimensional vividness. In its portrayal of the afterlife, pagan or Christian, the translation vibrates with the energy of this life.

CHAPTER VI

PROLOGUES VII AND XII: WINTER AND SPRING AS STATES OF MIND

As Aeneas sets sail after his journey to the underworld, he sees "the sey of bemys walxin red" (VIII,i, 1) and sees Aurora "within hyr rosy cartis" (VII,i, 3). The lovely and tranquil dawn brings him at last to Italy, scene of his wars and eventual triumph. Much is done and much remains to do. Between the departure from hell and this dawn stands the prologue to Book VII. This seventh or winter prologue is one of the three so-called nature prologues for which Douglas's Eneados is most famous.

After a long period of neglect, Douglas first inspired critical attention on the basis of these prologues. Thomas Warton quoted from them extensively in his History of English Poetry, first published 1774-1781. Warton quoted most of Prologue XII on Spring, supplying a gloss and a prose translation. For contrast, he rendered Prologue VII, also in a prose version, and in summary he commented on the "lively touches of fancy and rural imagery."[1] David Irving in his 1861 History of Scotish Poetry finds the same qualities of value:

> what chiefly renders his works interesting is the frequent occurence of those picturesque and

[1]Thomas Warton, History of English Poetry, ed. W. Carew Hazlitt (1871; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968), III, 225.

> characteristic touches which can only be produced by a man capable of accurate observation and original thinking.[1]

Repeated discussion and praise of the nature prologues make it seem that critics have read little else of the poem as a whole. Even Kurt Wittig in his generally perceptive and balanced study, The Scottish Tradition in Literature[2] devotes more than a third of his chapter on Douglas to these same nature prologues. He refers to them as Douglas's "great nature poems, the first in Scots or English in which landscape is depicted solely for its own sake."[3]

These three prologues are indeed very fine, but the reasons for their excellence have been misunderstood. They are not merely picturesque and well observed, but also filled with conventional elements. Furthermore, they are very far from showing nature "depicted solely for its own sake." They serve many purposes beyond naturalistic scenery-painting.

[1]David Irving, The History of Scotish Poetry, ed. John Aitken Carlyle (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1861), p. 226.

[2](Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958), p. 85.

[3]Such statements about Douglas's three "nature" prologues can be found in many places. For example, Agnes Mure MacKenzie writes: "He is the first poet in our language to take landscape in itself and for itself as a subject--not merely a setting for a subject--of poetic emotion...Douglas is the first poet in any form of the language deliberately to paint wild weather--indeed to paint landscape on any considerable scale--for its own sake, to find the aesthetic pleasure in it as such, not merely as the appropriate setting for some thrill of adventure among wildness." Historical Survey of Scottish Literature to 1714 (London: Maclehose, 1933), pp. 102-3.

In this chapter it is my purpose to show that the nature prologues are firmly rooted in tradition and function as part of the total continuity and development of the Eneados as a whole work.

While much of this chapter is relevant to all three of the nature prologues, I shall deal here particularly with the seventh prologue and somewhat with the twelfth. In so far as the prologue to Book XIII is doing something different, it will be treated in proper order in Chapter X. Prologues VII and XII are, however, profitably discussed together, and for this reason I shall take the twelfth prologue out of order.

It has been said of Douglas that "he escapes from the conventional to the real."[1] Such an "escape" is no central part of Douglas's achievement here and would be in no way desirable for his purposes in these prologues. His success is contingent upon his individual and creative use of the tradition available to him. By the end of the century in which Douglas was writing, nature-painting was recognized as a common poetic device and even an undesirable addiction. James VI in his Schort Treatise Conteining some revlis and cautelis to be observit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie sees a certain kind of nature description as a convention to be "eschewit"

[1]Frederic W. Moorman, The Interpretation of Nature in English Poetry from Beowulf to Shakespeare, Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach und Culturgeschichte der Germanischen Volker, vol. 95 (Strassburg: Karl J. Trubner, 1905), p. 150.

> for thir thingis are sa oft and dyverslie writtin upon be Poetis already, that gif ye do the lyke, it will appeare, ye bot imitate, and that it cummis not of your awin Inventioun, whilk is ane of the cheif properteis of ane Poete.[1]

The king objected particularly to sunrise in prefaces, such as is found in the twelfth prologue, because this was the greatest cliche; if such a poem should show predominance of imitation over invention, it would be unacceptable. While they take life from invention, Prologues VII and XII do draw much of their substance from what has been "writtin upon be Poetis already."

Apparent realism or naturalism is found early in the tradition. The seminal Romance of the Rose has many recognizable descriptive passages about flowers, weather and so forth, yet the poem remains within the allegorical tradition.[2] Curtius in his comprehensive study of medieval conventions deals with nature poetry under the chapter heading "The Ideal Landscape" and states clearly that "Medieval descriptions of nature are not meant to represent reality."[3] Within a literary framework, many of Douglas's details are drawn from and correspond to observable natural phenomena, but, once in the poem, they function as more than imitation. They are at

[1]King James VI and I, A Royal Rhetorician, ed. Robert S. Rait (New York: Brentano, 1900), pp. 20-21.

[2]C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love (1936; New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 150.

[3]Curtius, p. 183.

the same time an inward mirror of the poet's state of mind.

The Tradition of The Winter Poem

While the spring opening with its garden in May is more familiar, it is not the only season to have rhetorical standing. Certain themes require a departure from the locus amoenus as decorum requires a setting in keeping with events or mood.

> Ane doolie sessoun to ane cairfull dyte
> Suld correspond and be equiualent. (ll. 1-2)[1]

Also, any seasonal setting other than perpetual spring serves for a kind of moral pointing--it emphasizes transience and mutability. This reaches its clearest statement in Spenser's "Cantos of Mutability" with the pageant of the seasons and months. Much nature description in English poetry, both before and after Douglas, is replete with moral implications.[2] Like the specific "composition of place" in meditative verse,[3] the precise picturing of a scene may aid the poet or reader

[1]Henryson, Testament of Cresseid, p. 61.

[2]Rosemond Tuve has stressed the moral context of early nature description in English. Seasons and Months (Paris: Librairie Universitaire, 1933), p. 181.

[3]Louis L. Martz, The Poetry of Meditation (1954; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), pp. 27 ff.

to analyze and understand its inherent lesson.[1] Here, as in the Medieval analogical universe,[2] the world is God's book and nature may be didactic.

The winter season has been used frequently for its moral and emotional implications; there are both English and Scottish examples which Douglas might have known. Many of these arise from a wide-spread tradition in which the instability of seasons is analogous to the instability of man's life. Others are presented as the thought of the self-conscious artist applying generalizations more specifically to himself, sometimes with the general instability related to the instability of creative powers. The great English model, Chaucer himself, claims in the Hous of Fame to be experiencing his poem in the winter. After the Proem and Invocation, when he falls asleep for his vision he names the date:

> Of Decembre the tenthe day,
> Whan hit was nyght, to slepe I lay (ll. 111-12)

[1]Thus Francis Fawkes, the eighteenth-century modernizer of the twelfth prologue, explains in his own 1745 "Bramham-Park":

> At Bramham thus with ravish'd eyes we see
> How order strives with sweet variety.

As quoted by Robert Arnold Aubin, Topographical Poetry in XVIII-Century England (1936; New York: Kraus Reprint Company, 1966), p. 134.

[2]The relationship of later "loco-descriptive" poetry to such concepts is outlined by M. H. Abrams, "Structure and Style in the Greater Romantic Lyric," From Sensibility to Romanticism, ed. Frederick W. Hilles and Harold Bloom (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 536.

and then occurs the action of the poem. No external event has been located which offers any clue to the choice of date, which appears to have an emotional relationship to the vision which follows. In so far as Chaucer's poem is a search for the sources of poetic inspiration, the chill of December, like the desert from which his eagle will rescue him, represents the state of the poet still faced with the difficult poetic task.

Of earlier descriptions of winter in Scottish poetry, the most detailed and "realistic" occurs in the work of Robert Henryson, not only in The Testament of Cresseid quoted above, but especially in the fable "The Preiching of the Swallow." Here vocabulary and alliteration resemble Douglas's treatment of the season. When the birds have neglected all warning, they meet death at the hands of fowler. In the moralitas to this fable Henryson reminds the reader of the woe when "thou art put in Luceferis bag,/ And brocht to hell" (ll. 1935-36).[1] In this context winter is both a reminder of the transience of the things of this world and an analogue to hell. The association of winter and hell also occurs elsewhere.

Another poet roughly contemporary with Douglas, William Dunbar, uses winter for both moralistic and personally emotional impact. In his "Meditatioun in Wyntir" Dunbar writes

[1]Henryson, ed. Wood, p. 67

of the effect of the weather on his literary production. The winter season corresponds to his inability to create:

> In to thir dirk and drublie dayis
> Quhone sabill all the hevin arrayis
> With mystie vapouris, cluddis, and skyis,
> Nature all curage me denyis
> Off sangis, ballattis, and of playis. (ll. 1-5)[1]

The poem continues to show a threatening winter which brings a wider despair, carrying implications of aging, death, and the destruction of creative powers.

Thus both English and Scottish literary tradition provided models for the winter-poem. Such a poem might go in one or more of several similar directions: instability, death, loss of powers, and hell itself are suggested by winter. In many of these poems the seasonal description is detailed and vivid. The picture is generally very cold and wet. Hail, sleet, and showers are more prevalent than snow. Often the poet registers the effect of winter on men or animals. It is this wet winter of the British Isles which is reflected in Douglas's seventh prologue.

Douglas's Seventh Prologue

The position of this prologue between hell and dawn,

[1]The subject of creative powers is discussed by Tom Scott in Dunbar: A Critical Exposition of the Poems (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1966), pp. 245-46.
"There is some ambiguity in ll. 4-5. Does he mean that nature denies him all enjoyment of songs, ballads, and plays--or that she denies him the heart to make these things? My own view is that it is the latter he means; for, whereas it is likely that depression would prevent his "making," it might have the opposite effect of driving him to see solace in merely receiving these things."

brought about by Douglas's shift of book division, corresponds with the contents and mood of the prologue. The movement from hell to the coming struggle in Italy is paralleled by the poet's own struggle. There is a great deal more to this famous "winter" prologue than the description of scenery. While such description occupies more than half of the prologue's 168 lines, the greater part of it occurs in the first half and serves, itself, as a prelude to other matters. For this reason I shall discuss its various aspects in the order in which they appear.

First there is the aureate astronomical opening; bright Phebus, showing no sign of heat, is approaching his winter stage:

> Reddy he was to entyr the thrid morn
> In clowdy skyis vndre Capricorn
> (VII, Pro., 7-8)

The date thus indicated is puzzling. According to Coldwell,[1] it is the morning of Christmas eve, although this is not mentioned by the poet. The coincidence makes one think of Sir Gawain's winter journey just before Christmas, although later astronomical data in the prologue suggest a January date.[2] If the original pre-Christmas date was intended, it--like Chaucer's December 10th in The Hous of Fame--may reflect that common depression which precedes the supposedly festive.

[1]Coldwell, I, 204.

[2]Coldwell, I, 204.

Like spring, the Christmas season promises rebirth; this promise may be contradicted by the poet's state of mind.[1]

After this elaborate opening with its mythological and astronomical references, occur several lines of the description of winter: the north wind shakes the leaves off the trees, the flooded rivers run brown, the streams overrun their banks, and all is affected by the malign influences of Mars, Orion and Saturn. All is wet or frozen, "Bewte was lost, and barrand schew the landis" (VII, Pro., 41).[2] Then there is the direct analogy:

> Seir bittir bubbis, and the schowris snell,
> Semyt on the sward a similitude of hell,
> Reducyng to our mynd, in every steid,
> Gousty schaddois of eild and grisly deid,
> Thik drumly skuggis dirknit so the hevyne.
> (VII, Pro., 43-47)

As Douglas continues to describe the scene, he does not lose sight of winter as the "similitude of hell." Watt has suggested that the association of winter and hell might be a reminiscence of the old Northern conception of hell as cold, but then goes on to credit it to "the ghostlike aspect of

[1]Rosemond Tuve stresses the use of seasonal poetry to support or contrast with the poet's mental state. Seasons and Months, pp. 109-10; 205.

[2]Charles Ramsay Blyth Jr., "'The Knychtlyke Stile': A Study of Gavin Douglas' Aeneid" (Diss., Harvard, 1963), p. 144. "There is a dramatic relation between Winter and the world of Nature and Man upon which it acts. Awareness of this relationship permits the poet to proceed from mere details--to poignant generalized utterance ('Bewte was lost, and barrand schew the landis')."

objects in winter."[1]

A more convincing relationship may be found between hell and this winter as it is here portrayed. The brown, mud-laden streams encroaching on their banks, the ghostly fog and shadows, the "feirful levyn" (VII, Pro., 48) above the "sleit" and "snypand snaw" (VII, Pro., 50) all represent a confusion of the four elements.[2] Just as the streams ought to stay in their course, fire and water should not come simultaneously from the same sky. This winter scene, being contrary to all principles of natural order, is a violation of divine law and therefore, hellish. There follows more of the extended description which has been called Scottish or realistic.

> The dolly dichis war all donk and wait,
> The law valle flodderit all with spait,
> The plane stretis and euery hie way
> Full of floschis, dubbis, myre and clay.
> Laggerit leyis wallowit farnys schew,
> Brovne muris kythit that wysny mossy hew.
> Bank, bra and boddum blanchit wolx and bar.
> For gurl weddir growit bestis hair
> The wynd maid waif the red wed on the dyke,
> Bedowyn in donkis deip was euery sike.

[1]Lauchlan Maclean Watt, Douglas's Aeneid (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), p. 107.

[2]This was pointed out to me in conversation by Helena Mennie Shire.

> Our craggis and the front of rochis seir
> Hang gret ische schouchlis lang as ony speir.[1]
> (VII, Pro., 51-62)

Here ditches, valley, streets, meadows, moors, and streams are all caught in the wet chill.

This elaborate picture, too inclusive to be a strictly accurate portrait of a single place or time, is instead a composite scene. Just as Virgil in his earlier poems treated the countryside near Mantua[2] or James Thomson would approach his version of winter, here Douglas feels free to select and combine his details. The resulting catalogue, as many critics have noted, does not represent a particular view at a given moment.[3]

[1]The icicles recall Sir Gawain's winter journey:

> Ner slayn wyth þe slete he sleped in his yrnes
> Mo nyztez þen innoghe in naked rokkez,
> þer as claterande from þe crest þe colde borne rennez
> And henged heze ouer his hede in hard iise-ikkles
> (11.726-32)

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, ed. J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon (London: Oxford University Press, 1925), p. 23.

[2]Gilbert Highet, Poets in a Landscape (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), p. 46: "He describes it several times, always vaguely, omitting and altering details and combining separate effects like a landscape artist, and never reporting with cold exactitude like a surveyor making a map."

[3]John Veitch, The Feeling for Nature in Scottish Poetry (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1887), I, 275: "Artistically, it is a combination of features rather catalogued than composed. It is not the picture of a single winter's day, but rather a series of pictures applicable to different times during the season."; Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, p. 89: "Sometimes a single line evokes not only the momentary scene, but the sensation of many winter days on end."; Wittig, p. 87: "This is not really a description of winter: it is rather the evocation of a winter mood."

Thus the description with its accumulation of detail much beyond that quoted here is not simple reporting; it is a deliberate construction. While it is composed of individually accurate and observable details, it is not merely the product of an aesthetic pleasure in landscape. Ultimately the whole detailed painting is background for Douglas's true intent.[1]

After this long descriptive passage of the outdoors, a kind of prologue to the prologue, Douglas begins to approach his central point. He describes the birds hiding from the tempest and the domestic animals in shelter. Then he comes to the people, and through them to himself:

> Wyde quhar with forss so Folus schowtis schill
> In this congelit sesson scharp and chill,
> The collour ayr, penetratyve and puyr,
> Dasyng the blude in euery creatur,
> Maid seik warm stovis and beyn fyris hoyt,
> In Dowbill garmont cled and wily coyt,
> With mychty drink and metis confortyve,
> Agane the stern wyntir for to stryve,
> (VII, Pro., 85-92)

Because of the cold, men turn indoors to warmth: heavy indoor clothing, fire and warming drink. These details, too, are realistic. Ruddiman has clarified the "wily coyt":

[1]Such portrayal of landscape in order to make another point is similar to the use of scenery in the romantic lyrics discussed by M. H. Abrams: "the visual report is invariably the occasion for a meditation which turns out to constitute the raison d'etre of the poem" (p. 528). Douglas's topographical approach to his inner concerns represents a sequential variation of the"interfusion of mind and nature" described by Abrams (p. 551).

> a short jacket, which is worn under the vest in the winter time: al. Scot. Sark-coat, i.e. coat nearest the shirt: f. the E. wily, because, by its not being seen, it does as it were cunningly or slyly keep men warm.[1]

Yet this apparently realistic description draws heavily upon convention. Douglas's Scottish predecessor, Henryson, portrays himself in his chamber where

> I mend the fyre and beikit me about,
> Than tuik ane drink, my spreitis to comfort,
> And armit me weill fra the cauld thairout.
> (11.36-38)[2]

Such descriptions, according to Rosemond Tuve, go back much further to the portraits of the various months in the Books of Hours. An example midway between the portrayal of the months and seemingly naturalistic description occurs in Chaucer's "Franklin's Tale" where

> Janus sit by the fyr, with double berd,
> And drynketh of his bugle horn the wyn: (11. 1252-53)

Here the double beard keeps Janus close to his mythological original.[3] Thus while Douglas's continuing self-portrait seems

[1]Gawin [sic] Douglas, Virgil's Aeneis Translated into Scottish Verse By The Famous Gawin Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld, ed. Thomas Ruddiman (Edinburgh: Symson and Freebairn, 1710), Glossary, S.V. wyle cote.

[2]Testament of Cresseid, p. 62.

[3]Tuve, p. 185: the author says Chaucer's description of December in this tale is as he saw it in life, but "it is equally questionless that he had seen the bare trees and brown earth of the winter landscapes in the Horae." So January's god slips easily into generalized winter description.

personal, he is also placing himself within a tradition. The speaker describes how he warms himself, goes to bed under three layers of covers, crosses himself, and goes to sleep. Like the description of the world of nature outside, this domestic account is not necessarily accurate reporting of a given occasion. The sequence of events is possible, but it need only seem real in the poem rather than be real.

The going to bed is actually the preparation for something like a dream vision which may be read erroneously as nature description. It is more directly personal. The poet falls asleep. Because he does not actually dream, what happens next is particularly significant. He awakens to the cries of various birds. Although they are all local birds, what removes them from naturalism is the description of the cranes as

> Palamedes byrdis crowpyng in the sky,
> Fleand on randon, schapyn like ane Y.
> (VII, Pro., 119-20)

This "Y" has been identified with the golden bough and with "integrity," and I believe Douglas intends an identification of the two meanings of the "Y", stressing the

close tie between Book VI and the seventh prologue.[1] Later in this same prologue, Douglas shows great concern for a slightly different kind of "integritas," the completion of his work. The Y-shaped flight of birds thus blends with the golden branch which permits the journey to the underworld and the safe return.

The poet gets up, prays, dresses, and then goes to the window and opens it, "A schot wyndo onschet a litill on char" (VII, Pro., 129). Like the "wyly coyt," the "schot wyndo" is a bit of contemporary realism which makes the account believable.[2]

[1]As Coldwell explains in his note on this passage, (I, 205), tradition holds that Palamedes invented letters representing cranes in different positions. Ruddiman offers the following gloss:

> The Crans, when they fly in a body, resemble the Letter Y, and are called Palamedes birds because they are said to have given him an occasion of inventing his four Letters in the time of the Trojan war. (Douglas, ed. Ruddiman, Glossary, S.V.Y.)

But in Virgilian tradition, the Y has another meaning besides its resemblance to birds in flight; that is its correspondence to the golden branch which Aeneas carries into Hades. This is developed in the commentary by Servius, from which Douglas borrowed heavily. In his commentary on Aeneid VI, 186, where Aeneas gazes on a vast forest wondering how he will locate the golden bough, Servius writes:

> Ergo per ramum virtutes dicit esse sectandas, qui est Y litterae imitatio, quem ideo in silvis dicit latere, quia re vera in huius vitae confusione et maiore parte vitiorum virtutis integritas latet.

Domenico Comparetti, Vergil in the Middle Ages, trans. E. F. M. Benecke (New York: Stechert, 1929), p. 58.

[2]Coldwell glosses this as "a window that can be opened or shut on its hinges" (I,375), the OED cites both Douglas and a 1722 description, "With Windows called Shots, or Shutters of Timber, and a few Inches of Glass above them," and Daniel Wilson in his historical study of Edinburgh notes such windows as a feature of the architecture of the time. Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time (Edinburgh: Hugh Paton, 1848), I, 109-10.

The cold and wet lead him to shut the window. Again the description of the outer world, with all its detail, intensity, and alliteration, leads back to the poet alone in his room.

The poet's glance now guides the reader to the final focus of the prologue.

> And, as I bownyt me to the fyre me by,
> Baith vp and down the howss I dyd aspy,
> And seand Virgill on a lettron stand,
> To write onone I hynt a pen in hand,
> Fortil perform the poet grave and sad,
> Quham sa fer furth or than begun I had,
> And wolx ennoyt sum deill in my hart
> Thar restit oncompletit sa gret a part.
> (VII, Pro., 141-48)

In a sense, all of the prologue has led up to this point. The physical winter corresponds to the poet's discontent; even in completing Book VI he has not emerged from hell. The barren season reflects, as in Dunbar's "Meditatioun," the difficulties of creation which lie ahead.

In colloquial terms he urges himself on reminding himself that his work is meaningless if incomplete:

> And to my self I said: "In gud effect
> Thou mon draw furth, the zok lyis on thy nek."
> Within my mynde compasyng thocht I so,
> Na thing is done quhil ocht remanys ado;
> For byssynes, quhilk occurrit on cace,
> Ourvoluyt I this volume, lay a space;
> And, thocht I wery was, me list not tyre,
> Full laith to leif our wark swa in the myre,
> Or zit to stynt for bitter storm or rane.
> (VII, Pro., 149-57)

Here is the first use of proverb in this prologue as the poet speaks to himself in everyday terms. The yoke lies on his

neck and nothing is done "quhil ocht remanys ado." The description of winter gives way to a very different sort of stylistic convention. Now storm or rain exists as background but will not do as excuse. His work "lay a space" neglected "for byssynes," a familiar problem for all dilatory writers, but now he is getting back to his task. Here one remembers his doubts as to whether this is even a proper task for him. He bows to his metaphorical yoke and finishes the prologue in order to get on with his translation of the next book.

Finally it becomes clear that the true subject of this prologue is the poet and his work. In his artistic life the winter is equivalent to the mystic's dark night of the soul; it is that which must be survived in order to reach a goal. The season corresponds to the difficulties which lie ahead. Although Aeneas has emerged from the underworld, Douglas is only half-finished with his translation of the Aeneid. His later resistance to Maphaeus Vegius's suggestion that he translate Book XIII as well will be due to the same sort of fatigue and doubt about the suitability of the work to his position. Thus Douglas portrays winter for more than its reality. He has taken to heart the suggestion that "ane doolie sessoun" suits a tale of woe. In this case the woe is that of the poet-translator only half done and with several books of battle ahead. Douglas returns to his proverbial yoke:

> Heir I assayt to zok our pleuch agane,
> And, as I couth, with afald diligens,
> This nixt buke following of profond sentens
> Has thus begun in the chil wyntir cald,
> Quhen frostis doith ourfret baith firth and fald.
> (VII, Pro., 158-62)

He will persevere in the face of external and internal winter.

The final evidence that this seventh prologue is not "realistic description for its own sake" but purposeful convention is presented clearly by Douglas himself. After the prologue has apparently been completed, he adds an address <u>to</u> the prologue. The prologue may be addressed directly because it is not a hunk of naturalism; it is a carefully shaped artifact. This additional note stresses the position of the prologue between hell and the Italian wars:

> Thys proloug smellis new cum furth of hell,
> And, as our buk begouth hys weirfar tell,
> So weill according dewly bene annext
> Thou drery preambill, with a bludy text.
> Of sabyll be thy lettyris illumynate,
> According to thy process and estait.
> (VII, Pro., 163-68)
> Incipit Liber septimus Eneados

This is an extremely self-conscious ending. Douglas is visualizing the appropriate illumination of his work. He wants a big black initial and all the lettering suitably somber. In other words, he has written a kind of mood piece, deliberately creating the atmosphere which will best enhance his meaning. Undoubtedly, Douglas was a man who appreciated the details of the world around him, but his winter poem is in no way the product of naive response to and imitation of

whatever comes before his eyes. He is a man with a mission, using the everyday world in the service of his goal to make the Aeneid available to Scotland. Even more, he is a poet and his much-praised nature description is the product of virtuoso craftsmanship.

Prologue XII - The Spring Prologue

The twelfth prologue is also the result of pride of craft. Where it seems to run to excess, it has been shaped by Douglas's need to include everything that has ever been in a May poem.[1] The aureate opening includes Venus (under three names), Mars, Saturn, Jupiter, Aurora, Tytan, Pheton, Apollo (also Phebus), Flora, Eolus, Ceres, Pryapus, plus the usual plethora of precious stones. With all this splendor, it takes 72 lines to say that the sun came up and another 78 to say that there were a great many flowers.

While the trellised grapes suggest a more Mediterranean garden,[2] the flowers could all grow in Scotland.

[1]Curtius notes that as early as the time of Ovid, "descriptions of nature become bravura interludes in which poets try to outdo one another," p. 195.

[2]According to Curtius, such bravura pieces are not based on observation. He gives an example of a list of trees and comments, "Whether the species enumerated could all occur together in one forest, the poet does not care, and does not need to care," p. 195.

Some, such as the "catcluke" (XII, Pro., 116),[1] are specifically Scottish. Thus while the description of the garden is not total realism, its classical motifs are blended with native elements.[2]

The whole elaborate opening is an expansion of the Prologue to the Palice of Honour. Some lines and images are the same, while others are very close to the earlier version. Both include Aurora awakening the poet to this paradise, Eous drawing the golden chair of Tytan, a song to May, the usual references to nature's tapestry and "beriall stremis," and finally the ornate panorama leading

[1]"the name of an Herb...different from what in the North of England they call Cats-foot, which Ray calls Ground-ivy." Douglas, ed. Ruddiman, Glossary, S.V. catcluke.

[2]Even ornamental classical mythology takes on colloquial coloring, as illustrated by the changes which were felt to be necessary in an eighteenth-century "translation" of the twelfth prologue. In Francis Fawkes's Description of May from Gawin Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld (1752; reprinted Edinburgh: Aungervyle Society, 1885), pp. 292-93,

> Eous the steid, with ruby hamys red,
> Abuf the sey lyftis furth hys hed,
> Of cullour soyr, and sumdeill brovn as berry,
> Forto alichtyn and glaid our emyspery,
> (XII, Pro., 25-28)

becomes

> The Sun's gay coursers, in their harness red,
> Above the billowy ocean's boundless bed
> Raid'd high their heads, impetuous in career,
> To give the light, and glad our hemisphere.

Significant here are the change from the particular to the general, and the careful elimination of "sumdeill brovn as berry." It is just such phrases which temper Douglas's aureation and keep it close to home.

to the poet's getting to work. In the Palice of Honour he sets out to "discryue" his "Visioun" (ll. 125-26).[1]

This spring prologue not only incorporates almost all the elements from the paradisal garden of the Palice of Honour but virtually echoes lines from a long ancestry of May dream-visions. Yet in the midst of all this literary scenery, there occur details which are local and even "hamely." After the swans and peacocks, there are more ordinary animals:

> In lyssouris and on leys litill lammys
> Full tayt and tryg socht bletand to thar dammys,
> Tydy ky lowys, veilys by tame rynnys;
> All snog and slekit worth thir bestis skynnys.
> (XII, Pro., 183-86)

The exotic is domesticated, as Douglas's efforts at clarification extend even to his original poetry:

> On salt stremys wolx Doryda and Thetis,
> By rynnand strandis Nymphes and Naedes,
> Sik as we clepe wenschis and damysellis.
> (XII, Pro., 187-89)[2]

These "wenschis and damysellis" proceed to sing love songs, which lead to references to love and then a dramatic dialogue of "bawdry" (XII, Pro., 210). The two speakers are not identified, but their intent requires no explanation.

> Smyland says ane, "I couth in previte
> Schaw the a bovrd." "Ha, quhat be that?" quod he,

[1]Gavin Douglas, The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas, ed. Priscilla J. Bawcutt (Edinburgh: STS, 1967), p. 15.

[2]John Merry Ross, Scottish History and Literature to the Period of the Reformation (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1884), p. 372, says of these lines, "the contrast between conventionality and realism gives rise to entertaining explanations."

> "Quhat thyng?" "That most be secrete," said the tother. (XII, Pro., 213-15)

Agreed to secrecy, the two decide to go for a walk that evening:

> "In sik a place heir west, we baith togydder
> Quhar scho so freschly sang this hyndyr nycht;
> Do choyss the ane, and I sall quynch the lycht."
> "I salbe thar I hope," quod he and lewcn,
> "Za, now I knaw the mater weill eneuch."
> (Xii, Pro., 220-24)

Douglas rushes to condemn "this schamefull play,/ Na thyng accordyng to our hailsum May" (XII, Pro., 225-26). He could not have predicted that later researchers would uncover the probable existence of an illegitimate offspring![1] Having disavowed this too lusty affirmation of life on earth, the poet returns to birds. They sing a welcome to Nature like that made familiar by the Parlement of Foules, and the sound and words of their song awaken the poet to his work.

> And with this word, in chalmer quhar I lay,
> The nynt morow of fresch temperit May,
> On fut I sprent into my bair sark,
> Wilfull fortill compleit my langsum wark
> Twichand the lattyr buke of Dan Virgill,
> Quhilk me had tareit al to lang a quhile;
> (XII, Pro., 267-72)

Thus it is only at line 267 that the "I" enters the poem. He thinks soon to complete his work, having at this point no intention of translating Mapheus Vegius's additional thirteenth book. The entire project has already kept him "al to lang a quhile." The birds call lovers to love and the

[1]Douglas, ed. Small, I, cxxv.

translator to his translation. It is after four o'clock and the poet does not want to be thought a loafer. Disturbed by the amorous call of the dove and listening to "hir wanton cry" (XII, Pro., 301), he cannot bear to lie in bed. Lover, priest, and poet are transparently at war in his soul. Having rejected the lover, he tries for the priest, but since it is too early for mass, he becomes, after all, the poet.

> I irkyt of my bed, and mycht not ly,
> Bot gan me blyss, syne in my wedis dress,
> And, for it was ayr morow, or tyme of mess,
> I hynt a scriptour and my pen furth tuke,
> Syne thus begouth of Virgill the twelt buke.
> (XII, Pro., 302-6)

Thus he translates either by default or by divine preordination. Whether or not this account of his morning is factual, it is emotionally true. Coldwell finds no special significance to the date, May 9, saying "it should be taken as the actual date."[1] Yet May 9 was the Translation Feast of Saint Andrew, the national saint of Scotland. Because his day was November 30, "hopeless, weatherwise, for outdoor procession,"[2] the relics were moved in May, making this the National Day of medieval Scotland. Mere coincidence is unlikely here; instead the selection of this particular date places the action of the prologue in the recognizable Spring. Also it reinforces the patriotic motivations which play such an important part in Douglas's desire to render the Aeneid in Scots.

[1]Coldwell, I, 250.

[2]Helena Mennie Shire, in a letter of October 18, 1970.

In this account of the May prologue I seem to have slighted the description of May. I have done this because for me the prologue becomes most interesting with the entrance of the speaker. Others have praised the imagery and accuracy of the nature description.[1] More recently it has been dismissed as a mere catalogue. Blyth complains,

> The only connection between one item and the next is that both are features of the May scene. No informing dramatic idea emerges out of the details; for long stretches we don't even hear a recognizable voice speaking to us.[2]

The long aureate description is interesting primarily for what it reveals of Douglas's poetic aspirations. It serves as a much extended introduction to the part of the prologue which is important for his translation as a whole. Again the weather is a reflection of a state of mind; now it is spring because he is almost done and revived by new hope.

Douglas is clearly impressed with his prologue and does not fail to compliment himself.

> Explicit scitus prologus,
> Quharof the autour says thus:
>
> The lusty crafty preambill, "perle of May"
> I the entitil, crownyt quhil domysday,

[1]Wittig, p. 88: "But Douglas also instils a sense of the rhythms of nature, and his May Prologue is no mere catalogue. It has little in common with the emblematic background tapestry of the conventional May prologue in medieval poetry. Far more than James I, Henryson or Dunbar, he conveys an impression of the changes, the stirrings, great and small, that are incessantly in progress."

[2]Blyth, p. 142.

> And al with gold, in syng of stait ryall
> Most beyn illumnyt thy letteris capital.
> (XII, Pro., 307-10)

Here there can be absolutely no question of taking the prologue as nature-appreciation. It is a demonstration of craft, a final grand flourish, before the translator settles down to complete his great task. He has put himself into his work and truly hopes that it will outlive him and last until "domysday."

Importance of These Two Prologues

The relative fame of these prologues is by no means undeserved; Douglas does delight in the physical manifestations, stark or beautiful, of the natural world. His intense appreciation of this world is often at odds with his Christian estimate of its transience. Yet within the context of the total oeuvre the prologues are less important for their description of nature than for their personal revelations. The "bustuous similitude of hell" following Book VI reflects what has gone before and what lies ahead. Likewise, the aureate paradise of the twelfth prologue reflects the approaching triumph of Aeneas and the translator's own successful conclusion of his work. In these prologues as much as anyplace else in Douglas's Eneados, the reader can discover the poet's conception of his artistic creation.

Here is a man who is struggling hard to produce a great work. The value of his achievement comes in large part from the convincing presence of an intense and individual human personality.

CHAPTER VII

BOOK VIII: THE AENEID BROUGHT HOME

The Prologue to Book VIII

> In his Prologues before every Book, where he hath his Liberty, he sheweth a natural vein of Poesy, so pure, pleasant and judicious, that I believe there is none that hath written before or since, but cometh short of him. And in my opinion, there is not such a Piece to be found, as is his Prologue to the 8th Book, beginning Of Dreams and Drivelings, &c. at least in our Language.[1]

This statement by Hume of Godscroft is included as one of the "Testimonies of Learned Men Concerning the Author" with which Ruddiman prefaces his 1710 edition of Douglas's translation. It seems an exaggeration to say that the eighth prologue is better than anything else even with the qualification "at least in our Language," but certainly it is most unlike anything else in Douglas's Eneados.

The most immediately striking feature of the prologue is its alliterative form. Each stanza has nine long lines followed by four short ones, with a uniform rhyme-scheme of ABABABC/DDDC. The form is not unusual except for its appearance in the middle of a translation of the Aeneid. With its strong native roots, it seems very far from the classical world. Yet the connections are present and even compelling. Such alliterative verse became an accepted vehicle for satire

[1]David Hume of Godscroft, The History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus (1674; Edinburgh: Hunter, 1743), II, 29.

and social criticism, something of the sort made familiar in English literature by Piers Plowman. Here again the vision frames comment on contemporary social ills. In Langland's poem the speaker tells how "In a somer seson"[1] on the Malverne hills,

> I slombred in a slepyng · it sweyved so merye.
> Thanne gan I to meten . a merueilouse sweuene
> (ll. 10-11)

and the "sweuene" he recounts begins with the field full of folk. Douglas's opening also has the dreamer falling asleep and beginning his dream, but there are certain important differences:

> Of dreflyng and dremys quhat dow it to endyte?
> For, as I lenyt in a ley in Lent this last nycht,
> I slaid on a swevynnyng, slummyrrand a lite,
> And some a selcouth seg I saw to my sycht.
> (VIII, Pro., 1-4)

In the very first line, Douglas puts the whole dream in a strange light by asking whether it is worthwhile to write about dreams. The "For" which then opens his account makes that whole narrative a long illustration of the worthlessness of describing such dreams. Then the action moves not to his own perceptions, but to the ranting and raving of the "selcouth" man. By this common device, Douglas clears himself of direct responsibility for the attacks which follow. Obviously, however, he would not bother to portray himself

[1]The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman, ed. Walter W. Skeat, 10th ed., rev. (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 1.

overhearing such a long and devastating list of complaints about contemporary society, if he did not wish those attacks to be voiced. He wants to display the corruptions within his society, in some hope that they may ultimately be remedied. Such a hope corresponds to his wider patriotic goals in translating the Aeneid into Scots.

It is significant that later David Lindsay would praise Douglas in his Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo, a poem similar in its social aims and disguised speaker. In the prologue to this later commentary--by a bird--on the corrupt state of court and kingdom, Lindsay writes

> And, as Phebus dois Cynthis precell,
> So Gawane Dowglas, Byschope of Dunkell,
>
> Had, quhen he wes in to this land on lyve,
> Abufe vulgare Poeitis prerogatyve,
> Boith in pratick and speculatioun.[1]
> (11. 26-30)

In this poem, Lindsay praises all "His worth workis.../ And speciallye, the trew Translatioun/ Of Virgill" which offers instruction in the natural and the divine. Clearly the emphasis in the eighth prologue is not on the divine but on the need for improvement in this world.

Coldwell stresses the place of the prologue in the continuity of the work by its close ties with the book it introduces. Describing the various prologues, he writes

[1]David Lindsay, The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, ed. Douglas Hamer (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1931), I, 57.

> Eight, on the distortion of the true polis, is a foil to the idealized state of the noble Evander.[1]

That distortion is set forth in lusty and impassioned circumstantiality.

According to the overheard speaker, the world has been taken over by rascality. "Leys, lurdanry and lust ar our laid starn" (VIII, Pro., 9). Men seek whatever they desire with no regard to right and wrong. There are many familiar examples. "The myllar mythis the multyr with a met skant" (VIII, Pro., 40), young able-bodied men "Gevis na cur to cun craft" (VIII, Pro., 69) but go out begging, "Lordis ar left landles be onleill lawys" (VIII, Pro., 84), and that most familiar distortion of proper order, "Wifis wald haue all thar will" (VIII, Pro., 88). There are abuses of the coinage, private warfare, gross flattery, and breaking of oaths. Then follows an entire stanza (VIII, Pro., 105-17) devoted to abuses within the church. Priests who should pray for the people collect benefices instead. These priests cause great woe among the people. Furthermore, they are incompetent and an offense to Christendom. "Quha revis, quha ar ryotus, quha rakles, bot tha?" (VIII, Pro., 111).[2]

[1]Coldwell, I, 88.

[2]In praising Douglas, Hume reflects on the disgraceful state of the clergy in this period: "For besides the Nobility of his Birth, the Dignity and Comeliness of his Personage, he was learned, temperate, and of singular Moderation; and in these so turbulent Times, had always carried himself amongst all the Factions of the Nobility equally, and with a Mind to make Peace, and not to stir up Parties: Which Qualities were very rare in a Clergyman of those Days." Hume, II, 29.

The speaker's long catalogue of lamentation ends with a summary of the total discontent with the clergy and the general disorder in all segments of society:

> "Thar is na stait of thar stile that standis content,
> Knycht, cler, nor common,
> Burgess, nor barroun--
> All wald haue vp that is dovn,
> Weltrit the went." (VIII, Pro., 113-17)

It is the old complaint of the world turned upsidedown.

Only after these 117 lines decrying the state of things in Scotland, does the speaker first discover that he has had an audience. He turns on the poet who then accuses him of lying.

> And as this leyd at the last lyggand me seys,
> With a luke onlufsum he lent me sic wordis:
> "Quhat bern be thou in bed, with hed full of beys,
> Grathit lyke sum gnappar, and, as thi greis gurdis,
> Lurkand lyke a longeour?" Quod I: "Lovn, thou leys."
> (VIII, Pro., 118-22)

After the two have exchanged insults, the speaker asks the poet, "quhat maste langis thou?" (VIII, Pro., 132). Douglas replies that he wants to sleep and, most of all,

> "I lang to haue our buke done,
> I tell thee my part." (VIII, Pro., 142-43)

Here the poet touches a familiar theme, just as in the seventh prologue where he would not be thought a loafer but hastened back to his unfinished project.

But the speaker, condemning the Virgil translation as trivial, offers the poet a "roll":

"The roytast ane ragment with mony rat rane,
Of all the mowys in this mold sen God merkyt man--"
(VIII, Pro., 147-48)

The "mowys" or tricks explained in the roll are to be bits of astronomy and more "hamely" knowledge, such as

"Quhy the corn hes the caf,
And kow weris clufe." (VIII, Pro., 155-56)

When the poet rejects the "ragment" as mere riddles, the speaker leads him to a dark pit and more tangible treasure. In the midst of gathering up the treasure, the poet wakes and "quhen I walknyt, all that welth was wiskyt away" (VIII, Pro., 163).

Now he is angry that he believed the speaker and his dream.

Than wolx I teyn at I tuke to sic trufis tent,
For swevynnys ar for swengeouris that slummyrris nocht weill.
(VIII, Pro., 170-71)

Dreams are all unreliable and besides such a dream offers only "sentens but seill" (VIII, Pro., 173).

At this point Douglas's strategy becomes apparent. Because he himself has not offered the social criticism, his denial of it here and earlier where he accused the speaker of lying creates extremely effective irony. That which he has dreamed must be false because it offers no joy, only disgrace. "War all sic sawys suythfast, with schame we war schent" (VIII, Pro., 174). Douglas believes that these accusations <u>are</u> true and that in fact the situation <u>is</u> shameful.

Having further denied the dream as "faynt fantasy" (VIII, Pro., 175), the poet describes how he, as a "losanger" or sluggard, listened to and looked at such "lewydnes." As he ostensibly condemns himself for paying attention, he seems really to condemn himself for not doing anything to change the state of this corrupt society. In order to effect some improvement, he resolves to give up his loafing and get to work on his civic-minded translation:

> Bot, quhen I saw nane other bute,
> I sprent spedely on fute,
> And vndre a tre rute
> Begouth this aucht buke. (VIII, Pro., 179-82)

In other words, his Eneados is a possible "bute" or remedy, and the eighth book combined with its prologue is thought to be particularly applicable to contemporary Scotland.

The use of the alliterative form clarifies the specifically local relevance to the contrasting portraits of civil disorder and order. The use of insistent rhyme and alliteration adds vehemence to the accusations directed at the current state of affairs. It has also been suggested that the alliteration carries some burlesque intention and that its heavy use implies excess in the criticism and a kind of self-mockery in Douglas.[1]

[1]"It thus seems possible that Douglas has used the exaggerated alliterative technique in Prologue VIII because he saw it as an appropriate medium for his multiple satirical contrasts between the exaggerated social criticism of the interlocutor, the real abuses of the world, Douglas's own embarrassing momentary belief in the deceptive treasure, and the ultimate reality of his literary calling. Perhaps it is the element of satire upon himself, as well as the desire for uniformity in the poem, which caused Douglas to use the same heavy alliterative manner when he speaks in the prologue as does the visitor in the dream." Johnson, pp. 73-74.

I do not see that alliteration undercuts the validity of the social criticism, as it is a valid and often serious verse form in the period. Its inclusion among the verse forms of the various prologues adds a richness to the total work. Because Douglas creates a kind of compendium of Scottish versification framing his Scottish Aeneid, this prologue is a display of poetic virtuosity. The element of self-mockery is indeed present much as it is in the other ostensibly auto-biographical prologues or in the earlier Palice of Honour, where, for example, he hides out of fear (I,30). Self-deprecatory episodes of this sort have a certain Chaucerian lightness about them and add personal warmth to the work as a whole. Both the intrusion of the narrator and the use of a popular poetic technique are an attempt to give immediacy to an originally alien poem.

Local and Contemporary Immediacy In Book VIII

Just as the alliterative prologue ties the poem to Scottish tradition, the actual translation of Virgil's text is acclimated and brought up to date. The effort at clarification discussed in reference to Book I persists through all the books, diminishing only with Book XIII which is roughly contemporary anyway.

Clarifications

One of the ways in which Douglas works to make the Aeneid accessible to his countrymen is by adding specific information, some of which he may have derived from the commentaries and some of which he invents. Both types of explanatory additions are exemplified in Book VIII. Thus as Evander is relating the history of Latium to the visiting Aeneas, he tells him, "haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant" (VIII, 314). Douglas translates helpfully:

> "Thir woddis and thir schawis all," quod he,
> "Sum tyme inhabyt war and occupyit
> With nymphis and fawnys apon euery syde,
> Quhilk fairfolkis, or than elvys, clepyng we."
> (VIII, Pro., 4-7)

Hopefully the audience would appreciate Evander's translation of mythology into folklore without being particularly startled by his bilingualism. Other sorts of clarification are less helpful as they are rather unnecessary. Douglas is merely echoing Ascencius's commentary where in chapter viii of this book Aeneas receives 200 horses from Evander and an additional 200 from Pallas, "Quhilk in the haill may weill four hundreth bene" (VIII,viii, 149). Even a reader unfamiliar with Virgil could have achieved this total. But, again, it is undeniably broad and plain.

Another type of clarification takes the form of word substitution, where a specifically Scottish term replaces a more general possible translation from the Latin. As Aeneas

catalogues the ancestry of the Trojans to Evander, he stresses their common descent with the Latins, telling him "Mercur is fader of our clan alssua" (VIII,iii, 97). Such a use of "clan" occurs in Book VII (VII,xiii, 5) and elsewhere. In Book VII, there is another Scottish and rather surprising word which I should mention here. When the prophecy is fulfilled and the Trojans "eat their tables" by placing cakes of meal under their other food, Douglas has them eating "flowr sconnys" (VII,ii, 15). This translation of the Aeneid must even taste familiar.

The Humanization of the Gods

Returning to Book VIII, the reader finds still another effort at making the alien recognizable. Here as in several other books, Douglas deals with the pagan gods in a fashion that increases their humanity and therefore believability. In chapter vii, Venus asks Vulcan to provide armor for Aeneas. The translation of the conversation between them stresses their domestic ties. Where in Virgil, Venus merely speaks to "Vulcan" (VIII, 372), here she appeals "To Wlcanus, hir husband and gud man" (VIII,vii, 7), referring to herself without precedent in the original Latin as "thy ilk spowss and wyve" (VIII,vii, 25). The loving dialogue proceeds unabated. Where in Latin Vulcan merely asks her "quid causas petis ex alto?" (VIII, 395), in the translation, Vulcan is ever the fond husband.

"Quharfor, myne awin hart deir,
So far about thou glosys thy mater?"
(VIII,vii, 53-54)

This stress on the domestic relations between Venus and Vulcan serves several purposes. It "domesticates" possibly unfamiliar mythological figures; while Venus appears in many medieval poems, her position as the wife of Vulcan would have been less well known. Then, by reducing these two to recognizable husband and wife, Douglas diminishes the problem of their roles as pagan deities. Once these gods are sufficiently humanized, the translator is less likely to be accused of believing in their divinity. Finally, this domestic treatment of the gods prepares the way for expansion of Virgil's domestic analogies within the next 100 lines of the translation.

Contemporary Detail

Vulcan agrees to make the desired armor for Aeneas and rises at day break to set about the task. Virgil shows him arising at the time usual to the poor housewife who must stir the embers of her fire and set about her spinning. Four lines in Virgil are expanded to twelve in Douglas, complete with additional details on the process of spinning.

Lyke as the puyr wife, quhilk at evin had raik
Hyr ingill, rysys fortobeit hir fyre,
As scho that hess nane other rent nor hyre
Bot with hir rok and spynnyng forto thryve,
And tharwithall sustene hir enty lyve;
Hir day wark to encress, or scho may se,

> Thartill a part of the nycht eikis sche,
> And at the candill lycht hir handys tway
> And eik hir pur damysellis, as scho may
> Natly exercis forto wirk they lyne,
> To snoif the spyndill, and lang thredis twyne.
> (VIII,vii, 90-100)

Such a development of the original simile by the use of further naturalistic detail is characteristic of the translator's method. Here the effect is the usual one of making the comparison more vivid than the initial picture. Again Douglas is increasing the immediacy of the poem.

Returning to Vulcan, there is one change in the text which is particularly striking as an example of updating for greater clarity. As the Cyclopes work at the forge, completing a thunderbolt, they blend with the work flashes, sound, fear and anger. Douglas finds the mixing process familiar and introduces it in contemporary terms.

> Syne to thar wark, in maner of gun powder,
> Thai myddillyt and thai myxit this feirful sowder,
> (VIII,vii, 139-40)

The analogy is of course totally anachronistic and without precedent in Virgil. Here the translator seeks to create a reality which reaches the imagination of an audience of his time.

The Departure - Heightened "Reality"

There is one further scene in the eighth book which particularly illustrates the vividness and emotional immediacy at which Douglas excels. That is the departure of Pallas and

Aeneas with their company of horsemen, the substance of chapter ix in the translation. Here both sentiment and visual detail are elaborated from the original.

Evander's farewell prayers and speech are expanded from 24 to 53 lines in the Scottish version. While this corresponds closely to the average ratio of translation to original in Book VII (2.3), certain additions change the tone and increase the pathos. As with Venus and Vulcan, the translator stresses the relationship and corresponding emotional ties between Evander and his son Pallas. Virgil's description of the father reads

> tum pater euandrus destram complexus euntis
> haeret, inexpletus lacrimans, (VIII, 558-59)

In translation, Evander is still more emotional:

> The fader than Evander, as thai depart,
> By the rycht hand thame gryppyt with sair hart,
> Hys son enbrasyng, and full tenderly
> Apon hym hyngis, wepand ontellabilly,
> (VIII,ix, 35-38)

Instead of calling Pallas "nate" (VIII, 569), he calls him "nyne awyn child deir" (VIII,ix, 59). Referring to himself as a "wofull" (VIII,ix, 70) king, he speaks the last words of this farewell speech "with full sory hart" (VIII,ix, 93).

Even after Evander is overcome by emotion and carried off by his servants, the emotional heightening continues. The youth and corresponding vulnerability of Pallas are stressed in the translation. Douglas refers to the "zyng" Pallas (VIII,ix, 102) clad in a mantle "in hys tender age" (VIII,ix, 104).

Douglas finds another tableau suitable for amplification as the mothers stand on the wall to watch the young men ride away from the city. Virgil handles the scene in two restrained lines:

> stant pavidae in muris matres oculisque sequuntur
> pulveream nubem et fulgentis aere catervas.
> (VIII, 592-93)

Douglas emphasizes both the fear and the watching:

> The wofull moderis, quakand for cald dreid,
> Stude on the wall behandand quhar thai zeid,
> And dyd convoy or follow with thar sight
> The dusty sop, quharso the rak went rycht,
> Govand apon thar brygh t armour at schane,
> So fer as that thar luke mycht thame attane.
> (VIII,ix, 114-18)

There is a recognizable emotional validity to this added last detail, the watching so long as they are visible. The yearning and regret of that vigil cut across the distance between ancient and contemporary through the universal human response to that last glimpse.

Even as the company rides on, beyond the sight of the watchers on the wall, the description is full and vivid. Where in Virgil they ride "per dumos" (VIII, 594), in the Scottish they travel "Throw scroggy bussys" (VIII,ix, 120), and the hoofbeats, instead of sounding on the "campum" (VIII, 596), are heard "Stanpand and trottand on the dusty streyt." Again the scene is more realistic. Incidentally this scene is chosen as an example of the way in which

Douglas forces his material into immediacy by the use of additional detail.[1] Douglas adds such details not out of any allegiance to literary naturalism but because this is the way he himself pictures it. Despite his repeated assertions of Virgil's "sentens," he reads the Aeneid less as moral allegory than as exciting narrative. His making the poem contemporary is helped by his relatively ahistorical perception. Because he does not find it tied to any period, either that of its composition or its imagined setting, it requires little tinkering to be "modernized." Thus by emphasizing universal emotional qualities, Douglas makes the poem more accessible to his own time. Then the expanded analogies to everyday life tie it more closely to the familiar experience of his contemporary world.

The Prologue Again

The prologue to Book VIII serves similarly to bring the

[1]E. M. W. Tillyard, The English Epic and Its Background (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966; orig. pub. 1954), p. 341: "The mothers not only watch but watch till the party is out of sight. The bushes the horsemen pass through are not just bushes but 'scroggy' ones. And Douglas's horses do a good deal more than break into a ringing gallop. Further, he shows immense zest in taking us into the thick of the horsemen; the shout of Virgil's riders has been changed into the general din of a confused press of horses and riders, armour and harness. Douglas must always be on the spot; he lives quite in the present. Virgil holds past, present, and future together in his mind. Douglas would have kept far nearer his original if he had translated the Iliad instead. But that does not mean that he was any less alive in translating someone more distant from his own temper. It merely means that he had to force things more."

poem closer to his hoped-for audience. Just as in the text the emotions are made more vivid and the scenery more local, so in the prologue, the civic implications are applied directly to the Scotland he knows. Douglas chooses the alliterative form as the most specifically Scottish meter available to him. The verse form itself constitutes a statement of the poet's intentions; this is social criticism directed to the present state of affairs in Scotland. The incorporation of the dream vision and overheard speaker reveals still another aspect of the poet's intention. By the use of these devices Douglas wants to place himself within an established poetic tradition. Just as the civic problems of Scotland merit the political prestige of Rome, so too Scottish poetry has its "classical" aspects, worthy of being used in conjunction with major works. The poet has high aspirations for his total work, and he seeks to augment the value of the translation by the inclusion of his original prologues. The use of different meters suitable to the various subjects is therefore meant to demonstrate the richness of the Scottish poetic tradition and the virtuosity of the poet himself. Douglas would undoubtedly have been pleased, but perhaps unsurprised by the "Testimony" of David Hume of Godscroft in praise of this eighth prologue.

CHAPTER VIII

BOOK IX: THE SCOTTISH "HEROYCALL" STYLE

Gavin Douglas found the second half of the Aeneid just as interesting as the first. Modern readers are caught by the fall of Troy, the Dido episode, the visit to the underworld, and perhaps the final slaying of Turnus. Douglas appreciates these sections but he also finds strong narrative excitement in the long stretches of battles and uses them effectively to develop the "sentens" of the work. His treatment of war is particularly well exemplified in Book IX: the prologue expounds the theory which is practiced in the text.

The prologue concentrates primarily on rhetorical decorum, the suitability of style to subject. "The ryall style, clepyt heroycall" (IX, Pro., 21) should not deal with low or loose subjects. Instead we should take care

> That baith accord, and vene conuenient,
> The man, the sentens, and the knychtlyke stile,
> Sen we mon carp of vassalage a quhile.
> (IX, Pro., 30-32)

Coldwell glosses "vassalage" as "prowess, courage, strength," in other words, the virtues of the noble fighter or knight. In Book IX Douglas does "carp of vassalage" at great length; in the Nisus-Euryalus sortie, in Turnus's incursion into the city, and elsewhere. As much as any other, Book IX deals with what can be called "knychtlyke." But to what extent does Douglas accord "sentens" and "style" with the narrative

material? For the books of battle, is there a "knychtlyke stile"?

The prologue goes on at length to illustrate the constituents of such a style.

> Full litill it wald delyte
> To write of scroggis, broym, haddir or rammale;
> The lawrer, cedyr or the palm triumphale
> Ar mar ganand for nobillis of estait:
> The muse suld with the person aggre algait.
> (IX, Pro. 36-40)

These vegetable examples of decorum are followed by animal examples in demonstration of the stylistic requirements of nobility. Douglas concludes this demonstration by praising Virgil's style and regretting any defects of his own. Even if he lacks polished "termys" (IX, Pro., 67), however, "Hys sentence sall I hald, as that I may" (IX, Pro., 68). Perhaps he merits correction, but then, on the other hand, he is really doing a pretty good job.

> Zit, by my self, I fynd this proverb perfyte,
> "The blak craw thinkis hyr awin byrdis quhite:"
> (IX, Pro., 77-78)

Even with his own high stylistic requirements, Douglas is not dissatisfied with his work so far.

Douglas's major dissatisfaction here as elsewhere in the prologues is that he is not done.

> Thocht in our leid hys sayngis to declar
> I haue in ryme thus far furth tane the cur,
> Now war me laith my lang laubour myssur.
> (IX, Pro., 64-66)

Just as in Prologue VII the task ahead was as "laith" as the harsh winter, and in Prologue VIII, his greatest wish was to be finished with the book; once again, the magnitude of his undertaking weighs upon him. Yet after this ninth prologue, it is with enormous energy that Douglas rushes into the battles of Book IX.

But even in the prologue he cannot linger over rhetorical theory or his own weariness, as he is doing the translation at the request of someone else. His work is addressed

> baith to gentil barroun and knycht,
> Quhais name abufe I haue done notyfy,
> (IX, Pro., 88-89)

in other words, his patron and kinsman, Henry Sinclair. Both because of his noble audience and because he now has to write "of prowes and hie chevelry" (IX, Pro., 90), he must sharpen his pen and "enfors my stile" (IX, Pro., 92). He hopes to follow Virgil so closely that there shall be no offense "Salvand owr bustuus wlgar differens" (IX, Pro., 96). In summary, he will write of chivalry in appropriate chivalric style, but the result will be inevitably "bustuus" and "wlgar." The "differens" for the reader is that it will be Scottish, and Scottish battle poetry has more vigor, more color, more pathos, and more blood.

In the first prologue Douglas berated Caxton for slighting the battling half of the Aeneid. It makes him angry that

this part of the narrative and of such skillful poetry should be neglected.

> The last sax bukis of Virgill all inferis,
> Quhilk contenys strang batalis and werys,
> This ilk Caxtoun so blaitly lattis ourslip
> I hald my tung for schame, bytand my lyp.
> The gret afferis of athir host and array,
> The armour of Eneas, fresch and gay,
> The quent and curyus castis poeticall,
> Perfyte symylitudis and exemplis all
> Quharin Virgill beris the palm of lawd,
> Caxtoun, for dreid thai suld hys lippis scald,
> Durst nevir twich. (I, Pro., 249-59)

The details he mentions here are those which he himself will emphasize in translating the account of "strang batalis and werys." The array of the hosts, a frequent motif in Barbour and Harry, appeals to Douglas. Also the "symylitudis" attract him and are accordingly amplified. In all of the books subsequent to the fifth, Douglas more than doubles the number of lines in the original, and from the seventh on his ratio of translated to original lines is consistently 2.3 or 2.4. Thus it is in Books VII through XIII that Douglas really reaches his stride as a creative translator. Perhaps Caxton dared not touch them, but Douglas feels very much at home.

The Banners and Array

At the opening of Book IX Juno sends Iris to urge Turnus and his troops to attack the Trojan camp. Then Virgil presents his army advancing over the plain.

> Iamque omnis campis exercitus ibat apertis,
> diver equum, dives pictai vestis et auri
> (IX, 25-26)

Douglas enlarges the description with extra glitter.

> With this the ostis all in the plane feild
> Held furth arrayt, schynand vnder scheld.
> Men mycht behald full mony riall stedis,
> Full mony pantyt targe and weirlyke wedis;
> Of giltyn geir dyd glytter bank and buss.
> (IX,i, 59-63)

He adds several alliterative tags, "schynand vnder scheld," "weirlyke wedis," and so forth. "Bank and buss" in particular places the array in the landscape of Scottish poetry. The rich and appreciative painting of the assembled forces of the enemy is reminiscent of Barbour's portrayal of the massed hosts of England in the eighth book of the Bruce where the king sees

> the tothir followand,
> Thair basnetis burnyst var all brycht,
> Agane the sone glemand of licht;
> Thair speris, thair pennownys, & thar scheldis
> Of licht illumynit all the feldis.
> Thair best & browdyn bricht baneris,
> And hors hewit on seir maneris,
> And cot-armouris off seir colour,
> And hawbrekis, that war quhit as flour
> Maid thame glitterand, as thai war lik
> Till angellis he, of hevinis rik!
> (VIII, 222-234)

The color, gleam, banners, and beauty of the enemy rise up in expansive alliterative poetry. Douglas too has a fondness for banners. Where Turnus "campo sese arduus infert" (IX,35), in the translation,

> Syne in plane feild with browdyn baneris gay
> Bargane to byde drew hym till array.
> (IX,-, 45-46)

The picture represents the pageantry of late medieval warfare as Douglas himself would have known it.

Nisus and Euryalus

The two major military exploits of Book IX are the sortie of Nisus and Euryalus and Turnus's incursion into the Trojan camp. In the Nisus-Euryalus episode Douglas stresses several aspects, including the closeness of the friendship, the disarray of the Teucrian camp, the darkness of the woods where Euryalus becomes trapped, and the pathos of his mother's lament for his death. Throughout, Douglas adds small explicit details which augment the concrete verisimilitude of the narrative.

Where Virgil writes that Nisus and Euryalus "pariterque in bella ruebant" (IX,182), the translator stresses their intimacy in everyday life.

> Sammyn thai zeid to mete, to rest or play,
> And baith togidder in batale ruschit thai:
> (IX,iv, 41-42)

They speak to each other as close friends. As Euryalus addresses his "ardentem...amicum" (IX,198), the translator relates what he "til hys best belovyt fallow said" (IX,iv, 76). Without precedent in the original, they refer to each other as "broder" (IX,iv, 77; "brodyr" IX,iv, 95). Later when Nisus searches for the lost Euryalus, "He blent abowt to se hys frend so deir" (IX,vii, 45), and when he sees him out-

numbered, wonders in despair what he can do "Forto deliver hys tendir cousyng deir?" (IX,vii, 69). Finally as Euryalus is about to be killed, Nisus asks that the Teucrians attack him instead. Douglas makes the reason for this plea explicit, saying that Nisus so loved his friend "That rather for hys life him self list de" (IX,vii, 138). No such relative valuing of their lives is suggested in the Latin. These and other additions all contribute to a greater emphasis on the love between the two. The increased emotionalism prepares the reader for the more extreme lamentation by Euryalus's mother after his death. The brotherly closeness recalls Palamon and Arcite except, of course, that there is never any trace of enmity. The classical ideal friendship is thus translated with increased warmth.

Just as the intimacy between the two friends is intensified so too the difference between the two camps is made greater. At several points Douglas departs from the original in order to emphasize the disorder and unpreparedness of the Teucrians which leaves them victim to a force of only two men. The men of Turnus's camp feast and drink, as "ilk man dyd hys det" (IX,iii, 206) when it came to emptying goblets. The would-be guards spend the evening in "ludo" (IX,167), or more pejoratively, "in revale, game and play" (IX,iii, 210). The two Trojans look "Haec super" (IX,168) while Douglas stresses the unpreparedness of the Rutulian camp as the Trojans "All

thar deray beheld and vnderstude" (IX,iv, 2). Nisus tells the council that they can pass easily through the enemy ranks. "Rutuli somno vinoque soluti/conticuere" (IX, 236-37). In the translation, the Rutulians are in greater disarray and of worse character.

> "The Rutilianys, ourset with sleip and wyne,
> Lyggis sowpit, fordoverit, drunk as swyne."
> (IX,iv, 27-28)

This last addition is repeated when the two Trojans actually enter the opposing camp and see their adversaries "fallyn down als drunk as swyne" (IX,vi, 20). The final instance in Book IX of the evil character of the Rutulians occurs as they carry the spoils of their slaughter and the body of their comrade Volcens back to their camp. The Latin is straightforward:

> Victores praeda Rutuli spoilisque potiti
> Volcentem exanimum flentes in castra ferebant.
> (IX, 450-1)

In translation, they are much more clearly the bad guys; they mourn Volcens but exult in triumph and spoils:

> The schamful victouris, thir Rutilyanys,
> The pray and spreth, and other geir that ganys,
> Ioysyng but obstakil, Volscens ded body
> On to the tentis wepand bair in hy.
> (IX,viii, 177-80)

Their incidental weeping is no obstacle to their joy because they are the enemy. This construction of their character resembles the treatment of Turnus as compared with Aeneas, as will become apparent later in this chapter.

The Downfall of Euryalus

Euryalus, unlike the Rutulians, is given sympathetic treatment, but he too has his weaknesses. Nisus urges his young friend away from further slaughter, "sensit enim minia caede atque cupidine ferri" (IX,354). In Scottish, Douglas is more explicit about the dangerous consequences of this lust.

> For he persauyt Eurialus by his feris
> Had our gret lust to slauchter, and dangeris
> Persauyt nocht quhilkis war apperand eft.
> (IX,vi, 107-9)

Euryalus blindly pursues his own destruction, greedily taking the armor of the slain Rhamnes. He puts on the stolen arms "Bot all for nocht" (IX,vi, 141), Douglas translates, and then adds, "supposs the gold dyd gleit." To compound the mischief, Euryalus puts on the helmet he took from Messapus "radiisque adversa refulsit" (IX,374). Again the translation points the consequences.

> For the brycht helm in twynkland starny nycht
> Mythis Eurilly with bemys schynand lycht
> Quhilk he, onwar, persauyt nocht, allace!
> (IX,vi, 13-15)

Having dressed himself as a victim, Euryalus goes on to become lost and trapped in the woods. Putnam discusses the close parallels between this section of Book IX and the second book where the Trojans are the foolish victims and Aeneas loses Creusa in the dark flight from the invaded town.[1] The

[1]Putnam, pp. 49-53.

treacherous wood in Book IX is painted by Douglas as thicker with underbrush and more impassible.

> The wod was large, and rowch of buskis ronk,
> And of the blak ayk schaddowis dym and donk,
> Of breris ful, and thyk thorn ronnys stent--
> Scarsly a strait rod or dern narow went
> Tharin mycht fundyn be that men mycht pass.
> (IX,vii, 29-33)

Douglas is unfailingly good at describing wild scenery, augmenting here the sense of inevitable disaster.

The whole episode is vividly realized in this version. Johnson, in discussing Douglas's "Copious Fouth or Plenitud,"[1] points out his use of adverbials of manner and other kinds of intensification which give the effect "of experience felt deeply and actions performed to utter completeness."[2] He finds an emphasis on fullness and thoroughness by which space and time are made more real, all serving to avoid merely static pictures.[3] The expedition of Nisus and Euryalus provides several examples of this intensification and expansion for greater concreteness. As the two invaders approach the enemy camp they see the chariots scattered all around, and to these "cartis" Douglas adds various parts, "lymouris, harnys, quhelys, and thetis" (IX,vi, 23,24,25). As they move through the sleeping camp, the situation is well imagined. Virgil introduces Nisus's advice, "prior Hyrtacides sic ore locutus:"

[1]Johnson, Ch. III.

[2]Johnson, p. 131.

[3]Johnson, p. 132.

(IX,319). Douglas clarifies the identity of the son of Hyrtacus as Nisus and emphasizes the need for caution, translating "With ane bass voce thus Nysys spak agane" (IX,vi, 28). The "bass" or low voice is not in the original, but Douglas has put himself so intensely into the situation, that the need for quiet overwhelms him and intrudes itself into his translation. Later when Euryalus has been captured, the hidden Nisus slays one of his captors with a spear thrown from the shadows. The others look around; "diversi circumspiciunt" (IX,416). The translation spells out the meaning of the action:

> Hys ferys lukis about on euery syde,
> To se quharfra the grundyn dart dyd glyde.

Douglas automatically explains the why of the looking around. Then when Euryalus is killed, the manner of his falling is more precisely visualized. In the Latin,

> volvitur Euryalus leto, pulchrosque per artus
> it cruor inque umeros cervix conlapsa recumbit:
> (IX, 433-34)

Here is the translation:

> Down ded ruschit Eurialus ryght that.
> The blude bruschand outour his body fair,
> And on hys elbok lenand a litill on wry,
> Hys hed and hals bowys hevely
> (IX,vii, 143-46)

The picture of the dying young man leaning on his elbow is moving for its closeness to rest and sleep, emphasizing his youth, innocence and vulnerability. This and other such additions to the original increase the immediacy of the

narrative. Just as in The Bruce where conspirators plan to ambush King Robert at the privie,[1] Douglas's heroical poetry does not automatically exclude small, intimate or mundane detail. His "knychtlyke stile" is broadly inclusive.

Pathos

Douglas's version of the Nisus-Euryalus episode plays blatantly on universal human emotion. As I have illustrated earlier in this chapter, the closeness of the friendship between them is accentuated. Likewise, Douglas stresses the relationship between Euryalus and his aging far-traveled mother. Nisus tries to discourage Euryalus from accompanying him, pleading that he, Nisus, would not want to be cause of grief

> "To thy maist reuthfull mother, trast and kynd,
> Quhilk anerly of hir maist tender mynd,
> From all the other matronys of our rowt,
> Hess followyt the, hir luffyt child, about,
> Ne for thy saik refusyt not the see
> And gave na forss of Acestes cite."
> (IX,iv, 123-28)

"Refusyt not the see" is borrowed from the commentary of Ascencius, but "traist and kynd," "mais tender mynd," and "hir luffyt child" are original with Douglas. Once Euryalus has determined to go despite the grief he may cause his mother, he urges the prince Ascanius to look after her; "That I beseik the oft and monyfald" (IX,v, 135). She has followed him this

[1]Barbour, V, 551 ff.

far "not comptand hir lyfe" (IX,v, 138). He cannot bear to say goodbye to her, and Douglas emphasizes the weeping that would follow such farewells.

> "The wepand teris may I not suffir nor se
> Of my deir moder, nor that reuthfull syght."
> (IX,v, 146-47)

Ascanius is moved by the request and answers, "Wepand" (IX, v, 161) also. Nisus's later search for the lost Euryalus is more emotional; "O wailaway!" (IX,vii, 49), adds Douglas to Nisus's vain hunt. When Nisus himself is killed by Volcens, Douglas inserts "Allace, quhat reuth was it he not eschapit!" (IX,vii, 164). All of this love, "reuth," and lamentation prepares the way for the scene in which Euryalus's mother learns of his death. The first physical reaction, "at subitus miserate calor ossa reliquit" (IX,475), is given in emotional and physiological detail:

> Than suddanly that wrachit wight onsilly
> Al pail become, as na blude in hir left,
> The naturale heit was from the banys reft.
> (IX,viii, 33-35)

She casts down her spinning and rushes to the walls of the city, "caelum dehinc questibus implet" (IX,480). The translation emphasizes the cause of the complaint, as she specifically sees her son's severed head.

> And as that from the wall hyr sonnys hede
> Behaldis sche, wofull, and will of rede,
> With hir petuus rewthfull complantis sayr
> The hevynnys all scho fillyt and the ayr.
> (IX,viii, 47-50)

She laments the loss of the solace of her old age, especially regretting that he left without any farewell.

> nec te sub tanta pericula missum
> adfari extremum miserae data copia matri?
> heu! terra ignota canibus date praeda Latinis
> alitibusque iaces! (IX, 483-86)

The expanded translation of these lines increases the sense of eternal loss and the desecration of the dead body.

> "O my maist tendir hart, quhar art thou gane?
> Na licens grantit was, nor tyme, ne space,
> To me thy wrachit moder, allace, allace,
> Quhen thou thy self onto sik perrellis set,
> That I with the mycht samekill laser get
> Als forto tak my leif for evir and ay,
> Thy last regrait and quethyng wordis to say.
> Ichane, allace, intill ane oncouth land,
> Nakyt and bair thy fair body on sand
> To fowlys of reif and savage doggis wild
> Sal ly as pray, myne awin deir only child!"
> (IX,viii, 56-66)

The first line of this passage is strictly Douglas's addition and recalls the lament of Henryson's Orpheus for his lost Eurydice. Then the separation "for evir and ay" has a deep and quiet pathos to it. Finally in the Scottish version the fate of the headless body is more graphically presented. His "fair" body is visualized as naked and lying in a sandy place, and the dogs that will knaw on it are savage and wild. The height of the mother's pain is reached when the body thus described is her "awin deir only child!" Her lament for her son trails off into a futility which Douglas converts to pathetic irony, as she cannot even prepare the beloved body for burial or dress him in the robe "tibi quam noctes festina

diesque/urgebam" (IX, 88-89). Douglas has her regret that she neither prepared the body,

> "Nor drest the in thy lattir clathis meyt,
> The quhilkis I wrocht, God wayt, to make the gay."
> (IX,viii, 70-71)

The hope of making him "gay" contrasts bitterly with the reality of his death and the use to which she would now put the clothing. Here as elsewhere, the translator makes the inherent pathos both more harsh and more poignant.

Warfare

As the bereft mother is carried indoors, the threat of battle comes closer, "At tuba terribilem sonitum procul aere canoro/increpuit" (IX, 503-4). Douglas picks up the hint of alliteration in the Latin and converts this into Scottish battle poetry:

> Bot than the trumpettis weirly blastis abundis,
> With terribill brag of brasyn bludy soundis.
> (IX,viii, 105-6)

The vigor of his trumpets characterizes his account of the actual fighting. It has been suggested that Douglas's success in the battle-poetry depends on his flexible style, that because he does not in fact adhere to a classical heroic style he can achieve a wider range of effects. A reviewer in the Times Literary Supplement comments:

> Douglas's low stylistic level enables him to draw on a native alliterative vocabulary, which brings

> with it much of the strength and vitality lacking in the battle-fields of the Aeneid.[1]

The reviewer contrasts the translated battles with the original:

> Douglas is fortunately an extremely good story-teller, and whereas Virgil was far too urbane to write convincing battle-poetry, he has a distinct flair for it.[2]

As a good Scotsman, Douglas comes by that flair honestly. Barbour and Harry have been condemned for the habitual blood and violence of their poetry. Douglas too augments the original gore. Relevant to this, there is an amusing paragraph in the introductory "Life of Gawin Douglas" of the 1710 Ruddiman edition. Describing Douglas's struggle to take possession of his house after he is consecrated bishop, a later Bishop, John Sage, writes:

> They refused to yield; but the Prebend of Alith and James Carmichael with the Bishop's Servants made themselves Master of the Steeple, more by Prudence and Stratagem than force. (Then follows an attempted truce.)...Yet they continued obstinate, until the House was Besieged: And then it was yeilded, without the Death or Mutilation of any. Which was certainly very acceptable to the good Bishop, who in all the Actions of his Life discovered a gentle and merciful Disposition, regulating the warlike and heroick Spirit that was natural to his Family by the excellent Laws of the Christian Religion.[3]

[1]"The Eneados of Douglas," Times Literary Supplement, 30 December 1960, p. 844.

[2]TLS, p. 844.

[3]Douglas, ed. Ruddiman, p. 7.

This may be a superb example of restraint, but despite one bishop's defense of another, the translation evinces the "warlike and heroick spirt" relatively undaunted by the laws of the Christian religion.

The major violence is done to heads and neckbones. In both Book IX and elsewhere, Douglas inserts decapitations frequently and the "nek bane" is a spot of high vulnerability. Bones in general enter the translation where they are absent in the Latin; the shudder of horror is greater as the spears penetrate the soft flesh and hit the harder bone. The ninth chapter of Book IX relates in circumstantial detail

> Quhou Turnus set the zet tour into fyre,
> And maid gret slauchter of Troianys in his ire.
> (IX,ix, heading)

As the tower is set alight on one side, all the men rush in panic to the other, causing it to collapse. The men fall,

> semineces ad terram, immani mole secuta,
> confixique suis telis et pectora duro
> transfossi ligno veniunt. (IX, 542-44)

The Scottish outdoes these lines in horror and bones:

> Down weltis the men half ded with brokyn banys,
> The huge heip thame followit all atanys,
> On thar awyn wapynnys stikkand he and he,
> Sum stekit throu the cost with spilys of tre
> Lay gaspand, (IX,ix, 39-43)

From this disaster only two men escape, but even their escape leads to death. One rushes among the enemy while the other attempts to scale the city wall. Turnus reaches up to pull him down along with a large chunk of the wall, calling him

"demens" (IX,560) for his vain hope of escape. In the translation he is addressed: "O catyve wytless knaip" (IX, ix, 77), as Douglas easily assimilates colloquialism into the heat of heroic battle. As the enemy, led by Turnus, continues to surge about the walls, the Trojans fight back from above. Ilioneus drops a rock and Douglas translates with an additional last phrase:

> Bot Ilioneus that tyme dyd doun dyng
> With a gret quhyn, or roch of cragy stone,
> Ane Lucetyus, and brak hys nek bone.
> (IX,ix, 94-96)

In Book XI where Camylla pierces the breast of Euneus (IX,667), Douglas translates "pectus" by "braid breist bone" (XI,xiii, 40); in the same book Catillus drives a spear through Herminius's shoulder, translated "hys stalwart schulder banys" (XI,xii, 105). In Book XII just before Turnus kills Eumedes he puts his foot on his "collo" (XII,356), translated "Hys fair nek bane" (XII, vi, 119).

The point needs no further illustration from the battle-books. But Douglas does more than insert bones into victims; there is an overall stress on blood and gore. The men killed by Nisus and Euryalus are shown to be brutally slaughtered, but the battle ethic and level of language which permit this in no way undercut the sympathy due to the two Trojans. As Nisus fights to save Euryalus, his weapon pierces the skull of Tagus, "traiectoque haesit tepefacta cerebro" (IX,419).

In translation Nisus strikes Tagus

> Throu athis part of tymplis of his hed;
> In the harn pan the schaft he hes affixt,
> Quhil blude and brane al togiddir mixt.
> (IX,vii, 112-14)

The blood "mixt" with the other details is typical of the translation.

Douglas is also concerned with the technical matters of weaponry. When Turnus kills Bitias, who opens the gate to him, he does it "non iaculo" (IX,704), translated "nother with dart, swerd nor knyf" (IX,xi, 85). Rather he was killed with a "phalarica" (IX,705) which Douglas duly explains:

> Bot with ane hydduus byssand fyry speir,
> That clepit is "phalarica" in weir,
> Quhilk with sa vehement fors this Turnus threw
> That as the thundris dynt at him it flew
> (IX,xi, 87-90)

Because Douglas found genuine narrative interest in the prolonged accounts of fighting, which have generally appealed less than other sections of the poem, he translates as vividly and clearly as possible. His preconceptions about "The ryall style, clepyt heroycall,/Full of wirschip and nobilnes our all" (IX, Pro., 21-22) never stand in the way of the immediate presentation of an exciting scene. Warfare is serious business and legitimate material for poetry, and Douglas translates into a poetry whose style permits many levels. With this flexible style, Douglas combines Virgil and his own native traditions to create superb battle-poetry.

The Character of Turnus

While Douglas is concerned with presenting Aeneas as the ideal ruler, he is more at home with Turnus as the classical warrior. There is a long tradition which emphasizes the ferocity of Turnus. This quality is important in an allegorical reading set forth by Fulgentius toward the end of the fifth century. Here Comparetti summarizes that reading:

> [Aeneas] Making himself a breastplate of his fiery spirit (the arms of Vulcan), he dashes into the struggle (Books IX,X,XI,XII) against anger (Turnus), who, led first by drunkenness (Metiscus) and then by obstinacy (Iuturna= Diuturna), is assisted by impiety (Mezentius) and folly (Messaphus). Finally Wisdom triumphs over all.[1]

In other words, it is Turnus who is at the head of all the contributory vices and who represents the antithesis of Virgil's and therefore Aeneas's civic goals. Such a reading is by no means critically outdated. Putnam, writing in 1965, identifies Turnus with "impious Furor" as his rage for slaughter is so great that he fails to open the gate and let in his soldiers, thus losing his chance at victory.[2] Douglas in his translation consistently emphasizes the violence of Turnus.

As Turnus and his assembled troops are first presented, Virgil compares them to a swelling river:

> ceu septem surgens sedatis amnibus altus
> per tacitum Ganges aut pingui flumine Nilus
> cum refluit campis et iam se condidit alveo.
> (IX, 30-32)

[1]Comparetti, p. 111.

[2]Putnam, p. 62.

It is this sort of figurative language that carries much of the essential meaning of the poem. In discussing translations of the Aeneid, R. W. B. Lewis points out the limitations of such translators as Dryden or Rolfe Humphries in handling these passages:

> But in practice..., Mr. Humphries tends to limit all that activity to the narrative alone, reducing the element of metaphor to mere static, or inactive quality. But the poem's activity has both its source and to great extent its very meaning within the dimension of imagery; even though it is perhaps my main point that that is the dimension least accessible to satisfactory translation.[1]

While some translators may not feel Mr. Lewis's satisfaction with such passages, the flood passage, for example, gives Douglas occasion for effective nature-painting. His version is reminiscent of the landscape of the seventh prologue:

> Lyke as sum tyme Ganges, the flude Indane,
> Sevyn swelland ryveris efter spayt of rayn
> Ressauyt in hys large bosum inhy,
> In hys deip trowch now flowys esely;
> Or as vmquhile the fertill flude, Nylus,
> Ourfletand all the feildis, bank and buss,
> Syne, efter the gret fludis watry rage,
> Returnys swagit to hys auld passage.
> (IX,i, 73-80)

As in the winter prologue, such vivid depiction of scenery is not intended merely to serve as a tour-de-force of realism but to convey the underlying moral significance. Here the "gret fludis watry rage" is a counterpart to the rage of Turnus, and whereas the river can be "swagit," Turnus cannot.

[1]R. W. B. Lewis, p. 45.

The simile of the flooding river is followed by several figurative passages in which Turnus is compared with animals. Such comparisons are clearly meant to indicate something about his character. In the headings to chapters ii and ix, mention is made of the "ire" of Turnus, and in the heading to chapter xii he is said to be "Lyke a wod lyoun." Anger and animals go together. Turnus rides "turbidus" (IX,57) about the walls seeking entrance to the city. In Scottish he is "the grevyt syre" (IX,ii, 56) riding "all commovit, brym and full of ire" (IX,ii, 55).

> Lyke as we se, wachand the full scheip fald,
> The wild wolf ourset with schowris cald
> Of wynd and rane, at myddis of the nycht,
> Abowt the bowght plet all of wandis tyght
> Brays and gyrnys; (IX,ii, 61-65)

The translation is close to the original except that "caulas" (IX,60) is expanded to describe the woven-faggot construction of those pens. Such precision testifies to the reality of the comparison in the translator's mind. The further description of the raging and furious wolf is vividly translated, preparing for Turnus's later incursion into the Trojan city. The subsequent development of Turnus in Book IX adheres closely to the animal simile. Putnam draws the analogy:

> From here to the end of the book we watch a gradual change in Turnus from the beast of violence, having his will of his victims, like Nisus and Euryalus within the Rutulian camp, to Turnus, still an animal but now hemmed in and forced to give ground.[1]

[1]Putnam, p. 61.

Turnus as animal is savage, but he is also possessed of a more than human lightness and grace. Once he "Lyke a wod lyoun" has entered the town and is trapped by the closed gates, he handles himself with military finesse and almost charm. As huge Pandarus speaks threateningly to him, anxious to avenge his brother's death, "olli subridens sedato pectore Turnus:/'incipe,...'" (IX, 740-41). The translation emphasizes Turnus's pleasure in the encounter:

> Turnus agane, with curage clyth and glaid,
> Nocht abasyt, ful baldly to hym said:
> "My frend, begyn,..." (IX,xii, 35-37)

The salutation "My frend" resembles the ironic humor characteristic of Scottish battle-poetry, while it shows Turnus at home in war. Douglas's freedom to shift diction adds to the immediacy of the story he tells.

Pandarus throws his spear at Turnus, but Turnus is saved by Juno who deflects the weapon.

> For wikkyt Iuno, the als Saturnus get,
> Choppyt by the schaft and fixt it in the zet.
> (IX,xii, 45-46)

Coldwell sees in these lines a change of spirit from the original, noting, "The whole episode is very 'hamely' in Douglas's version."[1] Douglas's partisanship is more overt as he inserts the epithet "wikkyt." The colloquial narrative continues as Turnus "alte consurgit" (IX,749) to strike back at Pandarus; in Scottish he appears "standand on hys typtays" (IX,xii, 53). Having horribly mutilated Pandarus and frightened the other

[1]Coldwell, I, 234.

Trojans, Turnus could have ensured his total victory had he reopened the gates to his men. Instead, "sic ardent hie furour marcyall,/ And of slauchter desire insaciall" (IX,xii, 77-78) drive him to further individual combat, from which finally two Trojan captains force him to retreat and escape into the river. Thus he is saved to die another day.

Before that inescapable death at the hands of Aeneas, Turnus has further opportunity to show his warlike character. As he attacks the young Pallas in Book X, Douglas describes him as "full of felony" (X,viii, 100). Yet, while he is a villain he is never a coward. When the gods trick him into a flight to safety, in pursuit of a phantom Aeneas, he laments his apparent dishonor, asking "quae iam satis ima dehiscat/ terra mihi?" (X, 675-76). Douglas emphasizes Turnus's consciousness of that dishonor:

> "quhilk land (thocht a thousand tymys I stervit)
> May swelly me sa deip as I have servyt?"
> (X,xi, 171-72)

For all his animal ferocity, Turnus remains intensely devoted to his honor as a soldier, frightened of no man. As he faces death at the end of Book XII, he asserts his indifference to the threats of Aeneas in these famous lines:

> "non me tua fervida terrent
> dicta, ferox: di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis."
> (XII, 894-95)

In the translation, Turnus speaks with colloquial scorn even before impending death, as he tells Aeneas, "Thy fervent

wordis compt I not a stro" (XII,xiv, 22). Thus to the end he is the vigorous, fearless, and supremely impervious warrior. All his "ira" which casts him in the role of what critics from Fulgentius to Putnam see as "impious furor" defines him as the pure and total warrior. He is a perfect counterpoint to "pius" Aeneas, and by the perfection of that role, a major and almost admirable hero in his own right.

The Heroic Style

Douglas's portrayal of Turnus makes him a Rutulian equivalent of classical Scottish heroes, even of his own more warlike kinsmen. Douglas's evocation of pathos and bloodshed give the ninth book of the Aeneid a kind of narrative excitement and involvement which often exceeds that of the original. If it seems that the translator is inconsistent in what he considers suitable for "the ryall style, clepyt heroycall," it is rather that he is widely inclusive in his heroic style. Intimacy, violence, high lamentation, irony, and unabashed colloquialism all have a part. Ultimately his heroic style is whatever flexible style best serves for a narrative of war.

CHAPTER IX

PROLOGUE XI: THE PROBLEM OF SPIRITUAL AND EARTHLY CHIVALRY

> Thow hie renown of Martis chevalry,
> Quhilk gladis euery gentill wight to heir,
> Gif thou mycht Mars and Hercules deify,
> Quharfor beyn nobillys to follow prowes swer?
> (XI, Pro., 1-4)

These opening lines of the eleventh prologue of Eneados introduce two problems: the direct question of why men neglect a good example, which is an old one, hardly seems to require an answer; an unasked question, which more concerns Douglas, has to do with the nature of true chivalry and its relationship to holiness. The "chevalry" of Mars is widely known and Hercules is actually raised to heaven for his deeds, but is warfare the proper activity for a Christian nobleman?

This prologue is significantly placed between the battles of Books IX and X and those of Books XI and XII, that is, at the exact center of the account of Aeneas's wars in Italy. As we have seen, Douglas presents warfare with great physical violence and convincing bloodshed. The ethic of war is not questioned at any point in the narrative. Instead, despite his awareness of the inherent pathos, Douglas makes war primarily exciting. Until this point he does not deal with its morality.

This opening goes on to clarify what sort of chivalry should be followed.

> Weill auchtyn eldris exemplis ws to steir
> Tyll hie curage, all honour till ensew:

> Quhen we considir quhat wirschip tharof grew,
> All vyce detest, and vertu lat ws leyr.
> (XI, Pro., 5-8)

At once it becomes obvious that chivalry is capable of more than one meaning. Its double meaning is suggested in the gloss placed next to these lines in the 1553 Copland edition of Eneados:

> In thes prolouge the author tretis of war and cheuelrye both spiritual and temporall.[1]

Most probably Douglas would have found this gloss highly acceptable.

The prologue maintains an ambiguous balance between the spiritual and the temporal. The ideal set forth is not the medieval union of Sapientia and Fortitudo[2] but rather a heroism more ethically and theologically acceptable. The Aeneid lends itself to such treatment, as Aeneas is always "pius" as well as brave. It was for this combination of traits that Renaissance critics would find him admirable.[3] Douglas seems to feel a certain pressure to present Aeneas in the guise of a Christian hero, but the conversion seldom enters the actual translation. Although Aeneas is told by the Sibyl to say his beads (VI,i, 100) and all vestal virgins

[1]John Small's edition of Douglas reprints the 1553 edition.

[2]Curtius, pp. 173-76.

[3]John Steadman, Milton and the Renaissance Hero (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 9.

are ambiguously turned into "nuns," for the most part the Christianizing is confined to the prologues. Those changes which do enter the translation of Virgil's text stress instead narrative and political aspects of the poem.

In the midst of four books of violent warfare exaggerating the strength and deeds of the fighters, Douglas disavows the value of such physical prowess:

> To speke of moral vertuus hardyment,
> Or rather of dyvyne, is myne entent;
> For warldly strenth is febill and impotent
> In Goddis sight, and insufficient.
> (XI, Pro., 25-28)

Now the significant "hardyment" is spiritual rather than physical. He completes the stanza by paraphrasing part of the cxlvii psalm in which man's physical strength is worthless and all is at the disposal of God:

> He delighteth not in the strength of the horse:
> he taketh not pleasure in the legs of a man.
> The Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear him,
> in those that hope in his mercy.
> (Psalm cxlvii, ll.10-11)

In the paraphrase, Douglas cites his authority, not claiming the sentiment for his own. One suspects that Douglas <u>does</u> take pleasure in "strenth of cors."

> The Psalmyst says that God is not content
> In mannys stalwart lymmys nor strenth of corss,
> Bot into thame that trastis in hys forss,
> Askand mercy, and dredand iugement.
> (XI, Pro., 29-32)

Even in this rewriting of the lines from the psalm, Douglas cannot get away from the idea of "forss"; he merely renders

the force legitimate by assigning it to God rather than man. As he continues to expatiate on spiritual chivalry, the resemblances to earthly chivalry continue to predominate. He uses the ever popular armor passage of Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, VI, 13-17: "Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God," complete with the breastplate of righteousness, the shield of faith and so forth. Yet once the Christian knight is duly armed, he fights his spiritual battles with all the colloquial vigor of his physical battles:

> Feill beyn thy fays, fers and full of slycht,
> Bot be thou stalwart campioun and knycht;
> In feild of grace with forsaid armour brycht
> Thou may debait thame lychtly in ilk fyght:
> For of fre will thyne acton is sa wight
> Nane may it perss, wilt thou resist and stand;
> Becum thow cowart, crawdoun recryand,
> And by consent cry cok, thy ded is dycht.
> (XI, Pro., 113-20)

In other words, the good Christian doesn't "cry uncle." Put in these terms, the concept lacks sublimity.

Biblical and Classical Sources-- or Their Scottish Equivalents

This prologue is a composite anthology, certain aspects of which had come into Scottish literature before Douglas's poem. From the opening on chivalry he moves to a paraphrase of Revelation XII, 7-11, where the devil is driven out, as he writes of Michael and the angels "That can the dragon furth of hevynnys chace" (XI, Pro., 13). The dragon of Revelation is similarly defeated in a poem by William Dunbar:

> Done is a battell on the dragon blak,
> Our campioun Chryst confountet hes his force;
> The yettis of hell ar brokin with a crak,
> The signe triumphall rasit is of the croce,
> The divillis trymmillis with hiddous voce,
> The saulis ar borrowit and to the blis can go,
> Chryst with his blud our ransonis dois indoce:
> Surrexit dominus de sepulchro. (ll. 1-8)

Not only has the theme been treated previously in Scottish poetry, but Dunbar has used the same eight-line ababbcbc stanza. Only the eleventh prologue uses this stanza, whose selection seems thematically dictated.

There is a more striking Scottish precedent for Douglas's treatment of his borrowings from Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics. A discussion of chivalry requires a treatment of courage, and Aristotle's third book contains such a treatment. Douglas uses the explanation of virtue as lying between extremes. The belief in the via media as the way of virtue is an ancient one which received new currency with the revival of the classics in the Renaissance.[1]

Douglas claims that he will speak of divine rather than worldly courage. Both worlds remain prominent in his paraphrase:

[1]In Douglas's discussion, according to Hall, he sees fortitude "like the Aristotelian arete, as a mean which avoids the extremes of cowardice and foolhardiness." p. 191. This "Christian-Aristotelian synthesis" is not altogether new--the same view of fortitude is set forth in Aquinas, but the synthesis is as attitude associated especially with the Renaissance, p. 192.

> Strang fortitud, guhilk hardyment cleip we,
> ....
> Is a bonte set betwix vicis twane:
> Of quham fuyl hardyness clepit is the tane,
> That vndertakis all perrellis but avice;
> The tother is namyt schamefull cowardyce,
> Voyd of curage, and dolf as ony stane.
> (XI, Pro., 33,36-40)

The point is clearly made, reinforced by the colloquial scorn of the last phrase. The next stanza elaborates the portraits of the extremes. One man is too hastily brave and unreasonable; the other lacks all courage and is a disgrace to manhood. There is a little more to be said in behalf of the first:

> The first soundis towart vertu sum deill,
> Hardy he is, couth he be avyse;
> Of hardyment the tother hass na feill:
> Quhou may curage and cowardys agre?
> Of fortitud to compt zou euery gre,
> As Arestotill in hys Ethikis doith express,
> It wald, as now, conteyn our lang process;
> Quharfor of other chevalry carp will we.
> (XI, Pro., 49-56)

The man who is brave is virtuous if he is also "avyse." That is the main point spelled out by Aristotle in his "Ethikis"; having given it, Douglas will go on to other aspects of chivalry.

While in this point Douglas seems to draw directly on Aristotle, he does have another possible influence. Approximately one hundred years before Douglas translated Virgil, another Scottish poet had paraphrased the same parts of Nicomachean Ethics.

In Barbour's Bruce, after the Bruce fights off fourteen men single-handed at the side of a stream, Barbour gives about forty lines on courage. The passage begins, "A! quhat vorschip is prisit thing" (VI, 325 ff.). It then continues straight from the Ethics:

> Vorschip Extremyteis has twa;
> Fule-Hardyment the formast is,
> And the tothir is cowardiss,
> And thai ar bath for to forsak.
> (VI, 336-39)

Barbour applies the lesson in strategical terms. Because of the tactical advantages of his position, the Bruce was not foolhardy to take on such a superior force.

> Thus hardyment, gouernit vith vit,
> That he all tyme vald sammyn knyt,
> Gert him of vorschipe haf the priss,
> And oft our-cum his enymyss.
> (VI, 368-71)

Courage helped him only in so far as it was governed by wit. With the two together he could overcome him enemies and win the prize of "vorschipe." This word has a double meaning; it suggests both a valorous or praiseworth deed and the resultant honor and renown. Thus true courage is a virtue which brings spiritual and earthly rewards.

It must be concluded that to some extent Douglas's "Aristotelianism" is an awareness of the literature of his own tradition. Obviously Douglas did read the Ethics, but he does not seem unacquainted with Barbour.

In both the Bruce and Harry's Wallace, the poets stress

the limitations of courage and the need for caution. It would seem that generations of a kind of guerilla warfare with England would teach the limitations of total daring and cowardly inaction. Still, James IV would have profited from a close reading of Aristotle or Barbour before he went to Flodden in 1513. Had he done so, he might have survived to read Douglas's paraphrase as well.

A Theological Question

Just as Douglas's use of the Ethics is colored by his Scottish heritage, there has been some suggestion that in this prologue his theology takes on a peculiarly Scottish tinge. The quest for forerunners of Reformation has been particularly vigorous in Scotland, and Douglas is only one of a group of poets in whose work elements of early Protestantism have been suspected. Wittig's history of Scottish literature speaks--with insufficient evidence, I believe--of Protestant tendencies in Douglas and two of his well-known predecessors:

> Those passages in which Barbour, Henryson, and Douglas lay so much stress on the personal response of the individual to the challenge of the Divine Will clearly foreshadow the predominant ideas of the Scottish Reformation. Indeed, it may be said that Protestantism and Presbyterianism would never have taken such firm root in Scotland if the soil had not long been ready for them.[1]

[1]Wittig, p. 82.

The eleventh prologue offers a conceivable repository of Reformation ideas because in its discussion of spiritual chivalry it deals with grace and salvation. Despite the subject, notes Wittig, Douglas mentions neither confession and absolution, intercession of the Church, nor mediation of the saints.[1]

Wittig's book, The Scottish Tradition in Literature, seems to reflect the "Scottish tradition in criticism"; until recently it has been unusual to find anything but a militantly Protestant reading of early literature. Now, however, the quest for forerunners is being questioned. A 1967 dissertation argues for Douglas's medieval orthodoxy, particularly on the important issue of grace.[2] Also in 1967, John MacQueen, discussing intellectual background of Scottish literature, greatly minimized the impact of the Reformation on the early Renaissance in Scotland, denying its influence on many early writers.

> Now the plain fact of the matter is that the Reformation had comparatively little effect on Scottish literature of the sixteenth century..., and obviously none at all on the literature of the fifteenth. The critics who find a foretaste of Calvinism in Henryson are deluding themselves in exactly the same way as those who at one time found anticipations of the dissolution of the English monasteries in Chaucer and Piers Plowman.[3]

[1]Wittig, p. 82.

[2]Johnson, p. 137.

[3]MacQueen, p. 201.

MacQueen here supports the conclusions of John T. McNeill in his major study of the development of Calvinism. McNeill writes that Scottish Protestantism became a force only after 1526 when Tyndale's translation of the New Testament was first introduced into Scotland.[1] These writers are, therefore, in sharp disagreement with Wittig.

The presence or absence of "proto-Calvinism" in Douglas is best determined by an unbiased reading of the eleventh prologue. First of all, the code of chivalry is necessarily a code of "works," be they physical or spiritual. The question of the efficacy of works is central to the issues of free will and the action of divine grace.

When Douglas paraphrased the cxlvii psalm devaluing the physical strength of a man, he also included the lines on the value of fearing God and asking for mercy (XI, Pro., 29-32). Penance is meaningful because man has free will and is responsible for his past and future actions. Man can resist the temptations to evil. His foes are many and devious, but in the armor of a Christian he will do well in each fight:

> For of fre will thyne action is sa wycht
> Nane may it perss, wilt thou resist and stand;
> (XI, Pro., 117-18)

Because of this free will, a fall into sin is particularly terrible; it could have been avoided. Still, there is hope.

[1]John T. McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 293.

> Richt so, quha vertuus was, and fallys tharfro,
> Of verray rayson malewrus hait is he;
> And zit, by grace and hys fre volunte,
> He may recovir meryt agane alsso.
> (XI, Pro., 149-52)

Douglas offers an ambiguous explanation of the nature of grace. One may increase it, one may lose it, but one may not regain it by works. Yet because of one's works, God may restore it.

> I say "be grace", for quhen thou art in grace,
> Thou may eik grace to grace, ay mor and mor;
> But quhen thou fallys be syn tharfra, allace,
> Of thy meryt thou gettis hyr nevirmor;
> Zit quhen thou dewly disponys the tharfor,
> Doand all that in the thar may be done,
> Of hys gudnes the etern Lord alssone
> Restorys the meryt, with grace in arlys of glor.
> .....
> That is to say, thy warkis meritable.
> (XI, Pro., 153-60, 162)

Even though good behavior is not direct cause for the restoration of merit, the equation of "meryt" with "warkis meritable" suggests a humanly influenced system of exchange and negotiation. There is a deduction for bad behavior, followed by a deserved but unearned restoration of grace.

Thus Douglas assumes that grace is both necessary and reliably forthcoming. When it is subsequent to good works, he does not care if it is not their consequence. There is no conception of election; if you once assent to the spiritual enemy, you "tyne thy meid euery crum" (XI, Pro., 128). But such a loss need not be permanent. Even after one's personal rather than hereditary fall into sin, free will can operate. Grace will be given, although it cannot be earned, and the

final result will be that the active Christian soldier will win the "crown of meid" (XI, Pro., 65), that is to say, the "euerlestand blyss" (XI, Pro., 66) of salvation. Man may strive for his salvation but ultimately it is granted by God. This conception of grace and salvation is so important to Douglas that he puts it into the concluding lines of the prologue:

> Than lat ws stryve that realm forto posseid,
> The quhilk was hecht till Abraham and hys seyd;
> Lord, at ws wrocht and bocht, grant ws that hald!
> (XI, Pro., 198-200)

Clearly there is no case here for Douglas as a proto-Presbyterian or any other unorthodox sectarian. He does not adhere to any concept of election or guaranteed divine grace. It is true that he does not mention the sacraments of the Church on Earth, but in omitting these aspects of religion, he does not deny them. Douglas's discussion of the subsequently controversial issues of grace and free will is extremely pragmatic and well within the acceptable orthodox possibilities.

Medieval Orthodoxy

In fact Douglas follows the dictates of the Church so closely that much of the prologue is highly conventional. There is a rather standard tone to his elevation of the spiritual side of chivalry and rejection of the things of this world. The specific lines tend to sound familiar. "Warldly strenth is febill and impotent/ In Goddis sight"

(XI, Pro., 27-28), and man should "Lyf in this warld as nocht ay to remane" (XI, Pro., 90); for it is really the devil who "of this fals warld makis the fane" (XI, Pro., 96).

In what is meant to be the overwhelmingly convincing argument, Douglas instructs his readers to consider the example of Aeneas. He underwent great danger and hardship to found his realm, and that was merely the Roman empire.

> Sen all this dyd he for a temporall ryng,
> Press ws to wyn the kynryk ay lestyng.
> (XI, Pro., 182-83)

Presumably such effort directed toward an earthly kingdom would be better applied in pursuit of the heavenly kingdom. Douglas thus seems to take the approved stand of contemptus mundi.

Political Analogies

Yet, despite the poet's appropriate rejection of this world, he remains extremely interested in the affairs of the "temporall ryng." Those affairs pertinent to the kingdom of Scotland are of particular interest to him.

In the third stanza of his opening discussion of chivalry, Douglas defines legitimate and illegitimate grounds for warfare. In any fight, the cause should be "fundyt apon rycht" (XI, Pro., 19), and not upon a penchant "To seik occasyons of contentioun" (XI, Pro., 21). Before rushing into battle over any issue, you should "discuss it plane" (XI, Pro., 22); so

speaks the would-be diplomat. Finally he lists improper reasons for conflict:

> Wrangis to reddress suld wer be vndertane,
> For na conquest, reif, skat nor pensioun.
> (XI, Pro., 23-24)

Here we recall that conquest and plunder are the traditional motives for the ongoing border warfare between the Scottish and the English, while taxes and pensions are frequent sources of conflict within Scotland, both between the crown and the nobility and among the nobles themselves.

The continuing clash between the nobility and the Scottish crown resulted periodically in actual rebellion. Perhaps this situation suggested to Douglas some of his advice on the proper use of strength: one should fight against "spretis and pryncis of myrknes" (XI, Pro., 77), not against man,

> Nor zit aganyst our makar to debait,
> As rabell till all vertu and gudness.
> (XI, Pro., 79-80)

The model of rebellion may thus be extended to spiritual warfare.

In this prologue many of the theological points already discussed are amplified by political analogies. As God is to man, so is a king to his subjects. The analogies are extensively and explicitly developed. For example, after Douglas describes how man may fall from grace, he explains:

> Na wondir is, for by exempill we se,
> Quha servys hys souerane intill all degre
> Full mony days, and efter syne gif he
> Commyttis anys trayson, suld he nocht de,
> Less than hys prynce, of gret humanyte,
> Pardoun hys falt for hys lang trew seruys,
> Gyf he wald mercy craif? The sammyn wyss
> We beyn forgevyn, so that repent will we.
> (XI, Pro., 129-36)

If the "traitor" is not damned, he may be pardoned. True penance seems to be effective in both the temporal and spiritual realms. Even in the earthly kingdom, the grace of the king is restored to the repentant sinner. Had Douglas not died of the plague in London, perhaps he too would have been restored to favor.

When the sinner receives grace again, however, it is not "ilk gre of grace thou had befor" (XI, Pro., 166); that is not restored so soon, and therefore it is better not to lose it. Again Douglas explains with a secular comparison:

> For lyke as quha offendit had hys lord,
> That lang tofor hys trew servand had bene,
> And syne agane becumis at ane accord
> With hys master, all thocht hys lord wald meyn
> On hys ald seruyce, zit netheless, I weyn
> He sall nocht soyn be tendir, as he was ayr:
> Be war tharwith, and kepe zou fra the snair,
> Tyne nocht zour laubour and zour thank betweyn.
> (XI, Pro., 169-76)

The secular parallel is presented with at least as much conviction as the doctrinal point it is meant to illustrate. Its explicit presentation suggests that Douglas's conception of grace is extrapolated from earthly master-servant relations.

This tendency toward political analogies stems in part from the traditional view of the earthly king as analogous to the heavenly, but also from the new vogue of giving advice to earthly kings and subjects. The secular state was coming to be its own justification. Douglas's strictures on temporal chivalry reflect an awareness of power politics. Taken all together, Douglas's political orientation in the eleventh prologue corresponds to his general reading of the Aeneid. As he simplifies the complex allegory into a series of instructive events and personalities, he is offering a handbook for behavior in this world. While such behavior may lead toward Heaven, it occurs in an earthly and rather secular context.

The Quest for Honor

The use made of the concept of chivalry belongs very much to the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance. Its elaborate development in terms of heraldry, banners, and decorated armor comes as an artificial resurrection of an archaic institution. Douglas's treatment of chivalry leads him to the concept of honor. His concern with honor was, of course, seen before Eneados in the 1501 Palice of Honour. in which he explored the various possible paths to honor, only to discover that honor is equivalent to virtue.

The same discovery is recapitulated in the opening stanza of the eleventh prologue in which the reader is told to follow the example of ancient heroes in order to achieve honor; one should detest vice and learn virtue in order to win "wirschip" (XI, Pro., 7-8). Of those heroes who should be emulated to achieve the honor accorded to virtue, the prime example is Aeneas. His striving for an earthly kingdom should be devoted to obtaining the eternal kingdom. The quest for honor in Christian terms should match that of the pagans who "for sa schort renown warryn so bald" (XI, Pro., 196). Despite this disavowal of temporal fame, one cannot help suspecting that Douglas would do much even for "sa schort renown." In the Conclusio following Book XIII he borrows from Ovid the concluding lines of the Metamorphoses on lasting fame (XV, 871-79). He must die but his work will defy fire, sword, and time, and the better part of him will live perpetually.

> Throw owt the ile yclepit Albyon
> Red sall I be, and sung with mony one.
> (Conclusio, 11-12)

Here I am getting ahead of myself, but the point is obvious: Douglas is not indifferent to his own earthly reputation.

Such a concern with the value of earthly glory carries over to the opening of Book XI itself, as it begins with the honor accorded to the slain Pallas. Here Douglas translates expansively the description of the elaborate preparations

for the sacrifice and for bringing the body of Pallas back in state to his father Evander, showing how the world honors earthly glory. The effect is to emphasize temporal works and rewards. Douglas speaks of heaven in his prologue, but as he returns to his text his primary allegiance is to this life.

Invocation to Holiness

As if to counter his own secular tendencies, Douglas includes in his eleventh prologue stanzas of specific instruction on how to be a true Christian soldier. This step-by-step approach resembles part of the later meditational technique elaborated by such men as Fray Luis de Granada (1554) and St. Francois de Sales (1609), corresponding to their preliminary "composition of place" or "proposing."[1] This is the way to put your mind to holy things:

> Thynk on the haly marthyris at ar went,
> Thynk on the payn of hell, and endless glor,
> Thynk quhou thy Lord for the on rude was rent,
> Thynk, and thou fle fra hym, than art thou schent,
> Thynk all thou sufferis ontyll hys paynis nocht is,
> Thynk with quhou precyus pryce as thi sawll bocht is,
> And ay the moder of grace in mynd enprent.
> (XI, Pro., 106-12)

These and other lines present a list of specific items for contemplation as a how-to-do-it for thinking holy thoughts.

[1]Martz, pp. 5-6, 30-31.

Such methodical advice on the pursuit of holiness is directed to Douglas's audience, but at the same time he himself can make use of his own procedural suggestions.

Ultimately Douglas is an orthodox and believing Catholic, who is here with all the strength of his will putting himself on the side of "spiritual chivalry." This eleventh prologue, occurring significantly in the middle of four books of battle, is integral to the development of the translation. In the face of vividly depicted physical conflict, Douglas feels compelled to re-state the legitimate Christian struggle, virtue against vice, and Christ against the Devil. It is for this reason that he chooses chivalry as his subject. Yet in addition to orthodox theology and ethics, there does remain that underlying disturbing element--Douglas's own worldliness. In this personal respect the eleventh prologue resembles the seventh "winter" prologue and the thirteenth prologue; it is an effort at self-persuasion. Just as in the winter and Mapheus Vegius poems, Douglas is here externalizing a debate within himself.

In Books IX through XII the translator strongly suggests his belief in Aeneas's political objectives and the methods employed to obtain them. Then in the midst of that pagan struggle, Douglas relaxes his commitment to the

world of Aeneid in order to reassert the values by which he feels he ought to live. Because he is humanly complex, his allegiances cannot be total. Again, it is the translator's uncertainties and personal involvement in the issues at stake which give to his translation much of its warmth and movement.

CHAPTER X

PROLOGUE XIII: JUSTIFICATION BY ENCOUNTER

Book XII - The Aeneid Concluded

At the end of Book XII of the Aeneid, Aeneas finally kills Turnus,

> and tharwithall
> The cald of deth dissoluyt hys membris all.
> The spreit of lyfe fled murnand with a grone,
> And with disdeyn vnder dyrk erth is goyn.
> (XII,xiv, 151-54)

We recognize the familiar sense of finality, the relief of conclusion. The struggle has reached the necessary end, and we do not expect any more details. So too, Gavin Douglas thinks he has finished his work of translation. It is clear that he feels done because after the death of Turnus in this final passage, he adds two short verses by way of personal signature.

First he lists his literary production, including the newly completed translation. "Heir the translatour of this buk makis mensioun of thre of hys pryncipall warkis." After this listing, Douglas concludes with a sort of puzzle on his own name,

> To knaw the naym of the translatour.
>
> The GAW onbrokkyn mydlyt with the WYNE,
> The DOW ionyt with the GLASS rich in a lyne:
> Quha knawys nocht the translatouris naym,
> Seik na forthar, for lo, with litill pyne
> Spy leill this verss: men clepys hym swa at haym.

GAW + WYNE DOW + GLASS has signed his name to his work,

ending with his usual colloquial touch: here is what he is called "at haym." He has succeeded in translating all of Virgil's Aeneid into Scottish and deserves to be pleased.

The Change of Mind

At this late date it is impossible to be sure what happened between the end of Book XII and the start of Book XIII. Why did Douglas change his mind and go on? Perhaps his patron or somebody else important made the suggestion, or perhaps he decided that for popular vernacular appeal he would do better to include the fifteenth-century additional book. My own guess is that despite his own regard for the classics and his better critical judgement, he himself had a certain fondness for the spurious thirteenth book with all its additional circumstantial detail and affinities with the medieval romances. Also, he is not indifferent to popular appeal. Whatever the reason, after all the concluding flourish at the end of Book XII, he follows with Mapheus Vegius's Book XIII.

The Movement of Nature to Rest

The prologue to this thirteenth book, while it is often regarded separately as one of the three "nature" prologues, is actually an elaborate and rather humorous justification

for the inclusion of Book XIII itself. Unlike the long May-garden description at the start of the twelfth prologue, this scene opens with the speaker present. The initial description is of what he himself sees as he walks through the fields.

> Towart the evyn, amyd the symmyris heit,
> Quhen in the Crab Appollo held hys sete,
> Duryng the ioyus moneth tyme of June,
> As gone neir was the day and supper doyn,
> I walkyt furth abowt the feildis tyte,
> (XIII, Pro., 1-5)

The poet describes the natural delights, including

> byrdis and byssy beys,
> In amerant medis fleand est and west,
> Eftir laubour to tak the nychtis rest.
> (XIII, Pro., 8-10)

The idea of rest after labor is central to the total significance of the prologue. From this point on, Douglas's skillful and complete nature-painting takes on a particular focus. The sun begins to set and "The day to dyrkyn, declyne and devaill" (XIII, Pro., 30). The atmosphere changes as the mist rises and fog settles over the shadowy landscape. He concentrates on the animals preparing for the night:

> Vpgois the bak with hir pelit ledderyn flycht,
> The lark discendis from the skyis hycht,
> Syngand hir complyng sang, efter hir gyss,
> To tak hir rest, at matyn hour to ryss.
> (XIII, Pro., 33-36)

At fall of day,

> euery thing, quharso thame lykis best,
> Bownys to tak the hailsum nychtis rest
> Eftir the days laubour and the heyt.
> (XIII, Pro., 45-47)

They all follow their natural inclination which is wholesome; all rest after labor. The universal movement to rest includes even the minute creatures, such as "Laboryus emmotis, and the bissy beys" (XIII, Pro., 58). Having fully stated the pervasiveness of rest, Douglas mentions the exception of the nightingale. He describes himself as sitting down in the garden to hear her song. Thus he is still another exception to the rule of general repose. Once seated in the garden, he is touched by the peace of the night and the beauty of the bird's song in the silent moonlight. As he slips into sleep, it becomes clear that all the nature-painting of the opening 75 lines of the prologue has served as introduction to a kind of dream-vision. Within the natural order of the universe all sleep after a day of labor, and the poet, after months of translating Virgil's twelve books of the Aeneid, falls asleep. He too has earned his rest, it seems. Yet his wandering in the garden suggests that something more might be expected.

The Apparition

It appears

> schortly, thar as I was lenyt doun,
> For nychtis silens, and this byrdis sovn,
> On sleip I slaid, quhar sone I saw appeir
> An agit man, (XIII, Pro., 73-76)

The man who appears to the sleeper turns out to be Mapheus Vegius. From this point on, Douglas's prologue is an

explanation of the circumstances which lead him to add the thirteenth book to his translation.

While it occurs in the conventional context of a dream vision, the encounter between Gavin Douglas and Mapheus Vegius has many unusual elements. Within the tradition of dramatic and didactic personal appearances in dream, there is a kind of sub-genre in which the person who appears to the dreamer is specifically another poet. Also not without precedent is the occurrence of disagreement between the dreamer and the apparition. The "other poet" and the element of conflict both contribute to the surprising development of this thirteenth prologue. In it Mapheus Vegius insists that Douglas translate his book as well, and when Douglas protests, Mapheus beats him into submission. Before I discuss this episode in any detail, however, I want to consider a few earlier works with similar or parallel episodes.

The Tradition - Precedents for the Apparition of Mapheus Vegius

In his mid-fourteenth century De casibus virorum illustrium Boccaccio made extensive use of the device of having characters dramatically appear in a sort of vision. The first "fall" he recounts is that of Adam. As he begins thinking of human catastrophes, Adam and Eve present themselves to him and insist on their right to appear in his

work. The dramatic entrance, the presence of active characters with physical bodies, and the outspoken demands are a norm throughout the work.

The source through which Gavin Douglas would have been most familiar with Boccaccio's work was John Lydgate's Fall of Princes, written between 1430 and 1438 and first printed in 1494.[1] This verse rendition was made not from the original but from the expanded French version of Lawrence de Premierfait. The major change besides language, versification and amplification is the transposition from first to third person; Lydgate does not say "I" but "Bochas." He retains the vision technique complete with dramatic interludes.

Some of the characters are aggresive and argumentive. One of these, Brunhildis, Queen of the Franks, appears in disarray to ask why she is neglected. When the author does not recognize her, she protests. He has written of many other women,

> "And among alle thou hast forgete me,
> Wherbi it seemeth thou dost at me disdeyne,--
> List no parcel to writen of my peyne."
> (IX, 180-82)

They disagree over the facts of the matter. Finally, however, although he disavows responsibility for the truth of

[1]John Lydgate, The Fall of Princes, ed. Henry Bergen (London: EETS, 1924-27).

the story, he writes it as she tells it. Thus the character who appears to the author wins out, and the author claims to have been coerced. In this vividly dramatic presentation, conflict is sharpened by repeated details. The humor which attends the dispute seems intended by the writer. These elements of conflict, self-aware humor, and personal justification all show up again in Douglas's thirteenth prologue.

Boccaccio's work, and Lydgate's, contains an interview between poets. Having completed seven books of De casibus, Boccaccio shows himself overcome by lethargy and in a sort of trance. As he is about to quit, Petrarch appears to him. The description of his entrance will be imitated by later writers. Lydgate presents Boccaccio in his uncertainty,

> Atwixe tweyne abidyng thus a while,
> What was to doone in doute he gan fleete,
> Halff withynne & half ouer the stile,
> Koude nat discerne to hym what was most meete,
> Til Fraunceis Petrak, the laureat poete,
> Crownid with laurer, grace was his gide,
> Cam and set hym doun bi his beddis side.
> (VIII, 57-63)

Now Petrarch reproaches Boccaccio for his sloth. At his point the poet as spiritual director who brings his student to blush for shame is reminiscent of Virgil instructing Dante. Petrarch goes on to argue for the value of literature as beneficial to man and increasing the glory of God. He shows the firmness and gentle understanding of the good teacher as he changes

from severity to mildness, urging him to be cheerful and return to work.

Retelling Boccaccio's encounter with Petrarch, Lydgate adds to his translation a convincing personal involvement. The justification for lethargy is more detailed in his version as Lydgate emphasizes the approach of old age, the darkening of sight, and the passing of all worldly things. In this presentation, Petrarch's arguments are much more colloquial in style, freely enlarged at many points. After Lydgate has reiterated all Petrarch's speech to Boccaccio, he adds to the section three stanzas of special interest here. One recapitulates the original ending of the section while the other two add Lydgate's contribution.

> Whan Petrak hadde rehersid this lessoun
> In rebukyng of vicious idilnesse,
> Bochas supprised and meued of resoun,
> Roos from his couche, gan his penne dresse.
> Will ouercam thympotent feeblesse
> Of crokid age, that Bochas vndertook
> For tacomplisshe up his eihte book.
> (VIII, 183-89)

The emphasis on age is picked up in the two additional stanzas, along with a hint to his patron that earthly rewards, perhaps wine, would be most welcome.[1]

> I folwyng aftir, fordullid with rudnesse,
> Mor than thre score yeeris set my date,
> Lust of youthe passid with his fresshnesse;
> Colours of rethorik to helpe me translate

[1]Walter F. Schirmer, John Lydgate: A Study in the Culture of the XVth Century, tr. Ann E. Keep (1952; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), p. 222.

> Wer Fadid awey: I was born in Lidgate,
> Wher Bachus licour doth ful scarsli fleete,
> My drie soule for to dewe & weete.
>
> Thouh pallid age hath fordullid me,
> Tremblyng ioyntes let myn hand to write,
> And fro me take al the subtilite
> Of corious makyng in Inglissh to endite,--
> Yit in this labour treuli me taquite
> I shal proceede, as it is to me dewe,
> In thes too bookis Bochas for to sewe.
> (VIII, 190-203)

Here Lydgate convincingly writes of his fatigue and the difficulties of translation. He is out of wine, out of inspiration, and out of strength, but taking his cue from Petrarch's urging of Boccaccio, he will go on. All the responsibility which Petrarch placed on Boccaccio has descended to the translator. A sense of fatigue like that which overtakes Lydgate will be reflected in the Conclusio to Douglas's translation of Book XIII where he abjures further literary efforts,

> Sen fer byworn is all my childis age,
> And of my days neir passyt the half dait
> That natur suld me grantyn, weil I wait.
> Thus sen I feill down sweyand the ballans,
> Heir I resyng vp zyngkeris observans:
> (Conclusio, 18-22)

Even for the younger man, the approach to the end of a long task carries the reminder of the end of life. Thus like Boccaccio and Lydgate, Douglas uses the dramatic interview, the meeting of the poets, and the personal sense of struggle with an enormous undertaking.

While it is probable that Douglas was very familiar with Lydgate, there is a Scottish work he certainly knew

which parallels parts of the thirteenth prologue. The device of the encounter between writers is used about 1500 by Robert Henryson in the course of his Fables. After the opening prologue, there is a second prologue preceding the tenth fable, "The Lion and the Mouse," whose opening is in the form of the traditional dream-allegory. As if to accommodate to the more northern climate, the May-motif is transformed to June. It is, likewise, a June evening which will provide the setting for Douglas's thirteenth prologue. Henryson sets out to enjoy the pleasures of the month, "And to ane wod I went allone but gyde" (l. 1327). It is necessary that he go alone because the two writers, Henryson and the fabulist Aesop, must meet alone. After two further stanzas of nature description, the heart of the matter is reached; the poet lies down and dreams.

> Me to conserve than ffra the sonis heit,
> Under the schaddow off ane Hawthorne grene,
> I lenit doun amang the flouris sweit,
> Syne cled my heid, and closit baith my Ene.
> On sleip I fell amang thir bewis bene,
> And in my dreme me thocht come throw the schaw
> The fairest man that ever befoir I saw.
> (ll. 1342-48)

The extended description of the garden is all prefatory to the vision. Then the actual description of Aesop himself is rich in detail, exceeding the cloak and laurel assigned to Petrarch.

> His gowne wes off ane claith als quhyte as milk;
> His Chemeis wes off Chambelate Purpour Broun;

His hude off Scarlet, bordourit weill with silk,
On hekillit wyis, untill his girdill doun;
His Bonat round, and off the auld fassoun;
His beird wes quhyte; his Ene wes grit and gray,
With lokker hair, quhilk over his schulderis lay.
(ll. 1349-55)

The apparition is fully visualized in terms of clothing, both color and style. Most suitably, his clothes are "off the auld fassoun." In addition his out-of-date clothing, his miscellaneous accessories, his physical presence, and his stride are well described.

Ane Roll off paper in his hand he bair;
Ane swannis pen stikand under his eir;
Ane Inkhorne, with ane prettie gilt Pennair,
Ane bag of silk, all at his belt can beir:
Thus wes he gudelie grathit in his geir.
Off stature large, and with ane feirfull face:
Evin quhair I lay he come ane sturdie pace.
(ll. 1356-62)

His "geir" includes his necessary writing materials; their explicit description corresponds to the generic naturalism of the fable. His solid tread is well in keeping with the vividly realized world of the fable.

Once Aesop has identified himself, they begin to converse and their interaction is the usual father-son relationship of reverence. Both are extremely amiable.

"O Maister Esope, Poet Lawriate,
God wait, ye ar full deir welcum to me;
Ar ye not he that all hir Fabillis wrate,
Quhilk in effect, suppois thay fenyeit be,
Ar full of prudence and moralitie?"
"Fair sone" (said he), "I am the samin man."
God wait, gif that my hert wes merie than.
(ll. 1377-83)

The sense of ease displayed by Aesop and Henryson in this interview is unlike the Boccaccio-Petrarch meeting because Aesop has not appeared to the dreamer in order to chide him. By contast, the Douglas-Mapheus Vegius meeting is more colloquial but ultimately less amicable.

By two mild request, Aesop is prevailed upon to tell a fable. "'I grant' (quod he), and thus begouth ane taill" (l. 1404). Here Henryson goes directly into the opening, as "Ane Lyoun at his Pray war foirrun..." and so onward. Thus the prologue is closely integrated with the text, leading, after preliminary justification, directly into it. The prologue raises and answers the problem of secular literature, asserting that fables, "suppois thay fenyeit be, /Ar full of prudence and moralitee." The poet may learn from Aesop "Sum thing thairby heirefter may availl" (l. 1403). The prologue is also interesting from the point of view of one writer urging another to carry on his trade. This urging looks back to Petrarch's insistence that Boccaccio complete his work, but here it is the apparition rather than the dreamer who is urged to write. In Douglas's prologue, it is, of course, the dreamer who is vigorously urged by the apparition.

The Encounter Between Poets in Douglas

It is not certain that Henryson or Douglas would have known the relevant passages in Boccaccio, but both would have

known Lydgate, and, most important, Douglas certainly knew Henryson's work. When in the prologue to the thirteenth book of the Aeneid, he presents such an encounter between writers, Douglas clearly echoes Henryson's meeting with Aesop.

Douglas too starts in the context of the dream vision, also in the month of June. Both imitate the rhetorical opening of the Canterbury Tales with astrological references and nature description, but in Douglas's poem the nature description becomes predominant. He writes of the sunset, the darkening air, and the animals going to rest, all of which occupies the first seventy lines of the poem. While these lines most generally discussed and valued, the more than half of the prologue remaining is much more important to the work as a whole. It is the encounter between poets which relates to the inclusion of Book XIII and Douglas's view of the worth of the entire translation.

The meeting must begin with the narrator falling asleep. As he listens to the song of the nightingale, "on sleip I slaid" and "Ane agit man" appears to him. The apparation is initially hostile, asking,

> "Quhat dois thou heir
> Vndyr my tre, and willyst me na gude?"
> (XIII, Pro., 76-77)

Douglas looks up at the strange figure, here described in great detail:

> To spy this ald, that was als stern of spech
> As he had beyn ane medicyner or lech;
> And weill persavit that hys weid was strange,
> Tharto so ald, that it had not beyn change,
> Be my consait, fully that fourty zeir,
> For it was threidbair into placis seir;
> Syde was this habyt, round, and closyng meit,
> That strekit to the grund doun our his feit
> And on his hed of lawrer tre a crown,
> Lyke to sum poet of the ald fasson.
> (XIII, Pro., 79-88)

The man who appears is, like Petrarch, crowned with laurel. Like Aesop, his clothes are out-of-date and he appears "off the auld fassoun." But, unlike Aesop, he is stern and angry. Douglas answers him with respectful reverence, apologizing for any wrong he may have committed, although he has never seen him before. The man, in turn, identifies himself and his work.

> "Knawis thou not Mapheus Vegius, the poet,
> That onto Virgillis lusty bukis sweit
> The thretteyn buke ekit Eneadan?"
> (XIII, Pro., 99-101)

Then, echoing Henryson's Aesop, he adds, "I am the sammyn" (XIII, Pro., 102), and explains the cause of his anger. He is

> "of the na thyng fayn,
> That hes the tother twelf into thy tong
> Translait of new, thai may be red and song
> Our Albyon ile into zour wlgar leid;
> Bot to my buke zit lyst the tak na heid."
> (XIII, Pro., 102-6)

Obviously Douglas feels that it is of value to be known in the British Isles and it is for this reason that he puts such a complaint into the mouth of Mapheus. In his own Conclusio

following Book XIII, Douglas uses these terms to evaluate his completed work:

> Throw owt the ile yclepit Albyon
> Red sall I be, and sung with mony one.
> (Conclusio, 11-12)

Thus Mapheus Vegius and Douglas voice the same concern with lasting earthly fame.

Douglas's Excuses and Misgivings

But once Mapheus has complained that Douglas takes no heed of his book, Douglas portrays himself raising a very different issue. He feels that he should seek pardon not for offending Mapheus Vegius but rather because he has his "tyme mysspendit" (XIII, Pro., 110) on Virgil "And laid on syde full mony grave mater" (XIII, Pro., 112).[1] If he were to translate any more, people would think he was truly wasting his time. Such lingering doubts are the counterpart to his repeated avowals concerning the moral worth and theological validity of Virgil's poetry. Douglas remains ambivalent about his double role as priest and poet.

Then Douglas raises a second objection, this one arising from his classical scholarship and critical judgement. Here he ascribes his doubt to certain unidentified people.

[1]R. L. Mackie reports, "On 27 February 1511 he (Douglas) admitted that he had neglected to celebrate the Mass of the Holy Blood, and bound himself, along with the other prebendaries, to have it celebrated every Wednesday, under penalty of a fine to be paid to the confraternity." King James IV of Scotland, A Brief Survey of his Life and Times (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958), pp. 182-83.

> Als, syndry haldis, fader, trastis me,
> Zour buke ekit but ony necessite,
> As to the text accordyng neuer a deill,
> Mair than langis to the cart the fift quheill.
> (XIII, Pro., 115-18)

While the wheel comparison is lifted from Ascensius's commentary, Douglas shares the sentiment. He is enough of a classicist to know that Mapheus Vegius's book is extraneous to the genuine Aeneid. Because he knows that its inclusion is improper, he has created the whole encounter with Mapheus as a means to justify it. This objection receives only passing mention, however, because in actuality the inclusion of Book XIII fits into Douglas's own reading and interpretation.

The problem of secular literature bothers Douglas more than the question of the spurious additional book. He returns to it by way of Saint Jerome and his misgivings concerning pagan literature. Even after Jerome turned to monasticism, he could not give up his love for the classics. When excessive reading led to illness and fever, he had his famous dream in which the spirit of God accused him of being a "Ciceronian" instead of a Christian. Jerome penitently vowed to stay away from secular books. He reports the dream and its aftermath in letter xxii:

> Nor was that a sleep, or a vain dream such as often beguiles us. My witness is that awful judgment that I so feared. May it never be my lot to pass through a like ordeal again. I testify that I wore livid marks upon my shoulders, that I felt the blows after sleep left me, and that I

> studied divine books thereafter with a zeal far greater than that with which before I had read the works of mortals.[1]

Douglas refers to this episode with particular emphasis on the blows on Jerome's shoulders.

> I wait the story of Iherom is to zou kend,
> Quhou he was dung and beft intill hys sleip,
> For he to gentilis bukis gaif sik kep.
> (XIII, Pro., 122-24)

As if the example of Jerome were not sufficient, Douglas goes on to quote a psassage from Psalm xiv concerning the corruption of men and the works of men.

To all of these religious qualms, Mapheus is scornfully unsympathetic. He calls him a rogue for attempting to escape with such excuses,

> As all for consciens and devoit hart,
> Fenzeand hym Iherom forto contyrfeit,
> Quhar as he lyggis bedovyn, lo, in sweit!
> (XIII, Pro., 134-36)

Having questioned Douglas's sincerity by accusing him of counterfitting Jerome-like doubts, Mapheus goes on to assert the Christian worth of his own work. If Douglas has devoted so much time to Virgil, "a gentile clerk,/Quhy schrynkis thou with my schort Cristyn wark?" (XIII, Pro., 139-40). Though he and Virgil have written poetry and not philosophy, "My buke and Virgillis morall beyn, bath tway" (XIII, Pro., 142). Therefore the translator should "len me a fourteyn nycht" (XIII, Pro., 143) and translate his book as well. The specific

[1]E. K. Rand, Founders of the Middle Ages (1928; New York: Dover, 1957), p. 107.

suggestion of two weeks is interesting as it may reveal something about the pace at which Douglas works.

Coercion and the Tradition Distorted

Mapheus demands that the poet allot two weeks to his thirteenth book, or else, he threatens, "Thou salt deir by that evir thou Virgill knew" (XIII, Pro., 145). But this apparition does more than merely threaten. In a dramatic wrenching of tradition, Douglas leads him into action.

> And, with that word, doun of the sete me drew,
> Syne to me with hys club he maid a braid,
> And twenty rowtis apon my riggyng laid.
> (XIII, Pro., 146-48)

Mapheus beats Douglas until

> "Deo, Deo, mercy," dyd I cry,
> And, by my rycht hand strekit vp inhy,
> Hecht to translait his buke, in honour of God
> And hys Apostolis twelf, in the number od.
> (XIII, Pro., 149-52)

Beaten into submission, Douglas promises to translate the thirteenth book and assuages his doubts by finding figurative religious meaning in the number thirteen, God plus the twelve apostles.

Mapheus's aggressive disputation here is less like Boccaccio's Petrarch than his Brunhilde. The comedy of unexpected and inappropriate behavior is deliberate. The scene is almost a perversion of the tradition of the "reproachful beloved" returning to chide her sleeping lover,

as here the returning writer attacks the dreaming poet with a club. Yet the distortion is successful because the comedy is supplemented by the more serious Jerome story and both aspects arise naturally from the traditional dream-vision. The "reproachful beloved" is a mentor and ideal who often reprimands the sleeper "impatiently, or humorously, or even angrily."[1] Mapheus Vegius is indeed impatient and angry, and Douglas is rather humorous in his search for justification.

In this prologue Douglas has deliberately followed Henryson while incorporating elements from Lydgate or Boccaccio. The encounter between writers has taken on the drama of dispute. Traditionally the dead writer is loved and revered, and his message is spiritual. In Henryson the apparition is rather more of this world. Finally, in Douglas, the apparition heaves up a very material club and carries the day not by divine inspiration but by twenty solid blows across the back. Thus, for his own purposes, Douglas makes great change in the set form.

Dawn - The Return to Work

Having given his promise, the translator awakes to the beginning of a beautiful summer dawn. The birds start to sing, the light returns, and

[1]Peter Dronke, Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), p. 91n.

> Sone our the feildis schynys the lycht cleir,
> Welcum to pilgrym baith and lauborer;
> (XIII, Pro., 169-70)

We are back to Douglas's famous nature-painting, but with a difference. The delicately portrayed dawn restores activity to the world of men. The cattle herder calls to his boy, the housewife "clepis vp Katheryn and Gill" (XIII, Pro., 175), and the world returns to work. Douglas too has promised to return to his task, and in his translation he is both pilgrim and laborer, hard at work and hoping for moral benefits.

Douglas will keep his promise and hopes soon to "cloyss our buke, / That I may syne bot on grave materis luke" (XIII, Pro., 187-88). Even near the conclusion of his translation, he remains plagued by moral doubt about the suitability of his task. Perhaps, after all, it is not proper for him as a Catholic priest. That question still remains unresolved.

The Choice of Popular Success

Finally Douglas gives up on the moral dilemma and returns to the less ambiguous values of his translation. He will include Book XIII even though it is unVirgilian, since "Full weill I wayt my text sall mony like" (XIII, Pro., 190). Certainly earthly success appeals to him. Also, while scholars may object to the inclusion of Book XIII, Douglas claims that in his vernacular translation Virgil and Mapheus come out the same. Here he is indeed correct as will be

apparent in considering Book XIII itself. His translation of the thirteenth book is very much in the spirit of the first twelve books.

Douglas, of course, is referring to the identity in language,

> Sen eftir ane my tung is and my pen,
> Quhilk may suffyss as for our wlgar men.
> (XIII, Pro., 191-92)

He writes as he speaks, in the Scottish vernacular "braid and plane," and therefore his translation will be understood by the ordinary man. Ultimately he sides with Mapheus on the inclusion of Book XIII; having created a fictional external compulsion, he then defends his "forced" decision. The dominant motivation becomes the attraction of his work for a wider audience. It may not be moral, it may not be classical, but it will be popular.

> Lat clerkis ken the poetis different,
> And men onletterit to my wark tak tent.
> (XIII, Pro., 195-96)

Douglas would have liked to be done, but having accomplished so much he will give the project another two weeks. The thirteenth prologue becomes more than an exercise in nature-description, fine as that is; instead it is an elaborate justification and excuse for the pursuit of popular success.

CHAPTER XI

BOOK XIII: EARTH AND HEAVEN

The Need For A Continuation

When Douglas translates the last book of Virgil's Aeneid, he stays relatively close to his original. Aeneas kills Turnus to avenge the slain Pallas, but the deed is performed without triumph. There is as much pain as glory in the last moments of the poem. A recent Virgil scholar notes this:

> For it is the paradox of the Aeneid, the surprise of its greatness, that a poem which celebrates the achievement of an exemplary hero and the founding of Rome itself should be a long history of defeat and loss.[1]

He goes on to comment that this extended suffering "might have been made to seem more endurable were it consummated or justified somehow in a final triumph."[2] Obviously the final killing of Turnus is not triumphant and does not provide emotional or philosophical justification for the preceding hardship.[3]

As Suetonius and others report, the Aeneid was left

[1]Wendell Clausen, "An Interpretation of the Aeneid," Virgil, ed. Commager, p. 82.

[2]Clausen, p. 84.

[3]Another critic says of the ending: "The hopes, intermittently entertained, that Rome's golden destiny provides a cosmic answer for man's problems and sufferings do not come to triumphant fulfilment at the end." Robert D. Williams, Virgil (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 29.

uncompleted at the time of Virgil's death, a death precipitated by a voyage to the sites of his epic. Virgil had anticipated spending an additional three years revising and polishing his work, even requesting that it be destroyed should he die before its completion.[1] None of the projected changes, however, would have been likely to alter the nature of the ending. The ambiguity of the final triumph is essential to the nature of the whole and allows of no one-sided resolution. Most fittingly, Virgil's conclusion is characterized by restraint and artistic chastity. He neither explains nor promises. That which was necessary has been accomplished, and its implications need not be developed further.

Such classicism, such literary control is completely contrary to medieval artistic expectations. The knowledge that Virgil had meant to do more served, however, as an invitation to continuation, not necessarily in the spirit of the original. It was the urge to know "what happened next" that made Mapheus Vegius's thirteenth book popular. Readers in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were unsatisfied with breaking off at the death of Turnus.

[1]Suetonius, p. 478.

Instead they experienced an emotional need for ultimate triumph, justification, and consummation.[1] Even if such reconciliation is nowhere present in Virgil, its absence is troublesome to a certain kind of reader. It is not for nothing that the fairy tales tell us how the prince and the newly won princess live happily ever after. The naive desire for more details and a happy ending operates along with a compulsion to Christianize a poem with potentially dangerous pagan elements. If one considers both of these needs, Mapheus Vegius seems inevitable. There had to be a continuation, which seems preordained to follow the course it does.

"Medievalizing" In Books I-XII

Even before the end of Virgil's twelve books, however, the translator has been indulging his own and his expected audience's need for more detail. All of the vividness and greater concreteness are part of the same desire for completeness. The attempt to give as full a picture as possible

[1] Clausen finds similar needs in certain modern readers: "It is a measure of Virgil's greatness that he withstood the temptation to sentimentality; for it is a temptation which those who write or talk about the Aeneid rarely withstand. 'All had fought well and, according to their best lights, justly. (This is how one critic Moses Hadas writes about the end of the Aeneid.) All bitterness and passion was now laid at rest, and all could now join hands as comrades and together walk to meet the shining future.' This is sentimental: at the end of the Aeneid there is no clasping of hands, no walking together towards the shining future." pp. 86-87.

has led at many points to expansion of the original. Such expansion is given to aspects of scene, character and emotion. In Book XII in particular Douglas emphasizes those elements which would meet the expectations of a contemporary audience. When Aeneas and Turnus are scheduled to meet in individual combat, before the breaking of the treaty, Douglas gives an explicit description of the preparation of the lists. Instead of Virgil's simple "parabant" (XII, 117), the translator tells how they "The grund myssouris, evynnys, dichtis and planys" (XII,iii, 8). In other words, he details the various physical steps involved in laying out the field of combat. This and similar details are part of Douglas's elaborate visualization.

Just as action is more fully described, so too the characters in the poem are presented more fully. Of such expanded presentations that of Lavinia in Book XII is most important for the thirteenth book. In the Aeneid as conceived by Virgil, the winning of Lavinia is simply an aspect of the winning of Italy itself; she is not so much a person as a symbol. When at the conclusion Aeneas kills Turnus, the reader understands that as a result of his victory Aeneas will marry her but that the match is an essentially political consummation. When, however, Douglas portrays Lavinia in Book XII, she becomes more than a symbol for Italy.

Instead she is presented as a living and desirable young woman. Describing her role in Virgil's conception of his poem, a recent critic writes:

> Lavinia, Aeneas' destined bride, is little more than an eponym for the Italian land, Lavinium, and the dimness with which she is characterized is deliberate. We are meant to realize how faint Aeneas' future as an individual will be.[1]

Such dimness is all very well for a symbol, but for a young woman who is to be converted into a romance heroine it will not do. Thus the translator, availing himself of all the descriptive details in the original, gives his reader the expected medieval maiden. Even as Amata spurs the ill-fated Turnus into battle, Lavinia listens and blushes in appropriate modesty and beauty.

> Lavinia the maid, with soir smert,
> Hyr moderis wordis felt deip in hyr hart,
> So that the rud dyd hyr vissage glow,
> And full of terys gan hyr chekis strow;
> The fervent fyre of schame rysys on hie,
> Kyndland mar large the red culloryt bewte,
> So that the natural heit the blude dyd chace
> Our all the partis of hir quhitly face;
> Quhill that this virgyn, in this wofull rage,
> Syk cullouris rendris from hir fresch vissage,
> As quha byspark wald the quhite evor Indane
> With scarlet droppis or with brovn sangwane,
> Or quhar the scheyn lylleis in ony sted
> War pulderit with the vermel rosys red.
> (XII,ii, 26-40)

[1]Henry Steele Commager, "Introduction," Virgil: A Collection of Critical Essays (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 11.

This Lavinia is worth the winning. One understands that Turnus will die for her, and, more important, it is believable that Aeneas should desire her as well as the alliance she brings. When Douglas translated this description of Lavinia in Book XII, it is probable that he did not intend to add the non-Virgilian continuation, but here as elsewhere, the style and amplitude of the translation lead naturally to the medieval sequel.

There are of course apparently medieval touches throughout the translation. In Book II, the account of the fall of Troy, the townspeople perform ring dances to welcome the wooden horse into the city. In Book VII, Amata leads the women in similar dances and carols. In the visit to the underworld (Book VI), discussed in Chapter five of this paper, the abstract evils at the entrance to hell are translated as embodied personifications resembling those in the three temples of Chaucer's "Knight's Tale" and other works. Similarly, in Book XII, Turnus rushing into battle is compared with "Mavors" and his steeds of war, as

> gemit ultima pulsu
> Thraca pedum circumque atrae Formidinis ora
> Iraeque Insidiaeque, dei comitatus, aguntur:
> (XII, 334-36)

In the translation, the noise of his chariot is added to that of his horses, and the abstractions surrounding the god are made into fuller personifications:

> And, with the dyn of thar feyt and hys cart,
> All Trace gronys onto the ferthar part;
> Abowt hym walkis, as hys godly feris,
> Dreid with paill face, Debait, and mortale Weris,
> The Wraith, and Ire, and eik fraudfull Dissait,
> Lyggyng vndir covert at enbuschment or await--
> (XII,vi, 63-68)

The extended personification of Deceit and the rest becomes more vivid and familiar. These accompanying spectres serve as a prophecy of Turnus's bloody deeds and ultimate fate. It is for him that these "weris" prove mortal. These examples from Book XII, the construction of the lists, the description of Lavinia, and the evil forces accompanying Turnus into war, all show the translator's desire to amplify his material. In view of Douglas's tendency to always give more than the original, his inclusion of Book XIII is ultimately to be expected. Despite his concluding material following Book XII, despite his resistance to the urgings of Mapheus, it is Douglas who decides to translate Book XIII. The additional book is fundamentally congenial to his own reading of the Aeneid. The fullness of his translation embodies the fullness of his own mental and emotional recreation of the poem, for the subtle restraint of Virgil is far from Douglas's own poetic methods and sensibilities.

Book XIII

In translating Mapheus Vegius's thirteenth book, Douglas maintains the same rate of expansion as throughout

the second half of the Aeneid, that is, he consistently more than doubles the number of lines in the original. Except in the scenes of celebration he does not, however, add the same kind of new detail in this book. The expansion comes rather from a leisurely and comfortable flow of the verse. His style of translation here is expansive for ease in translation and in rhyme. While he has inflicted on himself the work of including the additional book, he seems to be fatigued at doing still more when he might have been free. Like the letterwriter, his translation was so long because he didn't have time to write a shorter one.

But fatigue is not the only reason that Douglas does not greatly modify Mapheus's work. More important, he does not need to, because the thirteenth book as it stands fits easily into his version of the Aeneid. Because Mapheus Vegius did not die until 1458, and because he wrote in Italy where the Renaissance was more advanced than in Douglas's Scotland, he and Douglas were, in a rough fashion, contemporaries. Whereas many of Douglas's alterations in the first twelve books are intended to make Virgil's poem clearer and more up-to-date, there is little need for such changes in Book XIII. As it stands it is relatively accessible to Douglas's intended audience and needs only to be made Scottish.

Virgil's Aeneid and Book XIII As Medieval Romance

In many instances apparent medievalization is modernization. What strikes a twentieth-century reader as "medieval" is in fact closer to the early sixteenth-century reader than is the classical society intended by Virgil. Douglas's up-dating creates an effect somewhat like that of the medieval romances; the result is less "realism" than an idealization of contemporary life.[1] Contemporary experience is heightened and glamorized, leading to something very like the novels of "high life," or the "silver-fork" transformation of reality. In part it is the nature of the epic to give such a heightened version of classical heroic warfare, the subject matter of what Douglas in his ninth prologue called the "stile heroicall." As is apparent in Douglas's translation of the battle books, Virgil's "heroicall" material is reshaped to the Scottish model of battle poetry. There is more blood and more mud, but there is also more beauty, as the troops move forward with banners in gorgeous array. Thus many aspects of the poem are "modernized" or made local in order

[1]"In fact, the romances were partly popular, because, unlike so much of the Latin literature known to medieval readers, they were up to date in their ideas and their properties." Dorothy Everett, "A Characterization of the English Medieval Romances," Essays on Middle English Literature (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 6.

to create the immediacy of verisimilitude. Despite the anachronisms, despite the distortion of Virgilian intention, or perhaps because of them, the Scottish poem rushes into life.

The intensifying of overt emotionalism and social glamor carried out in the translation of the first twelve books reaches new heights in Book XIII. Just as the Latin verses of Mapheus are looser than those of Virgil, so there is greater emotional and narrative indulgence. Pathos is more pathetic and festivities more festive.

Pathos in Book XIII

In the Nisus-Euryalus episode and elsewhere in the previous books, Douglas emphasizes a particular kind of pathos. He is less susceptible to subtle and abstract sadness than is Virgil, he is not so much moved by the tears in things; instead he responds most deeply to the loss of the young and the beautiful. Thus he elaborates successfully on the scene in which Euryalus is mourned by his abandoned mother or on the death of Pallas and the return of his corpse to the country of Evander. Like Virgil, Mapheus has used motifs from the Iliad, and to both writers Douglas adds a Homeric intensity. The mourning of the old for the premature death of the young is again elaborated in Book XIII in the lamentations for slain Turnus.

As the Rutulians loudly bewail the fate of their leader, the old king Latinus silences them and speaks at length on the death of Turnus and the vanity of his strivings. The speech itself which I shall discuss toward the end of this chapter is a sort of sermon, crucial to the total significance of the poem, but much of it is specific regret for the death of a brave and handsome young warrior. It also serves as prelude to sending the corpse home to Ardea, the city of Turnus's father, Daunus. As the procession moves sadly forward, Mapheus describes the Rutulian chieftains and other marchers

> tum extera pubes
> Flens sequitur, largisque humectat pectora guttis.[1]
> (XIII, 197-98)

In his translation of these lines, Douglas augments the company and the tears.

> The remanent syne of the haill barnage
> Followys wepand, knycht, swane, man and page,
> With habundans of mony trigland teyr
> Wetand thar brestis, wedis and other geir.
> (XIII,iv, 21-24)

Even as the procession approaches Ardea, that city bursts into flame, in token of the death of Turnus. The citizens flee like ants, "Baith heir and har, and wist not quhar away" (XIII,iv, 91). Frightened, they call on heaven, but Daunus, knowing his son must be dead, calls, Douglas adds, "maist of

[1]All Latin quotations from Book XIII are taken from the text printed in Anna Cox Brinton's Maphaeus Vegius and his Thirteenth Book of the Aeneid.

all, allace and weil away!" (XIII,iv, 92). As Fame reports the death, "Turnus exanimem, et letali vulnere victum," (XIII, 246), the translation carries pathos in the sound of the verses:

> And Turnus lyfless laid with mortal wond,
> In feld discomfist, slane and brocht to grund.
> (XIII,v, 7-8)

This sort of alliteration and repetition continues throughout the scene in which Daunus receives his son's body. In Mapheus, Daunus exclaims "Heus mortem obscuram" (XIII, 284), which Douglas renders, "Allace, detestabill deth, dyrk and obscur!" (XIII,v, 85). Here the translation makes good use of the resources of Scottish poetry to emphasize the pathos inherent in the Latin. Because Mapheus's rather sentimental approach is basically congenial to Douglas, in Book XIII he indulges himself in lamentation.

Festivities

But it is not only sadness to which Douglas responds. A major aspect of the Aeneid and its continuation which is consistently emphasized by Douglas is that of public gatherings, feasts, and celebrations. In such scenes the translator generally gives original details which add color, taste, sound, or texture to the festivities. This sort of expansion occurs in the original books in Dido's banquet and in Evander's entertainment for Aeneas. These aspects

are frequent in Mapheus's thirteenth book with its lavish banqueting and celebration. The book offers Douglas happy scope for such elaboration, all culminating in the wedding of Aeneas and Lavinia. The translator is intrigued by this subject and in the fullness of his translation, he easily outdoes Mapheus.

Once Turnus has been honorably carried to Ardea for burial, Book XIII moves on to happier events. As chapter vi opens, the change in mood is marked by the weather.

> The nixt day followyng with hys bemys brycht
> The warld on breid illymnyt hess of lycht.
> (XIII,vi, 1-2)

To arrange the peace and the marriage with Lavinia, Latinus sends to Aeneas a thousand worthy men to escort him back to the city. With them he dispatches orators in the role of ambassadors.

> In robbys lang also, or traill syde govn,
> With thame he ionyt oratouris infeir
> (XIII,vi, 18-19)

This substitution of "Traill syde govn" for Mapheus's "togatos" (XIII, 310) brings the scene immediately up to date, that particular style being a current issue in male and female fashion. The issue is apparently still of burning controversiality in 1538 when Sir David Lindsay composes "Ane Supplicatioun, directit frome Schir David Lyndsay, Knicht, to the Kingis grace, in contemptioun of syde taillis." In this vigorous poem, Lindsay attacks the wearing of wide, long robes as

falsely proud, impractically dirty, and wasteful of good cloth.

> Soverane, I mene of thir syde taillis,
> Quhilk throw the dust and dubbis traillis,
> Three quarteris lang behind thare heillis,
> Expres agane all Commoun weillis. (ll. 13-16)

But, while Lindsay objects to this style as a dirt catcher and an affectation of high social position, his objections would not apply to the ambassadors sent by Latinus. Rather, the dignity and importance which such clothes are meant to suggest are entirely appropriate for the representatives of the king in such an important embassy. Douglas obviously is concerned with political rather than sartorial implications. I devote this much space to the "traill syde govn" only to demonstrate the contemporary nature of the props used in the translation.

Once the embassy has been successful, Latinus prepares his people to welcome the triumphant Trojans; "Inde iubet meritos turba plaudente triumphos" (XIII, 319). In the translation, the welcome is more specifically festive:

> Syne chargit he the pepill our alquhar,
> In ioy, blithness, solace and deray,
> Tryumphe to mak, with myrth, gam and play.
> (XIII,vi, 40-42)

These are qualities of Book XIII in which Douglas particularly delights, and the joy and play of the wedding scenes continue to receive special emphasis.

There is a lightness to the scenes which follow. When

Latinus meets Aeneas, their conversation is friendly and--in the translation--even colloquial. Latinus assures Aeneas that it was "mawgre my hed" (XIII,vii, 57) that he was forced into war. What has occurred is no longer of importance; now all will be jubilant.

Those joyous events are presented in a style which alternates between the immediately contemporary and medieval romance. The heading to chapter viii stresses the romance qualities.

> Heir Eneas, that worthy nobill knycht,
> Was spowset with Lavinia the brycht.
> (XIII,viii, heading)

In this chapter, Douglas emphasizes the eager crowd, their delight in the virtuous appearance of Aeneas as he enters the city, and the modesty and beauty of Lavinia. Seeing her for the first time, Aeneas understands why Turnus fought so to win her. Here is the portrait in Mapheus:

> Haec inter, matrum innumera nuruumque caterva
> In medium comitata venit Lavinia virgo
> Sidereos deiecta oculos; quam Troius heros
> Virtute et forma ingentem, mirabile dictu
> Ut vidit, primo aspectu stupefactus inhaesit;
> (XIII, 466-70)

Douglas expands this portrait, mentioning her clothing, stressing the modest downcasting of her eyes, and, finally, intensifying the reaction of Aeneas.

> And tharwithall, of chalmyr by and by,
> With sa gudly a sort and cumpany
> Of ladeis fair and damysellys owned,
> Innumerabill almast, als furth was led

> The fair fresch Lavinia the may,
> Amyd thame schynand in hir ryall array;
> The crystall bemys of hir eyn twane,
> That as the brycht twynkland starnys schayn,
> Sum deill eschamyt, towart the erth doith hald.
> Quham as this Troian prynce first gan behald,
> Of bewte, schap and all afferys, perfay,
> Sa excelland that wondir war to say,
> At the first blenk astonyst half wolx he,
> And musyng hovirris styll on hir to se,
> (XIII,viii, 49-62)

The "crystall bemys" of her eyes, shining like stars, are conventional description of the young woman, but Aeneas's reaction to her his more surprising. Douglas enlarges on the "stupefactus" in Mapheus, as he describes how Aeneas continues to gaze and admire. The Virgilian Aeneas renounces all such personal interest in women from the point when he leaves Dido, but here in this additional book, his susceptibilities are restored to him. He becomes warmer and more human. But Douglas had never really interpreted Aeneas as inhumanly heroic and virtuous, removed from the ordinary sphere of life. In Book V at the conclusion of the slippery footrace, Douglas presented him laughing out loud. Of course, he is brave, noble, just, and so forth, but despite all his didactic role as ideal prince, in the Scottish version he remains a man. Here Aeneas's warm response to the beauty of Lavinia is prerequisite to the gaiety and life of the wedding scenes.

The elaborateness with which Douglas translates the scenes of celebration goes beyond that of Mapheus; in the Latin original the ceremony gets two lines:

> Tum vero aeterno iunguntur foedera nexu
> Connubii, multaque canunt cum laude hymenaeum:
> (XIII, 474-75)

Treating the same event in six lines, Douglas begins by promising to be brief:

> Syne, to abbryge our mater, hand in hand
> Thai war coniunct intill eternall band
> Of matrimonye, and tho at all devyss
> Thar wedlok with honour, as was the gyss,
> Be menstralys and herraldis of gret fame
> Was playd and sung and throw the cowrt proclame.
> (XIII,viii, 69-74)

Having pledged to "abbryge our mater," the translator adds minstrels and heralds to sing the hymeneal songs. Then, with little basis in the original, he adds

> ioy and myrth, with dansyng and deray,
> Full mery noyss and sovndis of gam and play
> (XIII,viii, 75-76)

again tripling the number of lines in Mapheus. The ceremony is followed by an exchange of gifts whose lavishness is still further painted in the translation. Gift-giving completed,

> placido dehinc pectore sese
> Demulcent, variisque trahunt sermonibus horas.
> (XIII, 488-89)

Again the Scottish gives six lines for two, lines replete with echoes from the courtly traditions of the romance:

> Than athir dyd thar dewly obseruans
> With breistis blyth and plesand dalyans,
> To festyng, entertenyr and cheryss
> Thar ferys abowt on the maist gudly wyss:
> With diuerss sermond carpyng all the day
> Thai schort the howris and dryvis the tyme away.

The emphasis on driving the time away recalls classical wedding poems with their frank impatience with the long day.

This theme will be picked up again by Douglas later in Book XIII.

Next in the festivities comes the banqueting, another subject which is not slighted in the translation. Douglas describes the service and expands on the menu, only to add "That all to rakkyn prolixit war to heir--" (XIII,ix, 16); but hear, we do. Describing the general content, he comments in good romance style, "A paradise it was to see and heir" (XIII,ix, 30). The banqueting Trojans and Latins discuss the now-ended war, and Aeneas and Latinus recount the divine ancestors of their peoples; thus they speed the long evening.

The last public event of that evening is the dancing. In Mapheus's version, the description remains generalized:

> Consurgunt Phryges, et cithara resonante sequuntur
> Ausonii, et plausum ingeminant, seque agmine toto
> Permiscent, variantque pedes, raptimque feruntur.
> (XIII, 533-35)

In the Scottish version, the dancing is both translated and nationalized. It is gayer and more recognizable by the intended audience:

> The harpys and the githornys plays attanys;
> Vpstart Troianys and syne Italianys
> And gan do dowbill brangillys and gambatis,
> Dansys and rowndis traysyng mony gatis,
> Athir throu other reland, on thar gyss;
> Thai fut it so that lang war to devyss
> Thar hasty fair, thar revellyng and deray,
> Thar morysis and syk ryot, quhil neir day.
> (XIII,ix, 105-12)

Both the instruments and the dance steps are specified here. The harp is traditional, and in Douglas's time the "githorn"

or cithern, something between a lute and a guitar, was increasing in popularity. It was the instrument of choice for bringing folk tunes into court circles.[1] Like the instruments, the dances themselves are local and contemporary. The "dowbill brangillys" is a variation on the branle or brawl. Because Douglas has so fully envisioned the scene he selects this dance as particularly suitable for an opening. According to the Oxford Companion to Music, "A Branle called the Double Branle, of a processional nature, was much used for the opening of balls."[2] All the dances and steps which follow are of a vigorous and festive nature. The "gambatis" are leaps like those immodest voltes later in vogue with Elizabeth and James VI and I. Rounds are, of course, ring dances, which could move about over the floor, "traysyng mony gatis." Then the dancers are shown reeling "on thar gyss"; here their guise is very much the Scottish guise, as the reel is one of the major national dances of Scotland.[3]

[1]Helena Mennie Shire, Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 231; "A native air, in all probability already provided with words from 'folk' or popular currency, could enter courtly circles as a piece for lute or cittern."

[2]Percy A. Scholes, The Oxford Companion to Music, 10th ed., ed. John Owen Ward (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 276.

[3]"It is one of the two national dances of Scotland, the other being the strathspey; the strathspey is slow, whilst the reel is quick. It is danced by two couples or more." Scholes, p. 867.

Finally there is the morris, popular in England and Scotland. Originally a mummers' dance, it came to be certain vigorous steps during which the dancers wore bells. This would later be the dance of Kemps Nine Daies Wonder from London to Norwich. Here the rejoicers "fut it so" that Douglas claims it would take too long to describe revels which continued long into the night. But before he completes his account of the dancing, he has expanded Mapheus's passing reference to a full and vivid account of the evening's festivities.

Ceremony, feasting, and dancing concluded, Mapheus leaves the celebrating to describe the founding of the new city. Douglas, however, inserts six additional lines concerning the wedding night before he goes on to translate the measuring and building. Perhaps, as Coldwell suggests,[1] he feels even more free to take liberties with Mapheus than he did with Virgil. Having finished with his much-changed description of the dancing, Douglas adds

> Bot forto tellyng quhou with torch lycht
> Thai went to chalmer and syne to bed at nycht,
> Myne author list na mensioun tharof draw--
> Na mair will I, for sik thingis beyn knaw;
> All ar expert, aftir new mariage,
> On the first nycht quhat suldbe the subcharge.
> (XIII,ix, 113-18)

Here the translater is overtly suggestive as he specifies what it is that he will not mention. The torch light carries

[1]Coldwell, I, 262.

classical overtones of Hymen and all the folk traditions associated with the bedding of the bride for the wedding night. There is almost a snicker as he alludes to how "All ar expert." This will be the "subcharge" or second course to the wedding feast; the word has a history of use as an erotic pun.[1] Such an addition and conclusion to the festivities, totally without precedent in the original, reveals much about Douglas himself and about his characterization of pius Aeneas. Here the noble and exemplary prince descends from his superhuman pedestal to participate in the physical realities and joys of the world. Although the gods have commanded him to tear himself from Dido, he has not surrendered his human needs and desires. The symbolic political marriage, aimed at establishing the Roman Empire, reaches a more than abstract consummation. Although the Aeneid is a highly moral and didactic poem, its hero--as he is recreated in the Scottish version--remains vividly and immediately human. So, too, does the translator.

This gratuitous conclusion to the celebration recalls parts of the twelfth prologue in which the erotic intrudes into the aureate beauty of the May garden and persists, through the amorous songs of the birds, to trouble the poet the following dawn. Here, some "hant bawdry and onlesum meyn" (XII, Pro., 210) as they plan to "quynch the lycht" (XII, Pro., 221). Douglas condemns their sexual ambitions as "schamefull

[1]Coldwell, I, 262.

play, /Na thyng accordyng to our hailsum May" (XII, Pro., 225-26), but as the lechery is echoed in the song-birds who awaken him, they so bother him that he must push on quickly to alternate activities. Having conquered the flesh by prayer and discovered that it is too early for mass, he then picks up his pen and devotes himself to work.

Now, toward the end of Book XIII, Douglas allows himself this mild indulgence in the erotic. Less in awe of Mapheus than of Virgil--as witness Prologue XIII--he is tied less closely to his metaphorical stake. Thus his modifications may be more extreme. Furthermore, this time he must surely be nearing the end of his task; there is no Book XIV which anyone could expect him to include. With the approach to freedom, Douglas can relax his self-discipline. Even if it has been inappropriate for him to be poet and sensualist, he is almost done and will soon return to a more appropriate way of life. In the Conclusio directly following Book XIII, he promises "My muse sal now be cleyn contemplatyve" (Conclusio, 16). Writing this Conclusio, he did not anticipate his unfortunate future diplomatic involvement. It was as unexpected as Flodden.

But all of this takes us far from the festivities in Book XIII. Whatever Douglas's erotic interpolation may reveal about his own dilemma as poet-priest, such a "surcharge" to the wedding celebration is totally in keeping with the

vigorous joyfulness with which the occasion is rendered. Having begun the happy conclusion with an elaborate embassy and the portrayal of Lavinia as a modest medieval maiden, he has brought his translation increasingly up-to-date and close to home. The celebration of the triumph, the marriage, and the successful founding of the empire has become a celebration of the fullness of life in the barely-disguised present. Retrospectively one sees that the whole manner of the translation mandates the inclusion of Book XIII. The apparent realism, derived from an immediacy of vision, is an animated recreation of fiction in terms of the living present.

Worldly Empire or Contemptus Mundi

The whole celebration scene is testimony to Douglas's pleasure in life in this world. Yet he himself has repeatedly reminded the reader that such pleasure is doomed. In several of his prologues, Douglas has asserted that "All erdly glaidness fynysith with wo" (II, Pro., 21; see also IV, Pro., 221, and V, Pro., 62) and urged allegiance to heavenly rather than earthly joys. At the same time his delight in earthly pleasures, his patriotism, and his attention to his own future fame suggest a lack of indifference to the joys and values of this life. Whenever he raises this question in the first twelve books, he is interpolating into Virgil an issue by which Virgil seems not to have been bothered. When, however, Douglas gets to Book XIII, he finds the problem anticipated

and worried over for him by Mapheus himself. Because Douglas and Mapheus are both faced with a pagan poem in a Christian age, they inevitably confront a dilemma. In order to resolve this built-in contradiction, Douglas adapts Mapheus's solution, attempting to carry it still further. Yet, despite his efforts at resolution, he remains in a sort of precarious balance between the poet and the priest.

In Book XIII, it is the old king Latinus who serves as spokesman for the vanity of earthly endeavor. As the elder statesman, he takes on a function much like that of Theseus in Chaucer's "Knight's Tale," commenting on the ultimate value of the action and rejecting the false joys and hopes of life. King Latinus's acceptance of this vanity of human life is first suggested in the heading to Douglas's third chapter in Book XIII which sets out to tell

> Quhou Turnus folkis for hym maid sair regrait,
> And Kyng Latyn contempnys his wrachit estait.
> (XIII,iii, heading)

As Latinus hears the laments over the dead body of Turnus, scarcely holding back his own tears, he raises his hand for silence. Then, weeping "from hys hart ruyt waill law" (XIII, iii, 37), he speaks to the hushed crowd. His speech, expanded from 15 lines in Mapheus to 35 in the translation, is a sermon on vanity. Douglas adds to the speech an extended passage alluding to the influence of the wheel of fortune,

expanding Mapheus's phrase "Quo turbine fertur/ Vita hominum!" (XIII, 144-45). In the translation Latinus begins,

> O quhou gret motioun, quhat alteryng onstabill,
> Quhou oftsyss interchangit and variabill
> Beyn the actis and dedis of man!" quod he,
> With quhou gret trubbill, but tranquylyte,
> Is quhirlit abowt the lyfe of man, behald!
> (XIII,iii, 39-43)

Having lamented the general instability of human life, he then goes on to reject worldly ambition with political goals.

> O dampnabill pryde and ambitioun, that wald
> Bruke crovn or ceptre, prowd in thyne entent,
> Quhilk beyn sa fragyll, and not permanent!
> (XIII,iii, 44-46)

To "covat senzeory" (XIII,iii, 48) is damnable pride; the pursuit of such "senzeory" is beset with slights, deceits, hurt, death, distress, torments, harm, wickedness, darts, and swords; it appears sweet but has "the dedly byt" (XIII, iii, 62). And those that achieve "senzeory," the kings, must suffer still more, says Latinus. Here he may be presumed to speak from bitter experience:

> Allace, the sorofull reward in all thyng
> Of realmys, and thame covatis forto ryng,
> Quhilk costis oft na litill thing, but weir.
> Allace, the hevy byrdyng of warldly geir,
> That nevir hour may suffir nor permyt
> Thar possessour in rest nor peax to syt.
> Allace, the miserabill chance and hard estait
> Of kyngly honour sa mysfortunate:
> The chance of kyngis standis onderlowt,
> To mekill dreid ay subiect, and in dowt
> From thar estait to dekey suddanly,
> That all quyet and eyss is thame deny.
> (XIII,iii, 63-74)

To be a king is to be most burdened and subject to misery because those who are elevated are in most danger of falling. Such fearful honors are not worth the winning.

All this meditation on the hard estate of kings has been prompted by the mourning for slain Turnus, and Latinus returns to him in his speech. "O Turnus, quhat avalit the" (XIII,iii, 75), he asks, to begin such a war in violation of promises and treaties? Through willfulness and fury, Turnus has caused the wasting of the city walls and left the surrounding fields strewn with the white bones of the dead. Yet this apparent attack on Turnus is changed into a lament for his slaughtered youth, virtue, and beauty. Mapheus devotes three lines to this "Ubi sunt" regret for Turnus:

> At nunc, Turne, iaces: ubinam generosa iuventae
> Gloria, et excellens animus, quo splendidus altae
> Frontis honos, quonam illa decens it frontis imago?
> (XIII, 177-79)

Because these lines offer to Douglas an opportunity to be more specific and, correspondingly, more pathetic, they are expanded in the translation to eight lines. In the expansion it is the beauty of the dead warrior which receives special emphasis:

> Bot now, Turnus, heir thou lyggis ded:
> Quhar is the nobill renovn of thy zouthed?
> And quhar is thyne excellent hie curage?
> Quhiddir is went thy strenth and vassallage?
> Quhar is the staitly bewty of thy face?
> Quhar is thy schynand figur now, allace?
> Of thy fair vissage quhidder are gone but weir
> Thy plesand forret schaply and eyn cleir?
> (XIII,iii, 121-28)

This traditionally-framed lament for what has been lost exemplifies the previous generalizations. Turnus provides both the impetus and the conclusion for Latinus's entire sermon on the vanity of striving for earthly power and "senzeory." After brief further praise of Turnus, he orders for him "All funerall pomp, eftir the vsage ald" (XIII,iii, 148). Here is the end of earthly glory.

Thus Douglas adopts and intensifies the rejection of the glory of this world with which Mapheus credits Latinus. The fictional Mapheus of the thirteenth prologue has referred to his additional book as "my schort Cristyn wark" (XIII, Pro., 140), and here he does put forth the orthodox Christian contemptus mundi. Such a rejection of the value of earthly kingship and kingdom is, however, in sharp opposition to the glorification of Rome and Augustus intended by Virgil. This original intention is not completely eliminated from Mapheus's Christian continuation of the Aeneid. Even while he underlines the vanity of such earthly empire, he sets forth the founding of that empire and the hopes for its permanence. Thus in the section which Douglas makes his sixth chapter, this same Latinus promises his countrymen order and "aeternam ventura in saecula pacem" (XIII, 318). To secure this lasting peace, he sends forth ambassadors to Aeneas, led by his aged advisor, Drances, to request that the victorious Aeneas enter his city and wed his daughter.

Drances tells Aeneas that it is Latinus's greatest wish

> "That he hys douchter may do wed with the,
> Quhilk of lyn, successioun and lynnage,
> Be that ilk souerane band of mariage,
> Of Troian and Italian blude discent
> Sall childryng furth bryng, quhill the warldis end
> Perpetualy to ryng in hie impyre.
> (XIII,iii, 154-59)

The translation is here more optimistic about enduring empires than is the original; Mapheus writes only, "generique nepotes/ Troianos Italo admixtos in saecula mittat" (XIII, 370-71). Again Douglas is caught in the conflict between rejecting and exalting earthly triumph and achievement. Here he has, for the moment, forgotten that "All erdly glaidness fynysith with wo" (II, Pro., 21).

No final resolution of the conflict is possible, but Mapheus does what he can, and Douglas willingly follows. After Aeneas has ruled successfully and produced the desired offspring, he must inevitably die. As a result of Venus's request to Jove, however, his will not be an ordinary death. Instead he is purified of all traces of mortality and stellified as a god. Such an ending is precariously neither Christian nor pagan. It takes elements from Cicero's "Dream of Scipio," the elevation of the man of civic virtue, and adds the more spiritual viewpoint of Macrobius's Commentary on that work. While Aeneas might well be raised for his role in public life, here there is also an emphasis on his personal virtue. His individual soul undergoes purgation and he is

set up as a moral example for others. Even the concluding lines carry the implicit dichotomy. Aeneas's "happy sawl" (XIII,iii, 73) is carried up to "hevyn," all orthodoxly Christian, and then--the other side--he becomes a god to the Julian line,

> And, in remembrans of this ilk turn,
> Thai gan hys templis wirschip and adorn.
> (XIII,iii, 81-82)

Although all striving for empire may be vanity, it brings to Aeneas lasting earthly fame. Thus Mapheus does not commit himself wholly to an orthodox position, and neither can Douglas.

Still, the final emphasis must be on the rejection of the transient human world. When Jove agrees to Venus's request for Aeneas's elevation, he resembles the Christian God in the terms of his promise; any man who equals Aeneas in virtue and contemns the world will likewise achieve heaven:

> "I sall alsso heich ony of hys kyn,
> Quhilk of thar proper vertu lyst do wyn
> Perpetuall lovyng by dedis honorabill,
> And doith contemp the wrachit warld onstabill;
> Thame in lyke wyss abufe the hevynnys hie
> I sal do place and deify," quod he.
> (XIII,xi, 53-58)

As a poet Douglas is deeply involved with earthly life, but first and always he is a Christian and a man of his time. As he repeatedly asserts, he is no pagan man and does not believe in the pagan gods. Therefore Jove must be God, and the stellification of Aeneas must ultimately be read in

Christian terms. The line "And doith contemp the wrachit warld onstabill" is Douglas's own addition to Mapheus, and here he takes his stand. The world is engrossing, fame is alluring, but they are not stable. What Douglas wrote in 1513 was to be verified only too well for him in the years ahead.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSIONS: DOUGLAS'S CONCEPT AND ACHIEVEMENT

In this monograph I have dealt primarily with the text of the Eneados in order to reach an understanding of Douglas's translation as an integrated production. I have discussed its predominant aspects in the context of those books which best exemplify them.

Because there have been no previous full-length studies which establish an overall reading of the poem, I felt that such a treatment would be a valuable foundation for any further research. Such subsequent work would make use of manuscript and printed sources previous to and contemporary with Douglas, seeking to determine intellectual and literary influences on his translation.

While I hope to explore more of this material at a later date, for the present I have found it most useful to examine the Eneados itself. A careful reading of the text, with special attention to its particularly Scottish characteristics, reveals consistent assumptions and shaping intentions, as well as the poet's underlying personal concerns.

More than a complete translation of Virgil's Aeneid, Douglas's Eneados is a major work in itself. The thirteen prologues and other additional sections reveal the scale on which Douglas conceived his work. He outdoes Caxton not only by greater completeness and accuracy, but by the more

ambitious nature of his total oeuvre. He approaches the Aeneid not only as a work to be translated from Latin to Scottish, but a vision to be physically transported from Rome to Scotland, from paganism to Christianity, and from the past to the present.

Intending such a complete transformation of Virgil's Latin epic, Douglas recreates the poem within an original framework, that of the prologues. Because three of the best-known, the "nature" prologues to Books VII, XII, and XIII, can be seasonally dated, there is a temptation to seek to establish a chronological or month by month sequence to the entire set of prologues. Certainly the seasonal model of Virgil's Georgics or the later Spenserian descendant of the Eclogues, The Shepherd's Calendar, suggests such a possibility. It may be that Douglas began with such a scheme in mind, but if so, he did not adhere to it consistently. In the first place, the completed Eneados has not twelve but thirteen books, and the prologue to that additional book is one of those clearly assignable to a month. Secondly, of the prologues other than VII, XII, and XIII, only VIII has a direct seasonal reference, and that is to "Lent"--here most likely not the period preceding Easter, but a generalized term for Spring. The other prologues offer neither seasonal markers nor clear astrological location. One cannot even

establish a sequence of doctrinal content related to the Church year. Thus the prologues themselves do not lend themselves to schematic cyclical analysis.

After one abandons the attempt to force the prologues into the pattern of a single calendar year, there remains the possibility that they correspond in season to the time of composition of their respective books. In the introduction to the 1710 edition of Douglas's translation, the editor, Thomas Ruddiman, proposes the following schedule:

> This work was compleated in 18 Months, or rather 16, he being for two Months diverted from it by some troublesome Affairs in which he was involved, and finished 22 July 1513, a Month and 17 Days before the fatal Battel of Flowden. So that it was begun in January 1512, and probably betwixt that and December following he met with these two Months of Interruption: For he began the seventh Book in December 1512, the twelfth in May, & Mapheus's Supplement, or thirteenth Book, in June 1513, as the Prologues to these three Books shew us, wherein we have a proof of his vast Fancy and Genius in the lively and natural Descriptions he gives of these three Months: and so the seven last Books took him up only eight Month, whereas ten Months were employ'd on the first six.[1]

This plotting of the course of translation derives from Douglas's own report in the Tyme, space and dait of the translatioun of this buke following the Conclusio and Directioun after Book XIII.

The work was completed on the feast of Mary Magdalen, July 22, in 1513 after having been "for othir gret occupatioun" laid aside.

[1]Douglas, ed. Ruddiman, p. 16.

> It was compylit in auchteyn moneth space;
> Set I feil syth syk twa monethis infeir
> Wrait neuer a word, nor mycht the volum steir,
> For grave materis and gret solicitud,
> That all sik laubour far besyde me stud.
> (Tyme, space and dait, 12-16)

Thus Ruddiman's analysis of the course of translation makes use of the information provided by Douglas and seems probable. The increased speed of the second half may have been due to the haste of misgivings, the simple urge to be finished, or increasing ease in the work of translation, perhaps because of more congenial material. In any case, such a time-table uses all the available information and allows for the seasonal prologues to have been composed at the time in which they are set.

Even if no other overall acheme can be established for the prologues, to demonstrate that the purported months of the nature prologues are indeed the actual months of their composition is highly significant. Such correspondence helps to explain how the descriptions of nature go beyond painting and scene-setting to reflect the poet's immediate state of mind. The nature poem is more than the desired end; it becomes a means by which the poet makes a more personal statement. These prologues set so clearly in December, May and June serve as a kind of diary or autobiography of Douglas's preoccupations as man and artist. The remaining prologue in which Douglas appears as a character, VIII, is also given a setting in time--here Lent would have to be mid-February to

fit the schedule hypothesized by Ruddiman. Again the poet gives to the reader a kind of emotional and intellectual autobiography, as he turns from the false treasure offered by the "selcouth seg" back to his work of translation as "bute" for the social abuses of his time.

The rest of the prologues, those in which the poet is speaker rather than actor, perform a similar function in a different way. As we have seen, Prologue I establishes the context for the entire translation, explaining Douglas's relationships to Virgil, previous translators, his patron, and his wider audience. The subsequent prologues provide interpretive commentary on the books they precede or follow. They concern themselves with the philosophical, theological, and artistic problems inherent in the translated text. Where small additions and changes in the text are inadequate as explanation or Christian transformation, the prologues serve as footnotes and a substitute for elaborate scholarly apparatus. They preclude the need for the additional commentary which, accompanying part of Book I, was added as an afterthought and soon allowed to drop. Douglas seems to have realized quickly that any such commentary was unnecessary since all the information it provided could be easily and more readably inserted in text and prologues. Thus the prologues bridge the gap in time, place, and outlook between Virgil's audience and Douglas's

hoped-for readers. During and even at the end of the eighteen months in which he labored over his Eneados, he could not know how many of those potential readers would die at Flodden.

In addition to their function to make the Aeneid contemporary, the prologues are intended as a display of the resources of Scottish poetry. Their variety of subject matter and verse form constitutes a claim for Scottish as a major language in European literature. Douglas composes the prologues as he translates the text, "Kepand na sudron bot our awyn langage/...as I lernyt quhen I was page" (I, Pro., 111-12). He appears to be the first to refer in writing to that "langage" as "Scottis" (I, Pro., 118) and clearly distinguishes it as more than another form of "Inglys" (I, Pro., 117). Having undertaken the single most extensive work in Scottish, he seeks to establish his native tongue as a vehicle for ambitious literature. His use of stanza-patterns employed by earlier and contemporary national poets, like his references to other works in Scottish, is part of that effort. Thus, whether or not the prologues can be schematically analyzed in chronological or philosophical arrangement, they are of primary importance as Douglas's assertion of his relation to his native language and literary tradition.

Goals and Means

While Douglas's Eneados is a unique achievement in the

literature of Scotland, it is also the first of the great British renaissance translations. Like Hoby, North, and many others, Douglas is a master-translator. Although he goes beyond them in the originality and magnitude of the total work, his approach to the act of translation is not unlike theirs. Much of what Matthiessen writes in the introductory chapter of Translation, An Elizabethan Art applies equally well to the art of Gavin Douglas:

> The translator's work was an act of patriotism. He, too, as well as the voyager and merchant could do some good for his country....
>
> An important thing to remember from the outset is that the Elizabethan translator did not write for the learned alone, but for the whole country. He possessed a style admirably fitted to this end. Popular in the best sense, it took advantage of all the new richness of the language. His diction was racy and vivid, thronged with proverbial phrases, the slang of the streets, bold compounds, robust Saxon epithets, and metaphors drawn from English ports and countryside. ...Perhaps his greatest gift, that which more than any other accounts for the freshness and vigor of his work, was one which he shared with the dramatists of his day. He had an extraordinary eye for specific detail. Whenever possible he substituted a concrete image for an abstraction, a verb that carried the picture of an action for a general statement. The result was an increased liveliness, a heightened dramatic pitch that often carried the words into a realm of imagination and feeling unsuggested by the original. Theoretically there may be no defense for such a method of translating, but in practice it succeeded as no other method could. For it made the foreign classics rich with English associations; it took Plutarch and Montaigne deep into the national consciousness.[1]

Had Douglas's translation of the Aeneid been read more widely in the period and by the audience for which it was

[1]Matthiessen, pp. 3-4.

intended, it too might have caught the national imagination. We know that it influenced Surrey and thus may have been to some extent responsible for the new blank verse, but this is minimal impact for a work which was to have affected Scotland and all of Britain. Nevertheless, those characteristics which Matthiessen finds typical of the Elizabethan translations are clearly and strongly present in Douglas's Scottish translation of 1513. Such vigor, specific detail, and increased liveliness are the most striking qualities of Douglas's work.

Many of Matthiessen's more detailed comments on the individual translators he discusses would apply equally well to Douglas. Of Hoby's good dialogue and energetic verbs in The Courtier, Matthiessen says:

> The result of Hoby's robust manner and his Saxon verbs and epithets is that his book does not have a literary finish to remove it from everyday speech.[1]

Of North's Plutarch,

> North took the whole book from the study to the camp.[2]
>
> Following the lead of Amyot,[3] he modernizes the pagan religion, without worrying about anachronisms...."The Nunne which pronounced the oracles" is his equivalent of "la prophetisse."[4]

[1]Matthiessen, p. 42.

[2]Matthiessen, p. 88.

[3]The French translator of Plutarch.

[4]Matthiessen, p. 89.

Of Florio's Montaigne,

> Florio is really giving footnotes, although he incorporates them in his text.[1]
>
> In countless other cases the introduction of a graphic detail brings a new vividness and intimacy to the plain statement of the idea.[2]
>
> The picture and action of a situation are always uppermost in his mind.[3]

And of Holland's Livy,

> The steady desire for clarity cause him to define a purpose where Livy had left it implied.[4]
>
> He was determined both to make the book easy for the reader, and to bring out its essential qualities to the full. To achieve both these results he faced the necessity of explaining whatever Roman terms and customs might be obscure to the unlettered.[5]

The point is obvious here. Many of those qualities which made for the greatness of the later Elizabethan translations are present in Douglas's Eneados. The changes in diction and expansions of detail which were to be so effective later are employed by Douglas to give the same kind of clarity, color, and immediacy; and his translation was completed in 1513.

[1]Matthiessen, p. 134.

[2]Matthiessen, p. 142.

[3]Matthiessen, p. 145.

[4]Matthiessen, p. 185.

[5]Matthiessen, pp. 203-4.

Something of the special nature of Douglas's version is clarified by comparison with a Scottish reworking about a hundred years later of Books I and IV.[1] Sir William Mure of Rowallan turns these two books into a self-contained three part story. Unlike Douglas, he sees Aeneas's departure as proof that "Their is no truth in men, nor trust in love" (II, 797-98). But while he violates Virgil's "sentens," some of his techniques are reminiscent of Douglas. Emotion is heightened, often by means of alliteration.[2] Furthermore, although Mure "seems to avoid the merely picturesque as much as possible,"[3] certain passages dealing with weather and seafaring are consistently elaborated.[4] Such resemblances between Douglas and Mure suggest that while Douglas's defense of Aeneas is "Virgilian" and his overall approach "Tudor" or "Elizabethan," his frequent alliteration and supplementary nautical detail are characteristically Scottish.

The goals of Douglas's translation can be summarized as educational, patriotic, and personal. The educational task he set himself was both "informational" and didactic. First

[1]Sir William Mure, "Dido and Aeneas," The Works of Sir William Mure of Rowallan, ed. William Tough (Edinburgh: STS, 1898), I, 59-144.

[2]Dido tells Anna, "O how I frye and freize, I faint and feare/ How great a loade, (alace), is love to beare!" (II, 47-48).

[3]Tough, I, xxi.

[4]Dido watches the departure "Of shipps, hulks, galleyes, brigandines and barkes" (III, 235).

he wanted to transmit to the "onletterit" in Latin if not the vernacular, an acquaintance with the story of the Aeneid and classical literature and civilization. Then he wanted to provide moral instruction on religious and political themes. These intentions of elevating the level of knowledge and behavior are necessarily also patriotic, for the advancement of learning and morals would benefit Scotland.

Douglas's patriotic motivations thus include the educational but go beyond them. By incorporating Scottish customs, folklore, and scenery into his Eneados, he seeks to show his own country worthy of major epic poetry. His conversion of Virgil's Italian wars to the military and poetic conventions of Scottish warfare functions as a glorification of that country, because the highest achievements of classical heroic poetry are transplanted to his vigorous native alliterative tradition. Furthermore, it is not only Scottish military poetry which is being identified with ancient valor, but the whole of Scottish literary tradition which is being elevated. The deliberate virtuosity of text and prologues constitutes a claim for the resources and achievements of his native "Scottis." By recreating a classic in his own language, he hopes to give to his nation and its language the dignity and worth of classical civilization.

Finally, Douglas's hope to create a classic for his country is part of a desire for his own success and lasting

fame. While he is deeply patriotic, he is also personally ambitious. Despite his professed awe of Virgil and even the English Chaucer, he wants to join them as a major poet in his own right. His many modest disclaimers of sufficient ability are ultimately over-ridden by his assertions of accomplishment. In the Exclamatioun he declares that while some may criticize, none could do better:

> Quha can do bettir, lat se quhar I forvayt;
> Begyn of new; al thing is gud onassayt.
> (Exclamatioun, 26-27)

Likewise, Florio would tell the "curteus Reader" of his Montaigne,

> If any thinke he could do better, let him trie;
> then will he better thinke of what is done.[1]

Douglas is confident of his success and resulting future recognition. His work will survive beyond his death, and he will continue to be read in Scotland and all of Britain. Even after time and age claim his body,

> The bettir part of me salbe vpheld
> Abufe the starnys perpetualy to ryng,
> And heir my naym remane, but enparyng;
> Throw owt the ile yclepit Albyon
> Red sall I be, and sung with mony one.
> (Conclusio, 8-12)

Thus the deliberate display of poetic virtuosity and the intricate device for justifying the inclusion of Book XIII are both related to Douglas's concern with his own reputation.

[1]Quoted by Matthiessen, p. 118.

The varied techniques and verse forms of the prologues are intended to reveal his capabilities as a major poet, and the pretended coercion by Mapheus serves as justification for his own uncritical affection for that additional book and for its inclusion as a means to popular success. Douglas is never indifferent to public opinion and its recognition of his achievement in the Eneados.

Personal Explanation and Self-Defense

The thirteen prologues and the four additional sections following Book XIII--Conclusio, Direction of the Book, Exclamatioun agaynst detractouris, and Tyme, space and dait--carry aspects of the poet's underlying preoccupations and attempt to defend what he is doing. Even while he claims that he has conveyed all the "sentens" of Virgil, he has consistently modified the basic world view of the Aeneid. Whereas Virgil sets forth the inevitable discrepancies between successful historical and political forces and the personal happiness of the individual, Douglas emphasizes a very different conflict. In his translated Eneados he repeatedly encounters the problem of joy and sorrow, struggle and success in this world, and the ultimate Christian need to reject the forces of life in favor of the world to come.

All the personal concerns which animate text and original poetry are related to this dilemma. The repeated

disavowals of belief in the pagan gods and the inner debates of the self-revealing nature prologues are part of an ongoing confrontation between the poet and the priest. Because Douglas is a man who has an active sensual appreciation of life and has for a time been poet rather than priest, he must convert his work into actively Christian poetry. Thus he continues the tradition of Christianizing Virgil and stresses the social and moral usefulness of his translation. Still, the final sections after Book XIII turn back to the effort at self-justification. As a result of the persistence of his uncertainties, he has not one but four concluding parts to the total work. His impatience to be finished, as expressed in several of the prologues, does not preclude his lingering over the conclusion.

In the Conclusio, having said he will be read throughout Albyon, he turns to a "contemplatyve" life (Conclusio, 16),promising that since he has now lived half his natural life-span, "Heir I resyng vp zyngkeris observans" (Conclusio, 22). But, having characterized his poetry as the "observans" of a young man, he then goes on in the next two sections to assert the worthwhile motivations and results of his work. In the Direction, he tells his patron that this version will be pleasant and profitable to many "For tharin beyn seir doctrynys full notabill" (Direction, 38), that it will help

many to avoid idleness, and that it will be useful "To thame wald Virgill to childryn expone" (Direction, 43). In the Exclamatioun he rejoices that by his labor Virgil will now be read "in owr wlgar tong" (Exclamatioun, 9). Then, addressing himself to his own translation, he claims

> The nedis nocht to aschame of the lycht,
> For I haue brocht thy purposs to gud end:
> Now salt thou with euery gentill Scot be kend,
> And to onletterit folk be red on hight,
> That erst was bot with clerkis comprehend.
> (Exclamatioun, 41-45)

By his work he will have extended Virgil's audience throughout Scotland, to literate and illiterate alike, thus elevating the cultural and moral level of his nation. Thus his long, hard task will be of benefit to many.

The fourth additional passage, Tyme, space, and dait, is again a more personal statement. Having described the time spent on and the interruptions of his work, he requests the reader's careful attention. Like Chaucer and many before him (Troilus and Criseyde, V, 1795-96), he asks that none change his words or meter. His work should stand as it was intended for all posterity. Having defended the legitimacy of his Eneados, Douglas wants to be fairly remembered. If he has temporarily left other "grave materis" (Tyme, space, and dait, 15), the time he has given to poetry has not been lost. "Lo, this is all; now, bew schirris, haue gud day." (Tyme, space, and dait, 26).

But even now, this is not all. After these four extra passages, Douglas adds a translation of the epitaph from Suetonius's life of Vergil:

> Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
> Parthenope; cecini pascua, rura, duces.

Douglas translates the "notabill warkis thre" (Epitaph, 4) as "Of pasturage, and eik of husbandry,/ And douchty chiftanys full of chevalry." The leap from "duces" to the whole expanded notion of chivalry sums up again the changes and questions which Douglas has introduced into his version of the Aeneid. The work is complete, thirteen prologues and books, four concluding sections, and an epitaph; now, the end of the epitaph brings up again the translator's uncertain concept of chivalry, forever suspended somewhere between the earthly and the spiritual.

> Now throw the deip fast to the port I mark,
> For heir is endyt the lang disparyt wark,
> And Virgyll hess hys volum to me lent:
> In sovir raid now ankyrrit is our bark;
> We dowt na storm, our cabillys ar sa stark;
> We have eschapyt full mony perrellus went:
> Now God belovyt hass syk grace tyl ws sent!
> Sen Virgyll beys (wyd quhar in Latyn song)
> Thus be my laubour red in owr wlgar tong.
> (Exclamatioun, 1-9)

This translation succeeds by its vividly dramatic reworking of the original, but, finally, it is the continual presence of Douglas, of his personal doubts and resolutions, which gives such immediacy of life and feeling to his Scottish Eneados. Overcoming the many difficulties along the way, he has succeeded in recreating Virgil in "Scottis."

WORKS CITED

Abrams, M. H. "Structure and Style in the Greater Romantic Lyric," From Sensibility to Romanticism, ed. Frederick W. Hilles and Harold Bloom. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Anon. "The Eneados of Douglas." Times Literary Supplement, 30 December 1960, p. 844.

Aubin, Robert Arnold. Topographical Poetry in XVIII-Century England. 1936; New York: Kraus Reprint Company, 1966.

Barbour, John. The Bruce, ed. Walter W. Skeat. Edinburgh: STS, 1894.

Bloomfield, Morton W. "Chaucer's Sense of History," JEGP, LI (1952), 301-13.

Blyth Jr., Charles Ramsay. "'The Knychtlyke Stile': A Study of Gavin Douglas's Aeneid." Diss., Harvard University, 1963.

Bowra, C. M. From Virgil to Milton. London: MacMillan, 1945.

Brinton, Anna Cox. Maphaeus Vegius and his Thirteenth Book of the Aeneid. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1930.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson. 2nd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957.

Clausen, Wendell. "An Interpretation of the Aeneid." Virgil: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Henry Steele Commager. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

Commager, Henry Steele, ed. "Introduction." Virgil: A Collection of Critical Essays. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

Comparetti, Domenico. Vergil in the Middle Ages, trans. E. F. M. Benecke. New York: Stechert, 1929.

Curtius, Ernst. European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. Willard R. Trask. 1948; New York: Harper, 1963.

Dearing, Bruce. "Gavin Douglas' Eneados: A Reinterpretation." PMLA, LXVII (1952), 845-62.

Douglas, Gavin. Description of May from Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, trans. Francis Fawkes. 1752; Edinburgh: Aungervyle Society, 1885.

_____. Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas, ed. John Small. 4 vols. Edinburgh: Paterson, 1874.

_____. The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas, ed. Priscilla J. Bawcutt. Edinburgh: STS, 1967.

_____. Virgil's Aeneid translated into Scottish Verse, ed. David F. C. Coldwell. 4 vols. Edinburgh: STS, 1957-64.

_____. Virgil's Aeneis Translated into Scottish Verse By The Famous Gawin Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld, ed. Thomas Ruddiman. Edinburgh: Symson and Freebairn, 1710.

Dronke, Peter. Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric. Oxford: Clarendon, 1965.

Dunbar, William. Poems, ed. James Kinsley. London: Oxford University Press, 1958.

Ebel, Julia G. "A Numerical Survey of Elizabethan Translations." The Library, 5th ser., XII (1967), 102-27.

Everett, Dorothy. "A Characterization of the English Medieval Romances." Essays on Middle English Literature. London: Oxford University Press, 1955.

Fullonius. The Comedy of Acolastus, trans. John Palsgrave; ed. P. L. Carver. London: EETS, 1937.

Gregory. King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, ed. Henry Sweet. 2 vols. London: EETS, 1871-72.

Hall, Lewis Brewer. "An Aspect of the Renaissance in Gavin Douglas' Eneados." Studies in the Renaissance, VII (1960), 184-92.

Henryson, Robert. The Poems and Fables, ed. H. Harvey Wood. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958.

_____. Testament of Cresseid, ed. Denton Fox. London: Nelson, 1968.

Highet, Gilbert. The Classical Tradition. 1949; New York: Oxford University Press, 1967.

_____. Poets in a Landscape. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957.

Hollander, John. "Versions, Interpretations, and Performances." On Translation, ed. Reuben A. Brower. 1959; New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Hume of Godscroft, David. The History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus. 2 vols. 1674; Edinburgh: Hunter, 1743.

Irving, David. The History of Scotish Poetry, ed. John Aitkin Carlyle. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1861.

James VI and I. A Royal Rhetorician, ed. Robert S. Rait. New York: Brentano, 1900.

Johnson, Quentin George. "Gavin Douglas as Poet-Translator: Eneados and Aeneid IV." Diss., University of Oregon, 1967.

Jones, Richard Foster. The Triumph of the English Language. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1953.

Kinghorn, A. M., ed. The Middle Scots Poets. London: Edward Arnold, 1970.

Knight, W. F. Jackson. Roman Virgil. London: Faber and Faber, 1944.

_____. "Virgil's Elysium." Virgil, ed. D. R. Dudley. New York: Basic Books, 1969.

Lewis, C. S. The Allegory of Love. 1936; New York: Oxford University Press, 1958.

_____. The Discarded Image. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964.

_____. English Literature in the Sixteenth Century. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.

Lewis, R. W. B. "On Translating the Aeneid: Yif that I can." Virgil: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Henry Steele Commager. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

Lindsay, David. The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, ed. Douglas Hamer. 4 vols. Edinburgh: STS, 1930-34.

Lydgate, John. The Fall of Princes, ed. H. Bergen. 4 vols. London: EETS, 1924-27.

MacKenzie, Agnes Mure. Historical Survey of Scottish Literature to 1714. London: Maclehose, 1933.

_____. The Rise of the Stewarts. 1935; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957.

Mackie, R. L. King James IV of Scotland, A Brief Survey of his Life and Times. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958.

MacQueen, John. "Some Aspects of the Renaissance in Scotland." Forum for Modern Language Studies, III (1967), 201-22.

Martz, Louis L. The Poetry of Meditation. 1954; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962.

Matthiessen, F. O. Translation: An Elizabethan Art. 1931; New York: Octagon Books, 1965.

McKay, A. G. "Virgilian Landscape into Art." Virgil, ed. D. R. Dudley. New York: Basic Books, 1969.

McNeill, John T. The History and Character of Calvinism. New York: Oxford University Press, 1954.

Moorman, Frederic W. The Interpretation of Nature in English Poetry from Beowolf to Shakespeare. Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach und Culturgeschichte der Germanischen Volker, No. 95. Strassburg: Trubner, 1905.

Morgan, Edwin. "Dunbar and the Language of Poetry." Essays in Criticism, II (1952), 138-58.

Panofsky, Erwin. Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance. New York: Harper, 1962.

Peaks, Mary Bradford. "Virgil's Seamanship." Classical Weekly, XV (1922), 201-5.

Poschl, Viktor. The Art of Vergil, trans. Gerda Seligson. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962.

Pound, Ezra. ABC of Reading. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934.

Putnam, Michael C. J. The Poetry of the Aeneid. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965.

Rand, E. K. Founders of the Middle Ages. 1928; New York: Dover, 1957.

Ridley, Florence H. The Aeneid of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963.

Ross, John Henry. Scottish History and Literature to the Period of the Reformation. Glasgow: Maclehose: 1884.

Schirmer, Walter F. John Lydgate: A Study in the Culture of the XVth Century, trans. Ann E. Keep. 1952; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961.

Scholes, Percy A. The Oxford Companion to Music, ed. John Owen Ward. 10th ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Scott, Tom. Dunbar: A Critical Exposition of the Poems. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1966.

Shire, Helena Mennie. Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, ed. J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon. London: Oxford University Press, 1925.

Speirs, John. The Scots Literary Tradition. 2nd ed. London: Faber and Faber, 1962.

Steadman, John. Milton and the Renaissance Hero. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Suetonius, Tranquillus C. Suetonius, trans. J. C. Rolfe. 2 vols. 1913; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964.

Sullivan, Francis A. "Some Vergilian Seascapes." The Classical Journal, LVII (1962), 302-9.

Tillyard, E. M. W. The English Epic and Its Background. 1954; New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Tuve, Rosemond. Seasons and Months: Studies in a Tradition of Middle English Poetry. Paris: Librairie Universitaire, 1933.

Veitch, John. The Feeling for Nature in Scottish Poetry. 2 vols. Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1887.

The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman, ed. Walter W. Skeat. 10th ed. rev. London: Oxford University Press, 1958.

Warton, Thomas. History of English Poetry, ed. W. Carew Hazlitt. 4 vols. 1871; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968.

Watt, Lauchlan Maclean. Douglas's Aeneid. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920.

Wilson, Daniel. Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Hugh Paton, 1848.

Wittig, Kurt. The Scottish Tradition in Literature. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958.