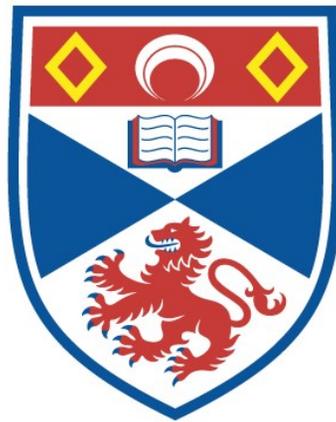


**LATIN INTO SCOTS : THE PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF GAVIN
DOUGLAS IN HIS TRANSLATION OF THE 'AENEID' OF VIRGIL**

Ian S. Robb

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
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Latin into Scots

The Principles and Practice
of Gavin Douglas
in his translation
of the Aeneid of Virgil

Ian S. Robb

Degree of Ph.D.

30th September, 1991



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ABSTRACT

The Introduction takes the form of an account of Douglas's aims and methods in translation as stated by himself. One of the predominant features of the Eneados is the amount of expansion, so this subject is introduced in the first chapter, necessarily briefly, because it is a topic which recurs in association with other features throughout the poem and has to be returned to more than once.

Another predominant feature is the large number of inaccuracies in Douglas's translation. As surprisingly little attention has been paid to this matter, several chapters have been devoted to the various forms which it takes. The aim of this first part of the thesis is to provide material to disprove the claim that Douglas was an accurate translator, a claim still frequently made.

In order that the negative aspects of Douglas's work should not monopolise the study, a number of parallel passages are discussed, where Douglas's version is set out along with that of one of five other poets, spanning the period from the 16th century to the present day, the aim being to draw attention to Douglas's positive poetic skills.

Three appendices are added, the last of which takes the form of a collation of the 1501 (Paris) edition of Virgil's Aeneid, which Douglas principally used, with the Oxford Classical Text (1969). This has been included to disprove another statement, to the effect that his apparent inaccuracies disappear when related to the 1501 text. The variations between the two texts, although numerous, are mainly insignificant, and only a very few of Douglas's inaccuracies are to be explained in this way.

I, Ian Stalker Robb, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 95,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.
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I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No. 12 in October, 1987 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in October, 1989; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1989 and 1991.

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Gratitude must also be expressed to the Keeper of Manuscripts in the University of Edinburgh, who willingly granted me facilities for inspecting two manuscripts of Gavin Douglas's Eneados in his possession, namely the Elphynstoun and Ruthven Manuscripts, and also made available for examination microfilms of the three other complete manuscripts in existence, namely the Bath, Cambridge and Lambeth Manuscripts.

The staff of the Reading Room in the National Library of Scotland most helpfully gave me access to their fine copy of the scarce 1501 (Paris) edition of the Aeneid of Virgil, enabling me to proceed with the task of collating that text with the Oxford Classical Text edited by R. A. B. Mynors in 1969.

Thanks are also due to the British Library, the photographic department of which supplied me with a photostat copy of the 1501 edition, thus saving me a considerable amount of travelling time.

I am specially grateful to the staff of the Department of English in the University of St Andrews, who first suggested that Eneados would form an appropriate subject for detailed research; my particular thanks are due to the genial chairman of the department Dr Christopher McLachlan, who was never too busy with his other duties to provide helpful supervision and constant encouragement at every stage of the work.

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INTRODUCTION

Gavin Douglas's own statements of aims and methods in translating the Aeneid of Virgil are to be found in the Prologue to Book I and the Conclusion which follows Book XIII.

The discussion of aims and methods in the Prologue to Book I continues intermittently from line 109 onwards, being interrupted from time to time by criticism of the work of earlier translators, particularly Caxton and Chaucer, and by appeals to readers and critics of his work. The poet states that it was his aim to make his translation 'braid and plane' (line 110), using as far as possible 'our awyn langage' (line 111), but at times being compelled to employ 'sum bastard Latyn, French or Inglys' (line 117) when no Scots word was available. Douglas claims that Scots in itself is not short of vocabulary but that the 'cullour' (or flavour) of Virgil's own particular usage compelled him in translating sometimes to adhere closely to the substance of the sentence, sometimes to produce a version that was more concise than the original, and sometimes to embellish his rhyme (lines 121 to 124).

Later (lines 283 onwards), he claims that to follow 'a fixt sentens or mater' (line 289) requires more skill and experience and is more difficult and restricting than to produce original writing. Lines 303 to 306 are especially significant:

'And thus I am constrenyt als neir I may
To hald hys vers and go nane other way,
Les sum history, subtell word or the rhyme
Causith me mak digressioun sum tyme'.

Douglas goes on to say that concentration on the sense of the original prevented him from tasting Virgil's 'flude of eloquens' (line 310). He returns to this topic in lines 347 to 349:

'Sum/

'Sum tyme the text mon have ane expositioun,
Sum tyme the collour will caus a litill additioun,
Ans sum tyme of a word I mon mak thre'.

In lines 391 to 394 he contrasts 'ornate eloquens' and the 'sentens'.

'To follow alanerly Virgilis wordis, I weyn,
Thar suld few undirstand me quhat thai meyn,
The bewte of his ornate eloquens
May nocht al tyme be kepit with the sentens'.

In the lines following (395 to 404), St Gregory and Horace are quoted in support of the view that one should always follow the 'sentence' in preference to translating 'word eftir word (lines 396, 402), a phrase which seems to mean the same as 'word by word' in line 404.

In spite of Douglas's disclaimer that his aim is to produce a literal translation, he appears in his 'Direction' to be taking credit for having done so. After expressing the hope that his translation will be both pleasant and profitable to many and will prove an agreeable way to pass the time (lines 36 to 40), he says that another point in its favour is that it will prove useful to teachers of Latin for the reason given:

'For quha lyst note my versys, one by one,
Sall find tharin hys sentens every deill,
And al maste word by word, that wait I weill'.
(lines 44 to 46)

The point that seems to emerge from a survey of Douglas's statements of aims and methods is that what the reader is presented with is, in the words of D. F. C. Coldwell, vol. I, p.53, 'Not so much a considered philosophy of translating as a combination of current critical theories and opinions'.

What is quite definite is that Douglas's aim was to make the Aeneid available, through his translation, to a much wider public than ever before. The concluding lines of his 'Exclamatioun' are:

'Now salt thou with euery gentill Scot be kend,
And to onletterit folk be red on hight,
That erst was bot with clerkis comprehend'.

Introduction

One reason why the Eneados is not as widely read to-day as Douglas would no doubt have wished is surely its general lack of accessibility. An attempt was made to remedy this by Dr David F. C. Coldwell, who brought out a four-volume edition for the Scottish Text Society between 1957 and 1964. Unfortunately this edition has long been unobtainable, and only those fortunate enough to possess a copy or to have access to an academic library have the opportunity to enjoy the fruits of Dr Coldwell's labours.

Mention must also be made of the work of Priscilla Bawcutt, whose study of Gavin Douglas published in 1976 is a mine of information. Not the least important of Mrs Bawcutt's contributions to the study of Douglas's poetry has been her identification of the 1501 (Paris) edition of the Aeneid as the Latin text principally used by Douglas in making his translation.

If Gavin Douglas's wish for his poem to be widely known should come to fulfilment, it will be due in no small measure to the pioneering work of the two scholars mentioned.

One of the most prominent features of the Eneados is the duplication or triplication of terms, foreshadowed in the remark in the Prologue to Book I:

'And sum tyme of a word I mon mak thre' (line 349).

In the view of Priscilla Bawcutt, Douglas (Edinburgh, 1976), p. 116, this practice of 'double translation' was due to 'Douglas's preoccupation with conveying the full sense of even the smallest word in Virgil', 'an attempt to render in his own words both the litera and its sententia, the literal sense of a word or phrase as well as its "sentence"'.

In this chapter and throughout the study, quotations from the Eneados give the book and line of the Aeneid followed by the chapter and line of Douglas's translation; thus the reference VI.470.vii.96 would indicate line 470 of Book VI of the Aeneid as translated in Book VI, chapter vii, line 96 of the Eneados. In the small number of cases where Douglas's arrangement of books differs from that of Virgil, the entire reference to Douglas's version is placed in brackets; thus VII.6 (VI.xvi.12f.) would indicate line 6 of Book VII of the Aeneid, as translated by Douglas at Book VI, chapter xvi, lines 12 and following in the Eneados.

In the following examples, three Middle Scots words are employed to reproduce the sense of the Latin:

II.44.i.58 dolis: dissait, falshed and subtlete;
 IV.145.iv.31 choros: ryngis and dansys, mony a rowt;
 VI.256.iv.40 mugire: to rummys, croyn and ryng;
 VII.614.x.34 pugnas: the new weir, batale and melle;

- VIII.98.iii.6 rara: Skatterit dispers, and bot a few to knaw;
 VIII.169.iii.171 dextra: our allyance, faith and rycht hand;
 X.30.i.67 et tua progenies:
 And I, thy blude, thi get and douchter schene;
 XII.600.x.115 caputque malorum:
 Baith crop and ruyte and hed of sik myscheif.

Much more frequently, the Latin word or phrase is rendered by two words or phrases in Douglas's version:

- II.679.xi.2 gemitu: with murnyng and salt teris;
 IV.422.viii.28 colere: to cherys and hald in gret dante;
 VI.467.vii.91 ardentem: all inflambit, ful of wrath and ire;
 VII.47.i.51 nympa: The mayd or nymphe;
 VII.424.vii.41 externus: Ane alienar, born of ane oncouth land;
 X.231.v.35 classis tua: thy navy and thy flote;
 XI.95.ii.91 substitit: can styntyng and abaid;
 XII.565.x.25 mora: tary nor delay;
 XII.708.xii.31 genitos: generit and bred.

In a number of instances the additional term does not appear to contribute to the general sense and this might be regarded as evidence that in some cases the double translation is merely a mannerism. A few examples should suffice:

- I.604.ix.44 conscia: ramembrit and nocht foryet;
 II.279.v.56 flens: wepyng and na thing glaid;
 III.297.v.29 marito: husband and man;
 IV.275.v.183 regnum: realm and kynryk;
 X.15.i.35 sinite: leif and desist.

Even in the prologues, where Douglas was not engaged in translation, he shows a tendency to use two terms where one would appear to be sufficient; for example in the Prologue to the Fourth Book, line 222, he speaks of 'thy dolorous cays and hard myschance'.

At I.14.i.23f. there occurs in the Latin the phrase
studiisque asperrima belli. Douglas translates,

full of sculys seyr,
 And maist expert in crafty fait of weir.

It will be observed that line 24 of Douglas's version is a reasonable approximation to the sense of the Latin, although *asperrima* means 'showing a fierce devotion' rather than 'maist expert'. The phrase 'full of sculys seyr' does not correspond to anything in the Latin, but *studiis* seems to have suggested to Douglas the concept of education, which he particularises in this phrase. He has therefore used *studiis* twice.

Sometimes Douglas incorporates in his translation what is really an explanatory note, in order to convey the 'sentence'.

At I.28.i.48ff., where the Latin reads

et genus invisum et rapti Ganymedis honores,

Douglas has

Als Troiane blude till hir was odyus,
 For Jupiter engendrit Dardanus
 Fra quham the Troianys cam in adultery,
 And Ganymedes revist abuf the sky,
 Maid him his butler, quhilk was hir douchteris office.

A notable expansion occurs at II.232f.iv.58ff:

The Latin reads *orandaque divae/numina,* translated by Douglas,

And lat us sacryfy
 The haly goddes, and magnyfy hyr mycht
 With orysonys and offerandis day and nycht.

The care taken by Douglas to represent the full meaning of the original is not always appreciated by his editors. An example occurs at II.761ff.xii.3ff. The Latin runs

*et iam porticibus vacuis Iunonis asylo
 custodes lecti Phoenix et dirus Ulixes
 praedam adservabant.*

Douglas/

Douglas translates,

Quhar at the porchis or clostir of Juno,
 Than al bot waist, thocht it was gyrth, stude tho
 Phenix and dowr Ulixes, wardanys tway,
 Forto observe and keip the spreth or pray.

On the phrase, 'thocht it was gyrth', Coldwell comments, 'not in Virgil', but it is in fact an accurate rendering of *asylo*, not covered by anything else in Douglas's version.

Douglas sometimes uses expansion in order to bring out the emotional aspect of a situation. There is a vast difference between Dido's rather formal and rhetorical phrase at IV.314.vi.66, *per has lacrimas*, and its appealing rendering by Douglas:

'Be all thir teris trygland our my face'.

There are many examples of the development of attractive themes for their own sake, some of these expansions being on a comparatively small scale. They include the following:

VI.476.vii.107f. *miseratur euntem*,

Regratand in his mynd, and had piete
 Of the distres that movit hir so to fle;

VII.34.i.18 *cantu*,

Wyth wyrblis sweit and myrthfull songis gay;

VII.34.i.20 *lucoque volabant*,

And throu the schaw went fleand our alquhar.

Some of Douglas's expansions have clearly been suggested to him by notes in the commentaries of Servius and Ascensius, both of which were included in the 1501 (Paris) edition of the Aeneid. At VI.289.iv.109f. the phrase *forma tricorporis umbrae* is render

Of thrynfald bodeys gaistly formys dyd grone,
 Baith of Erylus and of Geryon.

The Latin phrase is certainly a description of Geryon, but the referer to Erylus is obscure, Servius' note merely saying, 'Eryli & Gerionis'

The/

The subject of expansion has here been treated in isolation but it is a topic to which it will be necessary to return later, particularly in the chapters on Free Translation and Unfortunate Additions.

From the large amount of expansion throughout the Eneados it seems safe to assume that Douglas did not regard this feature as a blemish. Yet however much it may have appealed to readers in Douglas's own day, especially those unacquainted with the concise nature of the original, it must act as a brake on the progress through the text of a reader at the present day, pausing at each 'synonym' or group of 'synonyms' to consider what contribution each word makes to the general effect.

The danger is that the reader may fall into the habit of paying attention only to the first term in each pair or series and of assuming that the other terms do not add anything significant to the general meaning of the passage.

CHAPTER II: MISTRANSLATION AND MISINTERPRETATION

The inaccuracies in Douglas's translation of the Aeneid take many forms. In some cases these lend themselves to grouping and classification, for example those arising from failure to associate an adjective with the appropriate noun, or failure to grasp the particular significance of a verb in the subjunctive mood. Where it is possible, a chapter in this study has been given to an examination of each particular type of error.

There remain, nevertheless, many instances of mistranslation and misinterpretation which do not come under the head of a specific type of error, but are due to general lack of awareness of the Latin construction, or to misunderstanding of the meaning of a passage several lines long. It will be the aim of the present chapter to discuss examples of mistranslation and misinterpretation which do not lend themselves to classification under a particular heading.

It has seemed advisable, in the absence of any useful method of grouping, to take the examples as they occur throughout the Eneados, more or less in the order in which they appear. The Latin text quoted is that of Mynors' Oxford Classical Text, 1969, but wherever the 1501 text, which Douglas principally used, has a materially different reading, this has been substituted. Reference to Appendix C will make clear at any point whether the ancient and current readings exhibit any radical difference.

A/

A misleading translation occurs at I.218f.iv.103ff:

dubii, seu vivere credant
sive extrema pati nec iam exaudire vocatos.

'doubtful whether they are to deem them living or
that they suffer the final doom and no longer hear
when called' (Page)

nec iam exaudire vocatos is dependent on credant as part
of what the Trojans are in doubt about regarding their companions.
Douglas's version suggests that they actually called upon them
but received no answer:

in dowl thai stude
Quidder thai war levand or tholit extreme ded all;
Thai answer nocht set thai oft pleyn and call.

There is a further mistranslation at I.387.vi.140:

quisquis es

Page writes: 'Not "whoever thou art", for she [Venus]
has just been definitely told, but "whatever thy fortunes",
referring to his [Aeneas's] mistaken view that he was hated
of heaven'. Douglas has

Quhat evir thou art

At I.425.vii.14 there occurs the phrase

pars optare locum tecto

which Fairclough translates, 'some to choose the site for a
dwelling', but which Douglas thought concerned preparations
for roof-building (tecto in its narrower sense) rather than
selecting a site:

Sum grathis fast the thak and rufe of tre.

Another misleading translation occurs at I.658f.x.3f.

The Latin concerns Cupid:

ut faciem mutatus et ora Cupido
pro dulci Ascanio veniat.

'to make Cupid change his appearance and aspect
and come instead of sweet Ascanius'.

Douglas transfers the change in appearance to the person of
Ascanius:

In form the vissage of sweit Ascaneus tho
Transformyt, send hir awin son Cupido.

An example of Douglas's tendency to disregard the
Latin construction is seen at I.682.x.48f:

ne qua scire dolos mediusve occurrere possit.

'that in no wise he may learn my wiles or come
between to thwart them' (Fairclough)

Douglas translates:

That our dissait he nowder persave ne knaw,
Nor onprovisitly cum thidder, thocht he mycht.

'ne knaw' is superfluous after 'persave' and there is no warrant
in the Latin for the adverbial clause of concession, 'thocht he
mycht'. possit is the main verb of the negative final clause
and scire and occurrere are dependent on it.

Inaccuracies occur at I.724,xi,59f:

crateras magnos statuunt et vina coronant.

'they set down great bowls and crown the wine'
(Fairclough)

Douglas keeps statuunt to the end, interprets vina coronant
as indicating filling with wine rather than as crowning the
vessels with garlands, and adds two of his time phrases; he
renders crateras (large mixing-bowls for wine) as 'goblettis'
(large cups for individual guests) and adds 'coverit':

The goblettis gret with myghty wynys in hy
Thai fill, and coverit set in by and by.

Douglas produces a highly dramatic but inaccurate
rendering of II.69f.ii.20f:

heu, quae nunc tellus, inquit, quae me aequora
accipere? possun

'Alas', he says, 'what land, what sea can now receive me?'

Douglas translates:

'Allace', quod he, 'wald God some erd or sand
Or sum salt sey dyd swelly me alyve!'

Douglas misinterprets a remark at II.91.ii.57:

haud ignota loquor

'not unknown is the tale' (Fairclough)

Douglas's version means something quite different:

I iape not, for that I say weyll I knaw.

Another misinterpretation occurs at II.174f.iii.58:

terque ipsa solo . . . / emicuit

'and thrice the goddess herself flashed forth from
the ground'. (Fairclough)

Williams writes: 'The meaning is that apart from the miraculous
behaviour of the image (flashing eyes, salt sweat), an apparition
of Pallas herself was three times seen'. Douglas's rendering
does not make it clear that the subject is no longer the image
of the goddess but Pallas herself. Further, nothing in the Latin
suggests the act of falling:

Thryss schynyng down on the ground scho fell.

Douglas has misunderstood a remark at II.291.v.77:

sat patriae Priamoque datum.

'The claims of Priam and thy country are satisfied'.

(Page)

In its context, following Hector's advice to Aeneas to flee,
this remark suggests that everything humanly possible to save
Troy and to serve Priam has now been done. Douglas interprets
it differently, as if Hector's meaning is that the reign of
Priam had come to an end fore-ordained by the fates:

Enewch has lestit of Priamus the ryng,
The fatis wil na mair it induryng.

On occasion Virgil employs a poetic plural where the meaning is singular, a practice which tends to mislead Douglas. At II.316.vi.37 there occur the words *ardent animi*, which Page translates, 'my spirit burns'. It is the reaction of Aeneas alone to the situation that is being described in this passage; *animi*, though plural, does not indicate at this stage that others were involved, but the plural noun and verb have misled Douglas, who translates

our hartis brynt for desyre.

A close parallel occurs at II.451.viii.25 in the words *instaurati animi*, translated by Williams, 'my courage revived'. As Austin remarks, Aeneas is now alone. Here, too, Douglas has been misled by the plural forms; he translates

Our spretis war restoryt.

At times it is not easy to see how Douglas arrived at his translation. One such instance occurs at II.330.vi.66, where the Latin appears quite straightforward:

portis alii bipatentibus adsunt

which Fairclough translates, 'some are at the wide-open gates'. Douglas's version is puzzling;

At athir yet beyn ruschit in sik a sort.

Douglas has a tendency to pay inadequate attention to the Latin word order and to attach prepositional phrases to the wrong verb. An example occurs at II.378.vii.32:

obstipuit retroque pedem cum voce repressit.

'He was astonished, and (shrinking) backwards checked his foot and voice'. (Page)

Douglas has taken *cum voce* in association with *obstipuit*, referring it not to the speaker's own utterance but to the unsatisfactory reply of the Trojans to Androgeos' original

question. It is clear from the Latin word order that the phrase *cum voce* can only go with *pedem . . . repressit*. Douglas translates:

Estonyt with the word, abak he drewch.

At II.539.ix.56 one of the accusations made by Priam against Pyrrhus is *patrios foedasti funere vultus*, usually rendered, 'You have defiled a father's sight with murder'.

Douglas has taken *foedasti* in a literal sense and is therefore compelled to give *funere* the meaning 'blood':

And with hys blude fylit the faderis face.

At II.591.x.58 there occurs the phrase *confessa deam*. Page writes: 'not for *confessa se deam esse*, but *deam* is boldly put as the direct accusative after *confessa* - "acknowledging (i.e. revealing) the goddess"'. Williams similarly translates, 'revealing her divinity'. Douglas has interpreted the phrase in the way that Page rejects:

Confessyng hir tobe a goddess brycht,

An example has already been given of Douglas's tendency to associate phrases with the wrong verb (II.378.vii.32). At times the same type of error appears in relation to adverbs. An example occurs at III.41.i.78 in the phrase *iam parce sepulto*. *iam* has here the sense of *tandem* and means 'at last'. Aeneas has already lacerated the body of Polydorus twice and the phrase means, 'Now at last spare my dead body'. Douglas takes *iam* as modifying *sepulto*, but the Latin word order shows that it can only modify *parce*. Douglas translates:

Have reuth of hym now laid in sepultur.

An inaccurate translation occurs at III.314.v.65.

et raris turbatus vocibus hisco.

'and gasp, troubled, with disjointed words' (Page);

'in my confusion stammering these broken phrases'
(Williams)

Douglas's translation seems unusually far from the meaning of the Latin. Nothing in the Latin conveys the sense that his remarks were tedious ('langsum') and there is no reason to suppose that Aeneas would be whispering:

With langsum speche said, quhispirand, as I mycht.

At times Douglas's version is vitiated by the omission of an important word. A clear example of this occurs at III.327.v.88, *servitio enixae tulimus*. Page translates, 'bearing children in bondage', Williams 'bringing forth a child in slavery'. Douglas has nothing corresponding to *enixae*, but renders the clause

By forss sustenyt thraldome mony a day.

Occasionally Douglas substitutes statement for question, an alteration which may not always be successful.

At III.341.v.115f the Latin reads

ecqua tamen puero est amissae cura parentis?

which Page translates, 'Has the boy notwithstanding any affection for his lost mother?'. In place of Andromache's question

Douglas has a rather trite observation:

Ha! how gret harm and skaith for evermor
That child has caught throu lesyng of his moder!

Similarly, in the next two lines of the Latin text, Andromache's question

*ecquid in antiquam virtutem animosque virilis
et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitat Hector?*

which/

which Fairclough translates, 'Do his father Aeneas and his uncle Hector arouse him at all to ancestral valour and to manly spirit?', is replaced by an observation for which she cannot have any evidence:

O Lord! quhat ancyant vertuys, ane and othir,
And knychtly prowes in hym steris frendis befor,
Baith fader Eneas and hys uncle Hector!

It is difficult to understand why Douglas departed from the question form of the original. The questions were certainly not rhetorical; Andromache genuinely wanted information on matters about which she had had no means of learning.

Another form of mistranslation occurs at III.411.vi.108f: et angusti rarescent claustra Pelori, translated by Williams, 'and the headlands of the narrow strait of Pelorus begin to show space between them'. Douglas's rendering does not convey a clear picture of the two headlands appearing to move further away from each other as voyagers approach the entrance to the strait:

And the strait sowndis of the mont Pelory
Vanysys away peyss and peyss.

What happens is almost the opposite of what Douglas writes. The strait, far from vanishing, only becomes visible once the voyager has reached a position where he can see that what had looked like a continuous coastline was in fact two land masses separated by a stretch of water. Another geographical phrase occurs at III.429. vi.141ff, Trinacrii metas lustrare Pachyni, 'to go right round the point of Sicilian Pachynus'. meta, literally the turning-point in a stadium, is used here for the headland round which the ships are to turn. Douglas's rendering does not bring out this idea:

seik the cost about/Of Pachynnus in Scycill.

Another topographical phrase occurs at III.446.vi.174ff.,
antro seclusa. Davidson translates, 'in the cave enclosed
 by themselves', Lonsdale and Lee, 'shut up in the cave', and
 Fairclough, 'she... stores away in the cave'. Douglas has
 'Without the cave closyt', a rendering which anticipates Dryden's
 version:

What she commits to leafs, in order laid,
 Before the cavern's entrance are display'd.

The interpretation adopted by Douglas and Dryden is more
 difficult to sustain than the others quoted in view of Virgil's
 lines at 448f., where a light breeze stirs the leaves at the
 turn of a hinge and the opening of the door scatters them.
 Douglas pictures the leaves as being blown back into the cave;
 he has 'In at the entre of the cave agane' but there is nothing
 in the Latin to suggest this.

At III.478.vii.13f. Aeneas receives the instruction
et tamen hanc pelago praeterlabare necesse est,
 'and nevertheless you must go past this land in your voyaging',
 (literally, 'on the sea'). Douglas does not give the verb
praeterlabare its proper meaning:

And netheless, thocht it be necessar
 Out our the sey to yondir grond ye fair.

At III.519.viii.26 Douglas interprets an auditory
 signal as visual. The Latin reads *dat clarum e puppi signum*,
clarum being translated as 'loud' by Fairclough and as 'shrill'
 by Lonsdale and Lee. Douglas on the other hand has

Furth of his eft schip a bekyn gart he stent.

An/

An incident mentioned at III.607f.ix.37f is strangely interpreted by Douglas. The Latin reads

dixerat et genua amplexus genibusque volutans
haerebat.

Williams translates, 'He spoke, and clasping our knees, grovelling at our knees, he clung to us'. Douglas seems to take genibusque as Achaemenides' own knees and genua to be Aeneas's thighs, with haerebat going closely with amplexus:

Quod he, and tharwith, grulying on hys kneis,
He lappit me fast by baith the theys.

An equally odd translation occurs at III.619.ix.58, where the Latin reads ipse arduus, altaque pulsat/sidera, meaning, 'He himself towers on high, and touches the lofty stars'. Douglas has an odd reference here to a dais, which does not correspond to anything in the Latin:

Bustuus hie Poliphemus set a deyss
Thar remanys, that may the starnys schaik.

The voyaging of the Trojans is referred to again at III.699f.x.86ff;

hinc altas cautes proiectaque saxa Pachyni
radimus,

meaning, 'After that we skirted the lofty crags and jutting rocks of Pachynus'. Douglas's version runs

Thar on the craggis our navy stude in dowl,
For on blynd stanys and rolkis hyrslit we,
Tumblit of Mont Pachynnus in the se.

Douglas appears to have misunderstood the meaning of radimus which means to scrape or graze something as one passes. Page comments, 'The expression seems borrowed from the chariot-races where the charioteers as they turn round the meta at the end of the course almost graze it'. Douglas's rendering envisages the rocks/

rocks as lying hidden under the surface of the water, 'blynd stanys and rolkis' on which the ships 'hyrslit', i.e. slid with grazing or friction. Douglas takes *proiecta* as meaning 'thrown forth' but Williams in his commentary on Book III produces examples to prove that the sense of 'jutting out' was current in classical times.

At IV.11.i.21f. Dido, speaking of Aeneas to her sister Anna remarks *quam sese ore ferens*. Commentators in general take the words as referring to physical features (e.g. Williams: 'What distinction he has in his looks') but Douglas interprets *ore* as referring to the mouth as the organ of speech and translates accordingly:

Quhou wys in speche and in his comonyng
He schawys hym self!

At IV.54f.ii.1ff. Douglas's interpretation differs widely from those of other scholars. The Latin verses are

*his dictis incensum animum inflammavit amore
spemque dedit dubiae menti solvitque pudorem.*

The subject of all the verbs, *inflammavit*, *dedit*, *solvitque*, is Anna, whose immediately preceding remarks (IV.31-53, i, 63-112) are referred to in the phrase *his dictis*. In Douglas's rendering of the two lines in question the subject appears to be 'the spreit of Dido queyn' but Douglas does not seem to have provided it with a verb. He translates:

Wyth thir wordys the spreit of Dido queyn,
The quhilk tofor in lufe wes kindlyt grene,
Now al in fyre the flambe of lufe furth blesys;
Hir doutsum mynd with gude hope so scho esys
That al the schame and dreid wes blaw away.

There seem to be three possibilities:

(1)/

- (1) Douglas intended to provide 'the spreit of Dido' with a verb, but having written the subordinate adjective clause ('The quhilk . . . grene') forgot that the principal clause was still to be completed and went on to a new principal clause ('Now al in fyre . . . blesys');
- (2) Douglas intended 'blesys' as the verb to which 'the spreit of Dido' is nominative, regarding it as transitive and providing 'the flambe of lufe' as its object;
- (3) Douglas intended 'blesys' as the verb to which 'the spreit of Dido' is nominative, regarded it as intransitive and intended 'flambe of lufe' as in apposition to, and explanatory of, 'fyre'.

Of the three possible explanations, the third does the least violence to grammar but in all other respects seems highly strained. In the last two lines of the five quoted above Anna's remarks are completely lost sight of and the whole responsibility for the change in Dido's attitude to the possibility of a second marriage is transferred to Dido herself. In the line 'Hir doutsum mynd with gude hope so scho esys' the only reference is to Dido.

At IV.82f.ii.63ff. the Latin reads

sola domo maeret vacua stratisque relictis
incubat,

rendered by Douglas

Within hir chalmyr alane scho langis sayr,
And thocht al waist for lak of hir luffar.
Amyd a voyd bed scho hir laid adoun.

'Within hir chalmyr' is a strange translation of domo vacua, since stratis relictis can refer only to the couches in the banqueting hall lately occupied by Dido's guests, not to

'a/

'a voyd bed' within her own room. The words 'langis sayr' translate maeret and the line 'And thoct . . . luffar' is an addition of Douglas's, possibly influenced by an explanatory note of Ascensius, quoted by Coldwell, which appears to understand with vacua the word amato, ablative singular referring to Aeneas, 'empty of her lover'.

At IV.90f.iii.1ff. there occurs in Douglas's version a phrase which misleads through its unfortunate placing in the sentence rather than through the method of interpretation employed by Douglas. The original reads

quam simul ac tali persensit peste teneri
cara Iovis coniunx nec famam obstare furori

which Douglas renders

Alsswyth as Juno, with syk maleys ourtane,
Persavyt hir deir frend that remeid was nane,
Nothir fame ne honour the rage resyst mycht.

The reader would naturally take the phrase, 'with syk maleys ourtane', as referring to Juno, the word immediately preceding, but the 'maleys' was experienced by Dido, not by Juno. Perhaps Douglas intended the phrase to refer to 'hir deir frend' in the line following. The grammar of 'persavyt' is unusual, for it seems to have two objects, (1) 'hir deir frend' and (2) the subordinate noun clause, 'that remeid was nane'. This may be an attempt on the part of Douglas to reproduce the Latin accusative and infinitive construction exemplified in *quam . . . tali . . . peste teneri*, but if so, it is the idea expressed in 'with syk maleys ourtane' that corresponds to the words in the Latin construction. Douglas's noun clause, 'that remeid was nane' does not correspond to anything in the original but merely anticipates the line following, 'Nothir . . . mycht'.

At/

At IV.229ff.v.103ff. there is an example of a tendency in Douglas to pay too much attention to the associations that a word may have, with consequent loss of accuracy. The Latin verses are

sed fore qui gravidam imperiis belloque
frementem
 Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine
Teucris
 proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem.

Davidson translates:

*but that he should be one who should rule Italy,
 big with empire, and fierce in war, who should
 evince his descent from Teucer's noble blood,
 and bring the whole world under his sway'.

Douglas translates:

Bot at he suld have beyn wys, sage and grave,
 Hie senyeoreis and gret empire to have,
 And Itale dant, quhilk brandysis in battell,
 And, by his dedis, declair and cleyrly tell
 Hym cummyn of Teuceris hie genealogy,
 And to subdew the warldis monarchy.

The word gravidam, referring to Italy, seems to have suggested to Douglas the idea of gravis, because he applies to Aeneas the words 'wys, sage and grave' which have no counterpart in the Latin. Douglas has been unwise in attempting to render the phrase gravidam imperiis before translating Italiam, which it qualifies, in the following line. The results are (1) that he is forced to refer gravidam imperiis to Aeneas, distorting the meaning in the process; (2) that the close parallelism of gravidam imperiis and belloque frementem is lost. Douglas appears to have failed to notice that the -que of belloque links the phrase belloque frementem to gravidam imperiis. In line 231 the verb proderet has most probably the meaning 'propagate'/'

'propagate' (so Lewis and Short), giving the meaning, 'and transmit to posterity a race originating in the noble blood of Teucer'. Douglas however takes *prodere* in the sense of 'to exhibit', 'to show', and therefore arrives at the translation quoted, adding the phrase, 'by his dedis'.

At IV.274f.vi.181f. the Latin reads

Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli
respice

literally, 'have regard to Ascanius, who is growing up, and the hopes of Iulus (i.e. Ascanius) as your heir'. Douglas translates

Yit than behald Ascanyus upwalxing,
And the gret hope of his seid and ofspring.

Douglas has interpreted *Iuli* as a genitive dependent on *heredis*, the hopes of the 'seid and ofspring' of Iulus, whereas it is much more natural to regard *Iuli* as genitive in apposition to *heredis*, 'the hopes of your heir Iulus'. There is a very similar example at VI.364.v.142 where the Latin reads *per spes surgentis Iuli*, translated by Jackson Knight as 'by your hopes for Iulus now growing to manhood'. Douglas again takes *spes* as meaning, not the hopes entertained by Aeneas in respect of Ascanius, but the hopes entertained by Ascanius of having a son (or sons) of his own:

And gud hope of thi yong sonnys ofspring.

In translating IV.285f.vi.12f. Douglas is not only uncharacteristically brief but gives an interpretation which seems much more remote from the original than is usual.

The Latin reads

atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit
in partisq; rapit varias perque omnia versat.
illuc

Williams translates:

'and he shoots his swift thoughts one way and another, rapidly directing them towards all kinds of aspects, turning them through all possibilities'.

It will be observed that the Latin text has three verbs, *dividit*, *rapit* and *versat*, the first suggesting the simultaneous consideration of contradictory ideas, the second stressing the hurried nature of the process and the last conveying the idea of wide-ranging mental activity. Douglas translates:

Baith to and fra compasyng, hys breist within,
Feill purpossys for every part about.

A comparison of Douglas's version with the original shows that he disregards *celerem* and then has one verb only, 'compasyng', the object of which, 'feill purpossys', does not seem to correspond to anything in the Latin, while the phrase, 'for every part about' is hard to understand.

A further example of an approximation to the original rather than a faithful translation of it occurs at IV.302f.vi.43ff:

ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho
orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron.

Williams translates:

'when the biennial rites arouse her as the Bacchic cry is heard, and Cithaeron calls her at night with its noise'.

Douglas's version runs

Quhen, every thryd yeir, on thar payane gys,
Thar goddis feist thai hallow with lowd cryis,
That, al the nycht, the mont of Cytheron
Resoundis of thar clamour, quhar thai gone.

Trieterica orgia are biennial rites; in translating as 'every thryd yeir' Douglas has not allowed for the inclusive system of reckoning employed by the Romans. Further, *trieterica orgia* is the subject of *stimulant*, a verb not represented in

The Latin verbs *dabat* and *servabat* both have *quae* (antecedent *custos*, 'guardian priestess') as their subject, but Douglas's adjective clause, the last line quoted, refers to the dragon.

At IV.704.xii.119f. it is said of Iris, *sic ait et dextra crinem secat*, 'So she said and cut the lock of hair with her right hand'. Douglas's version runs

Thus sayand, with rycht hand hes scho hynt
The hair, and cuttis in twa, or that scho stynt.

The last four words quoted represent a characteristic method of Douglas's for providing a rhyme and extending a line to the desired metrical length, but the words, 'hes scho hynt' are a strange addition. If the actual cutting were done by the right hand, as the original states, the lock of hair would have to be grasped or 'hynt' in the left.

At V.104f.iii.2f. there occur the words

nonamque serena
Auroram Phaethontis equi iam luce vehebant,

'and the steeds of Phaethon were now bringing in the ninth morn with cloudless brightness'. Phaethon is here a name of the sun; the reference is not to the Phaethon of mythology who was disastrously permitted to drive his father's chariot, but Douglas, perhaps misled by a note of Servius, has interpreted the reference in this way:

The nynte morow vpspryngis fresch and gay,
And Pheyton gan hys faderis chayr furth dryve.

A geographical error appears at V.193.iv.62, where the Latin has the simple phrase *Ionioque mari*, 'and in the Ionian Sea'. Douglas errs in a desire to be more precise:

betwix Scylla and Carybdys,
Quhar that Ioneum clepyt is the see.

At/

At V.215f.iv.106, referring to a dove, the Latin has
plausumque exterrita pennis/dat tecto ingentem,
 translated by Fairclough, 'and, frightened from her home,
 flaps loudly with her wings'. Douglas has taken *tecto*,
 although it is singular number, to refer to the dwellings of
 men rather than to the home of the dove:

Quhil of hir fard the howsys ryggyng ryngis.

In the context of a foot race there occurs the phrase
incumbens umero, 'pressing on his shoulder (V.325.vi.67).
 The shoulder is that of a fellow-runner, Helymus, but Douglas
 takes it as the competitor's own: 'Writhand with hys schuldir'.

In the context of a boxing match (V.380.vii.31f.)
 the line occurs

ergo alacris cunctosque putans excedere palma
 'briskly therefore, thinking that all were resigning any claim
 to the prize'. *cunctosque* is the accusative subject of the
 accusative and infinitive construction *cunctosque . . .*
excedere, but Douglas translates as if the Latin had been
se excedere with *cunctosque* as object, taking *excedere*
 in the sense of 'to surpass':

Ioly and glaid tharof, baith al and sum
 Into bargane wenying fortill ourcum.

In the absence of *se* this interpretation is impossible.

In the course of Virgil's description of the same
 contest the line occurs (V.426.viii.5f.):

constitit in digitos extemplo arrectus uterque.

Page translates: 'Straightway each took his stand rising upon
 tip-toe'. Douglas has taken *digitos* as a reference, not to
 toes but to fingers;

Than athir gan contrar othir styth stand,
 With fyngeris fast faikand thar mace in hand.

but the Latin makes no reference to additions (a 'bonnet', according to the Concise Scots Dictionary, being an additional piece laced to a sail), only to the sails themselves.

At V.839.xiv.23f. there occurs the line

aëra dimovit tenebrosum et dispulit umbras.

Williams translates, 'sundered the dusky air and parted the darkness' and comments, 'dispulit does not mean 'dispelled', 'drove away', for such an action would be no proper function of the god Sleep'. (Commentary on Book V) Douglas, however, takes it in this way:

And dyd away the dirknes of the ayr,
Removing schadowit skyis maid al fair.

A very elementary error in translation occurs at VI.82.ii.3, where the Latin texts (including that of the edition of 1501) have the phrase per auras, 'through the air'. Douglas has misread auras as aures, for he has 'to thar erys'.

At VI.171.iii.27 the phrase occurs cava . . . concha, 'with a hollow sea-shell'. Douglas translates 'with his boys trump', but Page writes: 'He [Misenus] had mockingly challenged Triton his own instrument, "the hollow shell": to explain concha as equal to lituo is absurd'.

At VI.224.iii.130 the word aversi occurs, meaning 'with averted gaze'. Austin gives an explanatory note: 'so as not to see the dead man's spirit as it departed'. Douglas incorporates a different explanation in his text:

For sorow thar facis writhis away, I wys.

In the description of Discordia, VI.281.iv.94, one of the features mentioned is vipereum crinem. The Latin/

Latin phrase implies that the hair of Discordia either resembled snakes or consisted of snakes. Douglas's rendering, 'With snakis hung at every haris end' does not yield a convincing image.

In the course of a conversation in the underworld between Aeneas and the ghost of Palinurus, the latter uses the phrase *in morte* (VI.371.v.152). Douglas translates as 'eftir my ded' - an odd phrase for a ghost to use, Palinurus being already dead.

At VI.738.xii.37f. the verb *inolescere* occurs, with the meaning, 'become deeply ingrained'. The opposite sense is conveyed by Douglas's version: 'be done away/And purgit'.

A case of possible misreading of the Latin occurs at VI.803.xiii.102. It is there said of Hercules *Lernam tremefecerit arcu*, literally, 'He caused the Lerna to tremble by means of his bow'. Douglas has

The serpent Lerna with hys bow persit throuch,
which suggests strongly that Douglas had misread *tremefecerit* in the 1501 edition as *transfixerit*.

In the next two lines (VI.804f.xiii.103f.) the Latin reads

nec qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis
Liber,

which Williams translates, 'nor he who victorious guides his yoked animals with reins of vine-shoots, Liber'. Douglas has

Nor Bachus, quihlk victor afor thir days
With wyne burgions the hillis top arays.

Douglas has apparently taken *iuga* to mean, 'mountain ridges', as it frequently does, and this has led him into difficulty, with the result that neither *flectit* nor *habenis* is given its correct meaning.

At/

At VI.806f.xiii.107ff., in the course of a long speech, the shade of Anchises asks

et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis,
aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?

Fairclough translates: 'And do we still hesitate to enlarge our prowess by deeds, or does fear forbid our settling on Ausonian land?'. Douglas's version runs

And yit we dowl onto the forthir end
Hys gret vertu and dedys to extend!

This is not only pointless but fails to harmonise with his own following lines:

Then quha suld dreid stop us to occupy
Or till inhabyt land of Italy?

At VI.856.xv.26 it is said of Marcellus viros supereminet omnis, translated by Robert Fitzgerald, 'How the man towers over everyone'. The verb supereminere is not recorded in Latin before Virgil; in all the instances of its occurrence quoted by Lewis and Short its sense is purely physical. Douglas, however, gives the word a metaphorical sense:

In bonty doith exceid all other men.

At VII.8f.(VI.xvi.18f.) the Latin reads nec candida cursum/luna negat, translated by Fairclough, 'and the moon, shining bright, forbids not the voyage'. Douglas gives a double translation of candida and takes cursum as being that of the moon, not that of the voyagers:

Nor the schene moyn hir curs and cleir lyght
Has nocht denyit.

At VII.83f.i.132 the Latin reads sacro/fonte sonat, 'echoes with hallowed fountain'. Douglas takes sonat in a very strange sense: 'namyt from a haly rowtand well'.

At/

At VII.134.ii.65 Aeneas gives the instruction
vina reponite mensis, which C. Day Lewis translates,
 'and set forth a good supply of wine'. On *reponite* Fordyce
 writes: '"duly place" (not "replace": there is no suggestion that
 the *vina* had been removed)'. Douglas translates the words:

Bryng wyne agane, set in tharof plente!

At times the cause of Douglas's failure to produce
 an accurate translation is misunderstanding of the Latin
 construction. An example occurs at VII.223ff.iv.70ff, where
 the Latin reads:

*quibus actus uterque
 Europae atque Asiae fatis concurrerit orbis
 audiit et si quem tellus extrema refuso
 summovet Oceano.*

Lonsdale and Lee translate: 'by what destinies driven either
 continent of Europe and Asia clashed in conflict, the man has
 heard, whoe'er he be, whom the farthest land removes by the
 ocean that spreads afar'. Douglas has failed to realise that
uterque Europae atque Asiae . . . orbis is the subject of
concurrerit, for he transfers the whole phrase to the line
 following and translates as if it were the subject of *audiit*,
 which has two subjects following, both introduced by the words
et si. Line iv.70 is a highly inaccurate rendering of
quibus actus. ./ . fatis concurrerit. Douglas's
 translation at line iv.74 shows that he took the ocean to be the
 separating factor, but in the Latin it is remoteness that separates.
 His reference to 'ferm land' does not correspond to anything in the
 original. Douglas translates the lines

*Quhat fatale bargane thar maid and defens,
 Athir part knawys of the warldis twa,
 That is to say, Europ and Asya,
 And gif thar ony ferthir regioun be,
 Dividit be the streym and occiane see
 Fra the ferm land.*

A strange transfer of phrase occurs at VII.257f.iv.144, where the Latin reads *huic (1501 hinc) progeniem virtute futuram/egregiam*, 'hence must come the offspring, glorious in valour'. Douglas transfers *virtute egregiam* to make it apply to Aeneas himself, not to his offspring:

Ful of souerane vertu, quhais ofspring.

Unfamiliarity with a Latin idiom may be the reason for Douglas's peculiar rendering of a phrase at VII.325f. v.103f. The Latin has *cui . ./. . cordi*, meaning, 'to whom are dear'. Douglas has

And evir mar desiris of hir kynd
And hes full grene enprentit in hir mynd.

It is difficult to see what meaning can be given to the phrase 'of hir kynd'.

Unsatisfactory renderings occur in the line following, VII.326.v.106,

iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia,

translated by Fairclough as 'passions, plots and baleful crimes'. In Douglas's version, 'stryfe' does not correspond to *iraeque* and 'harm and discordis' is not an equivalent for *crimina noxia*. Douglas's line reads:

Stryfe and dissait, harm and discordis seir.

Equally unsatisfactory is Douglas's rendering of the two lines which follow the above. At VII.327f.v.107ff. the Latin reads:

*odit et ipse pater Pluton, odere sorores
Tartareae monstrum.*

Fairclough translates: 'hateful is the monster even to her sire Pluto, hateful to her Tartarean sisters'. Douglas's version suggests that Allecto is hated in common with her sisters, instead of/

of by them; Tartareae is transferred from sorores, which alone it can qualify, to monstrum, which it cannot; and the simple Latin expression odit et ipse pater Pluton is represented by an unnecessary and misleading expansion:

This fendlych hellys monstre Tartareane
Is hatit with hir other sisteris ilkane,
And Pluto eik, the fader of hellis see,
Reputtis that bysmynng belch haitfull to se.

'The fader of hellis see' is a peculiar phrase. The meaning of the Latin, which Douglas's version fails to convey, is that Pluto was the father of Allecto.

At VII.429.vii.53 Douglas appears to have confused a noun of the first declension with one belonging to the fourth. The Latin word is portisque, 'from the gates', portis being ablative plural of porta, first declension, 'a gate'. Douglas has

Toward the portis or havynnys of the see
but this would require the Latin word to be portibusque,
dative plural of portus, fourth declension, 'a sea-port'.

At VII.437.viii.65f. there is the Latin line
non, ut rere, meas effugit nuntius auris,
'the news . . . has not, as you suppose, escaped my ears'.
Douglas gives an expanded version and interprets nuntius in a personal sense which is inappropriate in this context:

It standis not so as thou wenys, but weris:
The messynger is nocht gone by myne erys,
Full lang or now.

At VII.525f.viii.111f. Douglas's translation is marred by his failing to notice that a noun was being used in a metaphorical sense. The Latin reads:

atraque late
horrescit strictis seges ensibus.

Page translates: 'and far and wide a deadly crop of drawn swords

bristles'. Fordyce writes: *seges* is the crop consisting of the drawn swords'. Douglas has taken *seges* as meaning the land on which crops may grow; further, he has transferred *strictis . . . ensibus* to the sentence following:

The grond blaknyt and feirfull wolx alsswa;
Of drawyn swerdis sclentyng to and fra

The Latin word order shows clearly that *strictis . . . ensibus* must belong to the same sentence as *seges*.

Misinterpretation of a noun occurs again at VII.598f. ix. 122ff. The sentence is part of a speech by Latinus: *omnisque in limine portus/funere felici spoliior*, translated by Williams, 'and being right on the edge of the haven I am robbed only of happiness in death'. Douglas takes *funere* as meaning Latinus' funeral rather than his death:

Now at the dur deth reddy bydis me,
Quhar now of happy pompis funeral
I spulyeit am, and sik triumphe riall.

With his kingdom on the eve of war Latinus is hardly likely to have concerned himself with the possibility of insufficient ceremonial at his own funeral. Douglas mistranslates *portus* as 'dur'.

At VII.679.xi.90,92 there is a reference to Caeculus:
Volcano genitum pecora inter agrestia regem,
'born of Vulcan amidst the animals of the fields to be a king'. Douglas takes the phrase *pecora inter agrestia with regem* rather than with *genitum*, an unlikely interpretation:

Engendrit was by the god Vlcanus,
Our landwart bestis syne wolx lord and kyng.

A geographical error occurs at VII.697.xi.140.

The Latin phrase is *lucosque Capenos*, 'and the groves of Capena'.
Capena, /

Capena, in Etruria, was twenty-four miles from Rome. Douglas has taken Capenos as an adjective related to Capua, the name of the chief city of Campania, over a hundred miles from Rome.

At VII.707.xii.4 there is a phrase describing Clausus; *magnique ipse agminis instar*, 'as good as a great army in himself'. Douglas's rendering means something quite different: 'As gret man worthy syk ane ost to steir'.

A seasonal reference is misinterpreted at VII.719.xii.33f. The Latin line reads:

saevus ubi Orion hibernis conditur undis,

translated by Page: 'when fierce Orion sets amid the wintry waves'.

Douglas takes *undis* in an odd sense:

Quhen the stormy Orion hys hed schrowdis
In wyntir vnder the blake watry clowdis.

A phrase depicting Io, as a decoration on the shield of Turnus, is misinterpreted at VII.789.xiii.20. The phrase is *sublatis cornibus*, translated by C. Day Lewis as, 'with horns uplifted'. Douglas has taken *sublatis* in one of its other senses, 'to take away', 'to make away with', 'to destroy', for he translates the phrase as, 'sum tyme but hornys'. The versions of all other translators agree with that of C. Day Lewis.

An outstanding example of Douglas's failure to grasp the construction of the Latin occurs at VIII.15ff.(VII. xiii.121ff.) The Latin passage is three lines long:

*quid struat his coeptis, quem, si fortuna
sequatur,
eventum pugnae cupiat, manifestius ipsi
quam Turno regi aut regi apparere Latino,*

'What he was devising from these beginnings, what outcome of battle, if good fortune attended him, he desired, would be more clearly apparent to Diomedes himself than to King Turnus or King Latinus'. Douglas translates:

And syne he had begun sic thing on hand,
 Quhat syne he etlyt mycht be understand,
 That is to knaw, gif forton war so heynd
 By aventour of weir tobe his frend,
 Mair evidently he covat to proceid
 Agane his ancyent ennemy, Diomed,
 Than to ourset the yong knyghtly Turnus,
 Or yit ourcum the old kyng Latinus.

Douglas's rendering is vitiated by his failure to appreciate that the datives *ipsi*, *Turno regi* and *regi Latino* are all the indirect objects of *apparere*. In order to bring Diomede, Turnus and Latinus into the structure of the sentence Douglas has to supply three verbal items, 'to proceid agane', 'to ourset' and 'yit ourcum', none of which corresponds to anything in the original. The words, 'mycht be understand' can be taken as a rendering of *apparere*, but manifestius, 'mair evidently', which should be taken closely with *apparere*, is taken by Douglas as going with *cupiat*, ('covat'), which he divorces from its direct object *eventum* and uses to introduce his own invention, 'to proceid agane'. In translating this passage Douglas has been unusually insensitive to the structure of the Latin.

At VIII.50.i.67f. the Latin reads *paucis (adverte) docebo*, 'I shall explain in a few words; attend'. Although *paucis* stands for *paucis verbis*, Douglas transfers it from *docebo* to *adverte*:

Now harkis bot a litill, I the pray,
 I sall the lern.

There is a topographical reference at VIII.95.ii.64f., where the Latin has the clause *et longos superant flexus*, translated by Fordyce as, 'they round the long bends'. Douglas interprets *flexus* as currents in the river rather than as windings in its course and translates:

The/

The lang stremys and welys rovnd sworlyng
Our slydyng fast vpwartis the ryver.

An interpretation which appears to be opposite in meaning to the Latin occurs at VIII.180f.iii.198, The Latin reads *onerantque canistris/dona laboratae Cereris*, 'they pile into baskets the gifts of Ceres which they had prepared'. Douglas translates

The bakyn breid of baskettis temys in hy.

'temys' ('empties') is the direct opposite of the Latin.

Misinterpretation of a rite occurs at VIII.278f.iv.205f.

The Latin sentence runs

ocius omnes

in mensam laeti libant divosque precantur,

'All swiftly and gladly pour out a libation on the table'.

Douglas translates:

Than ilk man smertly tastis the wyne at tabill,
Prayand thar goddis fortobe aggreabill.

While *libare* sometimes means 'to taste', the reference to a prayer to the gods and the presence of the phrase *in mensam* put it beyond a doubt that a libation, not tasting, is Virgil's meaning.

A similar misinterpretation of a rite occurs at VIII.285.v.13, where mention is made of the *Salii*, or leaping priests of Mars. They had the ritual function of turning away danger and malign influences, but Douglas's translation of the word depicts them as entertainers:

the menstrualis, syngaris and danseris.

Inconsistency/

Inconsistency occurs at VIII.362.vi.115, where the phrase *ad sedes*, 'to the dwelling', is found. Douglas's rendering of *sedes* as 'palice' is surprising, since he translates *tecta*, referring to the same building at line 359 as 'pur luyng', and *haec regia* at line 363 as 'this sobir mans'.

At VIII.451.vii.179 f. the Latin reads *gemit impositis incudibus antrum*. Fairclough translates, 'The cavern groans under the anvils laid upon it', and Page writes of 'the heavy mass of the anvils and blocks together under which the cave groans'. Douglas's rendering gives a different reason for the groaning sound:

The huge coif and all the mont within,
For strak of styddeys, can resound and dyn.

Vulcan is described at VIII.627. x. 73 as

haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi.

Page translates: 'not unlearned in prophecy or unacquainted with the time to come', and Fordyce comments that Vulcan is given no powers of foresight and is represented as obtaining his knowledge of the future from the *vates* who are the mouthpieces of those gods who can declare it. Douglas's rendering

Knawand full weil the art of prophecy
goes too far.

At VIII.642f.xi.1f. Douglas uses a singular noun where a plural is clearly necessary. The Latin reads *citae Mettum in diversa quadrigae/distulerant*, which Fairclough translates, 'Four-horse cars, driven apart, had torn Mettus asunder'. Douglas mentions only one chariot:

the chariot thou mycht knaw
Metus Suffytius in seir pecis draw.

At IX.108f.iii.72ff. Douglas has failed to grasp the meaning of the Latin. The clause reads:

cum Turni iniuria Matrem
admonuit ratibus sacris depellere taedas,

'When the outrage committed by Turnus acted as a warning signal to the Mother to drive away the torches from the sacred ships'.

Douglas renders the clause:

Quhen Turnus thus in hys iniuryus heit
Admonyst hes hys pepill and commandis
With dry schydis and with hait fyre brandis,
The moder of goddis by sik flambys fell
Furth of hir hallowyt schippis to expell.

Douglas has transferred the subject (*iniuria*) to a prepositional phrase and made the genitive *Turni* the subject of *admonuit*, for which he supplies as object '*hys pepill*', not in the Latin; he further supplies '*commandis*' as a verb parallel to '*admonyst hes*'. He translated *Matrem*, not as the object of *admonuit*, which it is, but as the object of *depellere*, the true object of which, *taedas*, he relegates to a prepositional phrase. It seems as if Douglas has completely failed to understand the construction of the Latin clause, although its simple pattern (*iniuria*, subject; *Matrem*, object; *admonuit*, main verb; *depellere*, dependent infinitive) makes such an explanation seem incredible.

At IX.132.iii.128 occurs the remark, *terra autem in nostris manibus*, 'On the other hand the earth is in our hands'. *terra* here is contrasted with the ocean (mentioned in line 131 as *rerum pars altera*) but Douglas seems to have missed the point of the contrast, for he translates line 132:

This land is in our power, feld and cost.

A/

A further mistranslation occurs at IX.189.iv.57.

The Latin is *lumina rara micant*, 'Their gleaming watch-fires are few and far between'. The emphasis in the Latin is on the small number of watch-fires still to be seen burning. There is no hint of this in Douglas's rendering:

Thar fyris now begynnys schyne full schire.

At IX.191.iv.62, in the course of a conversation between Nisus and Euryalus, Nisus says:

et quae nunc animo sententia surgat,

which Fairclough translates, 'and what purpose now rises in my mind'. Douglas has, 'quhat thynkis thou, now say'.

The Latin cannot be interpreted in this way, for the following reasons: (1) the clause *quae nunc animo sententia surgat* is co-ordinate with the preceding clause *quid dubitem*, both being objective by *percipe* (line 190) which means, 'learn', rather than, 'consider', as Douglas takes it. Nisus invites Euryalus to learn what is going on in his (i.e. Nisus') mind; (2) the words, 'now say', do not correspond to anything in the Latin; (3) the transition from the thoughts of Nisus to those of Euryalus, in the middle of a line, would be impossibly abrupt.

Further misunderstanding of a remark made by Nisus appears at IX.235f.v.23ff. Nisus says to the members of a military council: *neve haec nostris spectentur ab annis/ quae ferimus*, 'nor let what we propose be judged from our years'. Douglas renders the request:

for this thing, quod he
 Quhilk I yow tell may nocht considerit be
 With sik as ws, nor men sa yong of yheris,
 Bot to your wisdomys till avys efferis.

The/

The words of Nisus are a request to the leaders not to dismiss his suggestion on the grounds of his youth, but in Douglas's version Nisus is admitting apologetically that his youth debars him from considering such matters.

At IX.513f.viii.131ff. the Latin reads

cum tamen omnis
ferre libet subter densa testudine casus,

which Williams translates, 'While none the less the enemy are glad to endure under their thick shelter all that comes'.

These lines give an account of the feelings of the enemy, whereas Douglas's translation at this point does not represent the verb

libet at all, but rather gives an account of the thoughts of the besieged Trojans:

For weill thai knew thar fays al maner of teyn
Vndir that volt of targis myght susteyn,
Sa lang as thai sammyn onsyverit war.

The unfortunate result of attaching a prepositional phrase to the wrong word or group of words is illustrated at IX.642f.x.122ff. The Latin reads

iure omnia bella
gente sub Assaraci fato ventura resident,

which Williams translates: 'With justice shall all the wars which are destined by fate to occur eventually cease beneath the sway of the race of Assaracus'. The phrase gente sub Assaraci goes with resident, 'shall cease', but Douglas takes it as going with fato ventura and so is forced to give the preposition sub a quite unparalleled meaning:

In the, be verray resson and of neid,
All batalys, quhilkis by werd ar destinate
Agane Assaracus hows to move debait,
Salbe appasit, and to quyet brocht.

Misunderstanding/

Misunderstanding of the context seems to be the cause of errors at IX.711.xi.102 and in a few lines following. The phrase *ponto iaciunt* is translated by Fairclough, 'men cast into the sea', but Douglas takes *ponto* as an ablative of instrument and translates *iaciunt*, plural and active, as if it were singular and passive:

And by the fludis sik wys doun was dyng.

Douglas has mistaken Virgil's account of a deliberately planned civil engineering operation for the description of destruction caused by the sea. The misunderstanding persists in Douglas's interpretation of the line following:

*sic illa ruinam
prona trahit penitusque vadis inlisa recumbit,*

translated by Page, 'So it, sinking forwards, drags its falling mass and plunging deep into the waters lies at rest'. Douglas is still thinking of a natural disaster of massive proportions:

Hys fall drew down the cite quhar it stude,
And ruschit in a fer way in the flude.

At IX.775f.xii.112ff. the Latin reads

*cui carmina semper
et citharae cordi numerosque intendere nervis,*

'who took pleasure always in songs and lute-playing and in setting tunes for the strings'. Douglas's version runs to four lines:

That in hys mynd and breist all tymys bar
Sangis and gestis, musyk and harpyng;
Apon hys stryngis playd he mony a spryng,
Lays and rymys on the best awys.

Douglas's version seems to suggest that Cretheus had a large repertoire of vocal and instrumental items; he does not represent adequately the sense of *cordi*, 'dear to his heart', nor convey Virgil's reference to him as one who made songs suitable for accompaniment on the lyre.

A rather unusual use of the word *sors* has misled Douglas at X.39f.i.90. The Latin phrase is *haec . ./sors rerum*, 'that quarter of the universe', but translated by Douglas as, 'that chance'.

Another inappropriate translation occurs at X.71.ii.23ff. The Latin verse runs

Tyrrhenamque fidem aut gentis agitare quietas,
translated by Williams, 'or to tamper with Etruscan loyalty and peaceful tribes'. Douglas's rendering of *agitare* is appropriate where the object is *gentis quietas* but much less so in relation to *Tyrrhenamque fidem*:

forto commove and steir
Other quyet pepill with hym to rays the weir,
Or till adione vp frendschip and ally
With Tyrrhene pepill and folk of Tuscany.

At X.130.iii.25f. the activities of the besieged Trojans are being described;

hi iaculis, illi certant defendere saxis,
translated by Fairclough, 'Some with darts and some with stones, they strive to ward off the foe'. Douglas takes *hi* as referring to the enemy (although the entire passage from line 120 to line 145 concerns the Trojans), and has to invent a verb for *hi*:

With dartis thai assail the cite fast,
And thai defend with slungis and stane cast.

At X.345.vi.127 there occurs the Latin word *Curibus*, meaning, 'from Cures'. Douglas has mistaken the name of the place for the name of the inhabitants; his version includes the line:

The Curytanys with hym brocht in the press.

In the course of a list of warriors at X.351.vi.139 the following line occurs:

et tris quos Idas pater et patria Ismara mittit,

'and/

'and three whom their father Idas and Ismara their parent soil sent' (Davidson). Douglas incorrectly understands a repetition of *tris quos* in front of *patria*; further, he treats *pater* metaphorically, for no good reason:

And thre com fra the cite of Idas,
And other thre of cite Ismaras.

An inadequate translation of the verb *quaerit* occurs at X.395.vii.85f. The Latin line runs

te decisa suum, Laride, dextera quaerit,
translated by Lonsdale and Lee, 'Your right hand, Larides, lopped off, seems to seek you, its master'. Douglas writes:

And thy rycht arm of smyttyn, O Laryd,
Amyd the feild lyis the besyde.

At X.473.viii.88f. there is a reference to Jupiter.

The Latin words are *oculos Rutulorum reicit arvis*, translated, 'turns his eyes away from the fields of the Rutulians' by Page, who comments, 'as a sign that he will not interfere in the combat'; Sidgwick writes, 'not to see the death'. Douglas gives the opposite meaning to *reicit*:

hys eyn towart the press
On the Rutilian feild addressis he.

It seems at X.507.viii.165 that Douglas may have confused two verbs. The Latin word is *rediture*, which Williams translates as, 'destined to return'. Douglas writes, 'Sall thou rendir and bryng hame', perhaps because he has confused *rediturus*, future participle of *redeo*, 'I go back', and *redditurus*, future participle of *reddo*, 'I send back'.

At X.555f.x.30f. there occurs the phrase *truncumque tepentem/provolvens*, translated by Jackson Knight, 'kicked the warm trunk rolling'. The trunk has not yet had time to turn cold; /

cold', Fairclough translates: 'and as he spurns the trunk,
yet warm'. Douglas has a different explanation for the warmth:

And the body baithit in the hait blude
Ene ourweltis.

At X.735.xii.113f. there is a reference to Mezentius:
haud furto melior sed fortibus armis. melior agrees
with vir (i.e. Mezentius) in the previous line, so the entire
phrase refers to him. Fairclough translates, 'prevailing not
by stealth but by strength of arms'. Douglas appears to think
that a comparison is being made between Orodes and Mezentius,
for he translates:

Orodes mair of prattik was all owt
Bot the tother in dedis of armys mair stowt.

A similar confusion regarding identity occurs at
X.749.xii.148. The Latin words are Lycaoniumque Erichaeten,
'and Ericetes son of Lycaon'. Douglas translates as if two men
were being mentioned: 'And Erycates with Lychaonyus'.

At X.757.xiii.7f. the Latin reads neque his fuga
nota neque illis. Jackson Knight translates, 'Neither this
army nor that had ever a thought of retreat'. Douglas's version
gives a much less heroic motive for continuing the fight:

And nother party wist, nother he nor he,
To self hym self quhar away to fle.

Orion is being described at X.765.xiii.24f. The Latin
words are viam scindens, umero supereminet undas,
which Fairclough translates, 'Cleaving a path, . . . towers with
his shoulder above the waves'. Although the 1501 edition has a
colon before umero, Douglas translates as if it were after it:

Scherand the streym with hys schuldris hie,
Abufe the wallys of the flude apperis.

General/

General confusion inevitably follows when insufficient attention is paid to word endings. The description of Orion continues in the following lines:

aut summis referens annosam montibus ornum
ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit,

which Williams translates, 'Or as when he brings back an aged ash from the mountain heights he treads on the ground yet hides his head among the clouds'. Douglas has failed to notice the nominative participle referens, which indicates that Orion is still the subject; in spite of the accusatives annosam and ornum he treats the mountain ash as if it were the subject, interprets ingreditur as referring to its developing root system and takes caput to be its top:

Or lyke ane ancyeut ayk tre, mony yheris
That grew apou sum montane toppys hycht,
Semand so hie to euery manis sycht,
Quhilk, thocht hys rutis spred in the grond all sydis,
Hys crop vpstraucht amyde the clowid hydys.

The sense of a passage can also suffer distortion when a genitive is made to depend on the wrong noun. At X.817.xiii.137ff. there occurs the line

transiit et parmam mucro, leuia arma minacis,

which Davidson translates, 'The pointed steel pierced both through the thin shield, the light armour of the vaunting youth'.

Douglas, ignoring word order and grammar, makes minacis dependent on mucro and gives transiit two additional objects:

That swerd, befor maid mannansyng and bost,
Throw gyrd that gentill body and hys cost,
Hys target persand and hys armour lycht.

It was not Aeneas, the wielder of the sword, who had 'maid mannansyng and bost', but Lausus, wearing the 'armour lycht', as the Latin clearly shows.

The/

The meaning suffers distortion again at X.823.xiii.151, where the Latin has *dextramque tetendit*. Fairclough translates, 'and stretched forth his hand', and Page writes: 'The outstretched hand is a sign of emotion'. Douglas gives *tetendit* an impossible meaning: 'And drew abak hys hand'.

Ambiguity occurs at X.824.xiii.153. The Latin phrase is *patriae . . . pietatis imago*, translated by Williams as 'the picture of his own love for his father'. Douglas has 'The ymage of hys faderly piete', an ambiguous phrase, which could be taken as referring to the piety of, rather than towards, a father.

At X.840.xiv.20 reference is made to warning messages being sent from Mezentius to his son Lausus. The Latin reads: *maestique ferant mandata parentis*, which Lonsdale and Lee translate, 'And bear the warnings of his sorrowing sire'. Douglas's version conveys a different meaning:

And schaw quhat sorow for hym hys fader had tane.

Apparent confusion of two verbs could account for the mistranslation at XI.109.iii.20. The Latin has *qui nos fugiatis*, 'that you flee from us'. Douglas seems to have confused the verb *fugere*, 'to flee from', used here, with the verb *fugare*, 'to put to flight', for he translates: 'That yhe chays ws away'.

At XI.202.v.46 there occurs the phrase, *stellis ardentibus aptum*, translated by Page as, 'studded with blazing stars'. Douglas has taken *aptum* in the sense of 'suitable', 'appropriate', and *stellis ardentibus* as dative instead of ablative;

That/

That ganand is for fyry sternys brycht,
 a rendering which does not make sense. Servius has a note:
 'STELLIS APTUM coniunctum, ἄπὸ τοῦ ἀπτεσθαυ'; but that hardly
 explains Douglas's translation.

Several inaccuracies are to be found in Douglas's
 translation at XI.212.v.65f. The Latin reads tepidoque
 onerabant aggere terrae, translated by Lonsdale and Lee,
 'And covered them with a warm mound of earth'. Douglas's
 version is inaccurate in four respects: (1) he omits aggere;
 (2) he applies tepidoque to the remains of the dead;
 (3) he gives no proper rendering of onerabant; (4) he writes
 as if the remains were buried in graves which had been dug in the
 surface of the ground, not covered with a mound:

And yit all warm, onculyt, sone thai haue
 Bedelvyn thame, and in the erd begrave.

One of Douglas's more peculiar inaccuracies occurs
 at XI.215.v.72, where the Latin word nurus occurs. Possible
 translations are 'daughters-in-law' and, more generally,
 'young married women'. Douglas has 'eldmoderis', (grandmothers).

In the same line as the above the Latin continues:
 cara sororum/pectora maerentum puerique, which Page
 translates, 'the dear hearts of mourning sisters, and children'.
 Although cara qualifies pectora and maerentum qualifies
 sororum, Douglas translates as if there were a full stop after
 sororum (but there is no punctuation mark here in the 1501
 edition) and as if sororum were qualified by cara. pectora
 and maerentum are consequently attached, quite ungrammatically,
 to pueri. Not infrequently Douglas translates with complete
 disregard/

disregard for case endings and agreements; this is a glaring example:

systeris deir;
Thar mycht be hard with duyfull breistis greyt
The y yng babbys.

In the following line (XI.216.v.75) Douglas has an odd translation of *parentibus orbi*, 'orphan' (adjective). He has 'That had thar faderis slane'.

The gerundive construction appears to have caused Douglas some difficulty. At XI.259.vi,65f. there occurs the phrase, *vel Priamo miseranda manus*, translated by Page, 'a host that even Priam might pity'. Douglas transfers this phrase to a point immediately after his rendering of line 255, which gives it the wrong context. He has not realised that *Priamo* is the dative of the person involved (sometimes called dative of agent) in association with a gerundive; he gives an inappropriate meaning to *manus*, treats *Priamo* as a direct object and mistranslates *miseranda*:

Or cruell handis set fortill invaid
Kyng Priamus, and of hys realm degraid.

Another mistranslation of a gerundive occurs at XI.275.vi.120, where *mihi . . . speranda fuerunt*, 'were what I had to expect' is rendered by Douglas, 'hes betyd me'.

An interpretation given in a note by Servius may well explain a mistranslation of Douglas's at XI.293.vi.165. The Latin has *qua datur*, 'as is permitted'. Servius thought that the clause meant *qua potest* or *quacunque ratione permittitur*, 'in whatever way is offered', but Page points out that this cannot be got from the Latin. Douglas has the phrase, 'Be ony wys'.

At/

At XI.320.vii.59f. the Latin has the phrase *et celsi plaga pinea montis*, translated by Fairclough as 'with a pine-clad belt of mountain height'. Douglas omits *pinea*, but adds a reference to pinnacles, which the word *pinea* may have suggested to him:

and band of hillis hie,
Sa full of rochis pynnakillis.

At XI.459.ix.34 there occurs the word *immo*, which Williams translates, 'all right, then'. Douglas translates it as 'haue doyn', an odd rendering, when Turnus is ironically urging the citizens to continue their discussion.

Unfamiliarity with a Latin idiom could explain a mistranslation at XI.508f.x.50f. The Latin has *quas dicere grates/ quasve referre parem?* which Williams translates, 'What thanks can I prepare to say, let alone show in deeds?' Douglas renders *dicere* as 'yeld or rendir', but seems unfamiliar with the phrase *grates referre*:

Quhat thankis yeld or rendir the may I,
Or quhat may I refer of thy renovn?

Douglas misinterprets the direction being taken by Penthesilea at XI.661f.xiii.29f. The Latin reads *seu cum se Martia curru/Penthesilea refert*, translated by Page as, 'Or when martial Penthesilea returns home (victorious) in her car'. Douglas pictures the warrior maiden as going the other way:

Or by the weirlyk maid Penthesile,
Rolland hir cart of weir to the melle.

Failure to grasp the nature of the situation has vitiated Douglas's translation at XI.694f,xiii,100ff. The Latin verses are

magnumque agitata per orbem
eludit gyro interior sequiturque sequentem,

translated/

translated by Fairclough, 'And, chased in a wide circle, foils him, wheels into an inner ring and pursues the pursuer'.

Douglas translates the perfect participle passive *agitata* as if it were active and gives an impossible meaning to *sequentem*:

In circulis wyde scho drave hym our the bent,
With mony a curs and iowk, abowt, abowt;
Quhar euer he fled scho followis in and owt.

Further inaccuracy occurs at XII.23.i.57ff.

The Latin verse runs

nec non aurumque animusque Latino est,

translated by Page, 'Moreover Latinus has gold and good will'.

Douglas's rendering is amazingly far from the original. He takes the gold, correctly, to be that of Latinus, but attributes the good will, in spite of the close linking of *aurumque animusque* by means of the repeated *-que*, to Turnus:

Tharto thou has alsso a gentill hart,
Liberall and fre, and in weir most expert,
And Kyng Latyn hes gold to geif the eik.

What makes Douglas's mistranslation all the more strange is the explicit comment of Servius, paraphrasing *aurumque animusque Latino est*: 'a me habes aurum et promptum animum ad danda omnia praeter filiam'.

A minor inaccuracy occurs at XII.118f.iii.14, where the Latin mentions *aras/gramineas*, 'altars of turf'. Douglas has

The altaris coverit with the scherald greyn,
but the altars were not covered with turf; they consisted
of turf.

An error in identity occurs at XII.127.iii.34f.

The Latin verse runs

et/

et genus Assaraci Mnestheus et fortis Asilas,
 which Williams translates, 'Both Mnestheus, descendant of
 Assaracus and brave Asilas'. Mnestheus is in apposition to
 genus Assaraci, as the Latin clearly shows, but Douglas
 translates as if et came between them:

Assaricus sonnys and Mnestheus wight,
 And on the tother part strang Asilas.

At XII.185f.iv.64f. the Latin reads nec post arma
 ulla rebelles/Aeneadae referent, translated by Davidson,
 'Nor in future shall the Aeneades, violating the peace, make
 war again'. Douglas has

Nor Eneadanys neuer, from the ilk thraw,
 Aganyst you sall rebell nor move weir.

'Rebell' is not an appropriate translation, as the subject is
 not rebellion but renewal of hostilities. The Aeneades could
 not 'rebel' against those to whom they were not to owe any
 allegiance,

An error in relation to time occurs at XII.242f.v.52,
 where the Latin has foedusque precantur/infectum,
 translated by Page, 'And pray for the undoing of the treaty'.
 Douglas places the event prayed about in the past:

Prayand God this contract had neuer bene maid.

Insufficient regard for word order explains an error
 at XII.378.vi.165f. The Latin reads et auxilium stricto
 mucrone petebat, which Davidson translates, 'And from
 his unsheathed sword sought assistance'. Douglas takes
 auxilium petebat in the sense of calling for assistance
 but the position of stricto mucrone between auxilium and
 petebat rules out such an interpretation.

And in hys hand held drawyn the burnyst blaid,
 Cryand for help his aduersar till invaid.

A minor nominal error occurs at XII.392.vii.22.

A person is described as Iasides, i.e. 'son of Iasus', but Douglas calls him 'son of Iasides'.

At XII.417f.vii.85f. an action of Venus is described as she assists, invisibly, at the healing of the wound sustained by Aeneas in battle. The Latin reads

hoc fustum labris splendentibus amnem
inficit occulte medicans,

translated by Williams, 'with this she impregnated the water which they had poured into a sparkling basin, secretly treating it'. Douglas devotes a whole line to the translation of amnem and then gives an incredibly inappropriate mistranslation of labris splendentibus:

And with the herb also mydlit hes sche
The hailsum thryfty watir wonder sle
That from hir brycht lippys scho yet inhy;
And temperis and enbalmys prevely
The plastyr tharwith.

'Plastyr' seems unsuitable as a description of a liquid which, to the skilled eye of Iapyx the physician, was indistinguishable from pure water.

At XII.429.vii.111 the physician Iapyx, speaking of the sudden and miraculous healing of Aeneas' wound, remarks maior agit deus, which Williams translates, 'A greater one is active, a god'. Maguinness comments: 'Such renderings as 'a greater god' are nonsense - a good example of the necessity of translating meanings, not words'. Douglas commits the error referred to by Maguinness: 'Bot be sum grettar god'.

At XII.481.viii.90 there occurs the clause tortos legit . . . orbis, translated by Williams, 'Followed his twists and turns all round about'. Douglas translates:

Hys quhelys turnys and writhis mony a went,

as referring to smoking chimneys;

And yon hie turrettis, and tha toppis hie
Of rekand chymnais yondir.

At XII.585.x.81f, an action of the inhabitants of Laurentum, capital city of Latium, the realm of King Latinus, is mentioned: *ipsumque trahunt in moenia regem*, translated by Lonsdale and Lee, 'And drag to the battlements the king himself'. *regem* indicates Latinus, but Douglas strangely takes it as referring to Aeneas, with consequently distorted interpretations of *trahunt* and *in moenia*:

and thar gret prynce Ene
Ressaue as for thar kyng in the cite.

At XII.590,x.93 the activities of bees are being described and the phrase *acuunt . . . iras*, 'they whet their rage' is used. Douglas appears to take *acuunt* literally: 'Scharpand thar stangis for ire'.

At XII.591f.x.97f the Latin reads *nunc murmure caeco/ intus saxa sonant*, translated by Fairclough, 'The rocks within hum with hidden murmur'. Douglas, under the impression that these words refer to the city of Latinus, takes *saxa* as meaning the rocks hurled into the town as missiles, whereas the reference is to the rocks within which the bees have their nest:

The stanys warpit in fast dyd rebund,
Within the wallis rays gret bruyt and sound.

In the following line the Latin reads *vacuas it fumus ad auras*, which Jackson Knight translates, 'And fumes escape to the open air'. Douglas, still envisaging an urban context, writes:

And/

And vp the reik all void went in the air,
 Quhar as na tenementis stud nor howsis war.

At XII.652.xi.82 there occurs the participial phrase, *implorans nomine Turnum*, 'imploring Turnus by name'. Douglas transfers this phrase to the passage of direct speech which begins in the following line. The result is a very odd remark,

Cryand, 'Help, Turnus, be his name, quhar is he?'

At XII.668.xi.118 the phrase occurs *conscia virtus*, translated by Williams, 'the knowledge of his personal valour'. Maguinness writes: '*conscia = sibi conscia*, "aware of its own existence" (irrespective of others' opinion)'. Douglas's 'bykend' hardly conveys the sense of the possessor's awareness:

And hys bykend hardyment and curage.

A mistranslation of the verb *potuisti* occurs at XII.804.xiii.30. Davidson translates, 'You have been empowered', Jackson Knight has 'You had sufficient power'. Douglas's version, 'Thou mycht . . . haue' is inappropriate here, as it suggests that Juno had been in possession of power which she had not used; she had in fact brought about all the misfortunes listed.

At XII.849.xiii.139f there occurs the Latin phrase *saeuique in limine regis*, which Davidson translates, 'And at the court of the incensed sovereign'. Although the reference is clearly, in the context, to Jupiter, Douglas takes *saeui regis* as a reference to Pluto:

and eik also
 Within the wanyis of cruell Kyng Pluto.

A/

A rendering which is difficult to relate to the Latin occurs at XII.854.xiii.149f. The Latin verse runs
 inque omen Iuturnae occurrere iussit, translated by Fairclough as 'And bade her meet Juturna as a sign'. The version given by Douglas is hard to understand:

And bad hir . . .
 Forto resist Iuturnais ire and werd.

At XII.903f.xiv. 41ff. there is a description of Turnus. The Latin verses are

sed neque currentem se nec cognoscit euntem
 tollentemve manus saxumve immane moventem,

translated by Lonsdale and Lee, 'But neither in running, nor in his movement, does he feel his proper self, or as he uplifts in his hand, and hurls, the ponderous stone'.

Douglas's version seems to miss the point that Turnus was now fully aware of his weakness:

he ne knew hym selvyn in that sted,
 Nowder quhar that he ran, nor quhar he yed,
 Nor felt hym self liftand on the land
 The mekill stane, nor steir it with his hand.

At XII.952.xiv.153f., the concluding line of Virgil's final book, the Latin, describing the death of Turnus, reads:

vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras,
 translated by Lonsdale and Lee, 'And with a sigh the affronted soul flies forth beneath the shades'. Douglas renders the line

The spreit of lyfe fled murnand with a grone,
 And with disdeyn under dyrk erth is goyn.

'With disdeyn' is a curious translation of indignata, for the spirit of Turnus would be complaining indignantly of its fate rather than expressing scorn.

A study of the foregoing examples suggests that there is no single explanation for Douglas's errors, apart from the general one of haste. Douglas's own statement in his lines on 'tyme, space and dait' to the effect that the Eneados was completed in a period of eighteen months characterised by frequent interruptions certainly provides a possible explanation.

Another factor would be his position as a pioneer translator into Middle Scots as far as the Aeneid was concerned. Even if time had permitted, he had no standard of comparison in his own language in the form of an earlier version to which he could refer in order to obtain confirmation of interpretations about which he had doubts. That he had doubts about the accuracy of his work is suggested by his requests to his readers not to be over-censorious in judging his work. An example occurs at lines 499f. of the Prologue to Book I:

Beis not ourstudyus to spy a moyt in myne e,
That in your awyn a ferry boyt can nocht se.

At the same time time, Douglas appears to have felt that the results of his efforts were in general satisfactory. In his 'Exclamatioun' he implies that his poem will pass muster if compared with the original (lines 19-25):

Bot, gyf I le, lat Virgyll be owr iuge,
Hys wark is patent, I may have na refuge;
Tharby go note my faltis on by on:
No wondir is, the volum was so huge,
Quha mycht perfyte all hys hie termys luge
In barbar langage, or thame dewly expon?
Bot weill I wait, of hys sentens wantis non.

It is perhaps due to Douglas's expressed confidence in the faithfulness of his Eneados to the original that scholars can be found at the present day who generously, but uncritically, claim for Douglas's translation a degree of accuracy of which it plainly falls short.

CHAPTER III: MISTRANSLATION OF NOUNS (CASE)

A number of Douglas's mistranslations are due to failure to give adequate attention to the oblique cases of nouns or of adjectives used nominally. In this section, errors in the translation of the accusative, the genitive, the dative and the ablative will be discussed in that order.

At IV.106.iii.30ff. the Latin verse runs

quo regnum Italiae Libycas averteret oras.

Douglas's translation means exactly the opposite of the Latin, which could be rendered, 'So that she might divert the kingdom of Italy to Libyan shores', Libycas oras being the poetical accusative of 'motion towards' without a preposition. Douglas, with considerable expansion, translates as if the phrase were an ablative of separation (Libycis oris):

To that effect scho mycht the Trojane kynd,
And werys tocum furth of Itail alsswa,
With hald and kepe from boundis of Lybia.

A study of Douglas's version shows the following departures from the Latin text:

- (1) 'Trojane kynd' bears no resemblance to regnum Italiae;
- (2) The line beginning, 'And werys tocum' represents nothing in the Latin;
- (3) averteret with the poetical accusative of 'motion towards' can only mean 'divert to' and not 'with hald and kepe from'.

At V.531.ix.74f. the phrase occurs laetum amplexus Acesten, translated by C. Day Lewis, 'put his arms round the elated Acestes'. Douglas translates as if laetum (accusative) had been laetus (nominative), qualifying the subject of amplexus, i.e. Aeneas: 'bot gan embrass/Acestes glaidly'.

At/

At VI.641.x.31f. there occur the words *solemque suum, sua sidera norunt*, translated by Fairclough, 'and they know their own sun, and stars of their own'. *norunt* has two objects, *solem* and *sidera*, but Douglas has taken *sua sidera* as nominative to *norunt*, with a phrase to account for the presence of *sua*:

The starnys, for this place conuenient,
Knawis weil thar son and obseruys his went.

At XI.788.xv.49f. the Latin reads *multa premimus vestigia pruna*, translated by Lonsdale and Lee, 'press the soles of our feet on many a burning coal'. Douglas translates *multa . . . pruna* (ablative) as if it were accusative and *vestigia* (accusative) as if it were ablative:

Oft with our futsteppys and our nakyt solys
Down thryngis feil hait syndris and fyry colys.

An example of a mistranslated genitive occurs at V.334.vi.82f. The Latin verse runs

non tamen Euryali, non ille oblitus amorum:

'Yet not of Euryalus, not of his love was he forgetful' (Fairclough). Both *Euryali* and *amorum* are genitives dependent on *oblitus*, as Fairclough's translation makes clear. Douglas's version appears to take *amorum* as dependent on *oblitus* but to regard *Euryali* as a possessive genitive dependent on *amorum*:

yyt then
Foryettis he not Eurialus luf.

Another genitive is mistranslated at II.413.vii.89f. The Latin verse runs

tum Danai gemitu atque ereptae virginis ira,
translated by Williams, 'then the Greeks shouting in frustration and angry at the maiden's rescue'. *ereptae virginis* is an objective/

objective genitive, as Austin and Williams remark; Page takes substantially the same view, calling it a causal genitive; he writes: 'The genitive denotes that which causes the anger; the anger is not directed at the rescue, but arises from it'. Douglas takes *ereptae virginis* as a possessive genitive, and therefore translates:

Als quhat for walyng of irus wordis fell
Agane reskewit said by the damycell.

In the next example two genitives are attached to the wrong noun. At II.483f.viii.77ff. the Latin verses read

apparet domus intus et atria longa patescunt;
apparent Priami et ueterum penetralia regum,

translated by Jackson Knight, 'The interior stood revealed. A long vista of galleries was suddenly exposed, and the private home of King Priam and the kings before him came into view'. Douglas omits *apparent* and *penetralia* and attaches the genitives *Priami* and *ueterum . . . regum* to the word 'hallys' (*atria*) in line 483.viii.78 in spite of the full stop after *patescunt* in the 1501 edition:

By the quhilk slop the place within apperis,
The wyde hallys wolx patent al infeiris
Of Priamus and ancyant kyngis of Troy.

At VI.44.i.83 Douglas mistranslates a genitive as a dative. The Latin phrase is *responsa Sibyllae*, 'the answers of the Sibyl'. Douglas, inexplicably, appears to take *Sibyllae* as a dative: 'Gevand respons onto this Sibilla'.

At VIII.558.ix.35 the Latin verse runs

tum pater Euandrus dextram complexus euntis,

translated by Lonsdale and Lee, 'Then old Evander, clasping the hand of/

of his departing guest'. euntis must be genitive singular,
dependent on dextram, which alone can be the object of complexus.

Douglas takes euntis as plural:

The fader than Evander, as thai depart,
By the rycht hand thame gryppyt with sair hart.

A further example of a mistranslated genitive occurs
at XII.7f.i.19ff. The Latin reads

fixumque latronis
impavidus frangit telum et fremit ore cruento,

translated by Davidson, 'and undaunted breaks the infixed weapon
of the hunter and roars with bloody jaws'. latronis is genitive,
dependent on telum, but Douglas associates it, ungrammatically,
with the verb fremit. Douglas appears to accept the erroneous
supposition of some Roman grammarians that the word latro was
related to the verb latere, 'to lurk' (Ascensius, for example,
mentions a possible connection with latibulum, 'a hiding-place'),
and this in part explains Douglas's translation:

Onabasytly raschand the schaft in sundir,
And on the man liggand at wait thar undir,
Hym to revenge, with bludy mouth doys bray.

Douglas mistranslates a dative in three instances.

The first occurs at II.402.vii.71f, where the Latin verse runs

heu nihil invitis fas quemquam fidere divis!

Austin translates, 'Alas! it is forbidden that any man should put
any trust in unwilling gods!' Douglas has a rather free version,
obscuring the fact that invitis , , , divis, in the dative case,
is governed by fidere; 'to weyn ocht may sustene' represents
nothing in the Latin:

Allace, onleifull is ony man to weyn
(Contrar the plesour of goddis) ocht may sustene.

At/

At II.591f.x.59f. Douglas mistranslates a dative plural as an ablative plural. The Latin reads *qualisque videri caelicolis et quanta solet*, translated by Page, 'beauteous and stately as she ever appears to the dwellers in heaven'. Douglas renders the words

In sik form of quantite and estait
As scho is seyn with spretis deificait,

but in that case *caelicolis* would require to be ablative governed by *cum*; in Virgil's text it is dative after *videri*.

At VI.95.ii.33 the Sibyl gives Aeneas the instruction, *tu ne cede malis*, translated by Jackson Knight, 'Yet must you not yield to affliction'. Douglas appears to take *malis* as ablative, and translated *cede* in the sense of 'withdraw', but this is a less likely interpretation. Douglas's version runs

Withdraw the from na perellis, nor hard thrist.

There are several examples of mistranslation of the ablative case. A very clear instance occurs at II.219.iv.33, where the sea-serpents are described. In the course of the account of their attack on Laocoon, the statement is made, *superant capite et cervicibus altis*. Douglas translates, 'Bath nek and hede thai schent'. It will be observed that he mistranslates *superant* as 'schent' and converts *capite* and *cervicibus* into direct objects, but the true object of *superant* is Laocoon (understood) and the ablative case of both *capite* and *cervicibus* indicates measure of difference. A literal rendering would read, 'they towered above him to the extent of their heads and lofty necks'.

A case where an ablative appears to be mistranslated as a dative occurs at II.409.vii.82. The Latin reads *et densis incurrimus/*

incurrimus armis, translated by Fairclough as, 'and charge with serried arms', and by C. Day Lewis, 'attacking in close order'. Douglas's version suggests that he thought of *densis armis* as referring to the ranks of the enemy:

Amang glavys and armour in we thrust.

At III.123.ii.107 Douglas misinterprets an ablative of separation as a dative. The Latin phrase is *hoste vacare*, 'to be free of the enemy'. Although the 1501 edition has *hoste*, Douglas seems to have misread it as the dative *hosti*, for he translates

The luyngis voyd and reddy to thar fays.

An example of the mistranslation of an ablative absolute occurs at III.614f.ix.50f. The Latin reads *genitore Adamasto/ paupere*, 'since my father Adamastus was a poor man'. Page comments: 'His father being in humble circumstances had sent him to seek his fortune in the army'. The phrase *genitore Adamasto paupere* is ablative absolute and in this instance is the equivalent of an adverbial clause of reason. Douglas translates as if the Latin phrase had been preceded and governed by *cum*:

Cummyn onto Troy with my fader of lait,
Bot a puyr wageour, clepyt Adamastus.

Nothing in the Latin suggests that Adamastus went to Troy himself.

Another instance of failure to appreciate the significance of the ablative absolute occurs at VI.22.i.31f. The Latin reads *stat ductis sortibus urna*, which Austin translates, 'The lots have been drawn, there stands the urn'. The temporal relationship between *stat* and *ductis* is not brought out in Douglas's version:

The/

The dedly vrn stand porturat mycht thai knaw,
Owt of the quhilk the lottis warrin draw.

At IV.217.v.81 the words *rapto potitur* occur, meaning, 'takes possession of the spoil', *potiri* being one of the Latin verbs which have their object in the ablative case. Douglas takes *rapto* as an ablative of instrument and has consequently to supply an object for the verb:

By reif mantemys hir suld owris be.

At VIII.533.viii.181 there occurs the statement *ego poscor Olympo*. Fordyce translates, 'I am called by heaven', and comments: 'Olympo is to be taken as ablative (or dative) of agent with *poscor*'. Douglas has taken it as a poetic dative of motion towards', as in Book VII.35, *terraeque advertere proras*, 'to turn the prows to the land'. Douglas's translation of *ego poscor Olympo* is, 'For I am callyt to the hevin, quod he.

At VIII.605,x.23 there occurs an example of a double translation which results in inaccuracy. The Latin reads *et latis tendebat in arvis*, 'its tents lay pitched upon the broad plain'. Douglas has

With tentis stentit strekand to the plane.

Douglas has translated *tendebat* twice, accurately in the phrase 'With tentis stentit' and inaccurately in 'strekand', an error which leads to the further mistake of rendering *latis in arvis* ('in the wide fields') as, 'to the plane'.

At X.363.vii.5 the phrase occurs *arbustaque diruta ripis*, 'and shrubs torn from the banks'. The idea of separation is absent from Douglas's version:

And buskis with the brays down had bet.

In/

In the foregoing examples the cases of the noun have been dealt with in turn, but as in the previous chapter there seems to be no general explanation of Douglas's inaccuracies. Apart from the shortness of time spent on the work it is possible that some of the other matters which were making demands on Douglas at the same time could have had a distracting influence on his poetic composition. What is clear is that on occasion he gave the grammatical structure of the Latin something less than the degree of attention necessary to guarantee an accurate rendering.

CHAPTER IV: MISTRANSLATION OF PRONOUNS

In a number of instances Douglas mistranslates pronouns and possessive adjectives. An example of the incorrect attribution of the reflexive adjective occurs at I.461.vii,77.

The Latin reads *sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi*, translated by Williams as, 'Here too there are due rewards for glory'. Douglas takes *sua praemia* as referring to Priam:

Lo, heir his wirschip is haldin in memor,

but that would have required the Latin word to be *eius*, not *sua*.

At I.751.xi.114 the phrase *quibus . . . armis* occurs. The meaning is, 'with what armour', but Douglas renders the phrase as 'with quhais armour', as if the Latin word had been *cuius*.

The force of the emphasising pronoun is not brought out by Douglas's version at II.391.vii.52. The Latin reads *arma dabunt ipsi*, translated by Page as, 'They themselves (i.e. although they are our foes) shall give us weapons'.

Douglas's version does less than justice to *ipsi*:

Thai sal ws rendir thir harnes of thar bakkis.

A further example of the suppression of the emphasising pronoun in translation occurs at II.502.viii.114f. The Latin reads

sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacrauerat ignis,

'polluting with his blood the fires which he himself had consecrated for sacrifice'. The blood is clearly Priam's own life-blood, this line being an anticipation of the account of Priam's death at lines 550 to 553. Douglas, failing to give due weight to *ipse*, seems to take the blood as being that of a sacrificial animal:

All our bysprent and sperklyt ful of blude
Of sacryfice, quhamto he bet the fyre.

The/

The misinterpretation of *quis* leads to difficulties at II.594.x.63f. The Latin reads

quis indomitas tantus furor excitat iras?

'What terrible resentment is arousing your uncontrollable bouts of anger?' Douglas translates as if *quis* were here the interrogative pronoun and not the interrogative adjective qualifying *furor*; this compels him to translate the Latin subject (*tantus furor*) as if it were the object. He renders *furor* as 'cruelte', which seems inappropriate:

quha sa gret and furyus cruelte
And hie ondantit ire has rasyt in the?

At VII.117.ii.30 the demonstrative adjective is given inadequate weight. The Latin phrase is *ea vox audita*, translated by Fairclough, 'that cry, when heard', and by Robert Fitzgerald, 'that remark, as soon as heard'. Douglas's version does not convey the definiteness of the demonstrative adjective *ea* but suggests a rather vague experience of the listeners:

Thame thocht thai hard a fatale voce or word.

The reflexive pronoun is mistranslated at IX.696.xi.70. The Latin reads *is enim se primus agebat*, translated by Williams, 'for he was coming in front'. There is no mention in this clause of Turnus, but Douglas translates:

That him on cace met formest in the press.

Douglas has apparently failed to realise that the words *is*, *se* and *primus* must refer grammatically to the same person.

At XII.342.vi.81f. Douglas shows misunderstanding of the significance of *hunc* and *illum* in referring to persons previously/

previously mentioned. The Latin reads *hunc congressus et hunc, illum eminus*, 'the last two mentioned in hand-to-hand fighting, the first-mentioned from a distance'. Douglas misinterprets *hunc* and *illum*, incorrectly taking *hunc . . . et hunc* to refer to the first two mentioned and *illum* to the last:

The formast twa he slew machit at hand,
And this Polus, as he far of dyd stand,

the order of names being *Sthelenus, Thamyrys, Polus*.

The reflexive pronoun is misinterpreted by Douglas at XII.390.vii.19. The Latin reads *seseque in bella remittant*. In simple sentences the reflexive pronoun *se* or *sese* refers to the subject of the verb, but in indirect speech it may also refer to the subject of the verb of the main clause, i.e. the person who said or thought the clause. Here *seseque* refers, not to the subject of *remittant*, as Douglas takes it, but to the subject of the main verb *poscit* (line 388), to which the subjunctives *secent* (line 389), *rescindant* (line 390) and *remittant* (line 390) are all subordinate. *seseque* refers to the subject of *poscit*, i.e. Aeneas. Douglas translates:

That thai mycht hast thame self, but mair delay,
To the batale, forto stynt this effray.

An explanation of the shortness of this chapter may be that Douglas was in general fairly competent in translating pronouns, apart from occasional failure to accord them their due weight, and that the errors noticed are due rather to oversight than to failure to grasp the significance of the various types of pronoun.

CHAPTER V: MISTRANSLATION OF ADJECTIVES

In several cases Douglas mistranslates adjectives. At I.458.vii.71 the Latin has the phrase *et saevum ambobus Achillem*, 'and Achilles, savagely angry at both parties'. Douglas has taken *saevum* as a comparative adjective, and has interpreted the dative *ambobus* as if it were an ablative of comparison:

And baldar than thame baith, the fers Achil.

A few lines later there occurs the frequently quoted saying (I. 462.vii.78f.)

sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt, translated by Austin, 'Even here tears fall for man's lot, and mortality touches the heart'. Douglas takes *mortalia* as qualifying *mentem* instead of as a new subject, nominative to *tangunt*:

Thir lamentabyll takynnys passit befor
Our mortal myndis aucht to compassioun steir.

At II.574.x.27 the word *invisa* occurs. As far as accident is concerned, *invisa* could mean either 'unseen' or 'hateful', but in the particular context 'hateful' makes far better sense. Mackail writes: '*invisa* has been taken by some commentators to mean "unseen". But Virgil never elsewhere (in about 20 instances) uses it in that sense'. Nevertheless that is the way in which Douglas interprets the word here: 'onethis seyn'.

The adjective *clara* is misinterpreted at II.589.x.56. The Latin reads *non ante oculis tam clara*, translated by Fairclough, 'never before so brilliant to behold'. Austin writes that *clara* is used here for *manifesta*, a view which corresponds to the approach of Fairclough. Douglas takes *clara* as/

as referring to the beauty of Venus: 'farer than euer I dyd hir se'.

At III.23.i.47 there occurs the phrase *densis hastilibus horrida*, 'growing up thick with a host of shoots'. Douglas's rendering, 'the tre funerale', suggests that he has taken another meaning that *horridus* sometimes has, 'causing horror', 'terrible' or 'horrid'.

The adjective *duri* occurs in the phrase *Dardanidae duri* at III.94.ii.54. Fairclough translates the phrase, 'Ye long-suffering sons of Dardanus', and Williams, in his commentary to Book III, 'Enduring sons of Dardanus'. Douglas's 'dowr' is sometimes appropriate as a translation of *durus*, but not here. Page comments that the oracle, by addressing Aeneas and his followers as *duri*, is suggesting the hardships which await them before arriving at their goal. Douglas translates:

O ye dowr pepil discend from Dardanus.

At III.386.vi.64 a genitive adjective is misinterpreted as a nominative plural noun. The Latin phrase is *Aeaeaeque insula circes*, 'the island of Aeaeae Circe'. Page comments: 'The sorceress Circe . . . was called Aeaea as being connected with Aea in Colchis the land of magic'. Douglas appears to have taken *Aeaeae* as the name of the island, nominative in apposition to *insula*, for he translates:

And Aheie, the ile quhar Circes dwelt.

Another instance of the misinterpretation of an adjective as a noun occurs at III.406f.vi.99f. The Latin reads *ne . . . hostilis facies occurrat*, 'lest any hostile shape should meet your eye'. *facies* is nominative (singular) to *occurrat* and is qualified by the adjective *hostilis*.

Douglas/

Douglas appears to have taken *hostilis* as a noun, equivalent to *hostis* and nominative to *occurrat*, with *facies* as a direct object in the accusative plural:

Les than . . .
Thi enemies mycht occur, and knaw thi face,

but this interpretation is impossible for the following reasons:

- (1) *hostilis* is always an adjective and never a noun;
- (2) it is qualifying a nominative singular noun, and that can only be *facies*;
- (3) *occurro* governs the dative, so *facies* as a direct object in the accusative plural is out of the question;
- (4) The Latin has nothing to justify the meaning, 'knew'.

At III.595.ix.16 the phrase occurs *patriis in armis*, 'in the service of his country' or 'in the armour of his native land'. Douglas has taken the other meaning of *patrius*, 'belonging to one's father' and translates, 'intil hys faderis armour', but this interpretation conflicts with Douglas's own translation at III.614f.ix.50f.,

Cummyn onto Troy with my fader of lait.

If the father of Achaemenides had been at Troy along with his son, he would have required his armour for his own protection.

At III.637.ix.91 the Latin has *aut Phoebeae lampadis instar*, 'or like the lamp of Phoebus, i.e. the sun', as Williams translates the phrase. Servius comments: *Phoebeae autem derivatio est vel a Luna vel a Sole*. Douglas has taken the adjective *Phoebeae* as derived from *Phoebe* rather than from *Phoebus*, and therefore translates:

Or lyke onto the lantern of the moyn.

An/

An adjective is again mistaken for a proper noun at VI.12.i.8. The Latin has the phrase *Delius . . . vates*, 'the Delian seer', i.e. Apollo. Douglas has taken *Delius* not as an adjective but as a proper noun, with *vates* in apposition, for he translates, 'Delyus, the prophet divyne'.

A similar misinterpretation occurs at VI.234.iii.151f. The Latin phrase is *monte sub aërio*, 'beneath a lofty mount'. Douglas has taken *aërio* as a proper noun with *monte* in apposition and therefore translated the phrase

Vndir the mont, vmquhile Aeryus
Was clepit.

At VI.408.vi.50 Douglas has an odd translation of the adjective *venerabile*. The Latin phrase is *venerabile donum*, variously translated as 'the dread gift' (Fairclough), 'the holy offering' (Jackson Knight) and 'the ancient gift' (Robert Fitzgerald). Douglas has, 'the presand fresch and gay', a puzzling rendering. It seems as if Douglas has derived the adjective *venerabilis* from *Venus* or from *venustas*, meaning 'loveliness', 'beauty', 'attractiveness'. This possibility is strengthened by Douglas's equally strange translation of the adjective *sacrum*, 'sacred' as 'schene' at VIII.591.ix.111. At that point the 1501 edition quotes Servius' explanation of *sacrum* as *venerabile*. If Douglas associated the word *venerabile* with *venustas*, that would explain his translations of *venerabile* at VI.408.vi.50 and of *sacrum* (as glossed by Servius) at VIII.591.ix.111.

At VII.230.iv.85 the word *innocuum* occurs, with the meaning, 'unharméd' (Fordyce). Page explains the word as meaning, 'where we need not fear those attacks to which strangers are/

are often exposed on landing'. Douglas takes the word in an active sense: 'hurtand na mannys rycht'.

At VII.593.ix.108ff. Douglas translates a neuter plural adjective as if it were masculine plural. The Latin verse runs

multa deos aurasque pater testatus inanis,

translated by Page, 'oft calling to witness the gods and empty air'.

Douglas translates multa as if it were multos and expands both testatus and inanis, the latter word into a whole line:

Full mony goddis and the hevynnys hie
To wytnes drew he, all was by his will
Bot all for nocht, na tent was take thartill.

Mistranslation of an adjective as a common noun occurs at VII.595.ix.115f. The Latin verse runs

ipsi has sacrilego pendetis sanguine poenas,

which Fairclough translates, 'Ye yourselves . . . with your impious blood shall pay the price of this'. Douglas translates sacrilego (adjective qualifying sanguine) as if it had been sacrilegii (genitive of noun sacrilegium, dependent on poenas). ipsi is perhaps represented by the adjective 'express', qualifying 'blude'. Douglas translates:

(yhe sall) with your blude express
The wrangis of sic sacrilege redres.

Douglas appears to have misunderstood the meaning of the adjective glaucus. At VIII.33f.i.33f. the Latin reads eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu/carbasus, which Williams translates, 'The transparent material of a grey robe enfolded him'. Douglas renders glauco ('bluish grey') as 'of cullour fawch', inaccurately, as 'fawch' means 'pale brown' or 'yellow'. There is a/

a parallel example at X.205.iv.114, where the Latin phrase is *velatus harundine glauca*, translated by Lonsdale and Lee, 'garlanded with gray sedge'. Douglas has 'ourheldyt all with redis brovn'.

Misunderstanding of the significance of the prefix *in-* could account for a mistranslation at IX.499.viii.96f. The Latin reads *torpent infractae ad proelia vires*, translated by Fairclough, 'Their strength is numbed and crushed for battle'. Douglas has taken *infractae* as a negative ('unbroken'), for he translates

Thar hie curage, . . .
That oneffrayt was batale to sustene,
Wolx dolf and dull the petuus sycht to sene.

Douglas has not been aware that the word *princeps* need not denote status. In three instances this has misled him. At IX.535.ix.22 the phrase *princeps . . . Turnus* occurs, not meaning 'Turnus the prynce', as Douglas translates it, but simply 'foremost', as Mackail points out. Fairclough has 'First Turnus', which is an accurate rendering. The second example is to be found at X.166.iv.9, where Page translates *princeps*, 'at their head'. Douglas has 'Prynce', in apposition to the name 'Massycus'. XI.620.xii.56 provides the third example, the Latin being *princeps turmas inuasit Asilas*, translated by Lonsdale and Lee, 'Asilas foremost leads the squadrons on'. Douglas appears again to have taken *princeps* as a title denoting status; he translates:

And fast invadis thame Prynce Asyllas.

At X.87.ii.72 a phrase occurs, *gravidam bellis urbem*, translated by Lonsdale and Lee, 'a city big with the throes/

throes of war'. On *gravidam bellis* Page writes: 'i.e. teeming with warriors ready for the fray'. The implications of *gravidam* are naturally future, but Douglas's translation refers to the past:

a strang cite,
That hes bene oft exercyt in melle.

The meaning of *aequalis* has eluded Douglas at X.194.iv.81ff. The Latin verse runs

filius aequalis comitatus classe catervas,
which Lonsdale and Lee translate, 'His son follows in his fleet the bands of warriors his equals in age'. Douglas gives *aequalis* a meaning that is quite inappropriate, and produces a disastrous expansion:

Hys son, this tyde, havand hys falloschippys
Distribut equally into syndry schippys,
Amang the navy and the flote at large.

A perplexing mistranslation of *aequis* occurs at X.431.vii.171. The Latin phrase is *ducibusque et viribus aequis*, which Lonsdale and Lee translate as, 'with strength and captains fairly matched'. Douglas's version is difficult to understand:

The chiftanys all ionyt with hail poweris.

Another strange rendering occurs at X.559.x.39, where the Latin reads *alitibus linguere feris*, translated by Lonsdale and Lee, 'You shall be left to be the prey of wild birds'. Douglas's version suggests that he took *feris* as a noun (*fera, ferae f.*) and not as an adjective (*ferus, fera, ferum*) and that he associated *alitibus* (dative plural of *ales, alitis f. and m., a bird*) with the verb *alio, alere, alui, altum and alitum*, 'to nourish'; but no part of this verb closely resembles the word *alitibus*. Douglas translates:

Bot/

Bot salbe left to the wild bestis fuyd.

At XI.209.v.59 there occurs the phrase *crebris conlucent ignibus*, 'blaze with numerous fires'. *crebris* is here spatial rather than temporal, so Douglas's version, 'dyd oft of fyris schyne', gives an inaccurate picture of the scene.

One of Douglas's puzzling renderings occurs at XI.222.v.90. For *variis . . . dictis*, 'in varied phrase', Douglas has 'schawys evident argumentis'.

At XI.641.xii.97f. Douglas introduces a comparative adjective for which there is no warrant in the Latin. The verse runs

ingentemque animis, ingentem corpore et armis,
translated by C. Day Lewis, 'a man of great courage, a giant in shoulder and trunk'. Douglas translates:

wondir byg of corps,
Bot far byggar of curage and of fors.

At XII.944.xiv.138 the baldric of Pallas, now being worn by Turnus, is referred to as *inimicum insigne*, 'his enemy's insignia'. Douglas takes *inimicum* in its more common sense and translates the phrase, 'this onfriendly syng'.

The adjective *primus* has caused Douglas difficulty on several occasions. In some instances he gives it an adverbial sense, as at III.17.i.36. The Latin reads *moenia prima loco*, translated by Douglas,

Begouth I first set wallis of a cite.

Williams translates, 'I mark the site for the first walls' and comments: 'prima refers to the beginning of the building of this town, not to the fact that this is the first of several attempts by/

by Aeneas to found his city'. At III.58.i.110, where the Latin has the phrase *primumque parentem*, Douglas translates, 'And to my fader fyrst', but the order of words is against this interpretation. Page comments, 'primum describes Anchises as presiding or holding a chief place in the assembly'. He translates, 'and my sire above all'. At III.537.viii.62f. the Latin reads *primum omen . . . vidi*, where *primum omen* clearly means, 'the first omen'. Douglas transfers *primum* to *vidi* and translates, 'Heir fyrst I saw'. He qualifies *omen* with another adjective: 'A fatale takyn'. Douglas again gives an adverbial sense to the adjective at VII.528.viii.118f. The verse runs

fluctus uti primo coepit cum albescere vento,

translated by Page, 'as when a wave begins to whiten under the wind's first breath'. Douglas's version runs:

Lyke as the sey changis first hys hew
In quhite lippiris by the wyndis blast.

In a number of instances Douglas gives *primus* an incorrect meaning but without rendering it adverbially. At V.151.iii.93 the Latin reads *primisque elabitur undis*, translated by Page, 'and shoots out foremost o'er the wave'. Williams has a similar rendering: 'and sweeps ahead over the waves right at the beginning'. Douglas takes *primisque* to mean 'the highest level of':

Ourslydand wallys croppys byssely.

At VI.810.xiv.9 *primam . . . urbem* means, 'the infant city', but Douglas translates the phrase, 'The cheif cite Rome'.

At VII.503f.viii.59f. the Latin reads *Silvia prima soror . . . / auxilium vocat*, translated by C. Day Lewis, 'Silvia, the sister, was/

was the first/To call for help'. Douglas, incorrectly, takes *prima* in a purely adjectival sense and relates it to age:

Siluya, the eldast sister, . ./ . ./Cryis efter help.

At VIII.561.ix.42 the phrase *primam aciem* occurs, meaning 'the front rank of the enemy', as *stravi* in the line following makes clear. Douglas's rendering, 'first in batal feild', is misleading, as it suggests that Evander is referring to leading his own forces. At XII.33.i.84 *primus* means 'above all', 'first and foremost'. Douglas takes it as referring to Turnus' military status:

As principall maste douchty capitane.

Douglas twice has an odd rendering of *dextra*.

At X.830.xiii.170 he translates it as 'handis twane' and at XII.14.i.35 he translates *hac . . . dextra* as 'with thir handis twa'.

Two further examples of an adjective mistaken for a proper noun occur at VII.342.vi.4, where Douglas translates *Laurentis tyranni* as 'Of Lawrentyn, the kyngis cheif cite', and at IX.9.i.23f., where Douglas translates *Palatini* as 'Palatyne,/That burgh.

The remaining examples of mistranslated adjectives are straightforward and lend themselves to listing.

At I.353.vi.83	for <i>inhumati</i> ,	'unburied'	Douglas has	'bygravit';
at I.363.vi.101	" <i>avari</i> ,	'greedy'	" "	'wrachit';
at I.521.viii.49	" <i>maximus</i> ,	'eldest'	" "	'gretast';
at VIII.30.i.28	" <i>seram</i> ,	'overdue'	" "	'schort';
at/				

at VIII.64.1.100	for	gratissimus,	'best beloved',		
at XI.97.ii.97	"	maxime,	'mighty',	Douglas has 'maste gentill';	" 'beluffyt best';
at XI.201.v.45	"	umida,	'dewy'	"	" 'dyrk';
at XI.210.v.61	"	gelidam,	'chill'	"	" 'dyrk'.

With regard to Douglas's occasional confusion of adjectives and proper nouns, an explanation for one of these errors (monte sub aërio, VI.234.iii.151f.) may be found in the practice followed by the printer of the edition of 1501 of using lower case types for the initial letters of all words, including proper nouns, except for words which happened to be first in each line. Douglas has obviously taken aërio to be a proper noun here.

As the examples show, Douglas had a limited appreciation of the possible meanings of princeps, and primus appears to have caused him some difficulty. False derivations seem to be at the root of his errors in the case of venerabile and alitibus.

In a large number of instances Douglas translates an adjective correctly but attaches it to the wrong noun. At I.300f.v.127 the Latin reads *volat ille per aëra magnum/remigio alarum*, 'He flew through the spacious sky on the oarage of wings'. Douglas has transferred *magnum* from *aëra* to *remigio*, so that his translation is

He with gret fard of weyngis flaw throu the sky.

A similar instance occurs at I.448.vii.55. The Latin reads *aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina*, 'of bronze was its threshold that rose high on steps', but *aerea* is transferred from *limina* to *gradibus* and Douglas's version is therefore

The entre rays with hie stagis of bras.

At I.487.vii.121 the Latin verse runs

tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermis,
'He caught sight of Priam stretching out his unarmed hands'.

inermis qualifies *manus* but Douglas transfers it to 'Priamum':

Priam onarmyt streke furth handis dyd he spy.

In Book II, two instances occur within a few lines of each other. At II.259f.v.18f, the Latin reads *illos patefactus ad auras/reddidit equus*, 'the horse, laid open, restored them to the fresh air'. Douglas transfers *patefactus* from the horse to the Greeks and translates:

And Grekis hyd the horsis cost within
Patent war maid to sight and to the ayr.

A few lines later, at II.262.v.21, the Latin has the phrase *demissum lapsi per funem*, 'sliding down the lowered rope', but Douglas transfers *demissum* from *funem* to *lapsi* and translates; 'thai downlat by cordis atanys':

At II.356f.vi.110f. the Latin reads *quos improba ventris/exegit caecos rabies*, 'whom the uncontrollable hunger

of the belly drives blindly forth'. Douglas transfers *caecos* from *quos* (object) to *rabies* (subject) and translates

Quham the blynd fury of thar empty mawis
Dryvis furth of thar den to seik thar pray.

In the instances quotes so far it will be noticed that where Douglas transfers an adjective he tends to attach it to a noun which happens to be the next (or the last) word, or attaches it to a noun which happens to intervene between the adjective and the noun which it qualifies. A departure from these practices occurs in the next example, where the adjective is transferred to a noun lying beyond the noun qualified. At II.379f.vii.33f. the Latin verses run

improvisum aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem
pressit humi nitens,

'like one who as he plants his foot has trampled on a snake which he did not notice among the rough briars'. On this occasion Douglas transfers *aspris* from *sentibus* (which happens to be the nearest noun) to the more distant *anguem*:

As quha onwar tred on a rowch serpent
Lyggyng in the bus.

At II.791.xii.59 the words occur *tenuisque recessit* in *auras*. *tenuisque* seems to go naturally with *auras*, 'and faded into thin air', but Douglas takes it as singular, in agreement with the subject:

For sche sa lychtly vanysyt in the ayr.

An example of transfer to the immediately following noun occurs at V.297.vi.22. The Latin phrase is *egregia Priami de stirpe*, 'of Priam's noble race', but Douglas transfers *egregia*/

egregia from stirpe to Priami and translates it as 'mighty' in place of 'distinguished':

Cumyn of the stok of myghty Priamus blude.

Transfer to a more remote noun reappears at V.436.viii.30, where the Latin reads duro crepitant sub vulnere malae, 'cheeks rattle under the hard strokes'; Douglas transfers duro from vulnere (ablative singular neuter) to malae (nominative plural feminine):

Hard halffetis clappyt oft vndir the dynt.

Transfer to the noun immediately following appears at V.647.xi.93. The Latin phrase is divini signa decoris, 'the signs of her divine beauty'. Douglas attaches divini to signa instead of to decoris: 'of hir bewte syngnys dyvyne'.

The same error is to be found at V.735f.xii.128ff.

The Latin runs

huc casta Sibylla
nigrarum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet,

'A holy Sibyl shall guide you there after much blood has flowed from bla beasts in sacrifice'. Douglas transfers multo from sanguine to pecudum:

The chaist virgyn Sibil wil convey the
The ryght way thidder, quhilk at thou sal tak
By blude offerit of mony bestis blak.

The nearest noun again receives the adjective at V.811.xiii.107. The Latin phrase is periurae moenia Troiae, 'the walls of perjured Troy'. periurae is transferred from Troiae to moenia and Douglas has 'Tha maynsworn wallis'.

Another transfer of the same type, with considerable expansion, /

expansion, is to be found at V.823.xiii.132f. The Latin phrase is *et senior Glauci chorus*, 'the aged troop of Glaucus'. Douglas transfers *senior* from *chorus* to *Glauci* and expands the phrase considerably:

and al the rowtis in feir
Of agit Glaucus with his cannos hair.

At V.828.xiv.3 the Latin reads *iubet ocius omnis/ attolli malos*, 'He bids all the masts quickly to be raised'. Douglas detaches *omnis* from *malos* and applies it to the members of the crews:

'Heys heich the cros', he bad, 'al mak thaim bown'.

The nearest noun again receives the adjective at V.857.xiv.57f. The Latin verse runs

vix primos inopina quies laxaverat artus,
'Hardly had a sudden slumber begun to unbend his limbs'. Douglas transfers *primos* (accusative plural, qualifying *artus*) to *quies* (nominative singular):

Bot scarsly gan the first rest of sleip,
Or he was war, thus on his membris creip.

At V.865.xiv.73 the Latin verse runs

difficilis quondam multorumque ossibus albos,
where *difficilis* and *albos* qualify the word *scopulos* in the previous line, 'cliffs dangerous at one time and white with the bones of many men'. Douglas transfers *albos* from *scopulos* to *ossibus* and suggests that the presence of the bones made the rocks dangerous, an idea not to be found in the Latin:

Dangerus vmquhile, for a mekil hepe
Of dede banys lay tharon ful quhite.

The/

The adjective is transferred to the more remote noun at VI.7f.(V.xiv.98f.), where the Latin reads

pars densa ferarum
tecta rapit silvas inventaque flumina monstrat,

'Some scour the woods, the tangled haunts of wild beasts, and shew the streams they have discovered'. Douglas transfers densa (qualifying tecta) to silvas:

Sum spedely to the thik wod ar gane,
In dern dennys, quharin wild bestis dwellis;
And sum dyd schaw the new fund springand wellis.

A few lines later the adjective is again transferred to a more remote noun. At VI.10.i.5 the Latin reads

horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae,
antrum immane, petit,

'goes towards . . . and the distant cell of the awful Sibyl, a vast cavern'. Douglas transfers horrendae (qualifying Sibyllae) to antrum:

. . bownys him to pas . . . / . . . / . . .
That feirfull gowsty cave far from the way,
And secret hald of Sibilla the may.

At VI.38.i.69f. Douglas transfers an adjective from a preceding noun to a following noun. The Latin reads grege de intacto septem . . . iuencos, 'seven steers from a herd never used for work'. intacto qualifies grege, but Douglas transfers it to iuencos:

Sevin yong stottis, that yok bur nevir nane,
Brocht from the bow.

At VI.58f.i.112 the Latin reads magnas obeuntia terras/ tot maria, 'so many seas that encompass mighty lands'. Douglas transfers tot to terras, which is in the previous line and is already/

already qualified by *magnas*, and translates *maria* as if it were singular:

This see, at goys about mony gret land.

There is a return to the practice of using the adjective to qualify the nearest noun at VI.127.ii.103, where the Latin phrase is *atri ianua Ditis*, 'the door of gloomy Dis'. Douglas transfers *atri* from *Ditis* to *ianua* and translates the phrase, 'The blak yettis of Pluto'.

At VI.174.iii.33f. Douglas transfers an adjective from a succeeding noun to a preceding noun. The Latin verse runs

inter saxa virum spumosa immerserat unda,

'and plunged him in the foaming waves amid the rocks'. As the final -a of *spumosa* is elided in scansion before the initial i- of *immerserat*, it could in metrical terms be either long (ablative singular feminine, qualifying *unda*) or short (accusative plural neuter, qualifying *saxa*), but, as far as meaning is concerned, the word goes much more naturally with *unda* than with *saxa*, and it is in this way that all modern editors and translators understand it. Douglas, however, translates *spumosa* as qualifying *saxa*:

Amang the fomy rolkis law adown
And in the salt wallys the man gan drown.

At VI.204.iii.91f. the Latin verse runs

discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit,

'from which the sheen of gold shone out with its contrasting colour through the green branches', as Fairclough translates it. Douglas appears to transfer *discolor* from *aura* to the slightly nearer *ramos*:

Throw/

Throw quhais branchis, of seir hewis mony ane,
The brycht glittyr rand goldin cullour schane.

At VI.479f.viii.7f. the Latin reads

hic illi occurrit Tydeus, hic inclutus armis
Parthenopaeus,

'Here Tydeus meets him, here Parthenopaeus famed in fight'.

In spite of a colon after the word Tydeus in the 1501 edition,
Douglas transfers the phrase inclutus armis from Parthenopaeus
to Tydeus:

Heir him recontrit Parthenopeus
And intil armys valyant Tedeus.

At VI.703f.xi.49ff. the Latin verses run

Interea videt Aeneas in valle reducta
seclusum nemus et virgulta sonantia silvae
(silvis, 1501),

'Meanwhile, in a retired vale, Aeneas views a secret grove and
woods with rustling brakes'. seclusum qualifies nemus but is
transferred by Douglas to valle in the previous line:

Duryng this tyme Eneas gan aduert
Within a vail fer thens closyt a part,
Quhare stude a wod with swouchand bewys schene.

An outstanding example of Douglas's readiness to
transfer adjectives from one noun to another occurs at VII.308.v.60.
The Latin phrase is magna Iovis coniunx, 'the great consort
of Jupiter'. Douglas transfers magna from coniunx to the
immediately following noun, Iovis: 'the spous of the gret Iupiter'.

At VIII.258.iv.164f. the Latin reads nebulaque
ingens specus aestuat atra, 'and the vast cave surged with
pitchy vapour'. ingens qualifies specus but Douglas transfers
it to nebulaque, then supplies the noun 'flambis' for atra to
qualify: /

qualify:

With huge sop of reyk and flambis myrk,
So that the caif dyd glevyn of the heyt.

Transfer to the immediately following noun occurs again at VIII.339.vi.62. The Latin phrase is *priscum Carmentis honorem*, 'a distinction bestowed of old upon Carmentis'. Douglas's version attributes antiquity to Carmentis rather than to the distinction:

This ald Carmentis wirschip and renovn.

At VIII.523.viii.157f. the Latin verse runs

ni signum caelo Cytherea dedisset aperto,

'had not the goddess from Cythera given a sign in a clear sky'.

On this occasion Douglas transfers *aperto* to *signum*, although the noun which it qualifies, *caelo*, lies between:

Ne war Venus, lady Citherea,
Down from the hevin of comfort to thame sent
Ane oppyn takyn, cleir and evident.

The same type of transfer is found again at VIII.624.x.68, where the Latin phrase is *electro auroque recocto*, 'of electrum and refined gold'. Douglas transfers *recocto* from *auroque* to *electro*:

Witht gold and burnyst laton purifyde.

Transfer to a preceding noun occurs at VIII.724.xii.123f.

The Latin verse runs

*hic Nomadum genus et discinctos Mulciber Afros
. . . ./finxerat,*

'Here Mulciber had portrayed the Nomad race and the ungirt Africans'.

Douglas transfers *discinctos* from *Afros* to *genus*:

Vlcanus heir the beltles Numydans,
And thai folkis that in Affrik remanys
Had gravyn weill.

The/

The transfer at IX.96.iii.45 seems particularly hard to explain. The Latin sentence is *certusque incerta pericula lustret/Aeneas?* 'Can Aeneas securely pass through the insecurity of perils?' Although *incerta* stands immediately next to the noun which it qualifies, Douglas attaches it to the word *Aeneas* in the following line:

And that Enee, in dedly corps unsure,
Assoverit fermly throw all dangeris fuyr?

At IX.183.iv.44 there occur the words *communi portam statione tenebant*, 'on guard together did they keep the gate'. The phrase 'baith in feir' reflects satisfactorily the meaning of *communi statione* but Douglas errs strangely in further translating *communi* (ablative) as if it also qualified *portam* (accusative):

As baith in feir to kepe the common yet.

At IX.808f.xiii.66 the Latin reads *strepit adsiduo cava tempora circum/tinnitu galea*, 'With ceaseless rattling rings around his hollow temples his helmet'. *cava* goes naturally with the immediately following word *tempora* but Douglas transfers it to qualify *galea* in the following line:

That euer in ane hys bos helm rang and soundyt,
Clynkand about hys halfheddis with a dyn.

At X.21.i.47 the Latin reads *Turnusque feratur/per medios insignis equis*, 'and how Turnus rides conspicuous in his chariot through the midst of the host'. Although *insignis* can only qualify *Turnus*, Douglas attaches it to *equis*:

And quhou Turnus, pransand on semly stedis,
Throw owt the ostis rydis.

At X.139.iii.45f. the Latin verse runs

te/

te quoque magnanimae viderunt, Ismare, gentes,
 'You, too, Ismarus, the spirited clans beheld'. magnanimae,
 feminine plural nominative, must agree with gentes, but Douglas
 translates as if it were masculine singular vocative, agreeing with
 Ismare:

Thow Ismarus, of magnanymyte
 Fulfyllit, eik thar myght men the se.

It will be apparent that in attaching adjectives to
 nouns Douglas disregards gender, number and case. In the example
 at X.579.x.81f. he qualifies a noun in the ablative case by means
 of an adjective in the nominative, transferring ingens from the
 subject (in this case, Aeneas) to the ablative noun hasta. The
 Latin reads adversaque ingens apparuit hasta, 'and majestic
 stood before them with his lance opposed'. Douglas translates:

and with a gret speir
 Forganyst thame can into fecht appeir.

At XI.67.ii.24 the preparations for the funeral of
 Pallas are being described. The Latin reads

hic iuvenem agresti sublimem stramine ponunt,
 'Here they lay the youth on top of a rustic litter'. Douglas transfers
 sublimem from iuvenem to stramine:

Amyd the quhilkis, of blumys apon a byng
 Strowyt full hie, thai laid this Pallas yung.

At XI.96f.ii.93 the Latin reads eadem horrida belli/
 fata, 'this same grim destiny of war'. Douglas links eadem to
 belli, which he replaces with a plural, and translates fata, oddly,
 as 'batellys':

The horribill batellys of thir sammyn weris.

At/

At XI.179f.iv.94ff. the words of Evander are *meritis vacat hic tibi solus/fortunaque locus*, 'This is the only field open for your valour and fortune'. Douglas follows the Latin here in addressing Aeneas in the second person, but he departs from the original in translating *solus* (nominative, agreeing with *locus*) as if it were dative, agreeing with *tibi*, and in taking *-que*, attached to *fortunae*, to be linking *fortunae* and *tibi*, whereas it links *fortunae* and *meritis*. It is not clear that Douglas has appreciated the significance of *meritis*; line 96 might be described as a vague approximation to the Latin. Douglas translates:

To the Eneas only, but offens,
And to fortoun, remanys this iournay yit,
Quharwith thou may thankfully be acqyt.

At XI.247.vi.44f. the phrase occurs *Gargani . . . Iapygis agris*, 'in the fields of Iapygian Garganus'. Douglas's rendering suggests that he took *Iapygis* as qualifying *agris*, whereas it qualifies *Gargani*:

Besyde the skyrtis of the mont Gargane,
Within boundis of Iapigya sulye.

At XI.314.vii.47 the Latin verse runs

nunc adeo quae sit dubiae sententia menti,

'the judgment of my distracted mind'. Douglas transfers the dative adjective *dubiae*, qualifying *menti*, to the nominative *sententia*:

The dowtsum purpos in my mynd remanys.

An example of the transfer of an adjective to the wrong proper noun occurs at XI.396.viii.45f. The Latin verse runs

haud ita me experti Bitias et Pandarus ingens,

'Not such did Bitias and huge Pandarus prove me'. Douglas transfers *ingens*,

ingens, which qualifies the immediately preceding word Pandarus,
to Bitias:

The grysly Bytias, and Pandarus his brother,
Thai ar expert gif I fled one or other.

At XI.539f.xi.17ff the Latin verses deal with the
exile of Metabus:

pulsus ob invidiam regno virisque superbas
Priverno antiqua Metabus cum excederet urbe,

'When Metabus, expelled from his kingdom for invidious measures
and insolent abuse of power, quitted his ancient city Privernum'.

Douglas transfers antiqua, qualifying urbe, to regno:

For quhen hir fader, Metabus the kyng,
Was throw invy expellit hys ancyent ryng
Of Pryvernum, and for the cruelte
Of his pepill fled from that cite.

At XI.738.xiv.34 there occurs the phrase, plenae
pocula mensae, 'the cups on the loaded table'. Douglas
associates plenae with pocula, and translates, 'cowpys full,
and mony danty mes'.

Transfer to the nearest noun reappears at XI.858f.xvi.56,
where the Latin reads aurata volucrem . . . sagittam/deprompsit
pharetra, 'from her gilded quiver drew forth a winged arrow'.
Douglas transfers aurata, ablative qualifying pharetra, to
sagittam, accusative:

The swyft gilt arow schuke owt of her cace.

The adjective is again transferred to the nearest noun
at XII.30.i.75. The Latin phrase is coniugis et maestae
lacrimis, 'and by the tears of his distressed wife'. Douglas
transfers maestae from coniugis to lacrimis, which he
translates/

translates, 'be hir wofull terys andsyte'.

The context of the next example is reminiscent of that at V.865.xiv.73, where it was noticed that Douglas had transferred the adjective *albos* to the noun *ossibus*. At XII.36.i.90 the Latin reads *campique ingentes ossibus albent*, 'and vast plains are white with our bones'. On this occasion Douglas transfers *ingentès*, nominative in agreement with *campi*, to the ablative *ossibus*:

And of our huge banys quhite semys the plane.

Transfer to the word immediately following is found again at XII.165.iv.13f. The Latin verse runs

bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro,
'waving in his hand two shafts with broad heads of steel'.

Douglas takes *bina* (accusative plural neuter) with *manu* (ablative singular feminine) instead of with *hastilia*:

In athir hand held he, in feir of weir,
The braid hed brangland on the ievillyng speir.

At XII.347.vi.93f. the Latin verse runs

antiqui proles bello praeclara Dolonis,
'the war-famed son of that Dolon widely renowned of old'.

Douglas's version gives the impression that the phrase *praeclara bello* qualifies *Dolonis*:

the son and air, . . .
Of agit Dolon valyeant in batell.

At XII.619.xi.12f. there occurs the phrase *confusae sonus urbis*, 'the sound of the city in tumult'. Douglas transfers *confusae* from *urbis* to the immediately following *sonus*:
'The confusioun of sovnd . . . /Com from the cyte'.

The converse practice reappears at XII.665.xi.114, where the Latin reads *varia . . . imagine rerum*, 'by the many-sided

picture of disaster'. Douglas transfers *varia* from *imagine* to the remoter noun *rerum*, 'with the ymage of mony divers thyng'.

The phrase at XII.791.xiii.1, *rex omnipotentis Olympi*, 'the king of all-powerful Olympus', follows one of Douglas's familiar patterns in translation. He renders the phrase,

The fader almychty of the hevyn abuf.

At XII.801.xiii.25f. the reading of the 1501 edition is *nec te tantus edat tacitam dolor*, 'and be not in silence wasted by grief so deep'. Douglas transfers *tacitam* from *te* to *dolor*:

Ne suffir not thy hyd sorrow, I pray,
Na langar the consume and waist away.

At XII.859.xiii.161 there occur the words *et celeris . . . transilit umbras*, 'cuts through the swift shadows'. Douglas appears to have taken *celeris*, with final syllable long, qualifying *umbras*, as *celeris*, with final syllable short, qualifying *sagitta* in line 856; he introduces an adjective to qualify *umbras*, which he translates as 'clouds'. In translating *celeris*, which is so printed in the 1501 edition, Douglas may have been misled by the spelling, because in that edition third declension accusative plural nouns and adjectives are normally (though not invariably) printed with the ending in *-es*. Yet scansion shows that the *-is* ending of *celeris* is long.

Douglas translates

And sa swiftly slydis throu the clowdis gray.

Any explanation for this feature of Douglas's translation can only be conjectural but it is of such frequent occurrence that it/

it seems necessary to make some attempt to find where the cause might be found. From the examples quoted it is evident that there is no universal explanation, such as a tendency to attach adjectives to the nearest preceding or following noun.

The reader may well wonder whether, as Douglas worked through the Latin text, he wrote down the Middle Scots equivalents of the Latin words as they occurred, without indicating agreements or relationships, and then made his translation from his own notes without further reference to the original.

One hesitates to charge Douglas with employing so unscholarly a method, but such an explanation would go a long way towards accounting for the phenomenally large number of misapplied adjectives to be found in the Eneados.

CHAPTER VI: MISTRANSLATION OF VERBS (INDICATIVE AND SUBJUNCTIVE)

In several instances Douglas mistranslates tenses of the Indicative Mood; errors in translating historic tenses are much more frequent than those involving primary tenses.

On two occasions Douglas translates a future tense as a present. These are at XI.430,viii.133 and at XII.883.xiii.212. In the former he translates *sequetur* ('will follow') as 'Followys' and in the latter he translates *erit* ('will be') as 'is'.

On a further two occasions he translates a future tense as a perfect. These are at X.494.viii.134f. and XI.168.iv.68. In the former he translates *haud illi stabunt . . . parvo* ('will cost him dear') as 'Na lytill thyng . . . Hes hym bycost'; and in the latter he translates *iuvabit* ('it shall be my joy') as 'Weill lyktyt me'.

An instructive example of Douglas's failure to differentiate between historic tenses in translation is provided by V.105ff.iii.3f. At line 105 there occurs the verb *vehebant*, which Douglas translates, 'gan . . . furth dryve', a reasonable interpretation of an imperfect tense, but he uses the same mode of translation for the pluperfect tense at line 107 in translating *excierat* ('had stirred') as 'gan spreid'. No reader of Douglas's version would suspect that Latin had used different tenses. On three occasions Douglas translates a pluperfect tense as if it were a perfect. At VIII,710.xii.85, where the Latin has *fecerat* ('had represented') Douglas uses the perfect tense, 'wrocht and maid'; at X.147.iii.60 the Latin verb is *contulerant* ('had clashed'). Williams writes: 'The tense indicates that the battles described had finished before the narrative turns to Aeneas'. Douglas's rendering gives inadequate recognition to the pluperfect. He has 'Stude at debait' for *contulerant* and his use of 'quhill' to introduce/

introduce the following clause suggests misleadingly that the two actions were contemporaneous. The third example in this group is to be found at XII.91,ii.101,103, where the two pluperfect verbs, *fecerat* and *tinxerat* are represented by Douglas by means of three verbs in the perfect tense, 'was maid', *forgyt* and *temperit*.

On one occasion Douglas uses a present tense to translate the pluperfect; the reference is XI.489.x.9, where the pluperfect *accinxerat* ('he had buckled') is translated as 'he beltis'.

The remaining examples of incorrect translation of tenses all involve the imperfect, the significance of which Douglas frequently failed to bring out, his normal practice being to use a perfect tense instead. At II.202.iv.6 there occurs the verb *mactabat*, 'was in the act of offering in sacrifice'. Douglas has 'offerit', which is inadequate to convey the force of the Latin imperfect. At II.382.vii.38 the Latin verb is *abibat*, 'attempted to escape', a good example of the conative imperfect. Douglas has simply, 'fled', and that in spite of a helpful comment by Servius, *ABIBAT bene imperfecto usus est, non enim abiit*. At III.34.i.64 the Latin verb is *venerabar*, an inceptive imperfect meaning, 'I began to pray to.'. Douglas uses an ordinary perfect tense, 'I wirschip maid'. The context at III.84.ii.30 is not dissimilar, the verb again being *venerabar*, 'I was regarding with reverence'. Douglas has simply, 'I wirschip'. At VIII.584.ix.95 the subject is Evander and the verb is *fundeat*, 'was pouring forth'. Page comments that Evander was still 'pouring forth such words in that lastparting' when he swooned. Douglas's version does not bring out the significance of the imperfect: 'Thir wordis spak, syne fel in swoun'. The verb at XI.247.vi.47 is *condebant*, 'was in the act of founding'. Douglas's version, 'Vprasyt/

'Vprasyt hes' strongly implies a completed action. This is also the impression conveyed by the next example, at XII.212.iv.35, where Douglas uses two verbs in the perfect tense, 'has confermyt and sworn' to translate the imperfect firmabant, 'they were ratifying'. At XII.394.vii.26 the imperfect tense dabat is used in Latin to emphasise that the meaning is 'he offered'; the perfect dedit would have meant, 'he gave'. Douglas translates, 'has . . . taucht', but it is clear from the verb maluit (line 397) that Iapyx did not accept the gift of the skills mentioned in line 394 because he chose rather to become proficient in healing. Mistranslation of the conative imperfect is to be found again at XII.901.xiv.37, where the verb is torquebat, 'tried to hurl', Turnus being by that time too weak to throw the boulder with any force. Douglas simply has 'swakkit' (i.e. hurled).

In one instance only has Douglas mistaken the person of the verb. At XI.308.vii.30 he translates habuistis ('you had') as 'had we'.

In a few cases errors occur in the translation of mood. Douglas translates the present indicative as an imperative at I.139.iii.77. The Latin reads tenet ille immania saxa, translated by Fairclough, 'he holds the savage rocks'. Although tenet is indicative and ille nominative, Douglas translates as if the Latin had an imperative verb and an accusative pronoun: 'Hald him on craggis and amang rochis hie'. A similar error occurs at XI.559.xi.59, where the Latin has testor, 'I implore'. Douglas has the imperative, 'testify', for which the Latin would be testare. At X.829.xiii.168 Latin has solabere, 'you will mitigate' but Douglas translates as if it were a present imperative, 'Do/

'Do comfort', but the corresponding Latin would be *solare*.
 At X.111f.ii.132f the Latin reads *sua cuique exorsa laborem/
 fortunamque ferent*, translated by Williams, 'Each man's
 endeavours will bring him his suffering and his success'.
 Douglas's version is vitiated here by his translating *ferent*
 (future indicative) as if it were *ferant* (present subjunctive),
 by introducing an additional verb ('bruke') and by failing to
 appreciate the contrast between *laborem* (suffering) and
fortunam (good fortune). The result is a rendering that bears
 little resemblance to the Latin:

Lat athir of thame thar awin fortoun stand by,
 And bruke thar wark thai haue begun.

At XI.166f.iv.63f. an imperfect indicative is translated as if it
 were a pluperfect subjunctive. The Latin reads *quod si
 immatura manebat/mors natum*, which Fairclough translates,
 'but if untimely death awaited my son'. Douglas appears to take
manebat as meaning 'delayed', and, in spite of the indicative
 mood, to regard the whole sentence as an unfulfilled conditional:

Bot had this hasty ded, sa ondigest,
 Haue sufferit bot my son a stound to lest,

but the Latin gives no warrant for this interpretation.

Some of Douglas's mistranslated subjunctives occur in main clauses but the majority are to be found in subordinate clauses. The errors in the translation of main clauses will be considered first.

There are four examples of mistranslated jussive subjunctives, two of these being in the present tense.

At I.558.viii.115 there occurs the present subjunctive *petamus* ('let us seek'). Douglas translates it, 'We sall seik', as if the verb had been *petemus* (future indicative). The other present jussive, also in the first person, occurs at XI.329.vii.78, where the Latin reads *demus* ('let us give'), translated by Douglas as 'we sal furnyss', again future indicative. The third example involves a perfect subjunctive in the third person. At X.743f.xii.134ff. the Latin runs

*ast de me divum pater atque hominum rex
viderit,*

translated by Davidson, 'but of me let the father of gods and king of men dispose'. Douglas takes this perfect subjunctive as à future perfect indicative:

quhat evyr to me forseyn
Or previdyt has myghty Iove, quod he,
Quham fader of goddis and kyng of men cleip we.

The fourth example of a mistranslated jussive subjunctive in a main clause occurs at IV.604.xi.40, where the Latin reads *faces in castra tulissem*. Austin translates those words of Dido, 'I should have flung fire on his encampment', giving full value to the pluperfect subjunctive *tulissem*. Douglas's version, on the other hand, has a curiously present sense, or even a suggestion/

suggestion of a wish for the future:

Wald God I mycht, in yon navy I se,
The hait fyre brandis set.

It is as if Douglas has misread *castra* as *classem* (which would be metrically impossible), but in any case the past nature of all the actions envisaged by Dido in lines 604 to 606 is clearly indicated by the series of verbs in the pluperfect subjunctive - *tulisse*m, *implessem*que (= *implevissem*que), *extinxem* (= *extinxisse*m), *dedissem*. Williams comments: 'The long series of pluperfect subjunctives expresses with a kind of dinning insistence Dido's preoccupation with what might have been, what she could have done, and did not'.

An example of a mistranslated dubitative or potential subjunctive in a main clause occurs at XII.503.ix.1 and 3, where Douglas represents the present subjunctive *expediat*, 'can unfold', by means of two future indicatives, 'sall me techyng to endite' and '(sall) me lern'.

The remaining examples of mistranslated subjunctives occur in subordinate clauses. The first four instances all involve anticipatory subjunctives, all of which Douglas translates as if the meaning were purely temporal. The first occurs at I.5f.i.7f, where the Latin reads *dum conderet urbem/ inferretque deos Latio*, 'until he could establish a city and bring his gods to Latium'. Douglas treats the two anticipatory clauses as purely temporal:

Or he his goddis brocht in Latio
And belt the cite,

Two further instances of mistranslation of anticipatory subjunctives in the imperfect tense occur at XI.860ff.xvi.6off. The Latin reads

donec/

donec curvata coirent
inter se capita et manibus iam tangeret aequis,
laeva aciem ferri, dextra nervoque papillam,

translated by Fairclough, 'till the curving ends should meet together and, with levelled hands, she should touch the steel's point with her left, her breast with her right and with the bow-string'. Douglas's version does not reflect the aspect of purpose indicated by the anticipatory subjunctives *coirent* and *tangeret*, but treats both as if they were in the indicative mood; further, his rendering here is free:

Quhil that the bow and nokkis met almaist;
And now hir handis raxit hyt euery sted,
Hard on the left neyf was the scharp steill hed,
The stryng, vp pullit with the ryght hand in feir,
Went by hir pap almaste ontil hir eyr.

The remaining instance of an anticipatory subjunctive occurs at I.472f.vii.98f., where two co-ordinate clauses introduced by *prius quam* each have a pluperfect subjunctive. The reference is to the horses of Rhesus. The Latin runs

pabula gustassent Troiae Xanthumque bibissent,
pabula gustassent Troiae Xanthumque bibissent,

'before they had the chance to taste Trojan fodder or drink of the waters of Xanthus'. Douglas's version reflects inadequately the significance of the two pluperfect subjunctives:

Or evir thai taistit ony Troiane fude
Or drunkyn had of the flude Exanthus.

The imperfect subjunctive occurs in a *qui*-clause at XII.84,ii.84. The Latin reads *qui candore nives anteirent*, variously translated as, 'which could surpass the snows in whiteness' and 'because they surpassed the snows in whiteness'. Douglas translates as if the *qui*-clause had a verb in the indicative mood and were therefore purely adjectival:

The/

The quhilk stedis, . . .
Excedit far the snaw in cullour quhite.

At I.287.v.100 a qui-final clause is mistranslated.

The Latin is imperium . . . qui terminet, which Austin translates, 'who is to bound his empire', doing justice to the purposive force of the verb. Douglas's rendering, 'Quhilk sal thempyre delait', does not bring out the significance of the subjunctive but translates the verb as if it were a future indicative. Two further instances of the same error occur at XII.53.i., but here the subjunctives are mistranslated as imperfect indicatives. The Latin verses run

longe illi dea mater erit, quae nube fugacem
feminea tegat et uanis sese occulat umbris.

Lonsdale and Lee translate, 'Far from him will his goddess-mother be, to wrap her fugitive in a cloud, a woman's craft, and hide herself in unavailing gloom'. Douglas translates the subjunctives tegat and occulat as if they were imperfect indicatives, and the final sense is not conveyed at all:

Hys moder at this tyme salbe far to seik,
Quhilk goddes with hir subtell slychtis eik
Hir son, accustumat to tak the flycht,
Was wont to dek, and to hyde owt of sycht
Within a wifly clowd, as for a trayn,
And heild hir self alsso in schaddois vayn'.

A negative explanatory or indirect dubitative subjunctive is mistranslated at XII.11f.27ff. The Latin reads

nihil est quod dicta retractent
ignavi Aeneadae, nec quae pepigere recusent,

'There is no reason why the cowardly sons of Aeneas should withdraw their words or go back on the agreement they have made'. There is no suggestion in the Latin that the Trojans have done so, but in Douglas's/

Douglas's version Turnus speaks as if they had done so, or attempted to do so:

And al for nocht yon cowart Eneadanys
 Thar promys and thar wordis cumis aganys,
 Willing retreit thar behestis and sawys.

A subjunctive in an indirect question is mistranslated at I.331f.vi.47f. The Latin reads *quibus orbis in oris/iactemur doceas*, 'Instruct us . . . to what regions of the world we have been tempest-tossed'. Douglas translates

Or at quhat cost of the warld finaly
 Sal we arrive, thou tech ws by and by.

Douglas's rendering, 'Sal we arrive', treats the verb as if it were future, and by implication represents Aeneas as requesting a prophecy.

There is mistranslation in a comparative clause at II.438f.viii.4. The Latin reads *ceu cetera nusquam/bella forent*, 'as if no other wars were taking place anywhere'. Douglas has

As thar nane other bargane ayr had beyn,
 but 'bargane' is a battle, not a war; *nusquam* refers to place, not to time, whereas Douglas's 'ayr' would have required *numquam* or *numquam antea*; and 'had beyn' would have required *fuissent*, not *forent*.

The significance of a pluperfect subjunctive in a conditional clause in indirect speech is not brought out in Douglas's translation at II.136.ii.143f. The Latin verse runs

delitui dum vela darent, si forte dedissent,
 translated by Williams, 'I lay hidden waiting for them to set sail, if only they would'. At the time of the alleged incident Sinon would have said to himself,

delitescam/

delitescam dum vela dent, si forte dederint,

'I shall lie hidden, waiting for them to set sail, if only they will'.

The change from the future *delitescam* (a primary tense) to *delitui* (a historic tense) causes the present subjunctive *dent* to be replaced by the imperfect subjunctive *darent*, and the future perfect indicative *dederint* to be replaced by the pluperfect subjunctive *dedissent*. Douglas translates

Full law I lurkit, quhil vp salys drew thai,
Gif thai perchance be yit passit away.

Douglas's clause, 'quhil vp salys drew thai', does not reflect the anticipatory force of *darent*; and the clause, 'Gif thai perchance be yit passit away' does not represent the future element in *dedissent*.

Although several examples have been given of inaccuracies in Douglas's translation of indicatives and subjunctives, it has to be borne in mind that the instances quoted are but a very small proportion of the total number of verbs in the Aeneid, the great majority of which Douglas has translated correctly. If evidence for a specific weakness on Douglas's part has come to light in the present chapter, it would appear that from time to time Douglas has found difficulty with the subjunctive mood, either in failing to differentiate between future indicative and present subjunctive forms, or in giving subjunctive verbs less than their full significance in his translation.

CHAPTER VII: MISTRANSLATION OF PARTICIPLES

Douglas's mistranslations of participles take different forms. Sometimes the time relationship is not correctly reflected, sometimes the participle is applied to the wrong noun, sometimes the participle is given the wrong meaning, and sometimes the voice of the participle is misrepresented.

At II.14.i.2 an ablative absolute phrase occurs, *tot iam labentibus annis*, 'now that so many years were slipping away'. Although the reference is to the present, Douglas stresses exclusively the past years devoted to the Trojan war:

Bypast or than samony langsum yeir.

A close parallel, involving the same verb and the singular of the same participle in an ablative absolute phrase is to be found at XI.914.xvii.101. The Latin phrase is *die labente*, 'as daylight melts away'. As the present participle refers to a happening taking place at the same time as the action indicated by the main verb, Douglas's version, 'declynyt had the days lycht' is inaccurate. At VIII.151.iii.130 the phrase occurs *rebus spectata iuventus*, 'young warriors tried in action'. Douglas's rendering looks to the future, not to the past:

In lusty youth likly to do our dedis.

A future reference is again given by Douglas to a perfect participle at XII.265.v.109f. The Latin verse runs

et regem vobis pugna defendite raptum,

'and defend in battle the king snatched from you'. Douglas gives a future significance to the perfect participle *raptum*:

And into feild defend, . . .
Your kyng Turnus he be nocht reft and slane.

At/

At IV.384.vii.44f. the present participle *absens* is referred to the wrong noun. The Latin reads *sequar atris ignibus absens*, where the participle *absens*, being nominative singular, must refer to the speaker, Dido, the subject of *sequar*, 'Though absent from you I shall pursue you with murky fire'.

Douglas takes *absens* as referring to Aeneas:

With fyre infernale, in thine *absens* also,
I sal the follow.

Misapplication of a present participle in the accusative case occurs at IX.703.xi.83f. The Latin verse runs

tum Bitian ardentem oculis animisque frementem,
'Then (he slew) Bitias, whose eyes were blazing and who was shouting in his rage'. The case of the Latin participle *frementem* shows that it refers to Bitian, also accusative singular, but the word order in Douglas's translation applies it to the subject, Turnus:

And efter that, with a stern mynd full teyn,
Slew Bytias, for al his glowrand eyn.

At IX.760f.xii.77ff'. an accusative participle is again referred to the subject. The Latin reads

*sed furor ardentem caedisque insana cupido
egit in adversos,*

'but rage and the mad lust of slaughter drove him in fury on the foe in front'. Douglas transfers *ardentem* from the object (Turnus) to the subject (*furor*):

Bot sic ardent hie furour marcyall,
And of slauchter desire insaciall,
Draif hym to follow thame that hym gaynstandis.

The converse misapplication occurs at V.604.xi.3f. The Latin verse runs

Hic primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit,

'Here/

'Here first Fortune changed and broke her faith' (Fairclough).

Douglas transfers *mutata* from *Fortuna* to *fidem*:

And in this tyme gan forton fyrst remove
Fra thame agane hir fykill faith and lufe.

At VIII.404f.vii.81f. the misapplication of a participle is the result of misinterpretation rather than of mistranslation. The subject of the Latin is *Vulcan: ea verba locutus/optatos dedit amplexus*, 'Having spoken these words, he gave her [Venus] the wished embrace'. The embrace was desired by Venus, but

Douglas takes the reference to be to Vulcan's own desire:

Thir wordis beyng said, this hait syre
Gan hir enbrasyng al at his desyre.

At VII.251.iv.132 a present participle is given the wrong meaning. The Latin phrase is *intentos volvens oculos*, translated by Williams, 'shifting his eyes as he concentrated'. Fordyce writes: 'His straining eyes are restlessly moving (*volvens*: 'rolling' gives the wrong suggestion) in thought as he reflects on the implications of the situation for himself'. Douglas translates

Witht eyn rollyng, and erys rycht attent.

An example of possible mistranslation occurs at III.320.v.76.

It is said of *Andromache et demissa voce locuta est*, 'and spoke with lowered voice'. Douglas translates

And, with a bas voce, thus said, as scho mycht.

An example of error in voice occurs at II.651.x.159.

The Latin phrase is *effusi lacrimis*, translated by Austin, 'We were dissolved in tears'. Douglas translates as if the participle were active and the noun accusative, 'Furthyetting teris', a much less striking phrase than the original. At XI.696ff.xiii.104ff. an active participle is translated as passive and misapplied.

The/

The Latin reads

tum validam perque arma viro perque ossa securim,
altior exurgens, . . .
congeminat,

'Then rising high, with redoubled strokes she drives her sturdy axe through his armour and through his bones'. *exurgens*, being nominative, refers to the subject, Camilla, but Douglas gives the word a passive meaning and applies it to the axe:

And throw hys armour all, and his harn pan,
Hir braid poll ax, rasyt so on hie,
With all hir fors and mycht syne strykis sche.

Faulty placing, rather than mistranslation, produces a strange error at IV.30.i.61f. The Latin verse runs

sic effata sinus lacrimis implevit obortis,

'This said, she filled her bosom with tears that welled up'.

Douglas translates

Thus sayand, the brycht teris onon owtbrist
And fillyt all hir bosum or scho wist.

The participial phrase *sic effata* is translated accurately, but is so placed that it agrees grammatically with 'the brycht teris' instead of with 'scho'.

At I.385f.vi.138 Douglas translates the present participle *querentem* as if it were the present infinitive *queri*. The Latin reads *nec plura querentem/passa*, translated by Page as, 'nor enduring his further plaint'. Page comments: '*Querentem* is not put for *queri* but is to be taken strictly; Aeneas continuing his complaint is a grief which his mother cannot bear. The infinitive would mean, "nor did she permit him to complain further", which gives an alien sense'. Douglas translates as if *querentem* had/

had the same significance as *queri*:

Venus na mair sufferit hym pleyn or say.

At VIII.612f.x.38 there occurs the Latin phrase
en . . . promissa . . . /munera, 'Behold the promised gifts'.
 Douglas takes *promissa* not as the perfect participle passive
 agreeing with *munera* but as a noun:

Lo, my reward heir, and my promysyng.

On one occasion the participle involved in an error
 is future. The phrase at XII.76.ii.60 is *haud placitura*,
 translated by Page as 'unwelcome' and by Lonsdale and Lee as,
 'that will not please his ear'. Although the participle is future,
 Douglas uses a verb in the present tense: '*quhilkis lykis hym na thyng*'.

It appears sometimes that Douglas adds a phrase suggested
 by, but etymologically unconnected with, a word in the Latin text.
 An example occurs at IX.780.xiii.4, *palantisque vident socios*,
 translated by Douglas

Thar feris fleand pail and wan haue thai sene.

'Thar feris fleand' is an adequate translation of *palantisque*
socios, but nothing in the Latin text means, 'pail and wan' and
 it seems possible that Douglas's additional phrase has been suggested
 by the word *palantisque*. It is perhaps significant that at
 X.674.xi.167, where *palantis* occurs again, Douglas again adds
 'pail and wan'. That he was aware that the idea of paleness was
 not inherent in the word *palantis* seems proved by his translation
 of the word, without the addition of 'pail and wan' at XII.615.xi.4.

Again it has to be stressed that although the evidence
 presented in this chapter demonstrates a certain lack of precision
 on Douglas's part, there are innumerable instances in the Eneados
 where his translation is correct. The aberrations noted may well
 be due to haste or to a temporarily diminished level of concentration.

CHAPTER VIII: ERRORS ARISING FROM MISINTERPRETED METRE

In a number of instances Douglas's mistranslations are due to insufficient attention to the length of syllables indicated by scansion of the line.

At I.430f.vii.25 the Latin runs

qualis apes aestate nova per florea rura
exercet sub sole labor,

translated by Page, 'As bees in early summer mid flowery meads are busy in the sunshine with their labour'. Although the final *a* of *nova* is long, indicating that the word is in the ablative case qualifying *aestate*, Douglas takes it as neuter plural ending in a short *-a*, qualifying *rura*:

Lyke to the beys, in feildis floryst new,
Gaderyng thar wark of mony divers hew,
In soft somyr the brycht son hait schynyng.

At II.531f.ix.43ff. there is an account of the death of Polites, one of the sons of Priam, at the hands of Pyrrhus.

The Latin verses run

ut tandem ante oculos evasit et ora parentum
concidit ac multo vitam cum sanguine fudit,

'When at last he emerged before the eyes and faces of his parents, he collapsed and poured out his life, shedding much blood'.

Douglas translates:

Quhil at the last, quhen he is cummyn, I weyn,
Befor his faderis and his moderis eyn,
Smate hym down ded in that sycht quhar he stude,
The gaist he yald with habundans of blude.

It is obvious that Douglas has read the first word in line 532 as *concidit*, to give the translation, 'Smate hym down ded', but the fact that the second syllable of *concidit* is long and the final syllable short makes the word metrically impossible at this position in the hexameter line.

A case where Douglas's interpretation is metrically possible/

possible but highly improbable occurs at II.743f.xi.103ff.

The Latin sentence runs *hic demum collectis omnibus una/ defuit*. The usual, and most natural, interpretation takes *una* as feminine singular nominative of the adjective *unus*, with the meaning, 'she alone', as the subject of *defuit*, giving the translation, 'Here at last, when all had collected, she alone was missing'. Douglas appears to take *una* as the adverb meaning 'together', for he translates

And fynaly, quhen we beyn gadderit thidder,
Fast by the haly tempil al togydder,
Scho was away.

Metrical considerations do not assist here, because the *-a* of *una*, being the final syllable of a hexameter line, may be either long or short. Douglas's interpretation would only merit consideration if *Creusa* had been the subject of the preceding clauses, but the three previous verbs are all in the first person, two singular and one plural; *una* must be nominative, otherwise the introduction of *defuit* would be intolerably abrupt.

At III.476.vii.9f. the Latin verse runs

cura deum, bis Pergameis erepte ruinis,

'a protégé of the gods, twice snatched from Troy in times of destruction'. *cura*, for reasons of scansion, can only be vocative case in apposition to the word *Anchisa* in the previous line. Douglas has a double translation of *bis . . . erepte* which could bear the interpretation that Anchises had been rescued four times. Douglas's phrase, 'by purviance dyvyne', raises a doubt whether he had mistakenly considered *cura* to be ablative:

And twyss delyverit by purviance dyvyne,
And twyss eschapit of Troy the sayr rewyne.

At/

At IV.32.i.65f. a line occurs in one of Anna's speeches to Dido:

solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa,
translated by Williams, 'Will you waste away in loneliness and grief all through your youth?'. Douglas renders the line,

Quhiddir gif thou wilt alane, in wedowhed,
Evir murnand thus waist away thy yowthed,

associating perpetua with maerens, as if it were feminine nominative singular agreeing with the subject understood, but the scansion shows that the final -a of perpetua is long; the word must therefore be feminine ablative singular agreeing with iuventa: 'in unending maidenhood'.

At IV.252f.v.144f., in the course of the account of Mercury's journey to admonish Aeneas, the Latin reads

hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis
constitit,

'Here, poised on balanced wings, Mercury first came to a stop'. nitens, as the scansion shows, is the present participle of the verb nitor, 'I rest upon' or 'I press upon'. Douglas has taken it as the present participle of the verb niteo, 'I shine' or 'I glisten' (which would here be metrically impossible), for he translates

Heir first Mercur, with evynly schynand weyngis,
Gan hym arest.

Even if such a rendering were metrically possible, it would still be inaccurate. The Latin for Douglas's Middle Scots would be pariter nitentibus.

At V.449.viii.55 the Latin verse runs

aut Ida in magna radicibus eruta pinus.

Scansion/

Scansion shows the final -a of magna to be long; it is therefore ablative singular, qualifying Ida, giving the meaning, 'on spacious Ida'. Douglas has erroneously taken it as nominative singular in disagreement with pinus, for he translates, 'the mekil kosch fyr tre'.

The converse error is found at VI.326.v.64. The line runs
portitor ille Charon; hi, quos vehit unda, sepulti,
'That ferryman is Charon; these, whom the stream carries, are interred'. The final -a of unda is short, indicating that it is nominative to vehit. Douglas has thought that the subject of vehit was Charon, for he translates vehit unda as, 'he careys in hys bayt'.

At VIII.624.x.67 the Latin verse begins with the words, tum levis ocreas. The second syllable of levis is shown to be long by the fact that the word is an adjective qualifying ocreas and must be accusative plural with the vowel i long. This means that the first syllable of levis must also be long, as a single short syllable between two long syllables cannot occur in the hexameter line. Douglas has mistakenly viewed the first syllable of levis as short, for he translates levis ocreas as 'the lyght legharnes' instead of as, 'the smooth leg harness', giving levis its correct metrical value.

At X.827f.xiii.163f. the Latin reads teque parentum/
manibus et cineri . . . remitto, translated by Page, 'and thyself, . . . ,I give back to the spirits and the ashes of thy sires'. Douglas has failed to notice that the first syllable of manibus, being the first syllable in a hexameter line, must be long; he therefore translates as if manibus were the dative plural of manus, /

manus, 'a hand', and not the dative of the plural noun manes, 'the souls of the dead':

Onto thy parentis handis and sepulcre
I the belief.

At XI.578.xi.100 the Latin verse runs

tela manu iam tum tenera puerilia torsit,

translated by Lonsdale and Lee, 'Even at that early age she hurled childish darts with her tender hand', the reference being to the infant Camilla. tenera is ablative, as the scansion shows, qualifying manu, but Douglas has taken it as nominative, agreeing with the subject of torsit, for he translates, 'bot tendir yonglyng'.

The words multa manu medica occur at XII.402.vii.49, the complete verse reading

multa manu medica Phoebique potentibus herbis.

Scansion shows the final -a of medica to be long, indicating that the word is ablative singular, qualifying manu, giving the phrase the meaning, 'many remedies with healing hand'. Douglas appears to associate multa (neuter plural accusative, direct object) with medica, for he translates the phrase, 'mony crafty medycyn'.

A neuter plural accusative again misleads Douglas at XII.629.xi.35f. The Latin verse runs

et nos saeva manu mittamus funera Teucris,

translated by Lonsdale and Lee, 'Let us, too, with our might, inflict upon the Trojans bitter deaths'. saeva can only be neuter plural accusative, qualifying funera, but Douglas translates as if it were feminine singular ablative, qualifying manu:

Tharfor lat ws with cruell hand in this sted
Lay als feill corpsis of the Troianys ded.

CHAPTER IX: INADEQUATE TRANSLATION

Although there are numerous occasions when Douglas appears to go out of his way to bring out what he considers to be the full implications of the narrative, there are times when his version fails to represent fully the sense of the Latin. There are times when there seems to be a loss of emphasis or impressiveness in comparison with the original, or when his translation seems weak.

At I.39.i.72, in the course of a speech indicating profound dissatisfaction, the goddess Juno ironically remarks *quippe vetor fatis*. Page translates, 'Because - a fine reason indeed - I am forbidden by the fates'. Austin renders the words, 'Oh yes, naturally - the Fates bar my way', and Williams's version is, 'but of course I am prevented by the fates'. The emphatic irony indicated by *quippe* is hardly brought out by Douglas's translation: 'Am I abandonyt with sa hard destany?'

A few lines later, at I.41.i.75, the word *furias* occurs, translated by Austin, 'mad lust', and by Williams, 'frenzied crime'. Douglas's rendering, 'wrang', seems tame.

At I.46.i.81 the clause occurs, *quae divum incedo regina*, translated by Fairclough, 'who move as queen of gods'. Douglas has the much less impressive rendering, 'the quhilk am clepit of goddis queyn'.

At I.135.iii.69 the Latin reads *quos ego - !* Page comments: 'A famous instance of the rhetorical figure called Aposiopesis, by which the speaker "breaks off in silence" leaving the sentence incomplete but the sense perfectly clear'. Austin writes: 'Neptune chokes with rage'. Douglas completes the sentence, 'I sal you chastys'.

A/

A brief descriptive passage occurs at I.164f.iv.17f.

The Latin reads

tum silvis scaena coruscis
desuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra,

'Then too a background of waving woods above and a grove overhangs
with dreadful darkness'. Douglas's version runs

A wod abufe ourheldis with his rank bewis
And castis a plesand schadow our the clewis.

Douglas omits scaena, coruscis, horrentique, atrum, nemus
and imminet; nothing in the Latin corresponds to his 'rank
bewis', 'plesand schadow' or 'clewis'. Virgil and Douglas
do not seem to be looking at the same place.

Even a minor addition to a verse can destroy its
impressiveness. At I.283.v.94 Douglas translates sic placitum
as 'This is determyt, this lykis the goddis' but spoils the effect
by adding, 'I wys'.

At I.292 f.v.111f. the Latin reads

cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus,
iura dabunt.

Austin translates, 'Grey Faith, and Vesta, and Quirinus in concert
with his brother Remus shall be lawgivers'. Page comments:

'Vesta, the goddess of the hearth, is specially introduced in order
to represent the nation as one family. So too Remo cum fratre
Quirinus symbolises the brotherly love which had succeeded the
civil wars and the strife of brother against brother'. Douglas's
rendering, which drops the personifications, appears to have only
a vague resemblance to the Latin, apart from the opening phrase:

Ancyant faith and valiant knyched,
With chaste religioune, sal than the lawys led.

Douglas's version has lost the impressiveness of the original.

At/

At I.504.viii.18f. the Latin reads *instans operi regnisque futuris*, which Page translates, 'urging on the labour of her rising empire'. Douglas's choice of the comparatively colourless verb, 'Providing for', is unfortunate; it lacks the immediacy of *instans*:

the warkis and weilfair
Providing for the realm in tyme tocum.

Virgil's use of repetition in emphasising a concept or in balancing two parts of a sentence is not always echoed by Douglas. At I.657f.x.if. the Latin reads

novas artis, nova pectore versat/consilia,
'turned over in her mind fresh devices and fresh plans'.

Douglas's version does not represent the effect of *novas . . . nova* and so loses the parallelism of *artis* and *consilia*: 'a sle wile socht/By new consait in hir mynd.'

There is a danger in producing an expanded version of the original that a meaningful association of words may be lost.

At I.679.x.43f. the Latin verse runs

dona ferens pelago et flammis restantia Troiae,
'carrying gifts which have survived from the sea and flames of Troy'. Douglas expands this verse in translation:

and gyftis seir
Tursis with hym of the ald Troian geir
Quhilk fra the storm of sey is left ontynt
And from the fyre remanys yit onbrynt.

It is unfortunate that in Douglas's version *Troiae* has been divorced from the word on which it depends, *flammis*.

At I.686.x.56 for the high-flown phrase, *laticemque Lyaeum* 'liquid of Bacchus', Douglas uses the prosaic word 'wynys'.

At/

At II.13.i.1 the Latin phrase *fracti bello*, 'broken by the war', occurs. Douglas's rendering, 'irkit of the weir', seems to be an understatement.

At II.49.i.66f. there occurs the well-known verse
quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentis,
 'Whatever it be, I fear the Greeks, even when they are bringing gifts'. The significance of the word *et* is lost in Douglas's translation:

Quhow euer it be, I dreid the Grekis fors,
 And thame that sendis this gyft always I feir.

At II.104.ii.81 the feeling conveyed by the Latin is not brought out by Douglas's version. The Latin word is *Ithacus*, on which Williams comments, 'with some contempt, describing Ulysses, without mentioning his name'. Douglas not only mentions the name, but in his desire to give the reader as much information as possible, adds a descriptive clause:

Vlixes, quhilk is kyng of Ithacy.

Understatement is again found in Douglas's translation at II.177.iii.61f. The Latin verse runs

nec posse Argolicis exscindi Pergama telis,
 'and that it is impossible for the walls of Troy to be razed to the ground by means of Greek armaments'. Douglas's version refers to something much less drastic than demolition:

Nor Grekis instrument
 Of Troy the wallis sal neuer hurt ne rent.

At II.192.iii.92 the Latin has a conditional clause
sin manibus vestris vestram ascendisset in urbem,
 'but if by your hands it climbed into your city'; Douglas omits *vestram*, thereby losing the opportunity to represent the effective collocation *vestris vestram*.

At times Douglas's version appears to be unduly prosaic, surprisingly, in view of his tendency to amplify the original. At II.306. vi. 17 the Latin phrase *sata laeta*, 'the bounteous crops', occurs. Douglas has merely the word 'cornys'. A similar example occurs at II.356.vi.109, where the Latin has the phrase *atra in nebula*, 'in a black mist'. Douglas's version is 'in the dyrk'.

At II.361.vii.1 the strong Latin word *cladem* occurs, meaning 'devastation'. Douglas's 'harmys' is hardly powerful enough. A further example of understatement is to be found at II.460f.viii.41f., where the Latin reads

*turrim in praecipiti stantem summisque sub astra
eductam tectis,*

'a turret standing on a sheer edge and rising aloft to the stars with its highest roof'. Douglas's version runs

We start ontill a hie turate in haist,
The top vpstrekand to the starnys hie.

'a hie turate' seems an inadequate rendering of *turrim in praecipiti stantem* and there is nothing in Douglas's version to represent *summisque . . . tectis*. The words in *praecipiti* may have suggested to Douglas the phrase, 'in haist', unless this is simply a 'filler' to rhyme with 'waist' in the previous line.

Helen is described at II. 573.x.25 as *Troiae et patriae communis Erinys*, 'the scourge of Troy and her own land alike'. Douglas does not represent *patriae* in his version; the result is that 'common' loses its meaning:

And eik the common fatale fury of Troy.

At II.602.x.76f. there occurs the word *culpatusve*.

Williams/

Williams and Austin take the word adjectivally, Williams translating it as 'wicked' and Austin considering that here it probably means 'adulterous'. Douglas takes the word in a strictly participial sense; 'quhilk alswa/Is blamyt oft'.

Emphatic repetition occurs in the Latin at II.636.x.130ff:

genitor, quem tollere in altos
optabam primum montis primumque petebam,

'my sire, whom before aught else I had been desiring to convey to the heights of the mountains, and above aught else had been striving to reach'. In spite of the emphasis, primum . . . primumque is not represented in Douglas's translation:

My fader than, quham I schupe to haue nummyn
And caryit to the nerrest hillys hycht,
And hym tharto solist with al my mycht.

At II.706.xi.48 Douglas's rendering is uncharacteristically colourless. The Latin reads propiusque aestus incendia volvunt, 'and the fires send billows of heat rolling nearer'. Douglas merely writes, 'and the heit nerrar drew'.

Loss of emphasis occurs again at III.85.ii.34.

The Latin reads da propriam . . . domum, 'Grant us a home to be ours for ever'. propriam is emphatic, but the emphasis is not brought out by Douglas's rendering:

Sum propir dwellyng place thou grant to ws.

At III.241.iv.64 the Latin phrase ferro foedare, 'to mar with the sword', occurs. Douglas's translation suggests much less violent action: 'forto bet and dryve away'.

An outstanding example of the prosaic rendering of a poetic expression is to be found at III.291.v.15. The Latin verse runs

protinus/

protinus aërias Phaeacum abscondimus arces,
 translated by Fairclough, 'Soon we lose from sight the towering heights of the Phaeacians'. Williams describes aërias Phaeacum . . . arces as 'a mysterious and haunting phrase', and borrowing from Shakespeare translates it as, 'the cloud-capped towers of the Phaeacians'. Douglas's version is, in contrast, prosaic:

Sone the citeis of Corsyra tyne we.

Another prosaic translation is offered at III.311.v.59. The Latin *si lux alma recessit* is translated by Page, 'if kindly light has departed'. Douglas renders the clause, 'Gif thou be ded'. Equally prosaic, and consequently remarkably unemotional, is Douglas's rendering at III.351.v.133. The Latin reads *Scaeaeque amplector limina portae*, 'and I kissed the portals of a Scaean gate'. Douglas translates, 'At port Seya I entir'.

At III.372.vi.36 the Latin has *multo suspensum numine*, translated by Page, 'agitated by the full presence of the god', and by Williams, 'tensely anxious in the manifold presence of deity'. Douglas does not convey the meaning conveyed by the word *numine* in his rendering, 'on seyr materis musand'. Douglas uses the same verb in translating the Latin word *sollicito* at III.389.vi.69. In the context it means, 'in distress', 'in a troubled state of mind', but Douglas writes 'musyng as thou sal ga'.

Douglas appears to have misplaced the emphasis in his translation at III.415.vi.117f. The Latin verse runs

tantum aevi longinqua valet mutare vetustas,
 translated by Page, 'Such change can age's distant past achieve'. Douglas's rendering of the line lays more emphasis on ignorance of such changes than on the changes themselves:

Behald/

Behald quhat change and sa onkouth a kast
 May be mysknaw, throw tymys lang bipast.

At III.487.vii.33 the Latin reads *et longum
 Andromachae testentur amorem*. Page translates, 'and long
 bear witness to the love of Andromache', and comments: 'longum
 agrees with *amorem* but is also to be taken closely with *testentur*:
 the gifts are to be the lasting witness of a love which will be
 equally lasting'. Douglas's rendering does justice to longum
 but is barely adequate in respect of *amorem*:

In takyn lang tyme to thynkyng apon me;
 it is her own love for Ascanius to which Andromache is referring,
 not loving thoughts of her on the part of Ascanius.

An important idea is omitted in Douglas's translation
 at III.491. vii.42. The Latin verse runs

et nunc aequali tecum pubesceret aevo,
 translated by Williams, 'and he would have been the same age
 as you, growing up to manhood'. The reference to manhood is not
 represented in Douglas's version, only the thought that the two
 boys would have been of the same age (and of equal height):

He hadbene evyneild with the, and hedy pair.

At III.546.viii.79 there is a reference to the advice
 given to Aeneas by the prophet Helenus. The Latin reads
praeceptisque Heleni, dederat quae maxima. Fairclough
 translates, 'and, following the urgent charge which Helenus had
 given', and Williams' version runs, 'and in accordance with the
 instructions on which Helenus had specially insisted'. The
 emphasis conveyed by *quae maxima*, brought out in the renderings
 of Fairclough and Williams, is not reflected in Douglas's clause,
 'as he commandyt had'.

Something/

Something less than the full significance of the Latin preposition *e* is conveyed by Douglas's translation at III.554.viii.93f. The Latin verse runs

tum procul e fluctu Trinacria cernitur Aetna,
 'Then in the distance out of the waves appears Trinacrian Aetna'.
 Page quotes a comment by Howson: 'The line of the horizon hides the base, and the summit seems to rise straight from the ocean'. Douglas's phrase, 'in the flude' does not fully convey the meaning of the Latin:

Syne, far of in the flude, we gan aspy
 The byrnand Ethna into Sycilly.

At III.644.ix.101 Douglas offers a weak translation of the Latin phrase *infandi Cyclopes*, 'unspeakably terrible Cyclopes'. Douglas calls them merely 'Gret Ciclopes'.

There is another disappointing translation at V.9.i.17. The Latin reads *maria undique et undique caelum*, translated by Fairclough, 'but sea on all sides and on all sides sky'. Douglas has neither the repetition of *undique* nor the chiasmus which increases the effectiveness of the repetition in the Latin:

Salve hevyn abufe, and fludis all about.

At V.40.i.73 there occurs the phrase *gaza . . . agresti* translated by Page, 'with rustic splendour', and by Williams, 'with his rustic treasures'. Douglas's version does less than justice to the word *gaza*: 'rural metis'. Similarly, *ora* seems to be denied its full value at VI.108.ii.61. The verse is

ire ad conspectum cari genitoris et ora,
 which Fairclough translates, 'to pass into my dear father's sight and presence'. On *ora* Austin writes: 'more precise than *conspectum*: Aeneas wants not only to catch sight of Anchises, but/

but to meet him face to face'. Douglas's version runs

And cum onto my deir faderis sight.

At VI.135.ii.119, in the course of her remarks to Aeneas, the Sibyl says *et insano iuvat indulgere labori*, translated by Jackson Knight, 'and if you choose to give yourself up to this mad adventure'. Douglas's prophetess uses a more tactful expression than Virgil's: 'Or sa huge laubour delytis the'.

At VI.401.vi.34, by contrast, Douglas's word is blunt, compared with the original; for *exsanguis*, 'bloodless', he writes simply, 'ded'.

At VI.901.xv.125f. the Latin verse runs

ancora de prora iacitur; stant litore puppes,

'The anchor is cast from the prow; the sterns rest upon the beach'.

Douglas's version lacks the clarity of the Latin because he does not bring out the contrast between *prora* and *puppis*:

Furth of the forschip leyt thai ankyris glyde;
The navy raid endlang the schoris syde.

At VII.12f.(VI.xvi.27f.) the Latin reads

*tectisque superbis
urit odoratam nocturna in lumina cedrum,*

translated by Lonsdale and Lee, 'and in her glorious halls

[Circe] burns the scented cedar to give her light by night'.

Douglas's separation of 'all the nycht' from 'byrnys bright' results in failure to convey the sense of purpose indicated by the preposition *in* which introduces the Latin phrase:

And in hir prowde place of beddis all the nycht
The weil smelland cedyr byrnys bright.

Loss of dramatic effect is noticeable in Douglas's translation at VII.295f.v.31f. Juno asks a rhetorical question:

num/

num incensa cremavit/Troia viros? 'Did the fires of Troy consume them?' Douglas not only translates the question but goes on to supply an answer:

Hes nocht Troy all infyrit yit thame brynt?
Na, all sic laubour is fornocht and tynt.

At VII.313.v.73 the Latin word esto occurs. Page comments, 'of reluctant assent', and Williams suggests the translations, 'Let it be so', and, 'I accept it'. Douglas's version does not convey this sense of giving in to the inevitable: 'I put the cace'.

A sense of urgency may be lost through expansion.

At VII.340.v.141ff. the Latin verse runs

arma velit poscatque simul rapiatque iuventus,
'In the same hour let the men crave, demand and seize the sword!'
There is a clear example here of the contrast between the conciseness of Virgil and the elaboration of Douglas. Virgil's single line becomes four in Douglas, iuventus, velit, poscatque and rapiatque receiving a line each, with an inevitable sense of loss of urgency:

Gar all the power, and euerilk stowt yongkeir,
First in thar myndis desire to move the weir,
Syne cry, and ask armys and batale all,
And rusch tharto forsely gret and small.

There is another of Douglas's prosaic renderings at VII.695.xi.132. The Latin phrase is Fescenninas acies, translated by C. Day Lewis as 'Fescennae's jagged skyline'. Fordyce mentions a suggestion made by D. A. Slater that acies is here used in a sense like that of the English 'edge' in its geographical application. C. Day Lewis's interpretation is in line with this. Douglas writes merely 'Fascenyum the cite'.

At/

At VII.773.xii.164 there occurs the Latin proper noun Phoebigenam, 'the Phoebus-born'. Page writes: 'Emphatic: even though he was the son of Phoebus'. Douglas's adjective clause lacks the emphasis required by Page:

Quhilk was byget be the god Appollyne.

One of Douglas's least impressive lines occurs at VIII.97.iii.lff. The Latin verse runs

sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem,

'The fiery sun had scaled the mid arch of heaven'. Douglas writes:

The fyry son be this ascendit evin
The myddill ward and regioun of the hevyn;
That is to know, be than it was myd day.

The phrase saevis . . . armis occurs at VIII.482.viii.60, translated by Fairclough, 'with cruel arms'. Douglas's version, 'in gret fors of armys' is not nearly strong enough.

Loss of emphasis recurs at VIII.585.ix.97. The Latin phrase is iamque adeo, 'and now indeed'. Page comments, 'adeo emphasizes iamque and so marks the paragraph which it introduces as important'. Douglas's 'Be this' hardly reflects the emphasis of the Latin.

At IX.211.iv.107 the Latin reads in adversum rapiat, 'hurries me to disaster'. The Latin phrase is a euphemism for death, but Douglas's version, 'happin it fall' is not striking.

An accumulation of terms which verges on the comical is to be found at IX.452f.vii.182. The Latin phrase is Rhamnete reperto/exsanguis, translated by Douglas, 'Rhamnetes, fund hedles, pail and ded'.

On other occasions, by contrast, Douglas appears to say less than the Latin does. At X.15.i.36 the Latin reads et/

et placitum laeti componite foedus, 'and consent to ratify the peace we have agreed upon'. Douglas translates:

Glaibly do makis frendly amyte,

a rendering which does not represent placitum and which hardly does justice to the significance of foedus as a contract.

At times it would appear that Douglas's desire to be explicit led him to employ adjective clauses which are quite superfluous. An example occurs at X.172. iv.23f., where the Latin phrase is Populonia mater, 'his native Populonia'. Douglas attaches an adjective clause which is quite unnecessary:

The rych cyte of Populonyas,
Hys natyve cuntre, quharof born he was.

At X.547f. x.10f. the Latin reads vimque adfore verbo/crediderat. Sidgwick translates, 'and had believed that force would match his word', i.e. that he would be strong to execute his boast. C. Day Lewis's version is similar, 'thinking his prowess/Would equal his boasting'. Douglas's translation does not bring out this close relationship between words and actions:

Wenyng that in hys sawys by and by
Thar had bene gret effect and hardyment.

At XI.105.iii.12 the phrase occurs hospitibus quondam socerisque vocatis, 'once called hosts, and fathers of their brides'. Douglas translates:

Quhylum clepyt hys frendis and acquaintans,

but 'acquaintans' seems barely adequate to represent soceris, 'fathers-in-law'.

At XI.237f.vi.24f. the subject is King Latinus:

sedet in mediis et maximus aevo
et primus sceptris,

'There/

'There sits in the centre he who was oldest in years and first in kingly power'. The effectiveness of the group of words *et maximus aevo et primus sceptris* is well-nigh lost as the result of Douglas's re-arrangement of the sentence, including his using *mediis* to qualify *sceptris*:

Thys ancyent kyng dyd set hym down amyd
The cepturyt men, as first and pryncipall.

It is dramatic effect that is lost at XI.267.vi.104, where the Latin phrase *prima inter limina* occurs, 'when first he crossed the threshold'. Douglas makes no reference to crossing the threshold, but writes instead, 'The first nycht in hys palace'. A similar example occurs at XI.377.viii.4, where the Latin reads *rumpitque has . . . voces*, translated by Williams, 'burst into speech with these words'. Page comments, 'rumpit suggests the outbreak of repressed passion'. Douglas's version is much less dramatic: 'Thir wordis pronuncis'.

At XI.767.xiv.101 the warrior Arruns is described as *improbus*, 'relentlessly evil'. Douglas's word 'pevech' (i.e. 'peevish') is quite inadequate here. Similar inadequacy marks Douglas's translation of the word *superbi*, describing the leaders of the armies at XII.126.iii.33. The Latin verse runs

ductores auro volitant ostroque superbi,

'The captains dart to and fro, brilliant in gold and purple'.

For *superbi* Douglas has the much less picturesque 'arrayt':

thir capitany
In rich purpour arrayt and fyne gold brycht.

Yet another example occurs at XII.687.xi.161, where the subject is a crag rolling at high speed down a mountain side. The Latin is *fertur in abruptum*, 'sheer downward sweeps'. Douglas's version lacks/

CHAPTER X: UNFORTUNATE ADDITIONS

Many of Douglas's additions, although they are unnecessary and in some cases unhelpful, do not disturb the flow of the narrative or raise problems in the reader's mind. Others, however, can be classified as 'unfortunate', in that they contradict a statement made previously or to be made later. In this section a number of unfortunate additions will be considered .

At I.62f.ii.20ff. the subject is Jupiter and the king mentioned is Aeolus. The Latin reads

regemque dedit, qui foedere certo
et premere et laxas sciret dare iussus habenas,

translated by Fairclough, 'and gave them a king, who, under fixed covenant, should be skilled to tighten and loosen the reins at command'. The words *foedere certo* and *iussus* leave no doubt about the highly circumscribed nature of Aeolus' powers. Douglas's translation is here fairly close to the Latin until he adds the unfortunate clause, 'when he wald', effectively nullifying the significance of *iussus*:

Gave thame a kyng, quhilk, as thar lord and iuge,
At certane tyme thame stanching and withhald
And at command also mycht quhen he wald
Lat thame go fre at large to blaw out braid.

At II.83ff.ii.46ff. Sinon, in the course of his account, makes the following reference to Palamedes:

quem falsa sub proditione Pelasgi
insontem infando indicio, quia bella vetabat,
demisere neci,

'whom the Pelasgi on a false charge, though innocent, on a monstrous information, because he used to oppose the war, condemned to die'. That statement did not contain anything that the Trojans could know to be false or find difficult to believe, but Douglas in his version adds the words, 'and procurit pes', which the Trojans would be bound to know to be quite untrue; doubt would therefore have been cast on the reliability of Sinon's entire narrative. Douglas translates:

Quham Grekis by fals traysoun, as weil is kend,
 Throw corrupt witnes stanyt to ded, but les,
 For he the weir forbad and procurit pes.

At II.207f.iv.14f. there is a description of two
 sea-serpents. In the course of it the Latin reads

pars cetera pontum
 pone legit sinuatque immensa volumine terga,

'the rest of them skims the main behind and their huge backs
 curve in many a fold'. Douglas gives a translation of *pontum
 pone legit* which would have made a description of the bodies
 of the sea-serpents impossible, as they would not have been in view:

The remanent swam always vnder see,
 With grysly bodeis lynkit mony fald.

At II.432f.vii.126f. the Latin reads *nec tela nec
 ullas/vitavisse vices Danaum*, translated by Fairclough,
 'I shunned not the Danaan weapons nor their answering blows'.
 Douglas represents *vitavisse* by means of two verbs, 'sparit'
 (vii.126) and 'eschewit' (vii.127). 'sparit' seems an unfortunate
 choice; taken in conjunction with the amplified translation of
tela, (*wapynnys, strenth nor pane*), Douglas's rendering implies
 that the weapons were thrown by Aeneas; in the Latin they were
 thrown by the enemy, *Danaum* depending on both *tela* and *vices*.

Douglas translates:

I nowder sparit wapynnys, strenth nor pane,
 Nor nane onset eschewit of Grekis mycht.

Douglas's fondness for representing one Latin verb by means of two
 or more Middle Scots verbs has led him astray here.

At II.637f.x.133ff. the subject is Anchises. The
 Latin reads

abnegat excisa vitam producere Troia
 exsiliumque pati,

'He/

'He refuses, now that Troy is utterly destroyed, to prolong his life and to endure exile'. Douglas's version, 'to leif in ioy', is out of place in the sombre context of Anchises' weariness of life:

Bot he reffusys or euer to leif in ioy
Eftir the rewyne and distructioun of Troy -
To suffir exile he said that he ne couth.

At III.254ff.iv,87ff. Douglas's fondness for introducing additional detail ruins a prophecy. The speaker is Celaeno, one of the Harpies:

ibitis Italiam portusque intrare licebit;
sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem,
quam vos dira fames nostraeque iniuria caedis
ambesas subigat malis absumere mensas,

'But never shall you be granted a city, to gird it with your walls, until first, to punish you for your sin in striking at us, a fearful hunger has forced you to gnaw and devour your very tables'. The prophecy, as related in the Latin, is fulfilled at Book VII, lines 109 onwards, where the Trojans eat the thin cakes which they had been using as plates or 'tables' for their meat, the word *mensas* having been left undefined at III.257 above. Douglas translates in such a way that he leaves no doubt about the material of which the tables are to be made; the prophecy, in Douglas's version, cannot possibly be fulfilled:

To Itale sal ye wend, and thar tak land.
Bot first, or wallis of the cite vpstand
Quhilk by the goddis is you predestinate,
For strang hungir sal ye stand in sik state,
In wraik of our iniuris and bestis slane,
That with your chaftis to gnaw ye salbe fane,
And runge your tabillis al and burdis, quod sche.

At V.231.iv.135f. it is said of the competing oarsmen in the boat race, *possunt, quia posse videntur*, translated by Page, 'They are strong, for they trust their strength', and by Williams,/

Williams, 'They can do it, because they think they can'.

Douglas's version would have represented the Latin accurately if he had not added the unfortunate phrase, 'witth laubour lycht', which attributes to the rowers an over-confident attitude for which the Latin gives no warrant:

Thame thoct thai mocht thame wyn witth laubour lycht,
Becaus it semyt to thame at so thai mycht.

At V.468ff.viii.93ff. Dares, defeated in a rather violent boxing-match, requires some assistance. The Latin reads

ast illum fidi aequales, genua aegra trahentem
iactantemque utroque caput . . .
. . .
ducunt ad navis,

'But Dares his loyal mates lead to the ships, his feeble knees trailing, his head swaying from side to side'. Douglas translates:

And than Darhes
Hys trew companyeonys ledis of the pres,
Harland hys wery lymmys dolf as led,
For sorow schakand to and fra hys hed,
. led hym to thar schippys.

There is no suggestion in the Latin that the movements of Dares' head were due to sorrow; the predominant theme is his physical weakness. Dares could neither walk unaided nor maintain his normal posture.

At V.858f.xiv.62 there is a description of the manner in which Palinurus the helmsman, overcome by the god Sleep, was hurled into the sea. An important phrase in the Latin is cum puppis parte revolsa/cumque gubernaclo, correctly rendered by Douglas, 'Richt al togidder with the helmstok of tre'. A few lines later, at V.868.xiv.79f., it is said of Aeneas, who has just realised what has happened, et ipse ratem nocturnis rexit/

rexit in undis, 'and he himself took control of her through the midnight waves'. Obviously Aeneas could not use the tiller to steer the ship, as the rudder and part of the vessel had disappeared with Palinurus into the sea. Williams, in his commentary to Book V, writes: 'There are a number of possible ways in which a sailing boat with oars may be kept under control without a rudder'. Douglas, however, contradicts what he has written a few lines earlier in translating line 868 as

Him self hes than sone hynt the rudyr in hand
And throu the fludis steris the schip to land.

At VI.151.ii.147, in the course of her remarks to Aeneas, the Sibyl speaks the following words:

dum consulta petis nostroque in limine pendes,
'while you are lingering at my door in search of oracles'.

Douglas's rendering of this line is complicated by his addition of the past participle 'slane'. All the Sibyl says is that while her conversation with Aeneas is continuing, the dead body of Misenus is lying unburied. She gives no information about the precise time of his death. Douglas's translation runs

The self tyme slane thow askand our answer
And in this place remanys with ws heir.

Douglas's desire to give the reader as much information as possible sometimes results in an inaccurate addition. One of the future heroes of Rome is referred to at VI.838.xiv.77 as ille, 'that other'. Modern scholars take the reference to be to Lucius Aemilius Paullus, but Douglas translates ille as

And he yon other, Quintus Metellus.

At VII.109f.ii.14ff. the preparations for a meal are being described. The Latin reads adorea liba per herbam/
subiciunt epulis, 'They place cakes of meal along the sward beneath/

beneath the viands'. Although there is no punctuation after the word *herbam* in the 1501 edition, Douglas places a full stop after the word 'gers', so that his rendering of *per herbam* is separated from that of *adorea liba subiciunt epulis*, an arrangement which spoils the effect of the passage. Douglas's version runs

On grene herbis and sonkis of soft gers.
The flowr sconnyys war set in by and by
With othir mesis, sik as war reddy.

The addition of this last, rather peculiar, line (ii.16) suggests that Douglas has taken *subiciunt* in the sense of adding one thing to another rather than in the sense of placing one thing below another, in this case the wheaten wafers below the other eatables.

At VIII.670.xi.69 the words occur *his dantem iura Catonem*, 'and Cato giving them laws'. Douglas translates

And the wys man Censorius Cato
Gevand thar iust rewardis till al tho.

Douglas here follows Servius, who writes *Censorium significat, non Uticensem, qui contra Caesarem bella suscepit*. Douglas has therefore transferred the name *Censorius*, by which Marcus Porcius Cato the elder (234-149 B.C.) was sometimes called, to his great-grandson, Marcus Porcius Cato the younger (94-46 B.C.), sometimes called *Uticensis*. Virgil clearly intended the reference to be to the latter, otherwise the elder would have been mentioned before Catiline (died 62 B.C.) in this chronological sequence of people and events. Page writes: 'M. Porcius Cato, called *Uticensis* because he committed suicide at Utica after the battle of Thapsus, 46 B.C., is, with the Augustan writers, though a republican, an accepted type of uncompromising Roman virtue and so here 'holds sway' among the righteous in Elysium'.

At/

At IX.184f.iv.45ff. the context is a conversation.

The Latin verses run

Nisus ait: 'dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,
Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?

Fairclough translates: Nisus cries: 'Do the gods, Euryalus, put this fire in our hearts, or does his own wild longing become to each man a god?' Douglas translates:

Nisus thus spekis: 'O brothir myne Ewrylly,
Quhiddir gif the goddis, or sum spretis sylly,
Movys in our myndis this ardent thochtfull fyre,
Or gif that euery manis schrewit desyre
Be as his god and genyus in that place,
I wait nevir how it standis.

The words, 'or sum spretis sylly', are a most unhappy insertion; they correspond to nothing in the Latin and, because of their position, effectively blunt the contrast between *di* (line 184) and *sua . . . dira cupido* (line 185).

The attire of the warrior maiden Camilla is being described at XI.577.xi.98f. The Latin verse runs

tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent,
translated by Lonsdale and Lee, 'The skin of a tiger hangs from her head down her back'. Williams writes: 'She wore the tiger skin so that it covered her head as well as her body'. Douglas's version refers to the tiger skin as worn 'fro hir nek down':

Our the schuldris fro hir nek down with all
The grisly tygrys skyn of rent dyd hyng.

At XII.56f.ii.8ff. there occur the Latin words *per si quis Amatae/tangit honos animum*, translated by Page, 'by whatever regard for Amata touches thy soul'. Douglas appears to give a shorter, and then a longer, version:

And/

And be the wirschip thou aw till Amata,
 Gyf ony honour of hir or thy kin
 Twichys or movis into thy breist within.

In the context of a personal appeal involving only Amata and Turnus,
 the additional words, 'or thy kin', seem very much out of place.

At XII.740f.xii.111ff. the subject is Turnus's sword.

The Latin verses run

mortalis mucro, glacies ceu futilis, ictu
 dissiluit; fulva resplendent fragmina harena,

'The mortal blade, like brittle ice, flew asunder at the stroke;
 the fragments glitter on the yellow sand'. Douglas translates:

This ontrew temperit blaid and fykill brand,
 That forgit was bot with a mortal band,
 In flendris flaw, and at the first clap,
 As brukkill ice, in litill pecis lap,
 Quhill the small partis of the blaid brokin in twa
 As glas gletand upon the dun sand lay.

'brokin in twa' seems an unfortunate addition, in view of the words,
 'the small partis', in the same line and the phrase, 'in litill
 pecis' in the line immediately preceding.

At IV.494ff.ix.45ff. Dido is instructing her sister
 Anna to see to the erection of a 'byng' within an open courtyard
 of the palace, on which are to be placed a variety of objects,
 all associated in one way or another with Aeneas. The arms of
 Aeneas are the first of these objects to be mentioned. The
 Latin catalogue reads,

et arma viri thalamo quae fixa reliquit
 impius exuviasque omnis lectumque iugalem
 quo perii, super imponas.

Douglas translates the verses as follows:

and tharapon thou hynge
 Yon manys sword, quhilke that wikkyt wight
 Left stykand in our chawmyr this hyndir nyght,
 Hys cote armour, and othir cleything all,
 And/

And eik that maist wrachit bed conjugall,
 Quharin I perychit and wes schent, allace!

Of the additions made by Douglas in these lines, there is nothing particularly striking about the elaboration of arma into 'sword' and 'Hys cote armour', the qualifying phrase, 'maist wrachit', the rendering of quo perii by means of the words, 'Quharin I perychit and wes schent', or the final 'allace!'

What does arrest the reader's attention is Douglas's wholly original addition, 'this hyndir nyght'. It seems impossible that the events which fill lines IV.195 to 493 of the Latin text (IV.v.43 to IV.ix.42 of Douglas's translation) could all have taken place within the space of a single day.

An examination of the text, either the Latin or the Middle Scots, provides strong evidence for rejecting 'this hyndir nyght' as an appropriate time reference.

It seems clear from the text that the activities of Fame could not have been set in motion by the arrival of Dido and Aeneas in the same cave when the storm interrupted the hunt, but must have started some time previously. The rumour that is spread abroad is mentioned at IV.191ff.v.34ff. Douglas's version runs

Quhou of the Troiane blude wes cummyn thiddir
 Ene, with quham the fair Dido be wed
 Dedenyt, and as husband go to bed;
 And how the wyntir session betwix thame tway
 Thai spend in lang refell, lust and play,
 Of thar realmys na thing remembring,
 In fowle delyte ybond by Cupyd kyng,

- a fairly close rendering of the Latin. Even Virgil does not seem entirely consistent at this point. If Fame began its activities after the day of the hunt (the Latin word is *extemplo*, emphatically placed as the first word in line 173), how could Dido and Aeneas be accused of enjoying 'the winter, all its length, in dalliance together'/?

together' (Williams' translation of line 193) before the report reached the ears of Iarbas? This is perhaps a comparatively minor point, but it seems to suggest that Virgil himself had not a clear-cut time sequence in mind.

At any rate, it may be assumed that Dido and Aeneas are thought of as cohabiting in Dido's palace from the evening of the day of the hunt until the day of the confrontation related from IV.304.vi.48 to IV.391.vii.57. The nature of the angry dialogue makes it highly unlikely that there would be any further intimacy between Dido and Aeneas, so that the morning of the confrontation can be taken as the occasion on which Aeneas left his belongings in Dido's chamber. The narrative itself gives evidence of a lapse of time before the day on which Dido gave instructions to Anna to prepare the 'byng' in the courtyard. The significant passages are the following:

(1) lines 437f., which run

talibus orabat , talisque miserrima fletus
fertque refertque soror,

'Such was her prayer and such the tearful pleas the unhappy sister bears again and again'. A considerable period of time is implied here;

(2) lines 460 to 473, which describe in detail the nightmares to which Dido became subject before she determined to die (decrevitque mori, line 475).

It seems clear that the addition by Douglas of the words, 'this hyndir nyght', although it may heighten the emotional intensity of the speech in which it occurs, is incompatible with the narrative as a whole.

translated by Douglas

Or as we se the burnyst siluer brycht,
Or yit the quhite polist marbill stane schyne
Quhen thai beyn circulit about with gold sa fyne.

Douglas omits flavo and Pariusve but adds 'burnyst' and 'brycht' qualifying 'siluer', 'quhite polist marbill' and 'schyne' qualifying 'stane' and 'sa fyne' describing 'gold'.

At I.632.ix.95f. the Latin reads simul divum templis indicit honorem, 'at once proclaimed sacrifices in the temples of the gods'. Douglas's rendering is very free here:

And tharwith eik commandis halyday,
Throwe owt the cyte all suldbe game and play.

On occasion a free rendering succeeds in retaining the essential elements of the Latin. At I.688.x.59f. the Latin verse runs

occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno,

which C. Day Lewis translates, 'Then you may secretly fire her heart and inject your magic'. For fallasque veneno Page suggests 'cheat her with poison' and 'poison her unawares'. Douglas's free rendering combines Virgil's ideas in a different way:

Than may thou slely thi vennamus ardent fyre
Of fraudfull luf amyð hir breste inspyre.

It will be observed that

- (1) occultum is represented by the adverb 'slely';
- (2) inspires is kept to the end and modified by the phrase 'amyð hir breste';
- (3) ignem (accusative) and veneno (ablative) are combined, with the addition of 'ardent', in the phrase 'vennamus ardent fyre';
- (4) fallasque (verb) is represented by an adjective in the phrase, 'Of fraudfull luf'.

At

At II.211.iv.19^f the Latin verse runs

sibila lambebant linguis vibrantibus ora,

'were licking with quivering tongues their hissing mouths'.

Douglas has a free rendering:

Wyth tongis quhislyng in thar mowthis rede
Thai lyk the twynkland stangis in thar hed.

There are anumber of striking divergences:

- (1) *sibila*, which qualifies *ora*, is transferred to *linguis*, giving the phrase, 'wyth tongis quhislyng';
- (2) *ora*, the Latin object of *lambebant*, is incorporated in a prepositional phrase, 'in thar mowthis rede';
- (3) *lambebant* is provided with a new object and an accompanying prepositional phrase, neither of which represents anything in the Latin: 'the twynkland stangis in thar hed'. It might be remarked that 'twynkland' would have been an excellent translation of *vibrantibus*, qualifying *linguis*.

Frequently Douglas's freedom in translation takes the form of expansion, as at II.249.iv.33. The Latin words are *festam velamus fronde per urbem*, 'we wreath . . . with festal boughs throughout the city'. Douglas's version reads

With festuale flowris and bewys, as in May,
Dyd weil anorn, and fest and ryot maid
Throu owt the town, and for myscheif was glaid.

Douglas adds the mention of flowers to that of branches, adds the phrase, 'as in May', makes a new clause suggested by the word *festam* and attaches to its verb the phrase *per urbem*, which in the Latin text modifies *velamus*, and adds the words, 'and for myscheif was glaid'.

Free elaboration is found again at II.322.vi.50^{ff}.

The Latin verse is in the form of a question asked by Aeneas:

quo/

quo res summa loco, Panthu? quam prendimus arcem?

Page translates, 'Where is the main battle, Panthus? What place of defence are we to occupy?' Douglas elaborates, beginning with a question which is not in the Latin; he interprets *res summa* in a religious sense (but there does not seem to be any parallel for such a usage) and adds the word 'other', qualifying 'fortress':

How now, Panthus, quhat tythingis do ye bryng?
In quhat estait is sanctuary and haly geir?
To quhilk other fortress sall we speir?

At II.420ff.vii.101ff. the Latin reads

illi etiam, si quos obscura nocte per umbram
fudimus insidiis totaque agitavimus urbe,
apparent,

'There appear, too, those whom amid the shade of the dim night
we had routed by stratagem and driven throughout the town'.

Douglas's version of these lines is very free. He starts with a line which is difficult to relate to the Latin, then replaces the verb *fundimus* in the first person with two in the third person. He adds an adverbial clause of time not in the Latin, then attaches the word *primi* (from the following sentence) to *apparent* and adds a phrase of purpose:

On siklyke wyss the Grekis ws invadit,
For than thai als that fled war and evadit,
Throu the dyrk nycht, quhen sum thar feris slew we,
And thame had chasit throw owt all the cite,
Thai war the first come now to do ws deir.

At II.509f.ix.6ff. Douglas gives a general, then a specific, rendering of the Latin, which reads

arma diu senior desueta trementibus aevo
circumdat nequiquam umeris.

Douglas translates:

The auld grayth, al for nocht, to hym tays
Hys hawbryk quhilk was lang furth of usage,
Set on his schulderis trymlyng than for age;

where/

where *arma desueta* is first represented by 'auld grayth', then by 'Hys hawbryk quhilk was lang furth of usage'; and *circumdat* is represented first by 'tays', then by 'set on his schulderis'.

In the course of a free rendering at II.586f.x.49ff. Latin phrases are misinterpreted. The Latin reads

*animumque explesse iuvabit
ultriciis flammae et cineres satiasset meorum,*

translated by Page, 'and it shall be my joy to have filled my soul with avenging fire (or 'fury') and to have satisfied the ashes of my kindred'. Douglas appears to take the word *flammae* as a reference to the burning of Troy; he introduces an odd metaphor of 'sorowis fyllit with assis red'. Nothing in Douglas's lines has any reference to the Latin phrase *cineres . . . meorum*, the relatives and countrymen of Aeneas who died at Troy:

It wil my mynd asswage fortobe wrokyn
On hir quhamby Troy brynt is and down brokyn,
And forto eik the myscheif of hir ded
Til our sorowis fyllit with assis red.

At II.628ff.x.119ff. a descriptive passage is freely rendered. The Latin verses run

*illa usque minatur
et tremefacta comam concusso vertice nutat,
vulneribus donec paulatim evicta supremum
congemuit traxitque iugis avulsa ruinam,*

the first two lines of which are translated by Williams, 'It looks like falling all the time and as its leafy boughs shiver, and its lofty top is shaken, it sways to and fro', and the remaining two by Page, 'until little by little o'ermastered by the blows it has given one last deep groan and, torn from its native ridge, come crashing down'. In Douglas's version *minatur . . . nutat* are represented by the alliterative phrase, 'branglis bosting to the fall'; *concusso/*

concusso vertice is adequately rendered by 'With top trymlyng' but tremefacta comam receives less than justice in 'and branchis shakans all', which does not convey a picture of the foliage. vulneribus donec paulatim evicta is barely represented; Douglas apparently associates supremum with vulneribus but it clearly modifies congemuit; traxitque . . . ruinam seems to be translated twice, for the fall of the tree and for the destruction that its fall causes. Douglas translates:

The tre branglis bostyng to the fall,
 With top trymlyng, and branchis shakand all;
 Quhil finaly it get the lattyр straik,
 Than with a rair down duschis the mekil aik,
 And with his fard brekis down bewis about.

At times Douglas's freedom in translation results in a degree of vagueness. At III.92.ii.49ff. there occur the Latin words et mugire adytis cortina reclusis, 'and the tripod moaned as the shrine was thrown open'. Douglas translates,

A murmur or a rumysyng hard we have
 Within the courtyng and the secret cave.
 The quyet closettis oppynnyt with a rerd.

It is difficult here to trace a correspondence between the Latin and Douglas's translation. Douglas's phrase 'Within the courtyng' looks like a rendering of cortina, and 'a murmur or a rumysing' might refer to mugire; but cortina is nominative, not ablative, and there is no mention in the Latin of a secret cave. Further, mugire seems to be represented by the phrase, 'with a rerd' in the next line of Douglas's translation, where the ablative absolute phrase adytis reclusis appears to serve as Douglas's subject. It is tempting to suppose that Douglas was rather uncertain of the meaning of the line and therefore provided the reader with two versions, lines ii.49,50 being one rendering and line ii.51 being/

being the other, there being some resemblance in each to the Latin line 92.

On occasion Douglas appears to have responded imaginatively to Virgil's phrases and to have included in his translation all the images that came to his mind's eye. There is an example of this at III.290.v.14ff. where the Latin verse runs

certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt,

'With rival strokes my comrades lash the sea and sweep the waters'.

Douglas translates:

Byssely our folkis gan to pyngil and stryve,
Swepand the flude with lang rowthys belyve,
And vp thai welt the stowr of fomy see.

Douglas's first line is mainly a rendering of certatim, 'in eager rivalry'; the second line translates aequora verrunt, rather than feriunt mare, with the addition, 'with lang rowthys belyve'; the third line is a greatly expanded version of feriunt mare, 'the stowr of fomy see' not being suggested by anything in the Latin.

At III.360f.vi.9ff. Douglas expands the two lines of the original into eight in translation. The Latin verses are

qui tripodas, Clarii lauros, qui sidera sentis
et volucrum linguas et praepetis omina pennaе,

'You who know the tripods and bays of the lord of Claros, and understand the stars, and the language of birds, and the omens drawn from their prophetic flight'. In Douglas's translation qui tripodas . . . sentis is translated as

Quhilk knawist eik the reuelationys
Of god Apollois diuinationys,
Undir hys trestis and burdis at Delphois schene.

Clarii lauros is represented by the line

And into Claryus vndir the lawrer grene,

sidera/

sidera is expanded into

That vnderstandis the cowrs of euery star,

et volucrum linguas becomes in translation

And chyrme of euery byrdis voce on far,

and the phrase et praepetis omina pennae is developed into

And euery fowle on weyng fleyng in the sky
Quhat thai betakyn and quhat thai signyfy.

A free, but less expanded version is to be found at
III.428.vi.138f. The Latin verse runs

delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum,

'having dolphins' tails joined to a wolf-bearing womb'. Douglas
translates:

Quharto beyn cuppillit mony meyrswyne taill,
With empty mawys of wolfis ravenus.

utero is not represented in Douglas's rendering. uterus can
mean 'the belly', and this may have misled Douglas into thinking
that the reference was to the stomachs of the wolves ('wolfis
ravenus') rather than to the womb of Scylla from which the wolves
issued; yet he adds a reference to Scylla's womb in vii.147, where
there is no corresponding mention in the Latin.

Considerable expansion occurs at III.444.vi.168ff.

where the Latin reads

fata canit foliisque notas et nomina mandat,

'announces destiny and to leaves entrusts her signs and symbols'.

Douglas translates:

that schawis expres
The reuelationys and fatis fortocum,
In palm tre leiffis thame notand al and sum,
Writand vp euery word as sal betyde.

'expres' does not correspond to anything in the Latin and is a
strange word to use in view of the probability that those coming to
consult/

consult would not receive a clear message. As Douglas writes in translating III.452.vi.187,

Thus oft the pepil but answer gays thar ways.

fata is expanded into

The reuelationys and fatis fortocum.

Servius, whose commentary Douglas used, mentions that the Sibyl wrote on the leaves of the palm tree.

An example of expansion occurring in conjunction with changes of meaning is to be found at IV.52f.i.108ff. The Latin verses are

dum pelago desaevit hiems et aquosus Orion,
quassataeque rates, dum non tractabile caelum,

'so long as the winter and watery Orion rage in all their might upon the sea, and his ships are shattered; so long as the wild sky may not be encountered'. Douglas's translation runs

So lang as thus, duryng the wyntir cald,
The sey ragis throu watry Orion,
And quhil the stormys be al our blawyn and gon;
And quhil hys schippis, with the tempest schaik,
Be bet, byd spair nowthir fyr, elm nor aik.

It will be observed that Douglas makes several changes:

(1) hiems, the subject of the Latin dum clause, is represented

by a phrase, 'duryng the wyntir cald';

(2) pelago becomes the subject: 'the sey ragis';

(3) aquosus Orion, like hiems, is absorbed into the dum clause;

(4) the clause dum non tractabile caelum is represented by a paraphrase occupying a full line:

And quhil the stormys be al our blawyn and gon;

(5) Douglas adds the words, 'byd spair nowthir fyr, elm nor aik',

a remark which forms an inappropriate ending to Anna's speech,

the whole purpose of which is to encourage Dido to delay Aeneas,

not/

not to give orders for the provision of facilities to expedite his departure.

At IV.138.iv.18f. Virgil, writing of Dido's hair, is content with a brief remark, *crines nodantur in aurum*. This is less than adequate for Douglas, who concerns himself with exploiting the pictorial aspect of descriptions; here he produces a much more convincing account of both the hair and the gold:

Hir bricht tressis envelopyt war and wond
Intil a quayf of fyne gold wyrin threid.

Douglas appeared to regard expansions as justifiable whenever he felt that a theme had not been fully developed. A striking example occurs at IV.151.iv.44f. After translating the line

postquam altos ventum in montis atque in via lustra

as
And eftyr thai ar cummyn to the chace,
Amang the montanys in the wild forest,

Douglas has added three lines that do not correspond to anything in the original, presumably because he felt that the account of the hunt required some elaboration:

The rynning hundis of cuppillys sone thai kest,
And our the clewys and the holtis, belyve,
The wild beistis doun to the dail thai dryve.

At IV.295.vi.29f. Douglas interprets the Latin freely.

The Latin reads

*ocius omnes
imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt,*

'Quickly all obey his order with joy, and hasten to execute his commands'. Douglas's version runs

At hys command thai al glaidly furth went
And bissely begouth speid hys entent.

Douglas translates *parent*, 'they obey', as 'thai . . . furth went', he appears to regard *imperio* as an ablative, perhaps dependent on *laeti*,

laeti, rather than as dative, governed by parent, and he adds the word 'bissely'.

At V.137f.iii.67ff. the Latin reads

exsultantiaque haurit
corda pavor pulsans laudumque arrecta cupido,

'while throbbing fear drains their bounding hearts and the eager passion for renown'. Douglas has a free rendering of this sentence. 'onflocht' is a good equivalent of exsultantiaque but the idea of draining is not represented and 'schame' does not correspond to pavor. The second line quoted here bears no resemblance to the Latin, but it is possible to see a relationship in the last:

Thar hartis onflocht, smytyn with schame sumdeill;
Bot glaid and ioly, in hope forto do weill,
Rasys in thar breistis desyre of hie renoun.

Douglas uses even more freedom in his translation at V.146f.iii.82ff. The Latin verses run

nec sic immissis aurigae undantia lora
concussere iugis pronique in verbera pendent,

'Nor with such zeal do the charioteers shake the reins over their liberated teams and bend forward to the lash'. Douglas's version of these lines is so free that it is no easy task to trace a connection. immissis does not appear to be represented, undantia lora bears only a faint resemblance to 'With renyeys slakkyt' and there is no reference to the charioteers' leaning forward. The phrases 'fast in teyn' and 'swete dreband bedene' are wholly Douglas's.

Douglas translates:

Nor nevir sa thyk, with mony lasch and dusch,
The cartaris smate thar horssis fast in teyn,
With renyeys slakkyt, and swete dreband bedene.

A few lines later, at V.149f.iii.88f. Douglas's version is equally free. The Latin reads *vocemque inclusa volutant/
litora,*

litora, 'the sheltered shores re-echo the noise'. Douglas amplifies *vocemque* into 'the vocis and the sowndis, applies *inclusa* to them, instead of to *litora*, translates *volutant* as if it were an intransitive verb with *vocemque* as its subject, and places the true subject, *litora*, in a prepositional phrase:

Endlang the costis the vocis and the sowndis
Rollys inclusyt.

Another free rendering is given by Douglas at V.256f.v.23ff. The Latin reads

longaevi palmas nequiquam ad sidera tendunt
custodes,

'His aged guardians in vain stretch their hands to the stars'.

Douglas translates:

The eldar huntaris, and hys keparis than,
Clappand thar lufis and thar handis, ilk man,
Sayr awondryt gan the starnys behald.

The additions are 'and hys keparis than', 'and thar handis, ilk man' and 'Sayr awondryt'. For 'stretch their hands' (*palmas . . . tendunt*) Douglas substitutes 'Clappand thar lufis'; for *ad sidera tendunt* Douglas substitutes 'gan the starnys behald'.

In a free translation at V.404f.vii.74-9 Douglas expands two lines into six. The Latin verses are

obstupere animi: tantorum ingentia septem
terga boum plumbo insuto ferroque rigebant,

'Amazement seized their minds. Seven huge thongs of such vast oxen lay stiffening with lead and iron sewed within'.

Douglas's version runs:

All wolx estonyst beheld thame in that place:
So huge weght and so gret quantite
Thai war, that weil thame semyt fortobe
Of curbulle corvyn sewyn gret oxin hydis,
Styf as a burd that stude, on athir sydis
Stuffyt and cowchit ful of irne and leid.

The/

The additions are: (1) 'beheld thame in that place'; (2) 'that weil thame semyt fortobe; (3) 'Of curbulle corvyn'; (4) 'as a burd that stude'; (5) 'on athir sydis'. *ingentia* is expanded into 'So huge weght and so gret quantite/Thai war; *insuto* is expanded into 'Stuffyt and cowchit'.

At V.429.viii.11-17 Douglas adds seven lines that do not correspond to anything in the Latin text:

Now bendis he vp hys burdon with a mynt
 On syde he bradis fortill eschew the dynt;
 He etlys yondir 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.

Douglas evidently believed that Virgil's narrative required to be amplified at that point in order to give an adequate account.

A considerable expansion occurs at V.439ff.viii.35-46, where four lines of Latin are represented by twelve in translation.

The Latin verses run

ille, velut celsam oppugnat qui molibus urbem
 aut montana sedet circum castella sub armis,
 nunc hos, nunc illos aditus, omnemque pererrat
 arte locum et variis adsultibus inritus urget.

Fairclough translates: 'The other, like one who assails with siege-works some high city or besets a mountain stronghold in arms, tries this entrance and now that, skilfully ranges over all the ground, and presses with varied but vain assaults'. Fairclough takes *molibus* with *oppugnat*, an interpretation in line with that of Mackail, who writes: 'The moles are mounds raised at different points round the walls for mountings of battering-engines'. Page, on the other hand, followed by Williams in his commentary on Book V, takes *molibus* with *celsam*, 'with towering bulwarks' referring to the city. Douglas's version is that supported by Fairclough and Mackail:/'

Mackail:

Bot Darhes walkis about rycht craftely,
 Of hys fyrst purpos frustrat, to espy
 Sum avantage, with diuers assaltis algait
 Hym ombesetting sair and handland hait
 Lyke as by gret engynys quha sa wald
 A strang cite assail or stalwart hald,
 To wyn that strenth, or yyt by craftis sle
 To mynde the castell on the rochys hie,
 Lurkand in harnes wachis round about;
 Now this tocome, now by that way gan lowt,
 Quhar best he may cum to hys purpos sone,
 Avysand weil the place maist oportone.

The following are the correspondences:

(1) arte (442)	Douglas: rycht craftely
(2) pererrat (441)	walkis about, avysand
(3) inritus (442)	frustrat
(4) variis adsultibus (442)	with diuers assaltis
(5) molibus (439)	engynys
(6) montana , , castella (440)	the castell on the rochys hie
(7) sub armis (440)	in harnes
(8) sedet circum (440)	wachis round about
(9) nunc hos (441)	Now this tocome
(10) nunc illos aditus (441)	now by that way
(11) locum (442)	the place

The omissions are celsam, 'lofty' (439) and perhaps urget (442).

The following are the additions:

- (1) viii.36 Of hys fyrst purpos;
- (2) viii.36 to espy/sum avantage;
- (3) viii.37 algait;
- (4) viii.38 hym ombesetting sair and handland hait (unless 'ombesetting' is intended to represent urget, which occurs in the context of the siege);
- (5) viii.39 gret, qualifying 'engynys';
- (6)/

- (6) viii.40 strang, qualifying 'cite';
- (7) viii.40 or stalwart hald;
- (8) viii.41 To wyn that strenth, or yyt by craftis sle;
- (9) viii.42 To mynde (i.e. to mine);
- (10) viii.43 Lurkand;
- (11) viii.44 gan lowt;
- (12) viii.45 Quhar best ne may cum to his purpos sone;
- (13) viii.46 weil, modifying 'avysand';
- (14) viii.46 maist oportone, qualifying 'place'.

'Of hys fyrst purpos' seems to be an inaccurate addition. In the Latin, *inritus* goes closely with *variis adsultibus*, 'with varied but vain assaults', as Fairclough says. All the various attempts were *inritus*, not just the first.

Douglas perhaps considered that the simile had not been adequately developed by Virgil, and therefore expanded the passage. It is not obvious that Douglas's version adds anything to the vividness of the original.

A further example of freedom of translation taking the form of expansion occurs at V.750f.xii.154ff. The Latin reads

*transcribunt urbi matres populumque volentem
deponunt, animos nil magnae laudis egentis,*

translated by Page, 'They enrol matrons for the town and set ashore such folk as desire it - souls with no craving for high renown'.

This passage is expanded by Douglas:

Than al tha folk quhilk list bide in that land,
For this new cite titil thai and writis;
The matronys first, and sik as nocht delytis
Nor hes in cure desyre of hie renoun,
Thai deput, and thai ordand for this town.

The additions are 'bide in that land', 'new', qualifying 'cite',

'titil thai and writis' and 'this', qualifying 'town'; nil . . .

egentis/

egentis is expanded into 'as nocht delytis/Nor hes in cure'.
 deponunt in the sense of 'setting ashore' or 'settling' does
 not appear to be represented in Douglas's version. He seems to
 have regarded transcribunt and deponunt as synonyms, for he
 takes the two direct objects (matres and animos) together in
 lines 156f. and takes the two verbs (transcribunt and deponunt)
 together in line 158. It seems possible that deponunt suggested
 to Douglas the Scots legal term 'dispone', meaning 'to convey land'.
 This would explain the presence of the phrase, 'titil thai and
 writis' in line 155. The syntax is not without difficulties;
 'deput' means, 'to appoint, assign, ordain' (Concise Scots Dictionary),
 and presumably its objects are those mentioned in lines 156 and 157.
 'titil' and 'writis' seem to be used as verbs in line 155, with
 'al tha folk' as direct object. The alternative is to take 'deput'
 as governing both 'al tha folk' and 'titil and writis', giving it
 the meaning 'ordains' with the former object and 'assigns' with the
 latter. This interpretation gives 'titil' and 'writis' their usual
 sense but leaves them until line 158 waiting for a governing verb,
 and makes 'thai' in line 155 hard to explain.

Another free translation is offered by Douglas at
 V.830 f.xiv.5ff., where the Latin reads

una omnes fecere pedem pariterque sinistros,
 nunc dextros solvere sinus,

'All simultaneously adjusted the sheets and together now to the
 left, now to the right, let out their sails'. Douglas translates:

Then al sammyn, with handis, feit and kneis,
 Dyd heys 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.

On the words fecere pedem Williams writes: 'set the sheets, i.e.
 fastened/'

fastened the ropes at the bottom of the sail to make the desired angle with the wind'.

Douglas appears to have taken *pedem* as referring to the human foot, hence his expanded phrase, 'with handis, feit and kneis'. Lines 6 and 8 are additions. Another possible explanation of Douglas's version is that he intended the words, 'Set in a fang' to translate *fecere pedem*, the sequence of operations in that case being reversed. If this is the correct interpretation of Douglas's rendering, his phrase, 'with handis, feit and kneis' has been suggested to him by the word *pedem* but is not meant to represent anything in the Latin. In either case, line 6 and the second half of line 8 are additions.

At V.842.xiv.29 there occur the Latin words *funditque has ore loquelas*, translated by Fairclough, 'and pours these accents from his lips'. On *loquelas* Page comments: 'The remarkable diminutive suggests the soft insinuating words he uses'. The adverb in Douglas's rendering may not be a mere addition but may represent an attempt to convey the suggestion to which Page refers. Douglas translates:

And frendfully gan warp sik wordis owt.

On occasion Douglas shows a tendency to introduce a new grammatical subject or subjects. An example occurs at V.862f.xiv.65ff. The Latin verses run

*currit iter tutum non setius aequore classis
promissisque patris Neptuni interrita fertur,*

which Fairclough translates as, 'None the less the fleet speeds safely on its course over the sea and, trusting in Father Neptune's promises, glides on unafraid'. Douglas's version runs

And/

And nocht the les the schip held furth hir went,
 As scho did ayr, throw the calm seys sprent,
 But ony harm, and al the navy sone,
 By the promys of the fader Neptune.

The major departure from the Latin in Douglas's version is his having two subjects in place of one. The only subject in the Latin is *classis*, qualified by *interrita* and nominative to *fertur*. In the four lines of Douglas's version, 'the schip' is the subject of the first two and a half lines and 'al the navy' is the subject of the remaining one and a half. 'As scho did ayr' is an addition and *aequore* is expanded into 'throw the calm seys sprent'. *interrita* is omitted; 'sone' is an addition.

Another free translation is offered at VI.100f.ii.45ff.

The Latin reads

*ea frena furenti
 concutit et stimulos sub pectore vertit Apollo,*

which Fairclough translates, 'so does Apollo shake the reins as she rages, and ply the spur beneath her breast'. Robert Fitzgerald renders the sentence,

the way Apollo
 Pulled her up raging, or else whipped her on,
 Digging the spurs beneath her breast.

Page writes: 'The words describe Apollo, who has now absolute possession of the Sibyl, as keeping alive her wild excitement until she has wholly delivered the oracle'. Douglas's version seems to suggest that Apollo's task was to hold back the Sibyl, rather than to provide stimulation:

For on sik wys Apollo hir refrenys,
 Bridillis hir sprete, and, as him list, constrenys,
 From hir hart pipis his fers brod withdrawing.

This is such a free translation that it is difficult to be certain which Latin words Douglas is representing at any particular point.

In/

In any case, 'withdrawing' is quite unsuitable as a rendering of *vertit*.

Another example of free translation occurs at VI.535f.ix.2ff. The Latin reads

*roseis Aurora quadrigis
iam medium aethereo cursu traiecerat axem,*

translated by C. Day Lewis, 'Aurora, driving her rosy chariot, had passed the midway point of the sky in her flying course'.

Douglas treats *roseis . . . quadrigis* as if it were a direct object, to govern which he supplies two verbs; he incorporates the true object, *medium . . . axem* in a prepositional phrase, and makes a reference to the 'myd declynng of hir cowns' which does not correspond to anything in the Latin:

Hir rosy charyot the fresch Aurora
Amydwart of the hevynnys assiltre
Begouth fortill vproll and rays onhie.
The myd declynng of hir cowns was went.

An example of Douglas's development of scenic description is to be found at VI.674f.x.106ff. The Latin reads

*riparumque toros et prata recentia rivis
incolimus,*

'soft-cushioned banks and meadows fresh with brooks we haunt'.

Douglas's version runs

Endlang thir ryver bankis all on rawys;
Thir bene our settis, and beddis of fresch flowris
In soft bene medowis by cleir strandis all howris
Our habitatioun is and residens.

A similar expansion occurs at VII.142f.ii.80f.

The Latin reads *radiisque ardentem lucis et auro/ . . . nubem,* translated by Page, 'a cloud blazing with rays of golden light'.

Douglas offers an expanded version:

A byrnand clowd . . .
With/

With fyry sparkis lyke to goldyn bemis
Or twynkilland sprayngis with thar giltin glemys.

A few lines later, at VII.146f.ii.87ff. a feast is
the subject of a descriptive passage. The Latin verses run

certatim instaurant epulas atque omine magno
crateras laeti statuunt et vina coronant,

translated by Fairclough, 'Emulously they renew the feast, and
cheered by the mighty omen set on the bowls and wreath the wine'.
Douglas brings *laeti* forward and links it with *certatim* instead
of with *omine magno*, which he translates, 'with all observancis
dew'; he adds the phrase, 'for thir tithingis' (i.e. 'because of
these tidings') and omits both *statuunt* and *coronant*. The
result is a very free rendering of the Latin:

For ioy thai pyngill than fortill renew
Thar bankettis with all observancis dew,
And, for thir tithingis, in flacon and in skull
Thai skynk the wyne, and wauchtis cowpis full.

A geographical passage at VII.226f.iv.76ff. contains
a number of additions. The Latin reads

et si quem extenta plagarum
quattuor in medio dirimit plaga solis iniqui,

translated by Fordyce, 'and one whom the tract of the pitiless sun,
that stretches midmost of the four, severs from us'. Douglas's
version contains the following additions:

- (1) 'gif ony thar may dwell';
- (2) 'Hait Torrida yona, dry as ony tundir';
- (3) 'Quhilk is amynd the hevynnys situat';
- (4) 'temperate', qualifying 'plagis'. (The torrid zone had one
temperate and one arctic zone on each side of it.)

Douglas's version runs

And/

And thai alsso, gif ony thar may dwell,
 The sonnys myd cirkill remanys vnder,
 Hait Torrida Yona, dry as ony tundir,
 Quhilk is amynd the hevynnys situat
 Amang four othir plagis temperate.

Expanded description in combination with outstanding alliteration is to be found at VII.677.xi.84ff. The Latin words are *et magno cedunt virgulta fragore*, 'and the undergrowth parts with deafening noise'. Douglas's version runs

and branchis al to rent
 Gan rattillyng and resound of thar deray,
 To red thar renk, and romys thame the way.

Line 84 represents *virgulta* and *fragore*, line 85 *magno* and line 86 *cedunt*.

At VII.740.xii.89ff. considerable alteration results in a free rendering of the Latin. The verse runs

et quos maliferae despectant moenia Abellae,
 'and those on whom look down the battlements of Abella, rich in apples'. Douglas's version does not make it clear that *moenia* is the subject of *despectant*; he adds 'weirly', modifying 'wallit', qualifying 'cite'; substitutes 'Nola' for 'Abella' on the basis of a remark by Servius that Virgil originally wrote *Nolae* but later substituted *Abellae* because the people of Nola had offended him; adds the phrase, 'witht his stalwart towris he'; and substitutes oranges (called 'apillis orrange' as the produce of the district:

And thai behaldis the weirly wallit cite
 Of Nola, witht his stalwart towris he,
 Quhar gret plente of apillis orrange growis.

At VII.817.xiii.85ff. there is a good example of that form of expansion in which each word of the Latin verse is represented by a full line in Douglas's translation. The Latin/

Latin verse runs

et pastoralem praefixa cuspidē myrtum,

'and the shepherd's myrtle staff with iron blade set in its head'.

In Douglas's version, line 85 represents myrtum, line 86
pastoralem, line 87 cuspidē and line 88 praefixa:

And ane hail sipplyn of a gret myr tre,
Quhilk hyrdis mycht ourheld with bewis he,
In maner of a speir in hand scho bair,
Hedit with forgit steill ful scharp and squair.

Another descriptive expansion occurs at VIII.26f.i.19ff.

The Latin verses are

nox erat et terras animalia fessa per omnis
aliturum; pecudumque; genus sopor altus habebat,

'It was night and over all lands deep sleep held fast weary
creatures, both birds and animals'. Douglas translates:

The nycht come, and al thing levand sessit;
Wery of wark baith byrd and brutal best
Our all the landis war at rest ilkane,
The profund swouch of sleip had thame ourtane.

Douglas 's version contains the following additions:

in line 19, 'al', qualifying 'thing'; the verb 'sessit';

in line 20, 'of wark' attached to 'wery';

in line 21, 'war at rest ilkane';

in line 22, 'swouch' as the noun qualified by 'profund',

with 'sleip' transferred to an explanatory prepositional phrase.

An example of an expansion which adds nothing to the
meaning of the original occurs at VIII.149.iii.121ff. The Latin
verse runs

et mare quod supra teneant quodque adluit infra,

'and gain possession of the lands that the sea to the north-east
and the sea to the south-west wash against'. Douglas's version is

And/

And occupy thai boundis oriental
 Quhar as the ovir see flowys alhai11,
 And eik thai westir partis, trastis me,
 Quhilkis ar bedyit with the neddir see.

Free translations do not necessarily involve expansion,
 as an example at VIII.236.iv.117f. makes clear. The Latin verse runs

ut prona iugo laevum incumbibat ad amnem,

'as leaning away from the ridge it sloped towards the river on
 the left'. Douglas translates:

And as it stud on schor sweyand that tyde,
 Down with the bank towart the watir syde.

Douglas introduces the idea of swaying, which is not in the Latin,
 adds 'that tyde' and omits mention of the left-hand side.

A descriptive expansion is to be found at VIII.287.v.18f.

The Latin reads

hic iuvenum chorus, ille senum, qui carmine laudes
 Herculeas et facta ferunt,

'here is a band of younger people, there a band of older, who
 sing the praises of Hercules and narrate his feats'. Douglas
 seems to draw a distinction between the activities of the two
 age-groups:

The yonkeris yonder in ane other sted
 Led rowndis, dansys and fresch caralyng;
 Other agit persons thame addressit to syng
 In ympnys, ballettis and lays, throu the pres,
 The lovabill gestis of mychty Hercules.

Douglas's listings of the different types of dance and song are
 his own additions, as are the phrase 'throu the pres', and the
 word 'mychty'.

The reader derives little additional information
 from an expansion at VIII.344.vi.71f. The Latin verse runs

Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycaei,

'named from the Arcadian tradition of Lycaean Pan'.

Douglas/

Douglas translates:

was call
 Ful mony yeris in thar leid Lupercall,
 Efter thar gys of Arcaid and estait,
 To Pan the god of Lyce consecrait.

Douglas's additions here are, 'Ful mony yeris', 'in thar leid Lupercall', 'and estait' and 'consecrait'.

Another expansion which fails to provide additional information is to be found at VIII.403f.vii.77ff., where the Latin reads *absiste precando/viribus indubitare tuis*, 'Cease to show lack of confidence in your power by using entreaties'. The expansion here is considerable but of little significance:

Tharfor desist of thi strenth to have dreid,
 Or me to pray in ocht at thou hes neyd,
 For in sic cacis thar nedis na request.
 Am I nocht reddy to fulfill thy behest?

The description of Vulcan's forge at VIII.449f.vii.175ff. is freely rendered by Douglas. The Latin reads

alii ventosis follibus auras
 accipiunt redduntque, alii stridentia tingunt
 aera lacu,

translated by Fairclough, 'Some with panting bellows make the blasts come and go, others dip the hissing brass in the lake'.

Two activities are mentioned here, but Douglas seems to divide those using the bellows into two groups, creating three categories in all:

Sum can ressaue the glowand heyt, sum wynd
 With blawand bellys bet the fyre behynd;
 Sum of the trowch apou the sparkand gledis
 The byssand watir strynkly and ourspredis.

auras does not appear to be represented; there is no mention in the Latin of heat, fire, or live coals; *aera* is not represented and *stridentia* is applied to water.

A/

A geographical simile is considerably expanded at

IX.30ff.i.73ff. The Latin verses run

ceu septem surgens sedatis amnibus altus
per tacitum Ganges aut pingui flumine Nilus
cum refluit campis et iam se condidit alveo,

which Williams translates: 'like the Ganges silently rising, fed by its seven placid tributaries, or the Nile with its rich stream when it has flowed back from the plains and has now confined itself within its banks'. Douglas has eight lines in place of Virgil's three:

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 bus,
Syne, efter the gret fludis watry rage,
Returnys swagit to hys auld passage.

Douglas's additions are: 'the flude Indane'; 'sum tyme'; 'efter spayt of rayn'; 'Ressauyt in hys large bosum inhy'; 'now flowys esely'; 'as vmquhile'; 'Ourfletand'; 'bank and bus'; 'Syne, efter the gret fludis watry rage' and 'swagit'. Douglas does not translate *per tacitum* or *altus*. He translates *sedatis*, 'placid', as 'swelland'.

There is equal freedom some ten lines later at

IX.43.ii.21ff., where the Latin verse runs

castra modo et tutos servarent aggere muros,

'They were simply to defend their camp and their walls protected by the rampart'. Douglas's version reads

thai suld alanerly withhald
Thar strenth within thar fowseis, as he wald,
And kepe thar wallys forsely and weill,
With fowcy dichis and wapynnys styfe of steill.

Lines 21 and 22 of Douglas's translation, apart from 'alanerly'

(modo)/

(modo) do not represent the Latin at all and there is no mention of castra; in the remaining two lines, 'forsely and weill' and the words, 'and wapynnys styfe of steill' are additions.

A brief, but remarkable, expansion occurs at IX.273.v.115f. The Latin phrase is suaque omnibus arma, 'and their own arms with them all'. Douglas translates:

With all thar childryng and thar hail ofspryng,
Thar moblys, catal, rentis and armyng.

Another strange interpretation is to be found at IX.281f.v.128ff. The Latin reads me nulla dies tam fortibus ausis/dissimilem arguerit, translated by Davidson, 'No day shall evince me unfit for enterprises so heroic'.

Douglas's version runs

That day sal neuer cum, nor tyme betyde,
For my defalt onworthy sall I be
Fortyll attene sa souerane dignyte.

It is difficult to find any relationship between the heroic enterprises mentioned in the Latin and Douglas's phrase, 'sa souerane dignyte'.

An expansion which involves inaccuracies in identification occurs at IX.571f.ix.99ff, where two verses of Latin are expanded into seven in translation. The Latin runs

Emathiona Liger, Corynaeum sternit Asylas,
hic iaculo bonus, hic longe fallente sagitta,

which Lonsdale and Lee translate: 'Liger slays Emathion, Asilas Corynaeus; Liger was good with the dart, Asilas with the arrow that from afar eludes the sight of men'. Douglas translates:

Liger a Troiane from the wall also
Doun bet a Rutiliane hait Emathio.
A Phrigiane eik Asylas, stern and stowt,
All tofruschit Choryneus withowt,
Quhilk was in dartis castyng wonder sle;
On/

On far to schute scharp flanys and lat fle
Nane mar expert than this Emathio.

Douglas's additions are 'a Troiane', describing Liger; 'from the wall also'; 'a Rutiliane', describing Emathio; 'a Phrigiane eik', describing Asylas; 'stern and stowt', describing Asylas, and 'withowt'. Douglas omits *longe fallente*, qualifying *sagitta*. By placing the clause introduced by 'quhilk' (line 103), immediately after the mention of Choryneus, Douglas leads the reader to suppose that this clause is descriptive of Choryneus, whereas it in fact applies to Asylas. Douglas further attributes skill with the arrow to Emathio, whereas the Latin text is giving information about the skills of the two victors, namely Liger and Asilas.

At X.409.vii.115ff. the subject is a shepherd who is successfully burning down an area of unwanted woodland. The Latin verse runs

ille sedens victor flammis despectat ovantis,
'Victorious he sits viewing the triumphant flames'. Douglas has 'he that set the kyndillyng', which may be meant as a translation of *sedens*, but even if the verb *sedere* had that meaning, the present participle would produce an incorrect time relationship. Douglas's phrase, 'glaid and gay', applies to the shepherd, but *ovantis* qualifies *flammis*; his line describing the blaze does not correspond to anything in the Latin. Douglas's version is again free:

Than he that set the kyndillyng glaid and gay
Behaldis quhou that the low doys mak deray,
Blesand and crakand with a nyce reuery.

A very free translation with little expansion is offered

by/

by Douglas at X.586f.x.95ff. The Latin reads

Lucagus ut pronus pendens in verbera telo
admonuit biugos,

translated by Page, 'just as Lucagus, leaning forward to the stroke, urged on his steeds with his sword'. Douglas's version of this clause is so far from the meaning of the Latin that it is well-nigh impossible to discern any relationship. It starts with an adjective clause qualifying *iaculum* in the previous sentence, 'That hyt Lucagus'; but the Latin has no verb of striking and *Lucagus* is in the nominative case. Then follows another adjective clause, running from 'quhilk' to 'strecht' two and a half lines later and containing a subordinate adverbial clause of time, 'fra he felt the dynt', and an absolute phrase, 'The schaft hyngand into hys scheild'. Douglas appears to transfer *pendens*, which agrees with *Lucagus*, to *telo*, with which it manifestly does not agree, and then to substitute a reference to a shield for the phrase in *verbera*. A faint resemblance may be detected between *admonuit* and 'Bad', but the words, 'dryf hys hors and char al fordward strecht' are pure invention.

Douglas's translation runs

That hyt Lucagus, quhilk, fra he felt the dynt,
The schaft hyngand into hys scheild, but stynt,
Bad dryf hys hors and char al fordward strecht.

It will be recalled that at V.429.viii.11-17 Douglas added seven original lines; at the end of Virgil's Book X he again adds an original passage, on this occasion six lines long:

Be this the son declynyt was almost,
So that the Latynys and Rutilian ost,
Quhat for the absens of thar duke Turnus,
And new slauchter of bald Mezentius,
Withdrew thame to thar raset in affray,
And Troianys went onto thar rest quhil day.

At/

At XI.126.iii.59ff. the Latin verse runs

iustitiaene prius mirer belline laborum?

Lonsdale and Lee translate, 'Shall I admire you more for justice or for your exploits in war?' Douglas's version is a typical instance of his fondness for expanding the original in translation.

iustitiae is represented by two nouns, each with attendant adjective; mirer is represented by two verbs and laborum is represented by two nouns, with one adjective qualifying both. It is not obvious that the additional Middle Scots words are necessary to bring out the full meaning of the Latin. Douglas's version runs

Quidder sall I fyrst extoll, and wonder in the,
Thy gret gentryce and sa iust eqyete,
Or thy gret fors and laubour bellicall?

The same tendency towards diffuseness is much in evidence at XI.253f.vi.59ff. The Latin reads

quae vos fortuna quietos
sollicitat suadetque ignota lacesere bella?

Fairclough translates, 'What chance vexes your calm and lures you to provoke warfare unknown?' Douglas has two nouns and an adjective for fortuna, two nouns for quietos, three verbs for lacesere and three adjectives for ignota:

Quhat mysaventour and onkyndly heyt
You steris from your lang rest and quyet,
Prouocand you to movyng, rays and steir
Sa peralus, onknowth and onthrifty wer?

Mention has already been made of Douglas's tendency to expand by means of replacing each word or phrase in the Latin with a complete line in his translation. This practice is well illustrated by Douglas's rendering at XI.286f.vi.146ff. The Latin reads *ultro Inachias venisset ad urbes/Dardanus,*
'The/

'The Trojans had first advanced to the cities of Inachus'.

The three elements in the original which each receive a line of their own in Douglas's version are Inachias . . . urbes, Dardanus and venisset. Douglas translates:

The citeis all of Arge mycht sor haue dred,
And the ofspring of Dardan esely
Mycht in our realmys arryvit by and by.

There is less expansion, but more freedom, in Douglas's rendering at XI.765.xiv. 96ff. The Latin verse runs

hac iuvenis furtim celeris detorquet habenas,

'There the young fighter swiftly and unobtrusively guided his reins'. The resemblance between the Latin and Douglas's version is minimal:

This ilk Aruns was ful reddy thar
And thyftuusly onon the sam way he
Withdrew hys payss, and held on hir hys e.

At XI.770f.xv.8ff. the Latin reads

quem pellis aenis
in plumam squamis auro conserta tegebat,

'which a skin fastened with gold and feathery scales of brass defended'. Douglas's additional phrases are not helpful. His version runs

With weirlyke bardis cled, and sovir weid
Of coyrbulye or leddir with gilt nalys,
Cowchyt with plait of steill als thik as skalys.

At XII.217.iv.148f. the Latin words are et vario misceri pectora motu, 'and their breasts were agitated with various mixed emotions'. Douglas appears to give two versions of the Latin here, but neither version contains a satisfactory translation of motu:

And divers rumour can in thar brestis rys,
With mony syndry demyng and consait.

At/

At XII.221 .iv.159ff. the Latin verse runs

pubentesque genae et iuvenali in corpore pallor,

'his youthful face and the paleness over his youthful form'.

In place of pubentes some editors (e.g. Sidgwick, Page, Hirtzel and Fairclough) prefer tabentes, the reading of some inferior manuscripts. The 1501 edition has pubentes, as in the Oxford Classical Text of Mynors. It would appear that Douglas translates both readings, tabentes in line 159 and pubentes in line 160. In line 161 Douglas expands his version to include a reference to the forthcoming combat between Turnus and Aeneas. Douglas's translation runs

With chekis walxin leyn, to thar semyng,
 Quharon the soft berd newly dyd furth spryng,
 As all to yyng with sic ane till haue daill,
 Thai thocht hys vissage all becummyn pail.

The practice of representing each word or phrase in the Latin by means of a whole line in translation is again illustrated at XII.330.vi.5off., where further additional phrases are brought in. The Latin words are aut raptas fugientibus ingerit hastas, 'or flings the swiftly-snatched spear against those who fly'. fugientibus, raptas . . . hastas and ingerit each receive a full line, and the additional phrases are 'for gret affray' and 'thik amang his fays'. Douglas's version runs

Or, as thai tuke the flycht for gret affray,
 Castyng speris and dartis scharp hynt he,
 And leit thame thik amang his fays fle.

At XII.352.vi.106ff. the Latin reads nec equis aspirat Achilli. Page translates, 'and he has no ambition (i.e. now that he is dead) for the horses of Achilles'. Douglas's lengthy/

lengthy paraphrase is not an improvement:

And yit for all his renovn, provit eneuch,
Ne durst anys pretend, for all hys dedys,
That he was worthy to weld Achillys stedys.

An expanded description of a plant occurs at

XII.413f.vii.75ff. The Latin reads

puberibus caulem foliis et flore comantem
purpureo,

'a plant with fresh leaves, tressed with purple flowers'.

Douglas's version is freely expanded:

Of levis rank, rypit and wondir fair,
With sprowtis, sprayngis and vanys our alquhar
As that we se on sik verdour spryngand,
And on the top a purpour flour curland.

The expansion of the Latin in translation should provide the reader with additional information relevant to the theme, but on occasion Douglas's additions make for vagueness. There is an example of this at XII.439f.vii.135ff., where Aeneas is giving advice to his son Ascanius. The Latin verses run

et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum
et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitet Hector,

'and as in your mind you look for patterns among your kinsmen,
let Aeneas your sire, and Hector your uncle stir your soul'.

Douglas's expansion of *tuorum* into a whole line, the vagueness of the line following that, and his failure to convey the force of the subjunctive verb *excitet* do not make for clarity:

and revolve in thy mynd
Thy lynage, thy forbearis, and thy kynd;
Exempill of prowess in the steris frendis befor,
Baith fader Eneas and thyne vncle Hector.

At XII.695.xi.180ff. a straightforward Latin phrase seems to become needlessly complicated in translation. The Latin words are *pro vobis foedus luere*, 'to atone for the (broken) treaty/'

treaty on your behalf'. This phrase is rendered by Douglas:

For you sustene the payn was ondertane
And purge the cryme, so happynnyt now of lait,
Of this confideratioun violate.

A considerable expansion (three lines into ten) is to be found at XII.749ff.xii.133-142. The Latin verses run

inclusum veluti si quando flumine nactus
cervum aut puniceae saeptum formidine pennae
venator cursu canis et latratibus instat,

accurately translated by Lonsdale and Lee, 'As when perchance the hunter hound has surprised a stag shut in by a river, or hedged round by the terror of the crimson feather, and, running and barking, plies him hard'. Douglas's translation of these lines is marred not only by excessive expansion but by his failure to grasp the meaning of the Latin. He has not realised that venator is used adjectivally, qualifying canis, nor that flumine goes closely with inclusum. It can only be claimed that there is a slight resemblance between Douglas's ten lines and Virgil's three.

Douglas translates:

Lyke as, sum tyme, quhen that the huntar stowt
Betroppit has and ombeset about
With hys ralys and with hys hundis gude,
The mekill hart swymmand amyð the flude,
Quhilk thar inclusit neidlingis mon abyð;
For he may not eschape on nother syd,
For feir of hundis, and that awfull bern
Baryng schaftis fedderit with plumys of the ern;
The rynning hund dois hym assail in threte
Baith with swift rays and with hys questis grete.

The words and phrases underlined have no counterpart in the Latin.

CHAPTER XII: RE-ARRANGEMENT OF SUBJECT-MATTER

In a number of instances Douglas's alterations consist in re-arranging the order of clauses in the Latin or of making changes in the construction. Sometimes it is possible to appreciate the need for the divergence; at other times the reason is not apparent.

At I.684.x.52 there occurs the instruction, *et notos pueri puer indue vultus*, translated by C. Day Lewis, 'A boy yourself, put on that boy's familiar features'. Austin describes the collocation *pueri puer* as 'a despair to translators'. Douglas solves the problem, ingeniously if inaccurately, by treating *puer* as a vocative:

My child, cleith the with yon kend childis vissage.

On occasion, Douglas introduces new subjects, sometimes supplying them himself, at other times utilising nouns in oblique cases in the Latin text. An example of the latter procedure occurs at I.693f.x.68ff. The Latin reads

*ubi mollis amaracus illum
floribus et dulci aspirans complectitur umbra,*

translated by Williams, 'Where soft marjoram breathes its fragrance over him and wraps him round with its blossoms and sweet shade'.

Douglas makes use of the ablative noun *floribus* as an additional subject:

quhar

Tendir mariolyne and sweit flowris thar out
With thar dulce smell hym schaddowit rownd about.

At II.348ff.vi.94ff., a speech of Aeneas to his companions, a considerable number of additions and transpositions are to be found. The Latin passage runs

*incipio super his: iuvenes, fortissima frustra
pectora/*

incipio super his: iuvenes, fortissima frustra
pectora, si vobis audentem extrema cupido
certa sequi, quae sit rebus fortuna videtis:
excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
di quibus imperium hoc steterat; succurritis urbi
incensae. moriamur et in media arma ruamus.
una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.

Jackson Knight translates, 'Men, valiant hearts, though valour cannot help us now, if your ardour is set on following the path of valour to the very end - you see for yourselves how our fortune stands. Those gods on whom our power hitherto depended have forsaken their altars and their shrines and are gone forth from us; the city which you would rescue is already ablaze; and it is for us to plunge amid the spears and die. Nothing can save the conquered but the knowledge that they cannot now be saved'. Douglas begins his version of this passage with an expanded rendering of *iuvenes, fortissima . . . pectora*:

O ye maist forsy yong men that beyn heir,
With brestis strang and sa bald curage hie.

Then he appears to pass to line 352, in conjunction with *frustra* from line 348, giving *frustra succurritis urbi/incensae*, which he renders as

Invayn ye press to succur this cite
Quhilk byrnys al in fyre and flambys rede.

Next comes a version of lines 351f:

The goddis al ar fled out of this stede
Throu quhais mycht stude our empyre mony day,
Now all thar templis and altaris waist leif thai.

The next lines to be translated are lines 349f:

Bot gif your desyre be sa fermly prest
To follow me dar tak the vtyrmest,
Quhat fortune is betyd, al thingis ye se.

The last four lines of Douglas's version correspond to the last

two/

two in the Latin, i.e. lines 353f:

Thar is na mair - lat ws togidder de,
And in amyd our ennemyis army schute.
To venquist folkis is a comfort and bute
Nane hope of help tobeleif, or reskew.

Douglas's re-arrangement can perhaps best be demonstrated in the form of a table:

Douglas: 94f.	Virgil: 348 (- frustra, + pectora, 349)
96f.	352b (+ frustra, + incensae, 353)
98ff.	351a, 352a, 351b
101ff.	349 (- pectora), 350
104ff.	353, 354.

The reason for this re-arrangement is not apparent.

The re-arrangement of the words of a simple sentence can produce a highly misleading rendering. At III.82.ii.27 there occur the words, *veterem Anchisen agnoscit amicum*, 'He (i.e. the king) recognised his old friend Anchises'.

Douglas's version of the sentence,

His agit frend Anchises knew this kyng
does not make it clear that 'His agit frend Anchises' is the object of the verb or that 'this kyng' is the subject.

At III.512.viii.13f. there is a general re-arrangement of a sentence and a loss of personification. The Latin verse runs

necdum orbem medium Nox Horis acta subibat,
'Not yet was Night, drawn by the Hours, reaching the mid-point of her circuit'. Douglas's version runs

And, or the speyre his howris rollit richt
Sa far about that it was scars mydnycht.

Douglas takes his subject from *orbem* ('the speyre'), uses *Horis* as a direct object governed by 'rollit' (not in the Latin) and associates/

associates *medium* (accusative) closely with *Nox* (nominative); *subibat* is not represented. The personification of Night drawn by the Hours is completely lost.

Re-arrangement of the subject-matter is to be found again at V.5ff.i.9ff. The Latin verses run

*duri magno sed amore dolores
polluto, notumque furens quid femina possit,
triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt,*

translated by Williams, 'But the thought of the bitter agony caused when a great love is desecrated, and the knowledge of what a woman in wild frenzy may do, led the hearts of the Trojans along paths of sad foreboding'. Douglas expands the passage and re-arranges it, and incorporates a number of additions:

Bot by the sorofull takynnyng, not the les,
The Troianys in thar breistis take a ges
Quharfor it was, for weil wyst Eneas
In violait lufe quhat strenth of dolour was,
And knew also quhat thyngis mycht be controvyt
By women in fury rage that strangly luffyt.

The additions are 'not the less', 'Quharfor it was' and 'For weil wyst Eneas'. There is no reference to Aeneas in the Latin. The phrase, 'by the sorofull takynnyng' could have been suggested by *dolores* and *triste augurium*; 'that strangly luffyt' could have been derived from *magno amore*. There are a number of alterations in sentence structure; Douglas has 'The Troianys' as subject, while *Teucrorum* is genitive plural; Douglas has the prepositional phrase, 'in thar breistis', but *pectora* is the direct object of the verb *ducunt*, and Douglas has another prepositional phrase, 'By women in fury rage', derived from the nominative singular *furens . . . femina*. There seems to be no need for such sweeping changes, apart from the necessity of producing rhyming couplets.

Grammatical/

Grammatical relationships again suffer considerable disturbance at V.208f.iv.93ff. The Latin reads

ferratasque trudes et acuta cuspidē contos
expediunt,

'They get out iron-shod pikes and sharp-pointed poles'. Douglas's version is complicated by his placing *ferratasque trudes* and *contos* in a prepositional phrase introduced by the word 'with'. This leaves *expediunt* without an object but Douglas takes it in the sense of 'disengaging' or 'extricating' and supplies 'the schyp' as the object. The phrase, 'he and he', apart from providing a rhyme for 'tre', serves no useful purpose.

Douglas translates:

and with lang bolmys of tre
Pykyt with irne, and scharp roddis, he and he
Inforcis of to schowyn the schyp to save.

A similar example occurs at VII.213f.iv.50ff. The Latin reads

nec fluctibus actos
atra subegit hiems vestrīs succedere terris,

'Neither has dark storm driven us o'er the waves, and forced us to take refuge in your land'. Douglas provides a new subject for *subegit*, replaces *fluctibus* (ablative plural) with genitive plural and translates *atra . . . hiems* as if it were in the ablative case:

nowdyr the seys rage
By fors of dyrk tempest has ws dryve
Onto your realm.

Structural change is again prominent at X.109f.ii.126ff.

The Latin verses read

seu fatis Italum castra obsidione tenentur
siue errore malo Troiae monitisque sinistris,

'whether/

'whether the camp is blockaded because of the fates of the Italians or because of a foolish mistake by the Trojans and misleading advice', as Williams translates. Italum has to be taken closely with fatis, on which it depends, but Douglas has separated the two words and altered the structure of the clause by treating fatis as if it were the subject; an additional verb is therefore necessary, which Douglas modifies with a time phrase. The construction of Douglas's version of line 110 is not readily discernible. Perhaps he intended 'wraik of the Troianys' to be the other outcome which 'the fatys hes determyt';

Quhiddel so the fatys hes determyt of new
Troianys tobe assegit with Italianys
To thar myscheif, or wraik of the Troianys,
Quhilkis with frawart admonytions sa lang
Peraventour hes errit and gane wrang.

The principal alteration to structure at X.192f.iv.76ff. is occasioned by the translation of an infinitive in two different senses, and the incorporation of an unusually large number of additional words and phrases. The Latin verses run

canentem molli pluma duxisse senectam
linquentem terras et sidera voce sequentem,

'took on the whiteness of old age with his soft plumage as he left the earth and sought the stars with his song'. Douglas has the following additions: 'ioyus'; 'in lyknes of a swan'; 'na mar furth lyke a man'; 'in hy'; 'swouchand'; 'in the sky'. He omits sidera, and translates duxisse twice, as 'became ourheld' and as 'led'; he does not take canentem with senectam. which it qualifies, but attaches it to molli pluma. Douglas's version reads

In/

In quhite canoss soft plumys ioyus
 Became ourheld, in lyknes of a swan,
 And led hys age na mar furth lyke a man,
 Bot tuke hys flycht vp from the erd in hy
 And with a swouchand voce socht in the sky.

Re-arrangement of the subject-matter is the dominant
 feature in Douglas's translation at X.388f.vii.65ff. The Latin reads

hinc Sthenium petit et Rhoeti de gente vetusta
 Anchemolum thalamos ausum incestare novercae,

'Pallas attacked Sthenius and Anchemolus also, of Rhoetus' ancient
 line, who once had shamelessly violated his own stepmother's bed'.

Douglas proceeds here in a curious way. He makes mention first of
 Anchemolus and passes immediately to Sthenius; in spite of the
 word *et* in line 388, indicating that the words *Rhoeti de*
gente vetusta apply to Anchemolus, Douglas takes them as
 applying to Sthenius. Then he returns to the subject of Anchemolus
 and gives the information about him related by Virgil in line 389:

Syne Pallas set apon Anchemolus
 And Sthenelus, that of the kyng Rhetus
 Prynce of Marrubyany, ancyent pepill, beyn;
 The quhilk Anchemolus was that ilk, I weyn,
 Defowlyt hys faderis bed incestuously,
 And had forlayn hys awyn stepmoder by.

At X.687.xi.197 Turnus is the subject of the verb in
 the Latin clause, *labitur alta secans*, 'On he glides, cleaving
 the deep'. Douglas alters the subject, introducing the words,
 'the schip', although the ship has not been mentioned for several
 lines; he gives a very free rendering of *alta secans*:

Furth held the schip, slydand owt our the fludis.

Re-arrangement recurs at XI.297ff.vii.5ff., where a
 simile takes the form of a descriptive passage. The Latin reads

ceu saxa morantur
 cum rapidos amnis, fit clauso gurgite murmur
 vicinaeque fremunt ripae crepitantibus undis,

'as/

'as when rocks delay rapid rivers, and a roaring rises from the imprisoned flood, the neighbouring banks re-echo to the splashing waves' (Lonsdale and Lee). Douglas begins by treating *rapidos amnis* as the subject, representing the phrase by means of a noun and three adjectives, adds a line of his own, returns to *saxa morantur*, gives a free translation two lines long of *fit clauso gurgite murmur* and ends with a reasonably accurate rendering of line 299 (vii.10):

Lyke as the swyft watir stremys cleir
 Sum tyme rowtand men on far may heir,
 Quhar it is stoppit with thir stanys round,
 That of the ryveris brute and brokkyn sound,
 Byrstand on skelleis our thir demmyt lynnys,
 The bankis endlang all the fludis dynnys."

At XI.523f.x.85ff. Douglas introduces a large number of structural alterations into his version of a single clause. The Latin reads *quam densis frondibus atrum/urget utrimque latus*, translated by Davidson, 'which a gloomy flank of wood encloses with thick boughs'. Douglas makes *densis frondibus* (ablative) the subject of the clause, adds 'wonder narrow', qualifying 'Quham', places the real subject, *latus*, in a prepositional phrase, renders *urget* as 'hampirrit and doith hyde', and incorporates *atrum* in a phrase, 'With skowgis darn and full obscur'. His final addition is the word 'perfay':

Quham, wonder narrow, apon athir syde
 The bewys thik hampirrit and doith hyde
 With skowgis darn and full obscur, perfay.

At XI.583f.xi.111ff. the warrior maiden Camilla is being described. The Latin reads

*aeternum telorum et virginitatis amorem
 intemerata colit,*

translated by Fairclough, 'She cherishes unsullied a lifelong love for her weapons and her maidenhood'. Douglas's version destroys the balance/

balance of line 583 and the unity of the sentence. He expands *aeternum telorum* into a line and a half, isolates the words *virginitatis amorem* and treats *intemerata colit* as an adjunct. There is no indication of the way in which the words and phrases are related:

And list to hant evyr in woddis with me
The dartis schutyng, and love virginyte,
Remanand incorrupt and a cleyn maid.

A notable change of construction is to be found at XII.204f.iv.112ff., in Douglas's version. The Latin reads

*si tellurem effundat in undas
diluvio miscens caelumque in Tartara solvat,*

'though, commingling all in deluge, it should plunge land into water, and dissolve Heaven into Hell'. The subject of *effundat* and *solvat* is *vis ulla*, in the previous line, but Douglas alters the construction, making *tellurem* (accusative) the subject of *miscens* and *caelumque* the subject of *solvat*, understanding a reflexive pronoun in each case. He has two nouns for *diluvio* and two verbs for *effundat*:

All thocht the erth wald mydill with the see,
And with diluge or invndatioun schent
Covir and confund athir eliment;
Or thocht the hevyn in hell resolue wald.

A further example of change of construction occurs at XII.397.vii.37f. The Latin phrase refers to the physician Iapyx, and reads *et mutas agitare inglorius artis*, 'and exercise unfamed the silent arts'. Douglas takes *agitare* in an intransitive sense, 'to live one's life', and has therefore to relegate the true direct object, *mutas artis*, to a prepositional phrase. *inglorius* is represented by 'prevely'; 'mair esely' is/

is Douglas's own invention:

And with sik secrete craftis prevely
To leid hys lyfe and tyme mair esely.

Considerable changes in the form of the sentence occur
at XII.823f.xiii.77f. The Latin verses are

ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos
neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque vocari,

translated by Williams, 'Do not order the Latins, who were born here, to change their old name, or become Trojans, or be called Teucri'. Douglas regards *indigenas*, which is here used adjectivally, as a noun, and *Latinos*, which is here used nominally, as an adjective; then he transfers *vetus*, which qualifies *nomen*, to *indigenas*, and *Latinos*, which is qualified by *indigenas*, to *nomen*:

That thou ne wald the ald inhabitantis
Byd change thar Latyn name nor natyve landis,
Ne charge thame nother tobe callit Troianys,
Nor yit be clepit Phrigianys nor Tewcranys.

'nor natyve landis' and 'Phrigianys' are additions.

The evidence presented in the preceding chapters cannot be taken as proving that Douglas was a totally inaccurate translator, but it does suggest that exaggerated estimates of Douglas's accuracy are invalid. The reader who compares the original with Douglas's version might well light upon a passage where the correspondence is considerable; but he is equally likely to find himself trying to find a relationship between a passage of the Aeneid and a rendering by Douglas which has been vitiated by over-free translation, unfortunate additions or general re-arrangement of the subject-matter. The reader who seeks to illuminate the Aeneid by reference to the Eneados may find himself frustrated rather than assisted by the comparison.

CHAPTER XIII: DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS

The aim of this section will be to consider a number of passages in the Aeneid which different editors and translators have interpreted in different ways, and to give Douglas's version in each case to enable comparisons to be made.

At II.576.x.31 the phrase occurs *sceleratas sumere poenas*. Page, in discussing this phrase, mentions that some take it as meaning, 'to take vengeance on the guilty', while others render it, 'to exact vengeance that would be sacrilegious'. Williams inclines to the latter view, interpreting it as 'to exact a punishment wicked to inflict'. Austin, on the other hand, writes: 'The theory that *sceleratas* is a piece of self-condemnation by Aeneas, for an act that he must nevertheless commit, seems to me very unlikely'. Douglas's rendering is free of the thought of self-condemnation to which Austin objects:

With byttir panys to wreke our harmys smart.

At III.702.x.92 there occurs the Latin verse
immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta, translated by Page, 'and Gela, named after the name of its mighty river', taking *immanis* as genitive singular agreeing with *fluvii*. The interpretations of Sidgwick, Fairclough, Williams and C. Day Lewis agree with that of Page. Douglas follows Servius in taking *immanis* as nominative singular agreeing with *Gela*, and translates:

Quhar that the gret cite Gela vpbeild is.

Douglas's rendering is supported by the translations of Dryden, Davidson and Lonsdale and Lee.

At IV.327f.vi.94 there occurs the protasis of an unfulfilled condition, *si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset* . . . *suboles*. Mackail and Williams think that the reference

is to the taking a child up in one's arms, but Douglas's version, 'had I a child consavyt', is supported by Fairclough and by Page, who comments: 'Suscipere liberos is strictly used of the father who takes up (tollit) the child and acknowledges it as his own, but also quite vaguely of either parent merely = "have children".'

At IV. 665.xii.42 the phrase *sparsasque manus* has occasioned some discussion. Williams takes it as meaning, 'her hands bespattered', and Sidgwick's interpretation is in agreement; he translates *sparsas* as 'bedabbled', and comments that the other sense, 'spread out', is less likely. Austin, however, favours the latter view, which is in harmony with Douglas's rendering, 'hir handis furthsprent'.

At V.64f.ii.45ff there occur the Latin verses
*praeterea, si nona diem mortalibus almum
 Aurora extulerit radiisque retexerit orbem,*
 translated by Fairclough, 'Moreover, should the ninth Dawn lift her kindly light for mortals and with her rays lay bare the world'. Williams writes: 'Two different explanations of Aeneas' meaning have been current since antiquity: "when the ninth day brings its light", or "if the ninth day is fine". The first is much to be preferred; conjectures about the weather are inappropriate in epic'. Douglas follows Servius in favouring the second interpretation:

And forthirmar, gyf that the nynt day
 Ryss fair and cleyr, with hys brycht morow gay,
 And gan hys bemys our the erth spreid.

At V.232.iv.137f. a possible result of a boat race is mentioned. The Latin verse runs

et fors aequatis cepissent praemia rostris,

translated/

translated by Williams, 'and perhaps Mnestheus' crew, as they came up level, would have gone on to win the prize', who writes in his commentary to Book V: 'It is commonly thought that this line indicates that the result would have been a dead-heat, but it is awkward to supply *utrique* as the subject to *cepissent*, nor does *utrique cepissent praemia* easily mean, 'they would have shared first prize'. Douglas's rendering would not meet with Williams' approval:

And peraventur, with equale stevynnys atanys,
The pryce thai suld haue baith caught for the nanys,

but his version is supported by that of Jackson Knight, 'Indeed, both crews might perhaps have shared the prize with prows finishing level'.

At V.487,ix.4. there occurs the phrase *ingentique manu*. Williams translates, 'and with his mighty hand', and Jackson Knight has, 'with his hands' great strength'. Douglas, following Servius, takes *manus* in the sense of 'a band of men': 'With fors of mennys handis', a rendering supported by Fairclough's version, 'with a large throng'.

At V.502f.ix.29 the words occur *sagitta/. . . volucris diverberat auras*. *volucris* could be either feminine nominative singular, qualifying *sagitta*, or feminine accusative plural, qualifying *auras*. Douglas favours the former interpretation, for he uses the phrase, 'A quhidderand (i.e. 'rushing') arrow', and says of it that it 'fast throu the ayr dyd thryng', leaving 'ayr' unqualified. Jackson Knight has a similar rendering, 'his arrow cut the air swiftly asunder', but Fairclough ('cleft the fleet breezes') and Williams ('cut through the winged breezes') favour the latter, as did the printer of the 1501 edition, who printed the word as *volucres*.

At line V.691.xii.48 there occurs the clause *quod superest*. Editors are divided on the interpretation of this clause. Douglas's rendering, 'with the remanys', is in line with Page's approach, 'the little that is left', 'this poor remnant'. Similar renderings are given by Fairclough, 'the little that remains', and by Jackson Knight, 'the remnant left of us'. On the other hand, *quod superest* is taken adverbially by Williams ('what is left to do'), Lonsdale and Lee ('which alone is left for me'), Davidson ('to complete thy vengeance'), Robert Fitzgerald ('what now remains to do') and C. Day Lewis ('if there's nothing left for it').

At V.783.xiii.41 the Latin reads *pietas nec mitigat ulla*. Williams writes: 'The postposition of *nec* emphasises *pietas*, which refers both generally to Aeneas' quality and specifically to his due worship of Juno'. Page, on the other hand, translates, 'and no pity softens', and writes: 'There is no mention of Aeneas here and the two lines are concerned wholly with Juno's character - she is unforgetting, unpitying, untamable'. Douglas's version is nearer to the interpretation of C. Day Lewis, 'nor by any propitiations [is she softened]', or that of Jackson Knight, 'No honour duly paid to her can mollify her'. Douglas has

Nor na divyne sacrifice may apples.

A Latin verse at VI.780.xiii.53 runs

et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore.

The majority of editors and translators prior to 1960 took *pater ipse* in this line to refer to Mars, and regarded *superum* as accusative singular. Davidson, however, (1875), took *superum* as/

as genitive plural with *pater*, giving a reference to Jupiter. Mackail (1930) took *superum* as genitive plural but attached it to *suo honore*, retaining *pater* as meaning 'Mars'. Later editors and translators (Williams, 1972, Austin, 1976 and Robert Fitzgerald, 1983), like Davidson, take *superum* as genitive plural going with *pater*, giving a reference to Jupiter. Douglas's rendering is in line with the interpretations of the earlier scholars, Lonsdale and Lee, Page, Fairclough, C. Day Lewis and Jackson Knight and with that of a more recent translator, Allen Mandelbaum (1972). As an example we may take Page's translation, 'His sire himself marks for the world above with his own badge of dignity'. Douglas's version runs

Thar fader Mars, behald, this sammyn hour
Has thame ymerkit with dyvyne honour.

The phrase, *qui strepitus*, at VI.865.xv.46 has given rise to widely contrasting interpretations. Jackson Knight has, 'how loud the acclaim', but Fairclough translates, 'what whispers'. Douglas's version is in line with that of Jackson Knight: 'how gret brute, noys and sovn'.

At VI.883.xv.87f. there occur the words

*manibus date lilia plenis,
purpureos spargam flores.*

There appear to be at least five ways of interpreting this passage.

- (1) Page, Mackail, Fletcher and Williams take *date* with *spargam* (present subjunctive) as dependent jussive. Robert Fitzgerald, adopting this interpretation, translates: 'Let me scatter lilies, / All I can hold, and scarlet flowers as well'.
- (2) Austin also takes *spargam* (present subjunctive) as dependent on *date* but in a final clause with *ut* suppressed. This is the/

the line taken by C. Day Lewis: 'Give me armfuls of lilies/
That I may scatter their shining blooms'.

The remaining three interpretations dissociate spargam from
date and consequently treat the spargam clause as
independent:

- (3) Davidson and Fairclough take spargam (present subjunctive)
as an independent jussive or hortatory subjunctive; Fairclough
translates, 'Give me lilies with full hand: let me scatter
purple flowers'.
- (4) Lonsdale and Lee regard spargam (present subjunctive) as the
main verb of the apodosis of a remote future condition, the
protasis being omitted: 'Give me handfuls of lilies; I would
strew bright flowers'.
- (5) Douglas takes spargam as a future indicative:

Of fresch lillies reke me my handis full;
The purpour flowris I sal skattir and pull.

Douglas's interpretation finds support in one modern
translation, that of Jackson Knight: 'Give lilies from full
hands! I too shall scatter scarlet flowers'.

On the whole, the present tendency is to favour interpretations
(1) and (2) rather than (3), (4) or (5). The latter group require
a punctuation mark after plenis (as the 1501 edition had), but
this is absent from Mynors' OCT, 1969.

The word servata at VII.60.i.78 is taken by most
translators as referring to preservation, e.g. 'it had been kept'
(Lonsdale and Lee), 'preserved' (Davidson, Fairclough), 'sacred
and guarded' (Jackson Knight), but C. Day Lewis' phrase, 'held
(in reverence)' is similar to Douglas's rendering, 'Haldyn (in dreid
and/

and wirschip').

For the verb *adolet* at VII.71.i.101 translators have to supply a subject. Douglas has 'Kyng Latinus', which agrees with the renderings of Jackson Knight, C. Day Lewis and Robert Fitzgerald; Lonsdale and Lee, Davidson, Williams and Mandelbaum take Lavinia to be the subject of *adolet*.

At VII.119.ii.34 it is said of Aeneas, *ac stupefactus numine pressit*, translated by Jackson Knight, 'and stopped him, in awe at the divine meaning in the remark'. Douglas has

And followis on the answer *stupefac*,
 a rendering which does not do justice to *numine*. Mackail's note summarises the various interpretations: 'The fantastic explanations offered by various editors, that *pressit* means (1) 'held tight', 'did not allow to escape', (2) 'pondered over', or (3) 'followed up', as one speaks of pressing an argument, may all be neglected. It means simply, 'stopped the utterance'; as Servius briefly notes, *pressit vocem Ascanii*. The alleged objection, that Ascanius had stopped already, is almost ludicrous'. It is clear that Douglas's rendering would fall into Mackail's third category. A more kindly view of this third mode of interpretation is taken by Page, who adopts the first mode in Mackail's list, but adds: 'Others take *pressit* as = 'followed it up' (cf. *premere argumentum*), and this agrees well with *continuo* [in line 120] and the eagerness displayed by Aeneas'.
 Editors differ in their interpretations of the phrase *perverso/*

perverso numine at VII.584.ix.93f. Fordyce takes it as 'overturning the will of heaven', but Williams has 'under a malign influence (referring to Allecto and Juno)'. Williams' interpretation is in line with Douglas's expansion of the Latin:

Led by the power and frawart godhed
Of cruell Iuno with ald ramembrit fed.

At VII.641.xi.5 there occurs the instruction *cantusque movete*. Scholars disagree about whose songs are to be moved. On the one side are those who take the songs as being those of the Muses themselves, e.g. Dryden ('Sing you'), Lonsdale and Lee, Fairclough ('wake your song'), Williams ('raise your song') and Robert Fitzgerald ('lift up your song'). On the other side are those who take the song to be the poet's, e.g. Davidson ('inspire me while I sing'), Page ('and arouse song in me'), Jackson Knight, C. Day Lewis ('inspire me to tell'), Mandelbaum ('and guide my song') and Fordyce ('inspire my song'). Douglas's version, 'Entone my song', clearly belongs to the latter group.

The phrase *mater Aricia* occurs at VII.762.xii.137f. Nearly all the scholars take this phrase at its face value as meaning, 'his mother, Aricia', taken by Fordyce to be an eponymous nymph. The exceptions are Williams, who writes: 'Mother Aricia is the sacred grove where Virbius was born', and Douglas, who translates, 'Hys cheif maternal cite, . . ./Aricya'.

The word *eductum* at VII.763.xii.141 is taken by most editors and translators to mean 'brought up' or 'educated' but Fordyce considers it to be an instance of *educere* in the sense of *parere*, 'to give birth to', as in Book VI, lines 764f. and elsewhere in the Aeneid. Douglas's rendering is in line with the/

the general view: 'fosterit'.

The phrase *argumentum ingens* occurs at VII.791.xiii.21. Some scholars take *ingens* as referring to the size of the device, e.g. Williams ('a huge picture') and Robert Fitzgerald ('in the huge blazon'). Others relate *ingens* to its significance, e.g. Jackson Knight ('a portentous device') and C. Day Lewis ('a potent symbol'). All would probably agree with Page in his comment that *argumentum* is technical for the theme or subject of a work of art. Douglas, on the other hand, takes it in the sense of 'argument' or 'evidence':

Quhilk was gret argument and probatioun.

In the course of a speech which Evander addresses to Aeneas, there occurs at VIII.472.viii.38 the phrase *pro nomine tanto*. Editors are divided in the interpretation of this phrase, some applying it to Evander himself and some to Aeneas. Page translates, 'having regard to our mighty name', and comments, 'They were Arcadians and famous but few and of little power'. Fordyce, from the same point of view, translates, 'in comparison with our great name', and writes, 'A touch of characteristic self-complacence on Evander's part is more effective than mere flattery'. Williams, on the other hand, translates, 'to match the glory of your name'. This appears to be the interpretation favoured by Douglas, who translates, 'Onto so hie excellent maieste', perhaps following Servius, who explained the phrase as meaning, *pro tui nominis gloria*. Page comments that this explanation sacrifices all point.

At IX.193.iv.66 there occurs the clause *qui certa reportent*, which Page translates, 'to bring back reliable information/'

information (i.e. about Aeneas)'. Williams on the other hand thinks that the clause means, 'to report reliable information to Aeneas', i.e. about the situation in the Trojan camp. A similar interpretation is that of Mandelbaum, who translates, 'to bring him tidings he can trust'. Douglas's rendering suggests that information was being sought on Aeneas' purposes:

And of hys mynd to haue sur wrytyng.

A puzzling passage occurs at IX.194f.iv.68f.

The Latin reads

si tibi quae posco promittunt (nam mihi facti
fama sat est).

The conditional clause is puzzling. Apart from the tense of *promittunt* (present), where the reader might expect a future or a future perfect, why should the Trojan leadership promise a reward to Euryalus for an exploit undertaken by Nisus? There is no suggestion of a joint enterprise at this stage, for Euryalus' questions in lines 199f. prove that he had understood that Nisus was proposing to go alone. The majority of translators follow a similar pattern: 'If to thee they will promise what I demand' (Davidson), 'If to you they will promise the rewards I ask' (Lonsdale and Lee), 'If they promise you the reward I shall ask' (C. Day Lewis). Fairclough's translation is more convincing than any of the above. He takes *tibi* as being more closely connected with *posco* than with *promittunt* and renders the clause, 'If they promise the boon I ask for thee'. The words in parenthesis are straightforward. Fairclough translates, 'for to me the glory of the deed is enough'; the versions of Davidson, Lonsdale and Lee and/

and C. Day Lewis are similar. Although the 1501 edition has *promittunt*, Douglas may have misread the word as *permittunt*, for he translates:

Gyf, as I wald, thou had licens to wend.

He takes the words *facti fama* in the parenthesis as referring to Euryalus, not to the exploit being proposed by Nisus:

Sen weill I knaw thy famus nobill dedis,

but such a rendering would require a genitive plural (*factorum*) and not a singular (*facti*) as in the text. It seems strange that neither the tense of *promittunt* nor the interpretation of line 194 appears to have evoked any editorial comment. If Douglas's rendering is unacceptable he finds himself in very good company.

There are differing interpretations of the noun *deo* at IX.337.vi.66. Douglas translates, 'with god Bachus mekill of myght', an interpretation supported by the versions of Williams, Jackson Knight and Mandelbaum; but Page and Fairclough think that Virgil intended the word as a reference to *Somnus*, god of sleep.

At IX.579f.ix.121f. the subject of the sentence is *sagitta* in the previous line. The Latin reads

*abditaque intus
spiramenta animae letali vulnere rupit,*

translated by Page, 'and it laid open the deep hidden breathing-places of the soul with deadly wound', taking *abditae* as neuter plural accusative agreeing with *spiramenta*. Douglas takes *abditae* as feminine singular nominative qualifying *sagitta*, which he renders, 'The shaft and hed', and translates the clause

The schaft and hed remanyt in his cost,
Be dedly wound the lyfe thus hes he lost,

which/

which is much less specific than Virgil's reference to the spiramenta animae. Douglas's interpretation of abdita corresponds to that of Fairclough: 'So the arrow . . . buried itself deep within, and tore with fatal wound the breathing-ways of life'.

At IX.677.xi.37 the phrase pro turribus occurs. Page takes the meaning to be, 'to defend the towers', while Fairclough and Mandelbaum among others give the words a purely spatial reference, 'before the towers'. Douglas takes pro in the sense of 'in place of' and translates:

As thai had towris beyn baith gret and squar.

The translation of the phrase et gremiis abducere pactas at X.79.ii.49f. has evoked some discussion. The majority of scholars take gremiis as referring to Turnus; Sidgwick, for example, translates: 'to wrench from lovers' breasts their betrothed', and similar renderings are given by Dryden, Davidson, Fairclough, Jackson Knight, C. Day Lewis, Williams, Robert Fitzgerald and Allen Mandelbaum. Douglas's translation, therefore, finds no lack of support:

Or, from betwix thar breist and armys tway,
Thar treutht plyght spowsys forto reif away.

The difficulty is that gremiis follows so soon after soceros, earlier in the same line, that to apply gremiis to Turnus involves an abrupt transition. Lonsdale and Lee refer gremiis to soceros and translate, 'steal betrothed maidens from their parents' bosom'. Page has a similar rendering and a thoughtful comment: '"from a lover's breast" is a tempting explanation, but an unmarried girl would be rather under her mother's protection, and Virgil probably suggests/

suggests the thought of Lavinia being torn forcibly from her mother Amata'.

The phrase *per remos alii* at X.290.vi.7f. has been translated in various ways: 'Others row themselves ashore' (Davidson), 'Others slid down the oars' (Jackson Knight, C. Day Lewis, Allen Mandelbaum), 'Some held on to oars for steadiness' (Robert Fitzgerald). Sidgwick writes: 'Perhaps it is safer to construe, "by aid of the oars", and leave it doubtful (as Virgil does) how they did it: whether "sliding down" (Conington), or more likely steadying themselves as they swam and waded in'. Douglas favours the interpretation in terms of rowing:

And sum with ayris into coggis small
Etlyt to land.

At X.418.vii.136 reference is made to the death of Halaesus in the words *leto canentia lumina solvit*. Jackson Knight and Williams take *canentia* to be a transferred epithet, and Jackson Knight translates: 'grew old and white-haired and at last relaxed his eyes in death', but most scholars interpret the words in the same way as Page, 'loosens his eyes that grow glazed in death'. Douglas's version is in line with the majority view:

lay to de,
And yeldis vp the breth with wawland e.

The action of Lausus is being described at X.426f. vii.158,160. The Latin reads *non . . . perterrita . . . / . . . sinit agmina*. Page has 'leaves not his ranks panic-stricken' and Williams, 'did not desert his troops, terrified as they were'. Many scholars, however, supply *esse* with *perterrita*;
Lonsdale/

Lonsdale and Lee, for example, translate, 'suffers not the troops to be daunted', and similar interpretations are given by Sidgwick, Davidson, Fairclough, Jackson Knight, C. Day Lewis, Robert Fitzgerald and Allen Mandelbaum. Douglas's approach is that of the majority:

And lyst not suffir, . . ./ . . . /
At his cumpanyeis suld caught mair affray.

At X.489.viii.121,123 it is said of Pallas, son of Evander, terram . . . petit ore. Page writes: 'probably merely "strikes the ground with his face", not "bites the ground with his mouth", for which Virgil uses humum mordere.'

Douglas translates, 'that . . . erth . . . with bludy mowth bait he'. Fairclough has 'smites' but several translators have 'bites'.

The phrase Sulmone creatos occurs at X.517.ix.27. Sidgwick translates, 'sons of Sulmo' and so do Lonsdale and Lee, Davidson, Page, Jackson Knight, C. Day Lewis, Williams, Robert Fitzgerald and Allen Mandelbaum - a formidable company. Mackail, however, takes a different view; he writes, 'Sulmo here is the town of that name, not the warrior of IX.412, and similarly Ufens is the river of VII.802, not the warrior Ufens of Nersae, one of the leading Italian captains, killed in battle later (VII.745, VIII.6, XII.460)'. Mackail's interpretation supports Douglas's rendering:

That born was of the cite hocht Sulmon.

In the following line, Davidson translates the clause quos educat Vfens as 'whom Ufens bred', as do all the scholars mentioned in the last note, Mackail again being the only exception and lending support to Douglas's version,

Bred and vpbrocht besyde the flude Vfens.

At/

At X.570f.x.65f. it is said of Aeneas

quin ecce Niphaei
quadriiugis in equos adversaque pectora tendit.

The phrase *adversaque pectora* has been interpreted in various ways. C. Day Lewis has, 'head-on at him and his horses'; Davidson, Jackson Knight and Robert Fitzgerald thinks that it is the breasts of the horses that are referred to; Lonsdale and Lee and Fairclough treat the phrase as a poetic plural and refer it to Niphaeus himself. Fairclough translates the sentence: 'Nay, see! he turns upon Niphaeus' four-horse car and his opposing front'. Douglas's version makes no reference to the horses at this point but suggests that Niphaeus was in fact wounded:

He draif at Nypheus amyd the breste bane,
Set in hys fourquhelit chariot allane.

In the lines immediately following, X.572f.x.67f. the word *illi* refers to the horses and the accusatives denote Aeneas:

atque illi longe gradientem et dira frementem
ut videre,

translated by Davidson, 'but, as soon as from afar they saw him marching up, and breathing dire revenge'. Lonsdale and Lee and Mandelbaum also take *longe* as modifying *videre*, as does Douglas:

Bot fra the hors on far dyd hym aspy
Sa grym of cheir stalkand sa bustuusly.

Williams takes *longe* as modifying *gradientem*, with the meaning 'coming from afar', but several scholars take the phrase as meaning 'with long strides', namely Page, Fairclough, Jackson Knight, C. Day Lewis and Robert Fitzgerald.

In the course of a conversation between Jupiter and Juno, the former says at X.623.xi.44 *meque hoc ita ponere sentis/*

sentis, translated by Jackson Knight, 'and if you realise that I ordain it so'. Douglas interprets the clause in a different way:

Desyrand I suld grant the sik a thyng.

Davidson alone has a similar rendering: 'and if it be thy will that I should settle it thus'.

At X.768.xiii.32 Douglas translates the word *armis* as 'armour', a rendering which finds plenty of support. Williams considers 'shoulders', from *armus*, more appropriate here.

At XI.56f.i.129ff the Latin reads *nec sospite dirum/optabis nato funus pater*, translated by Page, 'or pray, a father, for accursed death because thy son is safe'. The majority of scholars interpret the clause in this way; Davidson, however, takes it that it is the son's death for which the father is supposed to pray: 'nor on thy son, thus saved, shalt thou, in spite of paternal affection, imprecate an accursed death'. Douglas's version is on the same lines as Davidson's:

Ne thou hys fader, war he alyve this day,
Suld nevir haue lak of hym, ne for hym pray
For hys desert he deit a schamefull deth.

The word *navalia* occurs at XI.329.vii.80. The majority of editors and translators take it in its usual sense of 'dock-yards' or 'ship-yards'. Douglas, following an interpretation mentioned by Servius, gives it its less common meaning:

And all that to the schippis langis of rychtis.

Douglas's interpretation is supported by Davidson, 'naval stores', and by Lewis and Short, who give as the meaning of the word in this particular context, 'the requisites for fitting out a ship, tackling, rigging'.

At XI.342.vii.111f. the actions of the public speaker
Drances/

Drances are being described. The Latin reads *onerat . . . atque aggerat iras*, translated by Sidgwick, 'loads and heaps up their wrath (against Turnus)'. So most editors; Jackson Knight takes the *iras* to be Drances' own: 'to add weight and substance to his spite'. The version closest to Douglas's is that of Davidson: 'loads Turnus with these invectives, and aggravates animosity'. Douglas has

Turnus to ourcharge,
Aggregyng on hym wrath and malyce large.

At XI.374.vii.194f. a conditional clause occurs:

si patrii quid Martis habes, which Williams translates, 'if you have anything of your father's valour'. Most versions are in line with that of Williams in taking *patrius* as having the meaning 'of one's father' or 'of one's ancestors'. Davidson, on the other hand, relates it to *patria*, and translates, 'if you have aught of your country's Mars.' Douglas, too, relates *patriis* to *patria*, but in a less direct way:

Or marciall prowes steryng thyne entent
For thy cuntre.

In a description of the tactics of the warrior Arruns at XI.760.xiv.84ff. the word *prior* occurs; it has been interpreted in several ways. Sidgwick proposes 'outstripping her [Camilla]'; Davidson, Lonsdale and Lee and Williams take *prior* closely with the verb *circuit*; Davidson has 'first courses round', Lonsdale and Lee, 'first circles', and Williams, 'first circled'. Page suggests, 'being the first to begin the attack', Mackail, 'keeping ahead of her'. Fairclough and Robert Fitzgerald take the meaning to be, 'ahead of her in cunning'; Jackson Knight and C. Day Lewis have, 'anticipating her movements'. Douglas's interpretation differs from all of the above in taking *prior* as indicating a comparison/

comparison, not between Arruns and Camilla but between Arruns and the rest of the army; but if Virgil had intended to indicate such high distinction for Arruns he would have made that meaning clear. The word *prior* naturally suggests a comparison with one other person. Douglas's version runs

of all the rowt
In honest fait of armys maist expert,
And best betaucht to schute or cast a dart.

The phrase *summo certamine* at XI.891,xvii.53 is translated by Page, 'with utmost rivalry', an interpretation which is almost universally accepted. Lonsdale and Lee, however, have 'in the extremity of the contest', a rendering which gives support to Douglas's version

Knawand thar was extreme necessite.

At XII.274.v.136 there occur the Latin words *et laterum iuncturas fibula mordet*, translated by Williams, 'and the buckle secures the ends of the side-straps'. So most editors and translators, but Sidgwick takes *laterum iuncturas* as 'the edges of the ribs', a similar interpretation to that of Douglas,

Neyr quhar the buckill hys sydis dyd embrace.

The prepositional phrase in *aequora* occurs at XII.524.ix.58. The majority of scholars take the same view as Fairclough, who renders the phrase 'seaward', but Jackson Knight has 'to reach the plains', which lends support to Douglas's rendering, 'ourflowand all the planys'.

At XII.595.x.105f. the Latin verse runs

regina ut tectis venientem prospicit hostem,
translated by Fairclough, 'When from her palace the queen sees the foe approach'; so the great majority of scholars, taking
tectis/

tectis with prospicit; Davidson, on the other hand, takes tectis with venientem: 'the queen, soon as she saw the enemy advancing to the town'. Douglas's interpretation is similar:

For as the queyn Amata saw syk wys
The cyte ombeset with ennymys.

Davidson and Douglas are again in agreement in the translation of a phrase at XII.621.xi.19, diversa . . . ab urbe. The generally accepted version is, 'from the distant city', but Davidson takes the phrase as meaning, 'from the various quarters of the town', a rendering similar to that of Douglas, 'from the tovn at euery part'.

At XII.659.xi.102 Queen Amata is described as tui fidissima, the word tui referring to Turnus. Williams translates, 'whose trust was all in you', and Page writes: 'The rendering, "thy truest friend", as though the words could mean, "in whom thou dost trust most", cannot be obtained from the Latin'. Accurate renderings are also given by Sidgwick ('most trustful of thee'), Fairclough ('all whose trust was in thee') and Robert Fitzgerald ('who put such trust in you'). Less accurate are the renderings of Dryden ('on whom your utmost hopes were plac'd'), Lonsdale and Lee ('your surest friend'), Davidson ('most faithful to your interest'), Jackson Knight ('so devoted to you') and C. Day Lewis ('your most trustworthy supporter'). Douglas's version has to be placed among the less accurate:

Quhilk at all tymys thyne afald frend has bene.

At XII.726f.xii.77f. the Latin verses run

et fata imponit diversa duorum,
quem damnet labor et quo vergat pondere letum.

Mackail/

Mackail translates the clause *quem damnet labor* as 'whom the struggle sentences', and writes: 'The two halves of the line . . . have the same general sense. Much confusion has arisen from futile attempts of the early commentators, misled by the *fata diversa duorum* of the previous line, to interpret them as conveying alternatives'. Servius, followed by Douglas, took the view that *damnet* meant 'set free'. Douglas's version runs

Quham the stowt laubour suld deliuer fre.

Others who interpret the clause in this way are Davidson ('whom the toilsome combat destines to victory') and Jackson Knight ('which one should come happy from the ordeal'), but the majority of editors and translators take *damnet* in its usual sense, e.g. Allen Mandelbaum ('whom this trial dooms, what weight sinks down to earth'). The second half of the line is similarly translated by Williams, 'and on which side death would sink down with its weight'. Douglas has

And quham the pasand wecht ourwelt to de.

At XII.790.xii.234 the Latin verse runs

insistunt contra certamina Martis anhelii,

translated by Lonsdale and Lee, 'stand face to face, panting in the strife of war', an interpretation close to that of most scholars, including Douglas, who also takes *anheli* as nominative plural and translates the word, 'thai pant and blaw'. Sidgwick and Williams think that *anheli* probably qualifies *Martis*; Williams translates, 'stand facing the contest of breathless Mars'.

At XII.863.xiii.170 the Latin phrase occurs *aut culminibus desertis*, translated by Robert Fitzgerald, 'or desolate roof-tops'. This is the interpretation favoured by the majority/

majority of scholars, but variations are found, e.g in the versions of Sidgwick ('and barren mountain-tops') and Davidson ('or desolate towers'). Douglas has two phrases to represent the Latin:

Or on the waist thak, or hows rufis hie.

PARALLEL PASSAGES

As the preceding chapters have in the main dealt with the negative aspects of Douglas's work, it seems appropriate to give some attention to Douglas's method of translation as exhibited in a selection of extracts. From these the reader can form an impression of the type and scale of Douglas's additions and make an estimate of their frequency. Many will be found to be occasioned simply by the need to find a rhyming word, while others demonstrate Douglas's desire to give the reader as much information as possible.

In each case an extract from the Eneados is accompanied by the corresponding passage from another translator. Douglas's method of translation is more likely to be fully appreciated when presented in this way along with another version.

One basis for the selection of passages has been length. It seemed important to choose extracts which could be presented within a single page of text, so that the Latin, the Middle Scots and the English could be readily compared without the need to pass from one page to another. Variety has also been taken into account, and it will be seen that some passages are narrative, others mainly descriptive, others oratorical and others dramatic. It is hoped that in this way Douglas's versatility as a translator will be demonstrated and that comparison with the work of the other translators featured will assist in forming an estimate of the quality of Douglas's work.

CHAPTER XIV: PARALLEL PASSAGES

The following pages contain forty-five extracts from the text of the Eneados, preceded in each case by the Latin text and followed by the corresponding passage from a later poet. The versions chosen are those of Surrey, Phaer and Twyne, Mure of Rowallan, Dryden and Mandelbaum.

Each page of extracts is followed by a commentary on the version of Douglas and that of the other poet, and at the end of each section an attempt is made to compare their versions.

There are five extracts from the work of Mure and ten from each of the other poets.

Extracts from Surrey

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, translated only two books of the Aeneid, Books II and IV; the date of composition is uncertain.

The metre used, blank verse, has considerable advantages in comparison with the heroic couplet. Because rhyming words are not required, extraneous material is reduced to a minimum, and the flow of the verse, uninhibited by the 'punctuating' effect of a rhyme at every tenth syllable, is admirably suited to the translation of continuous narrative.

It is to be regretted that Surrey did not translate the whole of the Aeneid.

The following extracts have been chosen:

Virgil: II, 268-279	Surrey: II, 340-354
298-308	381-393
533-543	691-706
624-633	821-831
780-789	1035-1050
IV, 20-30	26-38
129-139	164-178
319-330	411-427
522-532	702-715
612-621	820-833

Tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris
 incipit et dono divum gratissima serpit.
 in somnis, ecce, ante oculos maestissimus Hector
 visus adesse mihi largosque effundere fletus,
 raptatus bigis ut quondam, aterque cruento
 pulvere perque pedes traiectus lora tumentis.
 ei mihi, qualis erat, quantum mutatus ab illo
 Hectore qui redit exuvias indutus Achilli
 vel Danaum Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignis!
 squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crinis
 vulneraque illa gerens, quae circum plurima muros
 accepit patrios.

II, 268-279

Thys was that tyme quhen the fyrst quyete
 Of naturale sleip, to quham na gyft mair swete,
 Stelis on fordoverit mortale creaturis,
 And in thar swewynnys metis quent figuris.
 Lo, in my sleip I se stand me befor
 (As to my syght) maist lamentabil Hector
 Wyth large flude of teris, and al besprent,
 As he vmquhile eftyr the cart was rent,
 With barknyt blude and powder. O God, quhat skath!
 Boldynnyt ful gret war feit and lymmys baith
 By bandis of the cordis quhilk thame drewch.
 Ha, walloway, quhat harm and wo eneuch!
 Quhat ane was he, how far changit from ioy
 Of that Hector, quhilum returnyt to Troy
 Cled with the spulye of hym Achillys,
 Or quhen the Troiane fyry blesis, I wys,
 On Grekis schippis thyk fald he slang that day
 Quhen that he slew the duke Prothesylay!
 Hys fax and berd was fadyt quhar he stude
 And all hys hayr was glotnyt ful of blude.
 Full mony woundis on his body bayr he,
 Quhilk in defens of hys natyve cuntre
 About the wallys of Troy ressavyt he had.

II.v.33-55

It was the time when, graunted from the godds,
 The first slepe crepes most swete in wery folk.
 Loe, in my dreame before mine eies, me thought,
 With rufull chere I sawe where Hector stood:
 Out of whoes eies there gushed streames of teares,
 Drawn at a cart as he of late had be,
 Distained with bloody dust, whoes feet were bowlne
 With the streight cordes wherwith they haled him.
 Ay me, what one! that Hector how unlike,
 Which erst returnd clad with Achilles spoiles,
 Or when he threw into the Grekish shippes
 The Troian flame! so was his beard defiled,
 His crisped lockes al clustred with his blood,
 Wih all such wounds as many he received
 About the walls of that his native town.

II, 340-354

- 268.v.35 Douglas adds 'fordoverit'.
- 269.v.35 incipit et: Douglas omits.
- 269.v.34 divum: Douglas omits.
Douglas adds the line
'And in thar swevynnys metis quent figuris',
possibly intended to represent aegris (line 268).
- 272.v. 39f. raptatus, 'dragged violently along'; neither 'al
besprent' nor 'rent' seems quite to convey the meaning
of the Latin.
- 273.v.41 Douglas adds 'O God, quhat skath!'.
- 273.v.42 Douglas adds 'and lymmys baith'.
- 273.v.43 Douglas adds 'quhilk thame drewch'.
- 274.v.44 ei mihi: Expanded by Douglas into
'Ha, walloway, quhat harm and wo eneuch!'
- 274f.v.45f. ab illo/Hectore: Expanded by Douglas into
'from ioy/of that Hector
- 275.v.46 Douglas adds 'to Troy'.
- 276.v.48 Douglas adds 'I wys'.
- 276.v.49 Douglas adds 'thyk fald'.
- 276.v.49 Douglas adds 'that day'.
- 276.v.50 Douglas adds the line
'Quhen that he slew the duke Prothesylay!',
suggested by the comment of Servius on Phrygios ignes;
flammas Troianas, quibus Protesilai navis
incensa est.
- 277.v.51 squalentem, 'matted'. Douglas has 'fadyt';
Douglas adds 'quhar he stude', a clause frequently
used by Douglas to complete a line.
barbam: Douglas has 'fax and berd'.

278.v.54 Douglas adds 'in defens of hys natyve cuntre',
probably suggested by the word patrios (line 279).

* * *

269 (341) incipit et: Surrey omits, as does Douglas, and
uses one verb, 'crepes', in place of two.

271 (344) Surrey adds 'Out of whoes eies'.

273 (347) Surrey adds 'streight' as a description of 'cordes'.

277 (352) Surrey adds 'crisped' as a description of 'lockes'.
The use of the consonants 'c' and 'l' in this line
helps to convey the impression of the matted state
of Hector's hair.

* * *

Douglas has many more additional words and phrases
than Surrey, most of which can be accounted for by the necessity
of finding rhymes. It will be observed that in some cases both
rhyming words, for example, 'ioy' and 'Troy', 'skath' and 'baith',
are additional; presumably in such instances the straightforward
translation of the Latin did not provide a word for which a
suitable rhyme was available.

Douglas's additional words 'I wys' (line 48) are not
out of place here, as they are part of Aeneas' narration. On
some occasions they form a comment by the poet himself, when they
appear inappropriate in the context of an epic poem.

* * *

Diverso interea miscentur moenia luctu,
 et magis atque magis, quamquam secreta parentis
 Anchisae domus arboribusque oblecta recessit,
 clarescunt sonitus armorumque ingruit horror.
 excutior somno et summi fastigia tecti
 ascensu supero atque arrectis auribus asto:
 in segetem veluti cum flamma furentibus Austris
 incidit, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens
 sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores
 praecipitisque trahit silvas, stupet inscius alto
 accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor.

II, 298-308

In seyr placis throu the cite wyth this
 The murmur rays, ay mair and mair I wys,
 And clerar wolx the rumour and the dyne,
 So that, suppos Anchys my faderis in
 With treys abowt stude secrete by the way,
 So bustuus grew the noys and furyus fray
 And ratlyng of thar armour on the streit,
 Affrayit, I glystnyt of sleip and start on feit,
 Syne to the howssis hed ascendis onone,
 With eris prest stude thar als stil as stone.
 A sownd or swowch I hard thar at the last,
 Lyke quhen the fyre be fellon wyndis blast
 Is drevyn amynd the flat of cornys rank,
 Or quhen the burn on spait hurlyys down the bank,
 Owder throu a watir brek or spait of flude,
 Ryvand vp rede erd as it war wod,
 Down dyngand cornys, all the pleuch laubour atanys,
 And dryvis on swyftly stokkis, treis and stanys:
 The sylly hyrd, seand this grysly syght,
 Set on a pynnakill of sum cragis hycht
 Al abasit, nocht knawand quhat this may meyn,
 Wondris of the sovnd and ferly at he has seyn.

II.vi.1-22

In this meane while, with diverse plaint the town
 Throughout was spred; and lowder more and more
 The din resounded, with rattling of armes
 (Although mine old father Anchisez house
 Removed stood, with shadow hid of trees).
 I waked; therwith to the house top I clambe,
 And harkning stood I: like as when the flame
 Lightes in the corne by drift of boisteous winde,
 Or the swift stream that driveth from the hill
 Rootes up the felde and presseth the ripe corne
 And plowed ground, and overwhelmes the grove,
 The silly herdman all astonnied standes,
 From the hye rock while he doth here the sound.

II, 381-393

- 299.vi.2 Douglas adds 'I wys', as at II.276.v.48.
- 301.vi.3 sonitus: Douglas has 'the rumour and the dyne'.
- 301.vi.6f. armorumque ingruit horror: Expanded by Douglas:
 'So bustuus grew the noys and furyus fray
 And ratlyng of thar armour'.
 Douglas adds 'on the streit'.
- 302.vi.8 Douglas adds 'Affrayit', 'and start on feit'.
- 303.vi.9 Douglas adds 'onone'.
- 303.vi.10 Douglas adds 'als stil as stone'.
- 303.vi.11 Douglas adds the line
 'A sownd or swowch I hard thar at the last'.
- 305.vi.15 Douglas adds the line
 'Owder throu a watir brek or spait of flude'.
- 306.vi.16 sternit agros: 'lays low the fields'.
 The Latin pictures the fields and their crops as being
 flattened; Douglas's version suggests that the land
 surface is churned up as well.
- 307.vi.18 praecipitisque trahit silvas: Elaborated by Douglas:
 'And dryvis on swyftly stokkis, treis and stanys'.
- 307f.vi.19ff. Douglas's additions are, 'seand this grysly syght',
 'quhat this may meyn', and 'and ferly at he has seyn'.

* * *

- 301 (383) For the clause armorumque ingruit horror
 Surrey substitutes the phrase, 'with rattling of armes'.
- 306 (390) sternit agros, sternit sata laeta:
 Surrey uses a second verb where Virgil repeats the first:
 'Rootes up the feldes and presseth the ripe corne', a
 rendering not unlike that of Douglas.
- 307 (391) praecipitesque trahit silvas: Douglas elaborates here,
 but Surrey has a concise rendering, 'and overwhelmes

hic Priamus, quamquam in media iam morte tenetur,
 non tamen abstinuit nec voci iraeque pepercit:
 'at tibi pro scelere,' exclamat, 'pro talibus ausis
 di, si qua est caelo pietas quae talia curet,
 persolvant grates dignas et praemia reddant
 debita, qui nati coram me cernere letum
 fecisti et patrios foedasti funere vultus.
 at non ille, satum quo te mentiris, Achilles
 talis in hoste fuit Priamo; sed iura fidemque
 supplicis erubuit corpusque exsanguie sepulcro
 reddidit Hectoreum meque in mea regna remisit.'

II, 533-543

Priamus than, thocht he was halfdeill ded,
 Mycht nocht conteyn his ire nor wordis of fed,
 Bot cryis furth: 'For that cruell offens
 And owtragyus fuyl hardy violens,
 Gif thar be piete in the hevin abone
 Quhilk takis heid to this at thou has done,
 The goddis mot condyngly the foryeld,
 Eftir thi desert rendring sik gaynyeld,
 Causit me behald myne awyn child slane, allace,
 And with hys blude fylit the faderis face.
 Bot he quhamby thou fenys thi self byget,
 Achil, was not to Priam sa hard set,
 For he, of rycht and faith eschamyt eik,
 Quhen that I come hym lawly tobeseik,
 The ded body of Hector rendrit me,
 And me convoyit hame to my cite.'

II.ix.47-62

Priamus then, although he were half ded,
 Might not kepe in his wrath, nor yet his words,
 But cryeth out: 'For this thy wicked work,
 And boldnesse eke such thing to enterprise,
 If in the heavens any justice be
 That of such things takes any care or kepe,
 According thankes the gods may yeld to thee,
 And send thee eke thy just deserved hyre,
 That made me see the slaughter of my childe,
 And with his blood defile the fathers face.
 But he, by whom thow fainst thy self begot,
 Achilles, was to Priam not so stern.
 For loe, he tendring my most humble sute
 The right and faith, my Hectors bloodlesse corps
 Rendred for to be layd in sepulture,
 And sent me to my kingdome home againe.'

II, 691-706

- 533.ix.47 *quamquam in media iam morte tenetur:*
Douglas has a vivid translation of this clause,
'thocht he was halfdeill ded'.
- 538.ix.55 Douglas adds 'allace', heightening the emotional
aspect of Priam's speech.
- 539.ix.56 Douglas takes *foedasti* in a literal sense and is
therefore compelled to take *funere* as meaning 'blood':
'And with hys blude fylit the faderis face'.
- 541.ix.58 *hoste*: Douglas omits.
- 542.ix.60 *supplicis*: Douglas expands the word into a clause:
'Quhen that I come hym lawly tobeseik'.
- 542.ix.61 *sepulcro*: Douglas omits.
- * * *
- 534 (692) *non tamen abstinuit*: Surrey omits
- 536 (696) *quae talia curet*: 'that concerns itself with such
things'; Surrey has two words to express the meaning
of *curet*:
'That of such things takes any care or kepe'.
- 537 (697) *dignas*, 'fitting'; Surrey has 'According'.
- 538 (699) *coram*: Surrey omits.
- 539 (700) Surrey, like Douglas, takes *funere* as meaning 'blood',
and has a line which strikingly resembles Douglas's:
'And with his blood defile the father's face'.
- 541 (704) Surrey's version is again close to that of Douglas in
his translation of *iura fidemque*, 'The right and faith'.
It seems rather inadequate; Austin explains *iura* as
'the rights due to a suppliant from the person supplicated',
and *fides* as 'the trust shown by the suppliant that
these rights will be respected',

Tum vero omne mihi visum considerare in ignis
 Ilium et ex imo verti Neptunia Troia:
 ac veluti summis antiquam in montibus ornum
 cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus instant
 eruere agricolae certatim, illa usque minatur
 et tremefacta comam concusso vertice nutat,
 vulneribus donec paulatim evicta supremum
 congemuit traxitque iugis avulsa ruinam.
 descendo ac ducente deo flammam inter et hostis
 expedior: dant tela locum flammaeque recedunt.

II, 624-633

And tho beheld I al the cite myschevit,
 Fayr Illion all fall in gledis down,
 And, fra the soyll, gret Troy, Neptunus town,
 Ourtumlyt to the grond - so as yhe se
 The lauboreris into the montanys hie
 With steil axis byssely hak and hew
 A mekil ayk that mony yeir thar grew;
 The tre branglis bostyng to the fall,
 With top trymlyng, and branchis schakand all;
 Quhil finally it get the lattyr straik,
 Than with a rair down duschis the mekil aik,
 And with his fard brekis down bewis about.
 Furth of that sted I went, and throu the rowt
 Of ennemyis and flambis I me sped
 (The fyre and wapyynnys gave me place) and fled.

II.x.112-126

I saw Troye fall down in burning gledes,
 Neptunus town clene razed from the soil.
 Like as the elm forgrown in mountaines hye,
 Rond hewen with axe, that husbandmen
 With thick assaultes strive to teare up, doth threat;
 And hackt beneath trembling doth bend his top,
 Till yold with strokes, geving the latter crack,
 Rent from the heighth with ruine it doth fall.
 With this I went, and guided by a god
 I passed through my foes and eke the flame:
 Their wepons and the fire eke gave me place.

II, 821-831

624f.x.112f. tum vero omne mihi visum considerare in ignis/Ilium.

Expanded by Douglas, who has two subjects and two verbs:

'And tho beheld I al the cite myschevit,
Fayr Illion all fall in gledis down'.

625.x.114 Douglas adds 'gret', qualifying 'Troy'.

625.x.115 Douglas adds 'to the grond'.

626.x.115 Douglas adds 'yhe se'.

626ff.x.115ff. Douglas's version of these lines is concise,

but it is less vivid than the original. The line
cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus instant,
with its three consecutive spondees, suggests the
laborious nature of the felling operation, an impression
not conveyed by Douglas's line

'With steil axis byssely hak and hew'.

Douglas tends to be inaccurate when mentioning trees;

ornus was a mountain ash, not an oak.

632.x.124 descendo: 'I go down', i.e. from the roof of the palace.

Douglas has 'Furth of that sted I went'.

633.x.126f. Douglas uses two verbs to represent expedior,

'I me sped' and 'fled'.

633.x.126 Conversely, where the Latin has the two verbs dant and

recedunt, Douglas has one:

'The fyre and wapynnys gave me place'.

* * *

624 (821) Surrey omits tum vero and omne.

626 (823) Where Douglas calls ornus an 'aik', Surrey calls
it an elm.

628 (825) Surrey omits certatim.

629 (826) The placing of the trochaic word 'trembling' is effective.

633 (831) This line strikingly resembles Douglas's line 126.

longa tibi exsilia et vastum maris aequor arandum,
 et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva
 inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris.
 illic res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx
 parta tibi; lacrimas dilectae pelle Creusae.
 non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumve superbas
 aspiciam aut Graeis servitum matribus ibo,
 Dardanis et divae Veneris nurus;
 sed me magna deum genetrix his detinet oris.
 iamque vale et nati serva communis amorem.'
 haec ubi dicta dedit, lacrimantem et multa volentem
 dicere deseruit, tenuisque recessit in auras.

II, 780-791

bot the behuffis

From hens to wend ful far into exile
 And our the braid sey sail furth mony a myle
 Or thou cum to the land Hesperya,
 Quhar wyth soft cowrs Tybris of Lydya
 Rynnys throu the rych feldis of pepil stowt;
 Thar is gret substans ordanyt the but dowt,
 Thar salt thou have a realm, thar salt thou ryng
 And wed to spows the douchtir of a kyng.
 Thy wepyng and thi teris do away
 Quhilk thou makis for thi luffyt Crevsay,
 For I, the neyce of mychty Dardanus
 And gude douchtyr onto the blyssit Venus,
 Of Myrmydonys the realm sal nevir behald
 Nor yit the land of Dolopeis so bald,
 Nor go to serve na matron Gregion,
 Bot the gret modir of the goddis ilkon
 In thir cuntreis withhaldis me for evyr.
 Adew, fayr weil, for ay we mon dissevir.
 Thou be gude frend, lufe weil and keip fra skath
 Our a yong son is common til ws baith.'
 Quhen this was spokkyn, fra me away scho glaid,
 Left me wepyng and feil wordis wald have said,
 For sche sa lychtly vanysyt in the ayr

II.xii.36-59

A long exile thou art assigned to bere,
 Long to furrow large space of stormy seas:
 So shalt thou reach at last Hesperian land,
 Wher Lidian Tiber with his gentle streme
 Mildly doth flow along the frutfull felds.
 There mirthful wealth, there kingdom is for thee,
 There a kinges child preparde to be thy make.
 For thy beloved Creusa stint thy teres.
 For now shal I not see the proud abodes
 Of Myrmidons, nor yet of Dolopes;
 Ne I, a Troyan lady and the wife
 Unto the sonne of Venus the goddesse,
 Shall goe a slave to serve the Grekish dames.
 Me here the gods great mother holdes.
 And now farwell, and kepe in fathers brest
 The tender love of thy yong son and myne.'
 This having said, she left me all in teres,
 And minding much to speake; but she was gone,

~~And into the weightlesse aire.~~

II. 1025-1052

- 780.xii. 36f. *longa tibi exsilia*: the remainder of this principal clause has to be supplied in the Latin. Douglas's version completes the sense.
- 780.xii.38 *arandum*: Douglas gives the sense of the Latin without reproducing the metaphor:
'And our the braid sey sail furth mony a myle'.
- 783.xii.42 Douglas adds 'but dowl'.
- 783.xii.43 *regnumque*: Douglas repeats the sense:
'Thar salt thou have a realm, thar salt thou ryng'.
- 784.xii.45 *lacrimas*: Douglas has 'thy wepyng and thi teris'.
- 784.xii.46 Douglas adds, 'Quhilk thou makis'.
- 787.xii.48 *divae*: Douglas has 'blyssit'.
- 787.xii.47 Douglas adds 'mychty'.
- 788.xii.53 Douglas adds 'for evyr', emphasising that the parting is final.
- 789.xii.54 Douglas has two expressions for *vale*: *Adew, fayr weil*'.
Douglas adds, 'for ay we mon dissevir'.
- 789.xii.55f. *nati serva communis amorem*: Expanded by Douglas:
'Thou be gude frend, lufe weil and keip fra skath
Our a yong son is common til us baith'.
- * * *
- 780 (1036) Surrey adds 'stormy', qualifying 'seas'.
- 781 (1037) Surrey adds 'at last', modifying 'shalt . . . reach'.
- 782 (1039) Surrey omits *virum*.
- 783 (1041) Surrey adds 'preparde', qualifying 'child'.
- 789 (1049) Surrey adds 'in fathers brest'.
- 789 (1050) Surrey adds 'tender', qualifying 'love'.
- 791 (1052) Surrey adds, 'but she was gone'.
- 791 (1053) Surrey adds, 'suttly', modifying 'fled', perhaps suggested by *tenuis*, qualifying *auras*.

Anna (fatebor enim) miseri post fata Sychaei
 coniugis et sparsos fraterna caede penatis
 solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem
 impulit. agnosco veteris vestigia flammae.
 sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat
 vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
 pallentis umbras Erebo noctemque profundam,
 ante, pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo.
 ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores
 abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulcro.
 sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit obortis.

IV, 20-30

Annes, I grant to the, sen the deces
 Of my sory husband Syche, but les,
 Quhar that our hows with brodyrris ded wes spreht,
 Only this man hes movit myne entent,
 And heth my mynd inducyt to forvay:
 I knaw and felis the wemmys and the way
 Of the ald fyre and flambe of luffis heit.
 Bot rather I desyre baith cors and spreit
 Of me the erth swelly law adown,
 Or than almychty Iove with thundris sovn
 Me smyte ful deip onto the schaddoys dern,
 Amang pail gastis of hellis holl cavern,
 In the profound pot of deth and dyrk nyght,
 Or I becum so schamful wrachit wyght
 That I myne honeste fyle or womanhed,
 Or brek your lawis - na, quhil I be ded!
 He that me first to hym in wedlok knyht
 My first flowr of amouris tuke, and yyt
 For euermair with hym he sal thame haue,
 And he most keip thame with hym in his grave."
 Thus sayand, the brycht teris onon owtbrist
 And fillyt all hir bosum or scho wist.

IV.i.41-62

Anne, for I graunt, sith wretched Sichees death
 My spouse, and house with brothers slaughter staid,
 This onely man hath made my sences bend
 And pricked foorth the mind that gan to slide.
 Now feelingly I tast the steppes of mine old flame.
 But first I wish the earth me swallow down,
 Or with thunder the mighty Lord me send
 To the pale gostes of hel and darknes deepe,
 Ere I thee staine, shamefastnes, or thy lawes.
 He that with me first coppled, tooke away
 My love with him; enjoy it in his grave.'
 Thus did she say, and with supprised teares
 Bained her brest.

IV, 26-38a

- 20.i.42 Douglas adds 'but les'.
- 23.i.46f. agnosco veteris vestigia flammae: Douglas expands this clause considerably, having two verbs for agnosco, two nouns for vestigia and a phrase explanatory of veteris flammae:
- I knaw and felis the wemmys and the way
Of the auld fyre and flambe of luffis heit.
- 25.i.50 pater: named by Douglas as Jove.
- 25.i.51 Douglas adds 'ful deip'.
- 26.i.52 Erebo: Douglas substitutes a description for the name: 'hellis holl cavern', adding to the vividness of the scene.
- 26.i.53 noctemque profundam is expanded into 'In the profound pot of deth and dyrk nycht'.
- 27.i.56 pudor: By omitting this word in his translation Douglas leaves the reader wondering whose laws are meant in the phrase, 'Or brek your lawis'.
- 27.i.54f. The idea of shamefulnes is much more prominent here in Douglas's version than it is in the original, where pudor refers principally to self-respect.
- 27.i.60 servetque: Douglas renders this subjunctive verb faithfully: 'And he most keip thame with hym'.
- * * *
- 23 (30) agnosco: 'I recognise';
Surrey has, 'Now feelingly I tast'.
- 25f.(32) ad umbras, /pallentes umbras: Surrey, like Douglas, does not represent the repetition of the word umbras.
- 27 (34) ante, pudor, quam te violo, aut tua iura resolvo:
Surrey has one verb where Virgil has two:
'Ere I thee staine, shamefastnes, or thy lawes'.

Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.
 it portis iubare exorto delecta iuventus,
 retia rara, plagae, lato venabula ferro,
 Massylique ruunt equites et odora canum vis.
 reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina primi
 Poenorum exspectant, ostroque insignis et auro
 stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.
 tandem progreditur magna stipante caterva
 Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo;
 cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,
 aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.

IV, 129-139

Furth of the sey, with this, the dawyng spryngis.
 As Phebus rays, fast to the yettis thringis
 The chos gallandis, and huntmen thame besyde,
 With ralys and with nettys strang and wyde,
 And huntyng sperys styf with hedis braid;
 From Massilyne horsmen thik thiddir raid,
 With rynnyng hundis, a full huge sort.
 Nobillys of Cartage, hovand at the port,
 The queyn awatys that lang in chawmyr dwellys;
 Hyr fers steyd stude stampyng, reddy ellys,
 Rungeand the fomy goldyn byt gynglyng;
 Of gold and pal wrocht hys rych harnasyng.
 And scho at last of palyce yschit owt,
 With huge menye walking hir abowt,
 Lappyt in a brusyt mantill of Sydony,
 With gold and perle the bordour al bewry,
 Hyngand by hir syde the cays with arowis grund;
 Hir bricht tressis envelopyt war and wond
 Intil a quayf of fyne gold wyrin threid;
 The goldyn button claspyt hir purpour weid -

IV.iv.1-20

Then from the seas the dawning gan arise.
 The sun once up, the chosen youth gan throng
 Out at the gates: the hayes so rarely knit,
 The hunting staves with their brod heads of steele,
 And of Masile the horsemen fourth they brake;
 Of senting houndes a kenel huge likewise.
 And at the threshold of her chaumber dore
 The Carthage lords did on the quene attend.
 The trampling steede with gold and purple trapt,
 Chawing the fomie bit, there fercely stood.
 Then issued she, awayted with great train,
 Clad in a cloke of Tyre embradred riche.
 Her quyver hung behinde her backe, her tresse
 Knotted in gold, her purple vesture eke
 Butned with gold.

IV, 164-178a

129.iv.1 Douglas substitutes common nouns for the personification:
'Furth of the sey, with this, the dawyng spryngis'.

130.iv.2 Douglas replaces the common noun *iubare* with
a personification: 'Phebus'.

130.iv.3 Douglas adds, 'and huntmen thame besyde'.

132.iv.7 *odora canum vis*: 'the keen-scented power of dogs'.
Douglas takes *vis* in its other sense of 'number' or
'quantity' and translates:
'With rynnyng hundis, a full huge sort'.

135.iv.10 Douglas adds, 'stampyng, reddy ellys'.

138.iv.17 The 1501 edition reads *ex humero* in place of *ex auro*,
which explains Douglas's phrase, 'Hyngand by hir syde'.

138.iv.18f. Douglas takes two lines to represent the Latin
crines nodantur in aurum but line 139 is translated
concisely, 'The goldyn button claspyt hir purpour weid';
Douglas has referred here to an edition which reads
purpuream, qualifying vestem; 1501 reads *purpurea*.

* * *

129 (164) Surrey produces a neat rendering by representing the
participle *surgens* by means of a main verb and using
a prepositional phrase to translate *Oceanum . . . relinqui*
'Then from the seas the dawning gan arise'. Like Douglas,
he discards the personification.

131 (166) *retia rara, plagae*: Compressed by Surrey into the
phrase, 'the hayes so rarely knit'.

133f. (170f.) Surrey omits *cunctantem* and translates *thalamo*
(local ablative) as if it were a genitive depending on
limina: 'At the threshold of her chaumber dore'.

138 (176) Like Douglas, Surrey has read *ex humero* here.

oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.
 te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni
 odere, infensi Tyrii; te propter eundem
 exstinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam,
 fama prior. cui me moribundam deseris hospes
 (hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat)?
 quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater
 destruat aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas?
 saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
 ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula
 luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
 non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.

IV, 319-330

Gif tyme remanys yyt thou heir prayeris will,
 This fremmyt mynd, I pray you, do away.
 For the I haue beyn hatyt, this mony a day,
 With all the pepill of Affrik, and with the kyng
 That rewlys the land of Numyda and ryng;
 For the myne awyn Tyrianys ar with me wraith;
 For the is womanheid went and wirschip baith,
 And my first fame, lavd and renownye,
 Quharby I wes rasyt to the starnys hie.
 Reddy to de and my selvyn to spill,
 My sweit gest, quhamto thou me leif will?
 My gest, ha God! quhou al thyng now invane is,
 Quhen of my spows nane othir name remanys!
 Bot quharto suld I my ded langar delay?
 Sal I abyde quhile thou be went away,
 And quhil myne awyn brothir, Pigmaleon,
 Bet down the wallis of my cite onon,
 Or stern Hyarbas, kyng of Getule,
 Led me away into captiuite?
 Bot, at the leist, tofor thi wayfleyng,
 Had I a child consavyt of thyne ofspryng,
 Gif I had ony yong Eneas small,
 Befor me forto play within my hall,
 Quhilk representit by symylitude thi face,
 Than semyt Inocht, thus wys, allace! allace!
 Aluterly dissauyt nor dissolate."

IV.vi.74-99

If ought be left that prayer may availe,
 I thee beseche to do away this minde.
 The Libians and tirans of Nomadane
 For thee me hate; my Tirians eke for thee
 Ar wroth; by thee my shamefastnes eke stained,
 And good renoume, wherby up to the starres
 Perelesse I clame. To whom wilt thou me leave,
 Redy to dye, my swete guest? sithe this name
 Is all as nowe that of a spouse remaines.
 But wherto now shold I prolong my death?
 What? until my brother Pigmalion
 Beate downe my walles? or the Getulian king
 Hiarbas yet captive lead me away?
 Before thy flight a child had I ones borne,
 Or sene a yong Aeneas in my court
 Play up and down, that might present thy face,

d not seeme forsaken.'

- 320.vi.76 Douglas adds, 'this mony a day'.
- 320.vi.77 tyranni: Douglas changes to a singular, 'kyng'.
- 320.vi.77 Libycae gentes: Douglas has a more general phrase, 'all the pepill of Affrik'.
- 321.vi.79 eundem: not represented in Douglas's version.
- 322.vi.80 pudor: 'honour' (due to Dido for her faithfulness to the memory of Sychaeus). Douglas translates as 'womanheid . . . and wirschip baith'.
- 322.vi.82 sola: Douglas omits.
- 323.vi.81 fama prior: Douglas has three nouns for fama: 'my first fame, laud and renownye'.
- 323.vi.84 cui: Mackail considers it to be neuter rather than masculine, 'to what'; Douglas has 'quhamto'.
- 324.vi.85 Douglas adds, 'quhou al thyng now invane is'.
- 325.vi.88 Douglas adds, 'Sal I abyde quhile thou be went away'.
- 326.vi.90 Douglas adds 'onon'.
- 326.vi.91 Douglas adds 'stern'.
- 329.vi.97 Douglas omits tantum, which the 1501 edition read in place of tandem.
- * * *
- 322 (417) quā solā: 'by which alone', antecedent fama in the line following. Surrey's 'Peerlesse' suggests that he has taken sola as nominative singular instead of ablative singular.
- 323 (416) prior: Surrey omits.
- 323 (418) Surrey adds 'swete', qualifying 'guest'.
- 325 (420) quid moror? Expanded by Surrey into a full line: 'But wherto now shold I prolong my death?'
- 327 (424) Surrey omits saltem and de te.
- 329 (426) Surrey adds, 'up and down'.
- ~~329 (427)~~ ~~causa~~ ac deserta: Surrey has 'forsaken'.

Nox erat et placidum carpebant fessa soporem
 corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant
 aequora, cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu,
 cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque volucres,
 quaeque lacus late liquidos quaeque aspera dumis
 rura tenent, somno positae sub nocte silenti.
 lenibant curas et corda oblita laborum
 at non infelix animi Phoenissa, neque umquam
 solvitur in somnos oculisve aut pectore noctem
 accipit: ingeminant curae rursusque resurgens
 saevit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.

IV, 522-532

The nycht followys, and euery wery wight
 Throu owt the erth hath caucht, onon rycht,
 The sownd plesand sleip thame lykit best.
 Woddis and rageand seys war at rest;
 As the starnys thar myd cours rollys doun,
 All feildis still, but othir noys or sown,
 All beistis and byrdis of divers cullouris seir,
 And quhatsumeuer in the braid lowys weir,
 Or, amang buskis harsk, leyndis vndir the spray,
 Throu nychtis sylence slepit quhar thai lay,
 Mesyng thar bissy thocht and curis smart,
 All irksom laubour foryet and owt of hart.
 Bot the onrestles fey spreit dyd not so
 Of this onhappy Phenyssane Dydo,
 For neuer mair may scho sleip a wynk,
 Nor nychtis rest in eyn or breist lat synk.
 The hevy thochtis multipleis euer on ane;
 Strang luf begynnys to rage and rys agane
 And fellon stormys of ire gan hir to schaik.

IV.x.1-19

It was then night; the sounde and quiet slepe
 Had through the earth the weried bodyes caught;
 The woodes, the ragyng seas were falne to rest;
 When that the starres had halfe their course declined;
 The feldes whist; beastes and fowles of divers hue,
 And what so that in the brode lakes remainde
 Or yet among the bushy thickes of bryar
 Laide down to slepe by silence of the night,
 Gan swage their cares, mindlesse of travels past.
 Not so the spirite of this Phenician:
 Unhappy she, that on no slepe could chance,
 Nor yet nightes rest enter in eye or brest.
 Her cares redoble; love doth rise and rage againe,
 And overflowes with swellyng stormes of wrath.

IV, 702-715

- 522.x.2 Douglas adds 'onon rycht'.
- 522.x.3 Douglas adds 'thame lykit best'.
- 525.x.6 Douglas adds 'but othir noys or sown'.
- 525.x.7 pictae: Douglas has, 'of divers cullouris seir'.
- 526.x.9 Douglas adds 'undir the spray'.
- 528.x.11 curas: Douglas uses two nouns and two adjectives:
'thar bissy thocht and curis smart'.
- 528.x.12 oblita: Douglas has, 'foryet and owt of hart'.
The 1501 edition reads labore, hence Douglas's
rendering, 'All irksum laubour foryet and owt of hart'.
- 529.x.14 Phoenissa: Douglas gives the name, 'Phenyssane Dido'.
- 531.x.17 Douglas adds 'euer on ane'.

* * *

- 522 (702) Although in Surrey's version the words 'the sounde and quiet slepe' precede the verb, it is perhaps not safe to assume, as Jones does, that Surrey intended them to be taken as the subject of the verb 'caught'; it may just be a reversal of the normal word order.
Surrey uses two adjectives to represent placidum:
'sounde and quiet'.
- 526 (707) liquidos: Surrey omits.
- 528 (710) corda: Surrey omits

si tangere portus
 infandum caput ac terris adnare necesse est,
 et sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret,
 at bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,
 finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli
 auxilium imploret videatque indigna suorum
 funera; nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquae
 tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur,
 sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena.
 haec precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo.

IV, 612-621

Gyf it be necessar and determyt eik
 Yon wikkit hed in portis of Itale
 To entir and cum or to thai boundis saill,
 And gyf the fatis and Iove wil it be so
 And hes decreit he fynaly thyddir go,
 Yit, at the lest, thar mot he be assail,
 With hardy pepill ay trublyt in bataill,
 By fors of armys expellyt hys boundis eik,
 Far from Ascanyus help, constrenyt beseik
 Ayd and supple, and als that he behald
 Feil cayrfull corsys of hys folk ded and cald,
 And quhen also hym self submyt hes he
 Vndir payce and lawis of iniquite,
 That he bruke nowthir realm, nor gude lyfe led,
 Bot fal fey or his day, and sone be ded,
 And ly onerdyt in myddis of the sandis.
 Thys I beseik you hevand vp my handis;
 Thys is my lattir word at I conclude,
 Furthyettand it togiddir with my blude.

IV.xi.60-78

If so that yonder wicked head must needes
 Recover port, and saile to land of force,
 And if Joves wil have so resolved it
 And such ende set as no wight can fordoe,
 Yet at the least asailed mought he be
 With armes and warres of hardy nacions,
 From the boundes of his kingdom farre exiled,
 Iulus eke rashed out of his armes,
 Driven to call for helpe, that he may see
 The giltles corpses of his folke lie dead.
 And after hard condicions of peace,
 His realme nor life desired may he brooke,
 But fall before his time, ungraved amid the sandes.
 This I require, these wordes with blood I shed.

IV, 820-833

- 612.xi.62 tangere: Douglas has, 'to entir and cum'.
- 614.xi.63 fata Iovis: Douglas offers the rendering, 'the fatis and Jove', for which there is no justification in the Latin. Austin, following Norden, says fata here is the equivalent of voluntas,
- 615.xi.67 et armis is parallel with bello in the same line but Douglas takes it with finibus extorris: 'By fors of armys expellyt hys boundis eik'.
- 616.xi.68 complexu avulsus Iuli: Douglas oddly translates, 'Far from Ascanyus help', which does not do justice to complexu but anticipates the idea of assistance represented by auxilium in the line following. Austin translates, 'Let him be wrenched from the embrace of his Iulus',
- 617.xi.69 auxilium: Douglas has, 'Ayd and supple'.
- 617.xi.70 indigna suorum/funera: Expanded by Douglas: 'Feil cayrfull corsys of hys folk ded and cald'.
- 618.xi.72 sub leges pacis iniquae: Douglas has, 'Undir payce and lawis of iniquite', a rather strange hendiadys for 'to the terms of an unfair peace'.
- 620.xi.74 Douglas adds, 'and sone be ded'.
- 621.xi.76 Douglas adds, 'hevand vp my handis'.
- * * *
- 613 (820) Surrey adds 'yonder', qualifying 'head'.
- 614 (823) Surrey adds, 'as no wight can fordoe'.
- 615 (825) audacis populi: Surrey makes the curse less specific by using the plural, 'of hardy nacions'.
- 616 (826) Surrey adds 'farre', modifying 'exiled'.
- 621 (833) extremam: Surrey omits.

Douglas and Surrey

The extract from Book II, lines 533 to 543 is unusual in that the versions of Douglas and Surrey are seen to be of equal length; in all the other extracts the version of Douglas is markedly longer.

In some cases the additional length of Douglas's version is not an advantage. In IV, 20-30, for example, Douglas's expanded version gives unnecessary length to Dido's speech. Surrey says all that Virgil says, but Douglas has phrases like 'I knaw and felis', 'the wemmys and the way', 'fyre and flambe', where the second term in each pair does not appear to serve any useful purpose but might even be a distracting feature. Similarly, in IV, 319-330, Surrey's phrase, 'good renoume' is preferable to Douglas's 'my first fame, lavd and renownye' as a translation of *fama prior*, and Surrey's 'Redy to dye' is an adequate version of *moribundam*, expanded by Douglas into 'Reddy to de and my selvyn to spill'.

On other occasions the greater length of Douglas's version can be justified. In IV, 612-621 for example, the greater length of Douglas's version is a means of drawing attention to the intensity of feeling in Dido's curse; at II, 298-308 Virgil's simile of five lines receives six and a half lines from Surrey and eleven lines from Douglas, giving a fuller picture than Surrey although perhaps forming too long a break in the narrative. The pathos of the situation may be brought out more effectively by a longer version; for example, Douglas's line towards the end of the extract at II, 780-791,

'Adew, fayr weil, for ay we mon dissevir'

makes Surrey's concise rendering of iamque vale, 'And now farwell', seem cold by comparison. Similarly, in IV, 319-330, Douglas's parenthetical 'allace! allace!' well portrays Dido's emotional state, not brought out nearly so convincingly in the last four lines of Surrey's version. Again, in II, 268-279, ei mihi is better represented by Douglas's

'Ha, walloway, quhat harm and wo eneuch!'

than by Surrey's 'Ay me, what one!'.

It is unnecessary here to go into the question of Surrey's borrowings from Douglas, lists of which are to be found in The Works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey and of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder, edited by George Frederick Nott (London, 1815), and in Florence H. Ridley's article, Surrey's Debt to Gavin Douglas, in Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America, vol. 76 (1961). A comparison of the versions of Douglas and of Surrey at II, 533-543 reveals many striking similarities, with evident borrowings of words, phrases and entire lines.

A study of the extracts suggests that if the reader requires a version of the Aeneid that keeps closely to the original, with the minimum of additions and omissions, Surrey's translation of Books II and IV is to be recommended; if strict fidelity to the conciseness of the Latin is not required, and emotional intensity is felt to be of greater importance, then Gavin Douglas's version is to be preferred.

Extracts from Phaer and Twyne

Thomas Phaer translated the first nine books of the Aeneid and the first 297 lines of Book X between May, 1555 and the summer of 1560, when a hand injury prevented him from writing. He was unable to resume his translation and died in August, 1560.

Thomas Twyne, a contemporary of Spenser, revised Phaer's work and translated the remaining lines of Book X, the remaining two books of Virgil and the thirteenth book, by Mapheus Vegius. The completed translation appeared in 1573.

Phaer and Twyne use rhyme, but in lines of fourteen syllables. This metre is much less restrictive than the heroic couplet used by Douglas; the amount of divergence from the Latin is much smaller, as the following extracts show:

Virgil:	I, 37-49	Phaer: I, 40-52
	II, 679-691	II, 685-696
	III, 124-134	III, 134-143
	V, 363-374	V, 394-405
	VI, 179-189	VI, 196-205
	VII, 808-817	VII, 853-860
	VIII, 172-181	VIII, 181-191
	X, 445-452	Twyne: X, 457-464
	XI, 392-402	XI, 410-421
Mapheus Vegius		
	XIII, 329-338	XIII, 339-350

mene incepto desistere victam
 nec posse Italia Teucrorum avertere regem!
 quippe vetor fatis. Pallasne exurere classem
 Argivum? atque ipsos potuit sommergere ponto
 unius ob noxam et furias Aiacis Oilei?
 ipsa Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem
 disiecitque rates evertitque aequora ventis,
 illum exspirantem transfixo pectore flammam
 turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto;
 ast ego, quae divum incedo regina Iovisque
 et soror et coniunx, una cum gente tot annos
 bella gero. et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat
 praeterea aut supplex aris imponet honorem?

I, 37-49

"Is this ganand that I my purpos faill
 As clene ourcum, and may nocht from Itail
 Withhald this kyng of Troy and hys navy?
 Am I abandonyt with sa hard destany
 Sen Pallas mocht on Grekis tak sik wraik
 To byrn thar schippis and all for anys saik
 Drowne in the sey, for Ajax Oilus wrang?
 From Iupiter the wild fyre down scho slang
 Furth of the clowdis, distroyt thar schippis all,
 Ourquhelmyt the sey with mony wyndy wall,
 Ajax breist persit, gaspand furth flawmand smoke,
 Sche with a thud stikkit on a scharp roke.
 Bot I, the quhilk am clepit of goddis queyn
 And onto Iove baith spous and sistir scheyn,
 With a pepill sa feill yheris weir sall lede,
 Quha sal from thens adorn in ony stede
 The power of Iuno, or altaris sacryfy,
 Gif I ourcumyn be thus schamefully?"

I.i.69-86

And shall I thus be conquerd, and confound?
 And shall I leave it thus quoth shée? shall yet this Troian kinge
 For all my worke to Italie this people safely bringe?
 I trow the destnie wils it so, but did not Pallas burne
 A fléete of Grékes, and in the seas them all did ouerturne
 For one mans sinne, and for the fault of Ajax made to fall?
 Shée threw the fiers of mighty Iove from skies vpon them all.
 And drownd their ships, and hée him selfe with whirlewinde set a fier
 All smoking on the rocks shée kest his carcas to expier.
 But I, that quéene of gods am calde and sister of Iove in throne
 And eke his wife, how long I war with this pøre stocke alone?
 So many a yere? and who shall now dame Iunos godhead know,
 Or shortly vpon mine altars who due honours will bestow?

I, 40-52

- 37.i.69 mene incepto desistere: Douglas supplies a principal clause:
'Is this ganand that I my purpos fail'.
- 37.i.70 victam: Douglas adds an adverb for emphasis:
'As clene ourcum'.
- 38.i.71 Douglas adds, 'and hys navy'.
- 39.i.73 Douglas adds, 'tak sik wraik'.
- 40.i.74 Douglas adds 'all'.
- 43.i.77 Douglas adds 'all', qualifying 'schippis'.
- 43.i.78 ventis: Douglas has 'with mony wyndy wall'.
- 44.i.79 flammis: Douglas has 'flawmand smoke'.
- 45.i.80 turbine corripuit: Douglas omits.
Douglas adds, 'with a thud'.
- 47.i.82 Douglas adds 'scheyn', qualifying 'sistir'.
- 49.i.84 praeterea: 'after this'. Page comments that this is a rare use of the word. Douglas ably translates, 'from thens'.
- 48.i.84 Douglas adds, 'in ony stede'.
- 49.i.85 supplex: Douglas omits.
- 49.i.86 Douglas adds the line
'Gif I ourcumyn be thus schamefully?'
- * * *
- 37 (40) victam: Where Douglas uses an adverb to provide emphasis, Phaer has two verbs, 'conquerd, and confound'.
- 39 (43) quippe: Like Douglas, Phaer does not bring out the irony.
- 43 (46) Like Douglas, Phaer adds 'all'.
- 47 (50) Phaer adds 'pøore', qualifying 'stocke'.
- Where the extract from Douglas has nine pairs of rhyming words, that from Phaer has only six. One result is that Phaer seldom requires additions to produce a rhyming word.

Talia vociferans gemitu tectum omne replebat,
 cum subitum dictuque oritur mirabile monstrum.
 namque manus inter maestorumque ora parentum
 ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iuli
 fundere lumen apex, tactuque innoxia mollis
 lambere flamma comas et circum tempora pasci.
 nos pavidi trepidare metu crinemque flagrantem
 excutere et sanctos restinguere fontibus ignis.
 at pater Anchises oculos ad sidera laetus
 extulit et caelo palmas cum voce tetendit:
 'Iuppiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis,
 aspice nos, hoc tantum, et si pietate meremur,
 da deinde auxilium, pater, atque haec omnia firma.'

II, 679-691

Wyth skyrlys and with scrykis thus sche beris,
 Fillyng the hows with murnyng and salt teris,
 Quhen suddanly, a wonder thing to tell,
 A feirful takyn betyd of gret marvell.
 For lo! the top of litill Ascanys hed,
 Among the duyfull armys wil of red
 Of his parentis, from the sched of his crown,
 Schane al of lycht onto the grond adown.
 The leym of fyre and flambe, but ony skath,
 In his haris, about his halffettis baith,
 Kyndyllis vp brycht, and we than, al in weir,
 Abasit, trymlyng for the dreidfull feir,
 The blesand haris bet furth at brynt sa schyre,
 And schupe with watir to sloyk the haly fyre.
 Bot Anchises, my fader, blyth and glaid
 Lyft eyn and handis to hevyn, and thusgatis said:
 'O thou almychty Iupiter,' quod he,
 'With ony prayeris inclynyt gif thou may be,
 Tak heid to ws, and gif we haue deseruyt,
 For our piete and rewth tobe conseruyt,
 Haly fader, send ws thi help als yoir,
 And confem al thir takynys seyn befor.'

II.xi.1-22

Thus wailing al our house shee filde, thus cried she through the halles.
 Whan sodenly (right woønder great to tell) a monster falles.
 For euen betweene our hands and right before our face in sight,
 Beholde, from out Ascanius top a flame ariseth bright,
 And harmeles lickes his lockes, and soft about his temples féede,
 We straight his burning hear gan shake, al trëbling dead for dréede,
 And waters on the sacred fiers to quenche anon wée shéede.
 But whan my father Anchises glad, to heauen doth lift his eyes
 With hands vpthrowne against the stars, and voice exalted cries,
 Almighty Iove (if mans respect or praiers doost regard)
 Behold ws now this ones, and (if our deeds deserue reward)
 From henceforth father helpe vs send, and blesse this grace with more.

II, 685-696

- 679.xi.1 talia vociferans: Douglas's version derives its vividness mainly from his use of alliteration: 'Wyth skyrlys and with scrykis thus sche beris'.
- 679.xi.2 gemitu: Douglas has, 'with murnyng and salt teris'.
- 680.xi.3f. Douglas makes use of the word mirabile twice: with dictu in the phrase, 'a wonder thing to tell'; with monstrum in the phrase, 'A feirful takyn . . . of gret marvell'.
- 681.xi.6 Douglas adds, 'wil of red', and transfers 'duylfull' from parentum to manus.
- 683.xi.8 Douglas adds, 'onto the grond adown', but according to the Latin the flame was confined to Ascanius' head.
- 684.xi.11 pasci: Douglas has 'Kyndyllis vp brycht'.
- 685.xi.13 Douglas adds, 'at brynt sa schyre'.
- 687.xi.15 laetus: Douglas has two adjectives, 'blyth and glaid'.
- 690.xi.20 Douglas adds, 'and rewth tobe conservyt'.
- 691.xi.21 Douglas adds 'Haly' and 'als yoir'.
- 691.xi.22 haec omina: Douglas has, 'al thir takynnys seyn befor'.

* * *

- 681 (687) maestorumque ora parentum: Phaer has 'before our face in sight', omitting maestorum and parentum.
- 689 (694) precibus: Phaer has, 'mans respect or praiers'.
- 690 (695) si pietate meremur: Phaer has, 'if our deeds deserue reward', with the practical application of pietas in mind.
- 691 (696) haec omina firma: Phaer, rather freely, has 'blesse this grace with more'.

linquimus Ortygiae portus pelagoque volamus
 bacchatamque iugis Naxon viridemque Donusam,
 Olearon niveamque Paron sparsasque per aequor
 Cycladas, et crebris legimus freta concita terris.
 nauticus exoritur vario certamine clamor:
 hortantur socii Cretam proavosque petamus.
 prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis,
 et tandem antiquis Curetum adlabimur oris.
 ergo avidus muros optatae molior urbis
 Pergameamque voco, et laetam cognomine gentem
 hortor amare focos arcemque attollere tectis.

III, 124-134

The porte tharwith, Ortygia, leif we,
 And with swift cowrs flaw throu the salt see;
 By the iland swepit we onon
 With hillis ful of wynys, hait Naxon,
 By Donysa quhar growis the marbill greyn,
 And by Paron with his quhite marbill scheyn,
 By Olearon, and mony ilis, but les,
 Skatterit in the sey, yclepit Cyclades;
 We slyde throu fludis endlang feil costis fayr.
 The noys vpsprang of mony marynar
 Byssy at thar wark, to takilling euery tow,
 Thar feris exorting, with mony heys and how,
 To speid tham fast towart the realm of Crete,
 With thar forfaderis and progenitouris to mete.
 The followand wynd blew strek in our tail,
 Quhill finally arrive we, with bent saill,
 Apon the ancyant cost of Curetanys,
 A kynd of pepill quhilk into Crete remanys.
 And sone I me enfors with diligence
 To byg a wallit cite of defens;
 Pargamea I namyt it, but baid:
 Our folkis than, that warryn blyth and glaid
 Of this kowth surname of our new cite,
 Exort I to graith howsis and leif in le,
 And rays on hycht the strenth and fortales.

III.ii.109-133

Anon therefore our hauens we left, and through the seas we flie,
 By gréene Donisa, and Naron hills where men to Bacchus crie.
 Olearon, and Paron white as snow, and skattrid wide
 Of Cicladas we compas lands, that rough seas makes to ride.
 The mariners their shoutes vp set, eche man his mate doth bold,
 To Candy let vs chéerely fare, to seeke our gransiers old.
 A mery coole of winde them fast pursueth, and førth doth driue,
 And at the length on Candy coast our ships wee do arriue.
 My town therefore (with great desier) and walls I gin to frame,
 And Pergam I the citie call, right glad they take that name,
 I courage them that lond to loue, and towres and temples byld.

III, 133-143

- 125f.ii.111ff Douglas in typical fashion fills out the terse allusiveness of Virgil's phrases. *bacchatamque iugis Naxon* would be difficult to translate satisfactorily in a few words. Page has, 'Naxos traversed by bacchic revels on its ridges', and Williams renders, 'Naxos that holds Bacchic revel on its mountains'. Douglas's phrase, 'With hillis ful of wynys, hait Naxon', suggests only that the hills of Naxos were a wine-producing area. In translating *viridemque Donusam* Douglas follows Servius and relates the greenness to the marble. Williams prefers the interpretation given in the enlarged version of Servius' commentary, not included in the 1501 edition, which takes *viridem* here to mean 'leafy'. Douglas also expands the phrase *niveamque Paron*.
- 126.ii.115 Douglas adds, 'but les'.
- 127.ii.117 Douglas adds 'fayr'.
- 128.ii.119 *vario certamine* is translated by Page, 'in varied rivalry'. Douglas's phrase, 'Byssy at thar wark', does not convey the full meaning.
- 128.ii.119 Douglas adds, 'to takilling euey tow'.
- 129.ii.120 Douglas adds, 'with mony heys and how'.
- 130.ii.123 *prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis*, 'A wind rising astern escorts us as we go'. Douglas's version is both concise and vivid: 'The followand wynd blew strek in our tail'.
- 131.ii.124 Douglas adds, 'with bent saill'.
- 131.ii.126 Douglas adds, as an explanatory note on 'Curetanyis', 'A kynd of pepill quhilk into Crete remanyis'. It could be argued that such explanations are out of place in an epic.

- 133.ii.129 Douglas adds, 'but baid'.
- 133.ii.130 laetam: Douglas has, 'blyth and glaid', as at II.xi.15.
- 133.ii.131 Douglas adds, 'of our new cite'.
- 134.ii.132 amare domos: 'to cherish their homes'. Douglas has, 'to graith howsis', which would indeed be a practical way of cherishing them.
Douglas adds, 'and leif in le'.
- 134.ii.133 arcemque attollere tectis: 'to raise the citadel high with its roofs'. Douglas has a hendiadys here: 'And rays on hycht the strenth and fortalles', a version which omits the reference to the roofs.

* * *

- 124 (133) Ortygiae portus:
Phaer omits the name, saying simply 'our hauens'.
- 129 (138) Phaer adds 'chéerely', modifying 'let . . . fare'.
- 130 (139) Phaer adds 'mery', qualifying 'cøole'.
prosequitur: Phaer uses two verbs:
'fast pursueth, and fòorth doth driue'.
- 131 (140) antiquis: Phaer omits.
Phaer's neat translation of the difficult word bacchatam is noteworthy, 125 (134);
'where men to Bacchus crie'.

'nunc, si cui virtus animusque in pectore praesens,
 adsit et evinctis attollat bracchia palmis':
 sic ait, et geminum pugnae proponit honorem,
 victori velatum auro vittisque iuvenum,
 ensem atque insignem galeam solacia victo.
 nec mora; continuo vastis cum viribus effert
 ora Dares magnoque virum se murmure tollit,
 solus qui Paridem solitus contendere contra,
 idemque ad tumulum quo maximus occubat Hector
 victorem Buten immani corpore, qui se
 Bebrycia veniens Amyci de gente ferebat,
 perculit et fulva moribundum extendit harena.

V, 363-374

"Now cummys heir," said Ene, "quha lyst preif
 To streke thar armys furth, and heys on hycht,
 For mays or burdon arrayit weil at rycht;
 Quha hes tharto reddy bald spreit lat se."
 For athir party the pryce ordanyt hes he:
 For the victour a bul, and al hys hed
 Of goldyn schakariss and roys garlandis red
 Buskyt full weil; to hym venquyst, alssua,
 A rych helm and a fyne sword, baith twa,
 Set for hys solace. Than, but delay, Darhes
 With buustuus fors schew hys face in the pres.
 As he vpstart, onon gret rumour rays
 Amang the commonys, sayand: "Lo! quhar he gays,
 Alane was wont agane Parys debait;
 Yon sam is he quhilk, at the tumbe, fute hait,
 Quhar beryit was Hector of maist renoun,
 The campion Butes ourcum and bet doun,
 Al flat hym speldyt on the dun sand,
 In the dedthrawis; quhilk Butes, to vnderstand,
 Fra Bebrycy com, of statur huge rude,
 And hym avansyt of Kyng Amycus blude."

V.vii.2-22

Now he that manhood hath, or corage bolde doth beare in brest,
 Shew forth himselfe, and with his armes in thonges let him be drest.
 He sayd, and therewithall he sets rewardes of honours twaine.
 A crowned Bull, all clad with gold, shall be the victors gaine,
 A sword and shéeld to him that beaten is, shall comfort bee.
 Nor linger long they doo, but straight with force full huge to see,
 Advanceth Dares forth, with murmour great of men extolde,
 Alone sometime that durst with Paris fight in armour bolde.
 He, in the place where Hector most of might entombed lies,
 Did ouerthrow sir Buten, giaunt big of monstrous sise,
 That wrastlinges all did wiñ, and Bebrix linage boasted strong,
 Yet Dares him to death did overturne, and laide along.

V, 394-405

363f.vii.2ff. A number of points in Douglas's version of the first two lines of the extract call for comment.

For *attollat brachia* Douglas has two expressions, 'to streke thar armys furth' and 'heys on hycht', both dependent on 'quha lyst preif', which has no equivalent in the Latin. *evinctis palmis* seems strangely represented by 'For mayss or burdon arrayit', since clubs and cudgels seem inappropriate in a boxing match. The phrase 'weil at rycht' is an addition, and *in pectore* is omitted. Both *virtus* and *animus* . . . *praesens* are represented by 'reddy bald spreit'.

365.vii.6 *geminum*: 'double'; Douglas omits the word.

367.vii.9 Douglas adds 'alssua'.

367.vii.10 Douglas adds 'fyne', qualifying 'sword', and 'baith twa'.

369.vii.12 Douglas adds, 'in the pres'.

370ff.vii.14ff. These lines, part of the general account of the proceedings, are given by Douglas in direct speech indicating remarks made by members of the crowd, a device which adds to the vividness of the narrative.

* * *

366 (397) *vittisque*: Phaer omits.

367 (398) *insignem*: Phaer omits.

368 (401) *nec mora*: Phaer's translation, 'Nor linger long they doo', is puzzling, because only Dares comes forward.

370 (401) Phaer adds, 'in armour bolde', but the Latin does not suggest armed combat between Dares and Paris.

373 (404) Phaer adds, 'That wrastlinges all did win'.

373 (404) Phaer condenses the two items in the Latin verse into one: 'and Bebrix linage boasted strong'.

itur in antiquam silvam, stabula alta ferarum;
 procumbunt piceae, sonat icta securibus ilex
 fraxineaeque trabes cuneis et fissile robur
 scinditur, advolvunt ingentis montibus ornos.
 Nec non Aeneas opera inter talia primus
 hortatur socios paribusque accingitur armis.
 atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat
 aspectans silvam immensam, et sic forte precatur:
 'si nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus
 ostendat nemore in tanto! quando omnia vere
 heu nimium de te vates, Misene, locuta est.'

VI, 179-189

Ontil ane ancyent forest socht thai then,
 Entrand in mony dern wild bestis den;
 Ful of roset down bet is the fyr tre,
 Smyte with the ax dyd rayr the akis hie,
 Gret eschin stokkis tumlys to the grond,
 With weggeis schydit gan the byrkis sovnd,
 The felloun elmys weltis down the hillys.
 Ene him self also, with ful gude willys
 Into sik warkis, with the first, al day
 For tobe bissy gan hys feris pray,
 With lwme in hand fast wirkand lyke the laif;
 And in hys breste gan to and fra constaif,
 Ful hevely, thir materis war betyde,
 Behaldand the large wod on athir syde,
 Thar as he stude thus makand hys prayer:
 "Wald God yon goldyn branch list now appeir,
 And kyth the self to ws in this forest!
 Sen lo, al thing the prophetes exprest
 Of the, Mysenus, ar our trew, allace!"

VI.iii.43-61

Into a forest old they gon, and hauntes of beastes vnmilde,
 Down tombling crake the trées, vpriseth sound of axes strokes,
 Both holmes, and beches broad, and beames of ashe, and shides of Okes,
 With wedges great they clyve, and mountain elmes with leauers roll.
 Aeneas eke their worke with corage kindling did controll,
 And tooles in hand he tooke, and formost man amongst them wrought.
 Yet heuines in hart he bare, and often thus he thought,
 If now this golden braunche will through this forest thicke apéere,
 Than verily right true it is (as all things els ben cléere)
 And too too true (alas) of thée she spake Misenus déere.

VI, 196-205

- 179.iii.44 alta: Douglas's version makes no reference to the height of the trees, but it is possible that he is using 'dern' to represent alta, meaning 'deeply hidden'.
- 180.iii.45 Douglas adds, 'Ful of roset', qualifying 'tre'.
- 180.iii.46 Douglas adds 'hie', qualifying 'akis'.
- 181.iii.47 Douglas adds, 'tumlys to the grond', giving the phrase fraxineaeque trabes a clause to itself.
- 181f.iii.48f. Douglas has birch trees in place of oaks, possibly because he has already used the word 'akis' to translate ilex (holm-oak) at 180.iii.46. fissile is not represented in Douglas's version. At 182.iii.49 he has elms in place of rowans. It will be recalled that Surrey translates ornus as 'elm' at II.626 (823).
- 183.iii.50 Douglas adds, 'with ful gude willys'.
- 184.iii.51f, Douglas adds 'al day' and 'For tobe bissy'.
- 186.iii.56f. Douglas adds 'on athir syde' and 'Thar as he stude'.
- 187.iii.58 arbore: Douglas omits.

* * *

- 179 (196) alta: Phaer omits.
- 181 (198f,) Phaer adds 'and beches broad' and 'great', qualifying 'wedges'.
- 182 (199) Phaer, like Douglas, translates ornos as 'mountain elmes'. Phaer adds, 'with leauers'.
- 185 (202) Phaer adds 'often', modifying 'thought'.
- 186 Phaer omits this verse of the Latin.
- 187 (203) The 'si' clause, with present subjunctive verb ostendat, is a wish for the future, a wish based on the 'quando' clause, which states a fact. Phaer translates as if the 'si' clause were the protasis of an open condition (which would require an indicative verb), and the 'quando' clause the apodosis.

illa vel intactae segetis per summa volaret
 gramina nec teneras cursu laesisset aristas,
 vel mare per medium fluctu suspensa tumentis
 ferret iter celeris nec tingeret aequore plantas.
 illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa iuventus
 turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem,
 attonitis inhians animis ut regius ostro
 velet honos levis umeros, ut fibula crinem
 auro internectat, Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram
 et pastoralem praefixa cuspage myrtum.

VII, 808-817

Or than also so spedely couth scho fle
 Our the cornys, ourtred thar croppis hie,
 That with hir curs na reid nor tendir stra
 Was harmyt ocht, nor hurt by ony way;
 And, throu the boldnand fludis amyde the see
 Born soverly, furth hald hir way mycht sche,
 The swyft solis of hir tendir feyt
 Nocht twichand anys the watir hir to weit.
 All yong folkis, on hir fortoferly,
 Furth of howsys and feildis flokkis in hy:
 Lital childer and matronys awondring
 On far behaldis hir stowt pays in a lyng,
 So manfully and baldly walkis sche,
 With spreit abasyt thai gove hir forto se
 Quhat wys hir slekyt schuldris war array
 With kyngly purpoure, honorabill and gay;
 And quhou the hair was of this damoyzell
 Knyt with a button in a goldyn kell;
 And how a quavir clos scho bair alssua,
 With grondyn dartis wrocht in Lycia;
 And ane hail sipplyn of a gret myr tre,
 Quhilk hyrdis mycht ourheld with bewis he,
 In maner of a speir in hand scho bair,
 Hedit with forgit steill ful scharp and squair.

VII.xiii.65-88

She for a pastime would, on crops vpright of standing corne
 Haue flowen, and with her tender féet, haue neuer an eare down borne.
 Or in the mids of seas, on swelling waues before they réele,
 Would course haue fet, and neither dipt in water, toe nor héele.
 From houses all and féeldes, the youth with wondring issued out,
 And matrons gasing stood, both how she rides behind the rout,
 How princely purple kéepes her shoulders light, how trim her heares
 With gold are vnderknit, her quiuer gorgeous how she beares,
 And dreadfull launce of length, and pointed like to fosters speares.

VII, 853-861

- 808.xiii.65 Douglas adds 'Or than alsso' and 'so spedely'.
- 808.xiii.66 intactae: 'unreaped'; Douglas omits.
- 809.xiii.67f. Douglas has two expressions for teneras aristas
and two verbs to represent laesisset:
That with hir curs na reid nor tendir stra
Was harmyt ocht, nor hurt by ony way.
- 811.xiii.71f. Douglas adds 'of hir tendir feyt' and 'hir to weit',
an instance of one addition rhyming with another.
- 812.xiii.73 Douglas adds 'on hir forto ferly'.
- 813.xiii.75f. Douglas adds 'Litol childer' and 'On far'.
- 813.xiii.76f. Douglas adds the phrase, 'hir stowt pays' and the line
'So manfully and baldly walkis sche', details which
clash with the fairy-like daintiness of Camilla
emphasised in lines 808 to 811.
- 816.xiii.83f. Douglas's two lines are a descriptive expansion of
the single Latin verse.
- 817.xiii.85ff. This is an example of the form of expansion where
each word of the Latin is represented by a whole line
in Douglas's version. Line 85 represents myrtum,
line 86 pastoralem, line 87 cuspidem and line 88
praefixa.

* * *

- 808 (853) Phaer adds, 'for a pastime'.
- 809 (854) Phaer transfers 'tender' from 'an eare' to 'fēt'.
- 811 (856) celeris: Phaer omits.
- 813 (858) euntem: Expanded by Phaer: 'how she rides behind the rout'.
- 815 (859) levis: Scansion shows the vowel 'e' to be long, but
Phaer has mistakenly thought that it was short; hence
his translation, 'shoulders light' for 'shoulders smooth'.
- 816 (860) Phaer adds 'gorgeous', qualifying 'quiver'.

interea sacra haec, quando huc venistis amici,
 annua, quae differre nefas, celebrate faventes
 nobiscum, et iam nunc sociorum adsuescite mensis.'
 Haec ubi dicta, dapes iubet et sublata reponi
 pocula gramineoque viros locat ipse sedili,
 praecipuumque toro et villosi pelle leonis
 accipit Aenean solioque invitat acerno.
 tum lecti iuvenes certatim araeque sacerdos
 viscera tosta ferunt taurorum, onerantque canistris
 dona laboratae Cereris, Bacchumque ministrant.

VIII, 172-181

And in the meyn tyme, sen, my frendis deir,
 Onto our sacrefyis ye be cummyn heir,
 Quhilk yeirly vsyng we as anniuersary,
 That bene onlefull to defer or tary:
 Tharfor with ws do hallow our hie fest,
 And with glaid semlant blythly maste and lest
 Accustom you from thens, and now instant
 Our tabillis as your frendly burdis hant."
 Quhen this was said, mesis and cowpis ilkane,
 Quhilk war away tak, bad he bring agane,
 And he hym self the Troiane men fut het
 On sonkis of gresy scheraldis hes doun set.
 Thar pryncipal capitane syne, Ene,
 Beside hym self on des ressauys he;
 The benk, ybeldyt of the grene holyne,
 With lokkyrit lyoun skyn ourspred was syne.
 Than yong men walit bissy heir and thar,
 And eik prestis of Hercules altar,
 The rostit bullys flesch set by and by,
 The bakyn breid of baskettis temys in hy,
 And wynys byrlys into gret plente.

VIII.iii,179-199

Therewhiles, this offring feast (which to differ were sin to sore)
 This yerely sacrifice diuine (since here O fréndes we bee)
 With gladnes let performe, and celebrate this day with mee,
 And your confederates fare accustom now your selfe to byde.
 Whan he thus said, the deintie meates and cups withdrawen asyde,
 He bids againe restore, and Troyans set on greene grasse bancke.
 But chiefe, on beds bespred with Lyons hyde of heare full rancke
 Aeneas he receiues, and Maple throne to him prefarres.
 Than all the princely youth, and temple preest from the altar barres
 Contending bring their meates, entrayles of bulles, and seruice rost,
 And bread in baskets lade, and wynes they skinke with cakes compost.

VIII, 181-191

- 173.iii.181 annua: Douglas uses a line to represent annua:
'Quhilk yeirly vsyng we as anniversary'.
- 173.iii.182 differre: Douglas has two terms: 'to defer or tary'.
- 176.iii.189 Douglas adds, 'fut het'.
- 177f.iii.191ff. Page translates these two verses: 'Chief of all he
welcomes Aeneas on a seat covered with a shaggy lion's
hide, and invites him to a maple throne'.
Douglas's rendering differs from the Latin in three
respects: Nothing in the Latin corresponds to Douglas's
use of 'syne . . . syne'; praecipuum is applied to
Aeneas as chief guest but Douglas translates, 'Thar
pryncipal capitane'; acerno means, 'constructed of maple',
but Douglas translates, 'ybeldyt of the grene holyne'.
- 179.iii.195 Douglas adds 'heir and thar'.
- 179.iii.196 sacerdos is singular, but Douglas has 'prestis'.
- 180.iii.197 Douglas adds 'by and by', rhyming with 'in hy' in the
line following. Douglas makes considerable use of both
expressions, particularly as line endings.
- 180.iii.198 onerant: 'temys' (i.e. 'empties') gives the opposite
meaning.
- 181.iii.199 Douglas adds, 'into gret plente'.
- * * *
- 173f. (183) celebrate faventes/nobiscum: Phaer expands the words
into a full line:
'With gladnes let performe, and celebrate this day with mee'.
- 179 (189) lecti: 'chosen'; Phaer has 'princely'.
- 181 (191) Phaer adds, 'with cakes compost'.

at Rutulum abscessu iuvenis tum iussa superba
 miratus stupet in Turno corpusque per ingens
 lumina volvit obitque truci procul omnia visu,
 talibus et dictis it contra dicta tyranni:
 'aut spoliis ego iam raptis laudabor opimis
 aut leto insigni: sorti pater aequus utrique est.
 tolle minas.' fatus medium procedit in aequor;
 frigidus Arcadibus coit in praecordia sanguis.

X, 445-452

Than yong Pallas, seand Rutylianys
 Withdraw the feild sa swith, and rovme the planys,
 At the prowde byddyng of thar prynce and kyng,
 Amervellit full gretly of this thing,
 And farly can on Turnus to behald,
 Our all hys bustuus body, as he wald,
 Rollyng hys eyn, and all hys corps in hy
 With thrawyn luke on far begouth aspy;
 Syne movyng fordwart, with sic wordis on hie,
 To answer Turnus speche, thus carpys he:
 "Owthir now", quod he, "for ay be lovyt I sall
 Of ryng kyngly spulye triumphall,
 Quhilk heir I sall rent from myne aduersae,
 Or than salbe renownyt evirmar
 Of ane excellent end moist gloryus.
 Do wa thy bost and mannance maid to ws,
 For my fader, quhom thou desyris besyde,
 Reputtis all elyke, quhou evir the chance betyde."
 And sayand thus, amyde the plane furth startis:
 The blude congelyt about Archadyane hartis.

X.viii.17-36

At Rutils quicke departure thence, and charge so full of pride,
 The youth much wondring, stound at Turnus stands, & eyes doth glide
 His mighty corps vpon, and fierce ech thing he doth behold,
 And thus replies vnto the king with words, and courage bold.
 For princely spoiles I either praise will gayne, well won in fight,
 Or for a noble death, my sier esteemes of both aright,
 Leave of thy threats he said, and fourth procedes amidst the playne.
 A chilly colde th'Arcadians harts do feele through euery vayne.

X, 457-464

- 445.viii.17f. Rutulum abscessu: 'as the Rutulians withdraw'.
Douglas expands the phrase: 'seand Rutylianys/
Withdraw the feild sa swith, and rovm the panys'.
- 445.viii.19 Douglas adds, 'of thar prynce and kyng'.
- 445.viii.17 iuvenis: Douglas, explicitly, has 'yong Pallas'.
- 446.viii.20 Douglas adds 'full gretly', modifying 'Amervellit'.
- 446.viii.22 Douglas adds, 'as he wald'.
- 447.viii.23 Douglas adds 'in hy' as at VIII.180.iii.198 and on
many other occasions.
- 447.viii.24 procul: 'a little way off'; Douglas: 'on far'.
Williams writes of procul at Book III, line 13:
'The word essentially conveys the idea of "at a distance",
not necessarily a very great distance (so Servius, non
valde longe)'. The distance in the present instance
cannot have been great, for Pallas' words show that he
had overheard Turnus' remarks.
- 448.viii.25 Douglas adds 'Syne' and 'on hie'.
- 449.viii.27f. Douglas adds 'for ay' and 'kyngly'.
- 450.viii.33f. Douglas has two rhyming additions, 'quhom thou desyris
besyde' and 'quhou evir the chance betyde'.
- 451.viii.32 minas: 'threats'; Douglas has two nouns,
'thy bost and mannance'.
- * * *
- 447 (459) procul: Twyne omits.
- 448 (460) Twyne adds, 'and courage bold'.

pulsus ego? aut quisquam merito, foedissime, pulsum
 arguet, Iliaco tumidum qui crescere Thybrim
 sanguine et Euandri totam cum stirpe videbit
 procubuisse domum atque exutos Arcadas armis?
 haud ita me experti Bitias et Pandarus ingens
 et quos mille die victor sub Tartara misi,
 inclusus muris hostilique aggere saeptus.
 nulla salus bello? capiti cane talia, demens,
 Dardanio rebusque tuis. proinde omnia magno
 ne cessa turbare metu atque extollere viris
 gentis bis victae, contra premere arma Latini.

XI, 392-402

Says thou I was repulsyt and dryve away?
 O maist onworthy wight, quha can that say,
 Or me iustly reprochyng of syk lak,
 That I rebutyt was or dung abak,
 By me quhen thou behald mycht Tyber flude
 Boldyn and ryn on spait with Troian blude,
 And all the famyll of Evander kyng
 Brocht onto grond alhail and his ofspryng,
 And the Archadis, confundyt and ourset,
 With mony ma in armys I doun bet?
 The grysly Bytias, and Pandarus his brother,
 Thai ar expert gif I fled one or other,
 And eik thai thousand sawlys on a day
 As victor I to hell send hyne away,
 Quhen that I was inclusyt at distres
 Amyd myne ennemys wallis and forteres.
 Thou says, in weir na hoip is of weilfar:
 O wytles wyght, pronounce that, and declar
 Sik chance betyd yon Dardan capitane,
 And spa sik thying onto thy dedis ilkane!
 And forthir eik, sen thou art mad becum,
 Ces not forto perturbill all and sum,
 And with thy felloun raddour thame to fley;
 The febill myghtis of yon pepill fey,
 Into batale twys venquyst schamefully,
 Spar not fortill extoll and magnyfy;
 And, by the contrar, the pissans of Latyn kyng
 Do set at nocht, bot lychtly, and down thryng.

XI.viii.35-62

Was I repulst? or is there eny (wretched varlet) well
 Thesame can proue, with Troian blood when Tyber streame to swell,
 And all Euanders stock, and house to ruine brought to bée,
 And all th'Archadian host, of armes, and force despoild shal sée?
 Not so did Bitias find in mee, nor yet Pandarus fell.
 Nor thousands, whom this righthand in one day sent downe to hell
 When I was cloasd with walles, and hard with heapes of foes beset.
 By war no sauftie shall we get? these vaine deuises let
 Be boded to Aeneas head, and to thine owne estate.
 Nor cease not still to trouble all with foolish fearfull fate,
 And to extoll that nacions force, that wise was woun in fight,
 And by that meanes for to debase great king Latinus might.

XI, 410-421

- 392.viii.35 pulsus ego? Douglas uses two verbs:
'Says thou I was repulsyt and dryve away?'
- 392.viii.37 Douglas adds, 'of syk lak'.
- 392.viii.38 pulsum: Douglas again uses two terms to represent this verb: 'That I rebutyt was or dung abak'.
- 393.viii.40 crescere: Douglas has 'Boldyn and ryn on spait'.
- 394.viii.41 Douglas adds 'kyng', in apposition to 'Evander'.
Douglas normally adds titles where the Latin omits them.
- 393f.viii.39 qui . ./ . videbit: 'who will see';
Douglas substitutes an adverbial clause of time,
'quhen thou behald'.
- 395.viii.43f. atque exutos Arcadas armis: The 1501 edition read exhaustos for exutos, which explains the two participles Douglas uses to qualify 'Archadis', and the line given to the translation of the detached 'armis'.
'And the Archadis, confundyt and ourset,
With mony ma in armys I doun bet?'
- 396.viii.45 Douglas adds, 'his brother' and transfers ingens from 'Pandarus' to 'Bytias'.
- 397.viii.48 Douglas adds 'hyne' and 'away', both modifying 'send'.
- 398.viii.49 Douglas adds 'at distres'.
- 398.viii.50 aggere: 'rampart'. Douglas has 'forteres'.
- 398.viii.50 saeptus: Douglas omits.
- 399.viii.51 Douglas adds, 'Thou says'.
- 399.viii.52,54 cane: 'chant'; Douglas uses three verbs:
'pronounce that, and declar' (line 52), 'spa' (line 54).
- 399f.viii.53 capiti . . ./Dardanio: Page writes: 'The periphrasis Dardanium caput = Aeneas at once expresses hate and contempt and also a wish that his [Drances'] prophecies of ill may fall on the head

- of Aeneas and himself'. Douglas's expression, 'yon Dardan capitane' conveys something of this attitude.
- 400.viii.54 Douglas adds, 'ilkane', qualifying 'dedis'.
- 400.viii.55 Douglas adds, 'sen thou art mad becum'.
- 401.viii.56f. turbare: 'to confound'. Douglas uses two verbs, 'forto perturbill' (line 56), 'to fley' (line 57).
- 401f.viii.58 Douglas adds 'febill', qualifying 'myghtis' and 'fey', qualifying 'pepill'.
- 402.viii.59 Douglas adds 'Into batale' and 'schamefully', modifying 'venquyst'.
- 401.viii.60 extollere: Douglas uses two infinitives: 'fortill extoll and magnyfy'.
- 401.viii.56,60 ne cessa: 'do not cease'. Douglas uses two verbs, 'Cess not' (line 56) and 'Spar not' (line 60).
- 402.viii.61 Douglas adds 'kyng', in apposition to 'Latyn'.
- 402.viii.62 premere: 'disparage'. Douglas uses three verbs, 'Do set at nocht, bot lychtly, and down thryng'.
- * * *
- 395 (413) It is clear from Twyne's translation ('of armes, and force despoild') that he has read *exutos* where the 1501 edition, used by Douglas, has *exhaustos*.
- 398 (416) *hostiltique aggere saeptus*: Fairclough translates, 'and girt by foemen's ramparts', and this is the way in which the phrase is generally interpreted. Twyne gives *aggere* a human reference: 'and hard with heapes of foes beset'.
- 400f. (419) *magno/ . . . metu*: Twyne retains the alliteration, using a different consonant: 'with foolish fearfull fate'.

Tunc senior sic incipiens ardentia Drances
 verba movet, nimium erepti pro funere Turni
 exsultans: "O Troianae dux inclute gentis,
 gloria spesque Phrygum, quo nec pietate nec armis
 maior in orbe fuit: victi obtestamur, et omnes
 iuramus deosque deasque, invitus in unum
 conflatum vidit Latium, et temerata Latinus
 foedera: nec Phrygios umquam turbavit honores.
 quin natae, quando superum sic vota ferebant,
 connubia, et generum magno te optabat amore.

XIII, 329-338

Than the agit Drances with curage hoyt
 Begowth the first hys tong forto noyt,
 As he that was baith glaid, ioyfull and gay
 For Turnus slauchter, that tho was doyn away;
 And thus he said: O gentill duyk Troian,
 Ferm hope and glory of the pepill Phrigian,
 To quham of piete and dedis of armys fair
 In all the warld thar may be na compair:
 We venquyst folkis to witnessyng doith call,
 And by the goddis sweris and goddassis all,
 Contrar hys willis sair the kyng Latyn
 Beheld the gret assembly and convyn
 Of the Italyanys and folk of Latyn land;
 Agane his stomak eyk, I bair on hand,
 Owtragyusly the contract is ybrokkyn,
 Ne nevir he in deid nor word hes spokkyn
 That mycht the Troian honour trubbill ocht,
 Bot far rathar, baith in deid and thocht
 (sen that the goddis responsis swa hes tald),
 The weddyng of hys douchter grant you wald,
 And with full gret desyre, full weil I knaw,
 Oft covat you tobe hys son in law.

XIII.vi.63-84

Then Drances well ystept in yéeres his graue words thus began,
 (Who for the death Turnus prince did ioy not smally than.)
 Most worthy prince, the glory great and hope of auntient Troy,
 Whose péere for verteous déedes and armes the world doth not enioy,
 Pøore conquerd men for pardon wé thée pray, and sue for grace.
 And all celestiall Goddesses, and Gods, and this thy face
 To witnes déepe we call, that king Latinus gainst his will
 All Latium land in tumultes mad vpstirde, with practice ill,
 And league broake of unwilling did behold, nor honour due
 To Troians did denie to yéeld misled with fancie new.
 But since the Gods so would, that thou his daughter déere shouldst wed,
 Théé sun in law he calde, and well did wish thy dulcet hed.

XIII, 339-350

- 329.vi.63 senior: no longer a iuvenis, but not necessarily 'agit'.
ardentia: perhaps represented in Douglas's version
by the phrase, 'with curage hoyt'.
- 330.vi.65 nimium: Douglas omits.
- 331.vi.65 exsultans: Douglas uses three adjectives:
'As he that was baith glaid, ioyfull and gay'.
- 331.vi.67 inclute: Douglas omits.
Douglas has 'O gentill duyk', possibly suggested
by gentis.
- 332.vi.68 Douglas adds 'Ferm', qualifying 'hope'.
- 334.vi.73 Douglas adds 'sair', modifying 'contrar'.
- 335.vi.73 Douglas adds 'kyng', in apposition to 'Latyn'.
- 334f.vi.74f. in unum/conflatum vidit Latium:
Expanded by Douglas:
'Beheld the gret assembly and convyn
Of the Italyanys and folk of Latyn land'.
- 335.vi.76 Douglas adds the line
'Agane his stomak eyk, I bair on hand'.
- 336.vi.78f. nec Phrygios umquam turbavit honores:
Expanded by Douglas into two lines:
'Ne nevir he in deid nor word hes spokkyn
That mycht the Troian honour trubbill ocht'.
- 337.vi.80 Douglas adds, 'baith in deid and thocht'.
- 338.vi.83 Douglas adds, 'full weill I knaw'.

* * *

- 329 (339) ardentia: Twyne has an unusual translation: 'grave'.
- 332 (341) pietate; Twyne translates, 'for verteous déedes',
Compare Phaer's translation of si pietate meremur
at II.690 (695): 'if our deeds deserue reward'.
- 333 (343) obtestamur: more likely, 'we call to witness', but Twyne
takes it in its other sense of entreating or supplicating:
~~wee pray, and sue for grace~~ 'wee thé pray, and sue for grace'.

Douglas and Phaer and Twyne

A study of the parallel passages demonstrates clearly the large number of additions and expansions made by Douglas. Not all of these are happy. In VII, 808-817, Douglas expands the single word *euntem* into two entire lines which are by no means flattering to Camilla:

'On far behaldis hir stowt pays in a lyng,
So manfully and baldly walkis sche'.

Similarly, Douglas's numerous additions in X, 445-452 do not appear to serve any useful purpose apart from that of supplying rhymes. At XIII, 329-338 the reader is distracted by the accumulation of epithets in the phrase, 'baith glaid, ioyfull and gay' and is bound to speculate on the precise contribution of each word to the general meaning. The phrase, 'blyth and glaid' occurs twice in the extracts, at II, 679-691 and III, 124-134, where Phaer's 'right glad' is much more natural.

In the matter of accuracy, in the same extract, Phaer's 'Naron hills where men to Bacchus crie' is a better version of the Latin than Douglas's 'hillis ful of wynys, hait Naxon'. In the same passage, Douglas's line

'A kynd of pepill quhilke into Crete remanys',
is more appropriate to the educator than to the epic poet.

The versions of XI, 392-402 suggest that Douglas's metre is more suitable than Phaer's for indignant speech. It seems likely that Twyne was aware of the possibility that the fourteen-syllable line with its rigid pattern might become monotonous, and sought to diminish this effect by using new symbols to indicate vowel lengths, *e* indicating a short syllable, *ee* a longer and *ée* the 'vowel glide'.

In comparing Douglas's version with that of Phaer and Twyne, the reader is aware of this danger of monotony in the fourteen-syllable line which Twyne obviously recognised. The advantage of the English version over the Middle Scots lies in its close approximation to the original in respect of length, a feature achieved by the use of a line resembling in length the Latin hexameter of thirteen to seventeen syllables and by the exclusion of all additional material. That Phaer and Twyne's edition met a need in the sixteenth century seems proved by the fact that between 1558, when seven books translated by Phaer were printed, and 1620, it ran to eight editions.¹ Both Douglas's and Surrey's translations went out of print following their first editions.

The modern reader, even one who attempts to do justice to the vowel variations typographically indicated by Twyne, may nevertheless feel that the greater variety to be found in Douglas's iambics and a quality which might be described as ruggedness more than compensate for Douglas's frequent additions and omissions, and make available a poetic experience more akin to that obtained from reading the original.

¹Lally, Steven (ed.). The Aeneid of Thomas Phaer and Thomas Twyne. (New York and London, 1987) p. xii.

Extracts from Mure

Sir William Mure of Rowallan, in Ayrshire, was a nephew of Alexander Montgomerie, author of The Cherrie and the Slae. His Dido and Aeneas, in three books, was probably written in 1614, when Mure was twenty.

The first book of Mure's poem is based on Book I of the Aeneid, but the relationship between text and translation is complicated. Three sections of Mure's work (lines 139-318, 337-570 and 649-900) correspond fairly closely to the Latin lines 8-156, 314-493 and 505-722. Mure's section from line 319 to 336 summarises Aeneid I, 157-313, while the passage from line 571 to line 648 is an expansion of lines 494-504 of the Latin.

In Mure's second book, based on lines 1 to 449 of Aeneid IV, Virgilian and non-Virgilian passages alternate, the latter varying in length from 14 to 65 lines.

Mure's third book corresponds fairly closely to Aeneid IV, lines 450 to the end.

Dido and Aeneas is written in stanzas of six pentameter lines rhyming ababcc.

Five extracts are given:

Virgil: I, 314-324	Mure: I, 337-354
402-414	457-474
IV, 373-384	II, 799-822
450-461	III, 1-18
648-658	349-372

cui mater media sese tulit obvia silva
 virginis os habitumque gerens et virginis arma
 Spartanae, vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat
 Harpalyce volucremque fuga praevertitur Hebrum.
 namque umeris de moreabilem suspenderit arcum
 venatrix dederatque comam diffundere ventis,
 nuda genu nodoque sinus collecta fluentis.
 ac prior 'heus,' inquit, 'iuvenes, monstrate, meorum
 vidistis si quam hic errantem forte sororum
 succinctam pharetra et maculosae tegmine lyncis,
 aut spumantis apri cursum clamore prementem.'

I, 314-324

Amyd the wod hys moder met thame tway
 Semand a maid in vissage and aray
 With wapynnys like the virgynys of Spartha
 Or the stowt wench of Trace, Harpalica,
 Hastand the hors hir fadir to reskew,
 Spedyar than Hebrun, the swyft flude, dyd persew;
 For Venus eftyr the gys and maner thar
 Ane active bow upon hir schuldir bar
 As scho had bene a wild hunteres,
 With wynd waving hir haris lowsit of tres,
 Hir skyrt kiltit til hir bair kne,
 And first of other, onto thame thus spak sche:
 "Howe, say me yongkeris, saw ye walkand heir
 By aventur ony of my sisteris deyr,
 The cays of arrowis tachit by hir syde,
 And cled in to the spottit lynx hyde,
 Or with lowd cry followand the chays
 Eftir the fomy bayr, in thar solace?"

I.vi.17-34

Till Venus last, disguised in shape, appears,
 Most like a Spartan maid in armes and weed;
 The gesture of Harpalice she bears,
 To whom the light-foote horse gives place in speed.
 Owt runnes swift running Heber's rav'nows streames;
 With bowe on shoulder she ane huntres seames.

The heavenly treasure of her golden hair
 Was toss'd by sweet-breath'd Zephyr heir and thair;
 Her rayment short, her lovely knees wer bair,
 With which no snowe in whitnes might compair.
 Her eyes shin'd favour, courtesie, and grace,
 No mortall ever saw more sweet a face.

"Stay, stowtly yowthes!" (she sayes), "who heir resorte,
 And showe me if by chance ye have espied
 Heir any of my sister nymphs at sporte,
 With bowe in hand, and quaver by their syd,
 The footsteps of a foamie boare who trace,
 And hallo'ing lowd, fast follow on the chace."

I, 337-354

- 314.vi.17 cui: dative singular, dependent on tulit obvia,
but Douglas has a plural phrase: 'thame tway'.
- 316.vi.20 Douglas adds, 'the stowt wench', as a description
of Harpalica.
- 316.vi.21 Douglas, following a legend mentioned by Servius,
adds, 'hir fader to reskew'.
- 316.vi.21 equos . . . fatigat:
Page writes: 'wearies horses, i.e. tires them out by
her fleetness of foot'. Douglas's rendering suggests
that Harpalyce was riding in a horse-drawn vehicle:
'Hastand the hors'.
- 318.vi.23 de more: 'according to custom'; Douglas has two phrases
in place of one: 'eftyr the gys and maner thar'.
- 318.vi.24 habilem: Williams writes: 'ready', i.e. of suitable
size and well-adjusted; Austin: 'neat and comfortable'.
Douglas: 'active'.
- 319.vi.25 venatrix: Douglas: 'As scho had bene a wild hunteres'.
- 320.vi.27 nuda genu nodoque sinus collecta fluentis:
Douglas has a good rendering:
'Hir skyrt kiltit til hir bair kne'.
- 322.vi.29 errantem: 'wandering'; Douglas has 'walkand'.
- 322.vi.30 Douglas adds 'deyr', qualifying 'sisteris'.
- 324.vi.34 Douglas adds, 'in thar solace'.
- 324.vi.33 Douglas adds 'lowd', qualifying 'cry'.

* * *

- 314 (337) mater: Mure names the goddess Venus but omits mater.
Mure adds, 'disguised in shape'.
media silva: Mure omits.
- 316 (339) Threissa: Mure omits.
- 317 (341) Mure adds, 'rav'nows streames'.
- 318 (342) de more: Mure omits.
habilem: Mure omits.
- 319 (343) Mure adds, 'heavenly treasure'.
Mure adds 'golden'.
- 319 (344) ventis: Mure, specifically: 'by sweet-breath'd Zephyr'.
Mure adds, 'heir and thair'.
- 320 (345) Mure adds 'lovely', qualifying 'knees'.
- 320 (345) nodoque sinus collecta fluentis: Page translates,
'and (having) her robe's flowing folds gathered in a knot'.
Mure, briefly but freely: 'Her rayment short'.
- 320 (346ff.) Mure adds three lines:
'With which no snowe in whitnes might compair.
Her eyes shin'd favour, courtesie, and grace,
No mortall ever saw more sweet a face'.
- 321 (349) prior: Mure omits.
Mure adds 'Stay'.
Mure adds 'stowtly'.
Mure adds, 'who heir resorte', qualifying 'yowthes'.
- 322 (351) errantem: Mure omits.
Mure adds, 'nymphs!'.
Mure adds, 'at sporte'.
- 323 (352) Mure adds, 'With bowe in hand'.
maculosae tegmine lyncis: Mure omits.
- 324 (353) Mure adds, 'who trace'.

Dixit et avertens rosea cervice refulsit,
 ambrosiaequae comae divinum vertice odorem
 spiravere; pedes vestis defluxit ad imos,
 et vera incessu patuit dea. ille ubi matrem
 agnovit tali fugientem est voce secutus:
 'quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis
 ludis imaginibus? cur dextrae iungere dextram
 non datur ac veras audire et reddere voces?'
 talibus incusat gressumque ad moenia tendit.
 at Venus obscuro gradientis aëre saepsit,
 et multo nebulae circum dea fudit amictu,
 cernere ne quis eos neu quis contingere posset
 molirive moram aut veniendi poscere causas.

I, 402-414

Thus said sche, and turnand incontinent,
 Hir nek schane lyke onto the roys in May,
 Hyr hevynly haris glitterand brycht and gay,
 Kest from hir forhed a smell gloryus and sweit,
 Hir habyt fell down coveryng to hir feit,
 And in hir passage a verray god dyd hir kyth.
 And fra that he knew hys moder alswith
 With sik wordis he followys as scho dyd fle:
 "Quhy art thou cruell to thy son," quod he,
 "Dissavand hym sa oft with fals sembland?
 Quhy grantis thou nocht we mycht ioyn hand in hand
 And fortill heir and rendir vocis trew?"
 Thus he reprevys, bot sche is went adew.
 Than to the cyte he haldis furth the way,
 Bot Venus with a sop of myst baith tway
 And with a dyrk clowd closyt rownd abowt,
 That na man suld thame se nor twich but dowt,
 Ne by the ways stop or ellis deir,
 Or yit the cawsis of thar cummyn speir.

I.vi.162-180

Thus having said, she turn'd away her face,
 Which made a sunne-shine in the shady place,
 With rosie cheeks and cheirfull smiling face,
 Such as Adonis earst she did embrace,
 Her sweet ambrosiall breath and nect'red hair,
 With musk and amber did perfume the air.

He ravish't both with wonder and delight,
 "Ah! mother, stay thy cownse;" sore sighing sayes,
 "Why, masked thus, dost thou delude my sight?
 Pitty thy childe, heir comfortles who stayes."
 Ne're word she spak, but as they walk't in dowbt,
 She with a cloud encompass them abowt.

The subtle air, (a wondrous thing to shoue),
 In solide substance did the self congeale,
 With wonder rapt, environing the two,
 Themselves with mists enfolded thus to feel,
 To whome alone the cloud transparent bright,
 With thick'ned damps debarr'd all others sight.

I, 457-474

- 402.vi.162 Douglas adds 'incontinent', modifying 'turnand'.
- 402.vi.163 rosea cervice refulsit: Douglas introduces a simile:
'Hir nek schane lyke onto the roys in May'.
- 403.vi.164 Douglas adds, 'glitterand brycht and gay'.
- 403.vi.165 divinum . . . odorem: Douglas translates,
'a smell gloryus and sweit'.
Austin writes, 'Gavin Douglas has a notable version
of 402-5', and quotes the lines in question.
- 406.vi.168 Douglas adds 'alswith', modifying 'knew'.
- 410.vi.174 Douglas adds, 'bot sche is went adew'.
- 411f.vi.176f. at Venus obscuro gradientis aëre saepsit,
et multo nebulae circum dea fudit amictu:
'But Venus shrouded them, as they went, with dusky air,
and enveloped them, goddess as she was, in a thick
mantle of cloud'. (Fairclough). Douglas translates:
Bot Venus with a sop of myst baith tway
And with a dyrk clowd closyt rownd about',
Douglas has one verb ('closyt') where Virgil has two
(saepsit. circumfudit), he adds 'baith tway', but
omits gradientis and amictu, losing the metaphor
of the garment.
- 413.vi.178 Douglas adds, 'but dowt'.
- 414.vi.179 molirive moram: Williams translates, 'or engineer delay',
Austin has, 'or devise means of delaying them';
Douglas: 'Ne by the ways stop or ellis deir'.
'or ellis deir' is an addition.

* * *

- 402 (458) 'Which made a sunne-shine in the shady place'.
Page's note on *refulsit* lends support to Mure's borrowing from Spenser: 'The compound verb expresses that something stands out brightly against a dark background or in comparison with a previous obscurity'.
- 402 (459) *cervice*: 'neck'; Mure substitutes 'cheeks'.
Mure adds, 'and cheirfull smiling face'.
- 402 (460) Mure adds the line
'Such as Adonis earst she did embrace'.
- 403 (461) Mure transfers *ambrosiaequae* from *comae* to his own addition, 'breath', and supplies 'nect'red' to qualify 'hair'.
- 403f. (462) *divinum . . . odorem/spiravere*: 'breathed celestial fragrance' (Fairclough). Mure, freely:
'With musk and amber did perfume the air'.
- 404-406 Mure omits these three verses.
- 407 (463ff,) Mure adds four lines of his own:
'He ravish't both with wonder and delight,
"Ah! mother, stay thy cowrse;" sore sighing sayes,
"Why, masked thus, dost thou delude my sight?
Pitty thy childe, heir comfortles who stayeres."
- 407-410 Mure omits these four verses.
- 411 (467) Mure adds, 'Ne're word she spak'.
obscurus . . . aëre: perhaps represented by
Mure's phrase, 'in doubt'.
saepsit: Mure omits.
- 412 (468) *multo . . . amictu*: Mure omits.
- 413f (469ff.) *cernere ne quis eos . . . posset*: represented
by Mure's words in line 474, 'debarr'd all others sight',
but otherwise verses 413f, are not represented in Mure's
version, and lines 469-474 do not correspond to the Latin.

nusquam tuta fides. eiectum litore, egentem
 excepi et regni demens in parte locavi.
 amissam classem, socios a morte reduxi
 (heu furiis incensa feror!): nunc augur Apollo,
 nunc Lyciae sortes, nunc et Iove missus ab ipso
 interpres divum fert horrida iussa per auras.
 scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos
 sollicitat. neque te teneo neque dicta refello:
 i, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas.
 spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,
 supplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine Dido
 saepe vocaturum.

IV, 373-384

For no guhar now faith nor lawte is fund.
 I ressavyt hym schypbrokkyn fra the sey grund,
 Wilsum, and mystyrfull of al warldis thyng,
 Syne, myndles, maid hym my fallow in this ryng:
 Hys navy lost reparalyt I, but failt,
 And hys feris fred from the deth alhail.
 Allace! enragyt or enchantit am I;
 Quhen now Appollo, with hys sossery,
 And quhilis, he says, the kavillys of Lycia,
 And quhilis, fra Iupiter down sent alsswa,
 The messynger of goddis bryngis throu the skyis
 Sa feirful charge and command on this wys:
 Lyke as the goddis abufe nocht ellys rocht,
 Bot on thi passage war al thar cuyr and thocht.
 Nothir wil I hald the, nor thi wordis contrar:
 Pas on thi way, towart Itale thou fair;
 Seik throu the fludis with wyndis to that ryng.
 Forsuyth, gif reuthfull goddis may ony thing,
 Amyd thi way, I traist on rolkis blak
 Thou sal deir by thy treuth thou to me brak,
 And clep oft my richt name, 'Dido, Dido!'

IV.vii.23-43

"No trust in love, nor trewth in men remaines.
 This wretch whom seas had naked cast on shoare,
 I, (foolish I), prefer'd, who now disdaines
 My self, my scepter, and will stay no more;
 Vnmindfull miser whom I did receive,
 And plac'd, as Lord, ov'r me and all I have.

"What furys thus (alace!), incense my breast?
 Apollo now! now Oracles Divine!
 Now heaven's great messenger is thus impesht!
 Quhat ells? Now thund'ring Jove doth thus encline,
 And hath his winged herauld sent to vs!
 It's like enough the gods ar busied thus!

"A deep invention, forg'd by fine deceit,
 I neither hold it's trew, nor false repells.
 Go, cruell, go! to Italy, ingrate!
 Go, traitour! where thy dest'nies the compells.
 Go with such joy, such comfort, peace, and rest,
 As now thow leaves in my afflicted breast.

"I hope, in midst of furiows rageing seas,
 (If heavens with equity behold my wrongs),
 Vengeance on the, in presence of thir eyes,
 For thy deserts, shall fall, the rocks amongs,

 Where Dido, whom thow oft by name shall call,
 With brands of fire thy conscience shall apall.

II, 799-822

- 373.vii.23 fides: Douglas has two nouns: 'faith nor lawte'.
- 373.vii.25 Douglas adds 'wilsum'.
Douglas adds, 'of al warldis thyng'.
- 375.vii.27f. Douglas uses two verbs for reduxi: 'reparalyt' and 'fred'.
Douglas adds 'but fail1' and 'alhail1'.
- 376.vii.30 augur Apollo: Douglas: 'Appollo, with hys sossery'.
- 376f.vii.30ff. nunc . . /nunc . . . nunc:
Douglas renders, 'Quhen now , , /And quhilis . . .
And quhilis'.
- 378.vii.34 iussa: Douglas: 'charge and command'.
- 379.vii.35 scilicet: Douglas uses 'Lyke as' to convey the sarcasm.
- 379f.vii.35f. is superis labor est, ea cura quietos/sollicitat:
Douglas has a free translation but it is true to the
meaning and tone of the original:
'the goddis abufe nocht ellys rocht,
Bot on thi passage war al thar cuyr and thocht'.
- 382.vii.40 pia numina: Douglas's phrase, 'reuthfull goddis',
does not suggest the due appreciation on the part of the
gods of services rendered, for example sacrifices.
- 383.vii.42 supplicia hausurum: paraphrased by Douglas:
'Thou sal deir by thy treuth thou to me brak'.

* * *

In the following notes the numbers in brackets refer to lines in
Book II of Mure's translation.

- 373 (799) nusquam tuta fides: Expanded by Mure:
'No trust in love, nor trewth in men remaines'.
- 373 (800) eiectum litore: Mure translates,
'This wretch whom seas had naked cast on shoare'.
- 373 (801) egentem: Mure omits.

- 374 (801) et regni . . . in parte locavi: 'and gave him a share in my throne'; Mure, briefly: 'prefer'd'.
- 374 (801f.) Mure adds, 'who now disdaines/My self, my scepter, and will stay no more'.
- 374 (803) Mure adds, 'Vnmindfull miser'.
- 374 (804) The line, 'And plac'd, as Lord, ov'r me and all I have', may have been inspired by the words, et regni . . . in parte locavi, but it is too remote from the Latin to be considered a translation.
- 375 Mure omits this verse.
- 377 (806) Lyciae sortes: Mure translates, 'Oracles Divine'.
- 377 (808) Mure adds 'thund'ring', qualifying 'Jove'; Mure adds, 'doth thus encline'.
- 378 (807) interpres divum: rendered by Mure, 'heaven's great messenger', and referred to again at line 809 as 'his [Jove's] winged herauld'. Mure adds, 'is thus impesht'. fert horrida iussa per auras: Mure omits.
- 379f. (810) ea cura quietos/sollicitat: Mure omits.
- 380 (811) Mure adds the line 'A deep invention, forg'd by fine deceit'.
- 380 (812) neque te teneo neque dicta refello: 'I am neither holding you nor contradicting what you have said'; Mure appears to have overlooked the word te: he translates as if dicta were objective by both teneo and refello: 'I neither hold it's trew, nor false repells'.
- 381 (813) Mure adds 'cruell' and 'ingrate'. ventis: Mure omits.

- 381 (814) per undas: Mure omits.
pete regna: Mure has a free translation:
'Go, traitor, where thy dest'nies the compells'.
- 381 (815f.) Mure adds the lines
'Go with such joy, such comfort, peace, and rest,
As now thow leaves in my afflicted breast'.
- 382 (817) equidem: Mure omits.
- 383 (817) Mure adds, 'of furiows rageing seas'.
- 383 (818) si quid pia numina possunt:
'if righteous gods have any power';
Mure: 'If heavens with equity behold my wrongs'.
- 383 (819f.) supplicia hausurum: Mure translates,
'Vengeance on the, . . . /For thy deserts, shall fall'.
- 383 (819) Mure adds, 'in presence of thir eyes'.
- 384 (822) Mure adds the line
'With brands of fire thy conscience shall apall'.

Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido
 mortem orat; taedet caeli convexa tueri.
 quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque relinquat,
 vidit, turicremis cum dona imponeret aris,
 (horrendum dictu) latices nigrescere sacros
 fusaque in obscenum se vertere vina cruorem;
 hoc visum nulli, non ipsi effata sorori.
 praeterea fuit in tectis de marmore templum
 coniugis antiqui, miro quod honore colebat,
 velleribus niveis et festa fronde revinctum:
 hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis
 visa viri, nox cum terras obscura teneret.

IV, 450-461

Than suythly, the fey Dydo, al affrayt,
 Seand fatis contrar, eftir deth prayt:
 Scho irkit of hir lyfe, or to tak tent
 Forto behald the hevynnys firmament.
 Tharfor, in takyn hir purpos to fulfill,
 And leif the lycht of lyfe, as was hyr will,
 As on the altaris byrnand ful of sens
 The sacrifyce scho offerit, in hir presence,
 A grisly thyng to tell, scho gan behald
 In blak adyll the hallowyt watir cald
 Changyt and altyr, and furthyet wynys gude
 Onon returnyt into laithly blude.
 This visioun sche to nane reveil wald,
 Nor yyt to An, hir deir systir, it tald.
 In wirschip eik, within hir palyce yet,
 Of hir first husband, was a tempil bet
 Of marbill, and hald in ful gret reverens,
 With snaw quhite bendis, carpettis and ensens,
 And festuale burgeonys arrayt, on thar gys;
 Tharin was hard vocis, spech and cryis
 Of hir said spous, clepand hir ful lowd,
 Evir quhen the dyrk nycht dyd the erth schrowd.

IV.viii.89-110

Now woefull Dido, sad afflicted wight,
 Greiv'd with the Fates' vnflexible decree,
 Her heavy soull abhorres the loathed light,
 Charg't with affliction and anxietie.

Heaven's cristall vaults she wearyes more to view,
 Resolv't at once to bid the world adiewe.

Whil as on altars she did incense burne,
 It seem't she saw, (a monstrows sight to showe),
 The liquours black, the wyne in blood to turne,
 Presaging her approaching overthrowe.

To none this fearfull vision she reveal'd,
 Yea, even from Anne, she this sight conceal'd.

Ane chappell wals as in the palace plac'd,
 Where humbly heavens Sicheus earst ador'd,
 Whose marble walls rare artifice had grac'd,
 With sacred bewes, and fleeces white decor'd. -

From thence, (whill night earth's face did overcloud),
 It seem'd Sicheus call'd her name aloud.

III, 1-18

- 451.viii.91 Douglas adds, 'of hir lyfe, or to tak tent'.
- 452.viii.94 Douglas adds, 'as was hyr will'.
- 453.viii.96 dona: Douglas, explicitly, 'The sacrifyce scho offerit'.
- 454.viii.98 Douglas adds 'cald', qualifying 'watir'.
- 454.viii.98f. nigrescere: Douglas translates:
 'In blak adyll . . ./Changyt and altyr'.
- 455.viii.99 Douglas adds 'gude', qualifying 'wynys'.
- 459.viii.106 velleribus niveis: Expanded by Douglas:
 'With snaw quhite bendis, carpettis and ensens'.
- 459.viii.107 Douglas adds, 'on thar gys'.
- 460.viii.109 vocantis: Douglas translates, 'clepand hir ful lowd'.

* * *

In the following notes the numbers in brackets refer to lines
 in Book III of Mure's translation.

- 450 (1) vero: Mure omits.
 Mure adds, 'sad afflicted wight'.
- 450 (2) exterrita: 'terror-stricken'.
 Mure's word, 'Greiv'd' seems inadequate.
- 451 (6) mortem orat: Mure translates:
 'Resolv't at once to bid the world adiewe'.
- 451 (5) Mure adds 'cristall', qualifying 'vaults'.
- 451 (3f.) Mure adds the lines
 'Her heavy soull abhorres the loathed light,
 Charg't with affliction and anxietie'.
- 452 Mure omits this verse.
- 453 (8) vidit: Mure translates, 'It seem't she saw'.
- 454 (8) horrendum dictu: 'dreadful to relate';
 Mure: 'a monstrous sight to show'.

- 454 (9) sacros: Mure omits.
- 455 (9) fusaque: Mure omits.
- 455 (10) obscenum: Mure, explicitly,
'Presaging her approaching overthrow'.
- 456 (11) Mure adds 'fearfull', qualifying 'vision'.
- 456 (12) sorori: named by Mure, 'Anne'.
- 457 (13) praeterea: Mure omits.
- 457 (13f.) fuit in tectis de marmore templum
coniugis antiqui, miro quod honore colebat:
- Mure translates:
- 'Ane chappell wals as in the palace plac'd,
Where humbly heavens Sicheus earst ador'd'.
- Mure's translation reads as if Sychaeus himself
had at one time worshipped in the temple; but he had
been murdered before Dido left Tyre for Carthage, and
the building was a memorial to him. The subject of
colebat is Dido, not Sychaeus as Mure's translation
states.
- 459 (15) Mure adds, 'rare artifice had grac'd'.
- 459 (16) festa: 'festal'; Mure: 'sacred'.
- 460f. (18) exaudiri voces et verba vocantis
visa viri:
- Compressed by Mure:
- 'It seem'd Sicheus call'd her name aloud'.

hic, postquam Iliacas vestis notumque cubile
 conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata
 incubuitque toro dixitque novissima verba:
 'dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebat,
 accipite hanc animam meque his exsolvite curis.
 vixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi,
 et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.
 urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi,
 ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi,
 felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum
 numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae.'

IV, 648-658

And sone as sche beheld Eneas clething,
 And eik the bed bekend, a quhile wepyng,
 Stude musyng in hir mynd, and syne, but baid,
 Fel in the bed, and thir last wordis said:
 "O sweit habyte, and lykand bed," quod sche,
 "So lang as God lyst suffir and destane,
 Ressaue my blude, and this sawle that on flocht is,
 And me delyvir from thir hevy thochtis.
 Thus land I levyt haue, and now is spent
 The term of lyfe that forton heth me lent;
 For now my gret gost vndir erth mon go.
 A richt fair cite haue I beild alsso,
 Myne awyn wark and wallys behald haue I,
 My spows wrokyn of my brothir ennemy,
 Fra hym byreft hys tressour, and quyt hym weill.
 Happy, allace! our happy, and ful of seyll,
 Had I beyn, only gyf that neuer nane
 At our cost had arryvit schip Troiane."

IV.xii.11-28

Thair whil her eyes, which still butt motion stair'd,
 Th'acquainted cowtch and remnant weids did viewe,
 Paussing, (now vtterly of life despair'd),
 With gushing teares her breath a litle drew;
 Syne tumbling on the bed, withowt moe words,
 Thir latest speaches she, poore soull, affords:

"O thow sweet vesture! and O happy bed!
 Whil heavens above and dest'nyes did permitt,
 That once, ah! once with yow my life I led,
 Receive this soull, frome me which hence doth flitt,
 This fleshly preson ready now to leave,
 And of all earthly toyles ane end to have.

"My glasse is spent; my time I have owt-lived;
 The race is runne, which Dest'nyes did designe;
 And as the heavens my terme of life contrived,
 Swa have I lived, accomplisht in my reigne.
 So now this earthly shaddow goeth to grave;
 So now at once this loathed lyf I leave.

"Skie-matching Carthage from the ground I rais'd;
 Her staitly walls I flourishing did viewe;
 My wrath vpon the prowde Pigmalion seas'd,
 My lord Sicheus trait'rously who slewe.
 Happy, (alace)! too happy had I beene,
 If never Trojane ship my shoare had seene."

III, 349-372

- 648.xii.11 Iliacas vestis: Douglas has, 'Eneas clething'.
- 650.xii.13 Douglas adds, 'and syne, but baid'.
- 651.xii.15 dulces exuviae: Douglas translates, 'O sweet habyte', but possibly bearing in mind line 496, exuviasque omnis lectum iugalem, adds, 'and lykand bed', including it in the exuviae.
- Douglas adds, 'quod sche'.
- 652.xii.17 Douglas adds, 'and this sawle that on flocht is'.
- 655.xii.22 Douglas adds 'aisso'.
- 655.xii.23 mea moenia: Douglas: 'Myne awyn wark and wallys'.
- 656.xii.25 Douglas adds the line
- 'Fra hym byreft hys tressour, and quyt hym weill'.
- 657.xii.26 Douglas adds, 'and ful of seyll'.
- 658.xii.27f. Dardanidae . . . carinae:
- Douglas substitutes singular for plural:
- 'neuer nane/ . . . scip Troiane'.

* * *

In the following notes the numbers in brackets refer to lines in Book III of Mure's translation.

- 648 (349) Mure adds, 'her eyes, which still butt motion stair'd'.
- 648 (350) Mure adds 'remnant', qualifying 'weids'.
- Iliacas: Mure omits.
- 649 (351) Mure adds, 'now vtterly of life despair'd'.
- 649 (352) mente: Mure omits.
- 650 (353) Mure adds, 'without moe wordis'.
- 650 (354) Mure adds, 'poore soull'.
- dixitque: Mure translates, 'affords'.

Douglas and Mure

It will be clear from the notes in the preceding pages that Mure's additions and omissions are as numerous as those of Douglas. Where Douglas elaborates the Latin, Mure introduces completely new material, for example, three consecutive lines in I, 314-324; in his second book, as has been mentioned, he has insertions extending up to 65 lines in length. In I, 402-414 Mure's third stanza is not related to the Latin.

Mure borrows from Spenser to good effect in the same extract, where he says that the face of the goddess Venus 'made a sunne-shine in the shady place', admirably translating *refulsit*. Another effective touch is his parenthetical phrase, 'poore soull', in IV, 648-658. Less impressive is another of his lines in the same extract,

'So now this earthly shaddow goeth to grave',
as a translation of *et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago*, rendered by Douglas, 'my gret gost vndir erth mon go', reflecting the majesty of the Latin.

Mure makes little use of run-on lines, with the result that the narrative tends to be fragmented. Douglas makes good use of this device at IV.viii.95-100 in IV.450-461. In the same extract Mure misunderstands the reference to Sychaeus.

Where Douglas was committed to translating the Latin, Mure appears to have used the Aeneid as a useful quarry from which he took whatever suited him. He summarised where he found the subject-matter less to his liking and expanded his version when he found it congenial to do so. It is unlikely that many would prefer his version to that of Douglas.

Extracts from Dryden

John Dryden, encouraged by his publisher and his friends, translated the Aeneid towards the end of 1693. He chose the same metre as Douglas, the heroic couplet. Because of the need to place rhyming words in the correct positions, his translation has many additions and many omissions, features which are prominent in the selected extracts. These are:

Virgil: III, 655-668	Dryden: III, 862-877
IV, 362-372	IV, 518-534
V, 172-182	V, 223-236
VI, 298-308	VI, 413-427
VIII, 657-666	VIII, 873-884
IX, 778-787	IX, 1048-1061
X, 215-227	X, 308-321
XI, 570-582	XI, 855-873
XII, 64-74	XII, 100-115
XII, 818-828	XII, 1189-1202

Vix ea fatus erat summo cum monte videmus
 ipsum inter pecudes vasta se mole moventem
 pastorem Polyphemum et litora nota petentem,
 monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.
 trunca manum pinus regit et vestigia firmat;
 lanigeræ comitantur oves; ea sola voluptas
 solamenque mali [de collo fistula pendet].
 postquam altos tetigit fluctus et ad aequora venit,
 luminis effossi fluidum lavit inde cruorem
 dentibus infrendens gemitu, graditurque per aequor
 iam medium, necdum fluctus latera ardua tinxit.
 nos procul inde fugam trepidi celerare recepto
 supplice sic merito tacitique incidere funem,
 vertimus et proni certantibus aequora remis.

III, 655-668

"Skars this wes sayd, quhen sone we gat a sycht
 Apon ane hyll stalkand this hydduus wight,
 Amang hys beystis, the hyrd Poliphemus,
 Down to the costis bekend draw towartis ws,
 A monstre horribyll, onmesurabill and myschaip,
 Wanting hys syght, and gan to stab and graip
 With hys burdon, that wes a gret fyr tre,
 Fermand his steppis, becaus he mycht not se,
 The wollyt scheip him followyng at the bak,
 Quharin his plesour and delyte gan he tak.
 About hys hals a quhissil hung had he,
 Wes al his solace for tynsell of hys e;
 And, with his staf fra he the deip flude
 Twichit, and cummyn at the seysyde stude,
 Of hys e dolp the flowand blude and attir
 He wysch away al with the salt wattir,
 Grassilland his teith, and rummysand full hie.
 He wadis furth throu myddis of the see,
 And yit the watir wet not hys lang syde,
 We, far from thens affrayt, durst not abyde,
 Bot fled onon, and within burd hes brocht
 That faithful Greik quhilk ws of succurs socht,
 And prevely we smyte the cabill in twane,
 Syne, kempand with aris in al our mane,
 Vpweltris watir of the salt sey flude.

III.x.1-25

"Scarce had he said, when on the mountain's brow
 We saw the giant shepherd stalk before
 His following flock, and leading to the shore:
 A monstrous bulk, deform'd, depriv'd of sight;
 His staff a trunk of pine, to guide his steps aright.
 His pond'rous whistle from his neck descends;
 His woolly care their pensive lord attends;
 This only solace his hard fortune sends.
 Soon as he reach'd the shore and touch'd the waves,
 From his bor'd eye the gutt'ring blood he laves:
 He gnash'd his teeth, and groan'd; through seas he strides,
 And scarce the topmost billows touch'd his sides.
 "Seiz'd with a sudden fear, we run to sea,
 The cables cut, and silent haste away;
 The well-deserving stranger entertain;
 Then, buckling to the work, our oars divide the main.

III, 862-877

- 655.x.2 summo: Douglas omits.
- 656.x.2 vasta . . . mole: 'of vast bulk'; Douglas's phrase, 'this hydduus wight', hardly corresponds to the Latin.
- 657.x.4 Douglas adds, 'towartis ws'.
- 658.x.6 Douglas adds, 'and gan to stab and graip'.
- 659.x.7 trunca . . . pinus: 'the trunk of a pine; Douglas has 'a gret fyr tre'.
- 659.x.8 Douglas adds, 'becaus he mycht not se', cf.658.x.6
- 660f.x.10ff. Some manuscripts, and the 1501 edition, have the words placed here in square brackets; this explains Douglas's translation of these two lines. In this rendering solamenque mali refers to the whistle, not to the flock of sheep. 'for tynsell of hys e' is an addition by Douglas, his third reference in seven lines to the blinding of Polyphemus.
- 662.x.13f. Douglas adds, 'with his staf' and 'stude'.
- 664.x.17 Douglas adds 'full hie'.
- 666.x.20 Douglas adds, 'durst not abyde'.
- 668.x.25 aequora: Douglas has, 'watir of the salt sey flude'.
- * * *
- 656 ipsum: Dryden omits.
- 657 (863) Polyphemum: Dryden omits the name.
- 657 nota: Dryden omits.
- 658 horrendum: Dryden omits.
- 659 (866) regit . . . firmat: Douglas has one verb, 'to guide'.
- 660 (868) Dryden adds, 'their pensive lord'.
- 661 (867) Dryden adds, 'pond'rous', qualifying 'whistle'.
- 662 altos: Dryden omits.
- 665 iam medium: Dryden omits.
- (873) Dryden adds 'topmost', qualifying 'billows'.
- ardua: Dryden omits.

Talia dicentem iamdudum aversa tuetur
 huc illuc volvens oculos totumque pererrat
 luminibus tacitis et sic accensa profatur:
 'nec tibi diva parens generis nec Dardanus auctor,
 perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
 Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.
 nam quid dissimulo aut quae me ad maiora reservo?
 num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit?
 num lacrimas victus dedit aut miseratus amantem est?
 quae quibus anteferam? iam iam nec maxima Iuno
 nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis.

IV, 362-372

Dydo, aggrevit ay quhil he his tayl tald,
 With acquart luke gan towart hym behald,
 Rollyng vmquhile hir eyn, now heir, now thar,
 With syght onstabil waverand our alquhar,
 And all enragyt thir wordis gan furth braid:
 "Nothir wes a goddes thy moder, as is sayd,
 Nor yyt Kyng Dardanus cheif stok of thi kyn,
 Thou treuthles wyght, bot of a cald, hard quhyn
 The clekkyt that horribill mont, Cawcasus hait -
 Thou sowkyt nevir womanis breist, weil I wait,
 Bot of sum cruel tygir of Araby
 The pappis the fosterit in the wod Hyrcany.
 To quhat effect suld I hym langar perswaid,
 Or quhat bettir may beleve than he hes said?
 Quhiddir gif he murnyt quhen we wepit and walyt?
 Quhiddir gif he steryt his eyn, as ocht hym alyt?
 Quhidder gif for rewth he furth yet anys a teyr
 Or of hys lufe had piete? Na, not to yeir.
 Quhou sal I begyn, quhat first, quhat last to say?
 Now, now, nothir gretast Iuno, wallaway,
 Nor Saturnys son, hie Iupiter, with iust eyn
 Hes our querrell ccnsiderit, na ourseyn.

IV.vii.1-22

Thus while he spoke, already she began,
 With sparkling eyes, to view the guilty man;
 From head to foot survey'd his person o'er,
 Nor longer these outrageous threats forebore:
 "False as thou art, and, more than false, forsworn!
 Not sprung from noble blood, nor goddess-born,
 But hewn from harden'd entrails of a rock!
 And rough Hyrcanian tigers gave thee suck!
 Why should I fawn? what have I worse to fear?
 Did he once look, or lent a list'ning ear,
 Sigh'd when I sobbed, or shed one kindly tear? -
 All symptoms of a base ungrateful mind,
 So foul that, which is worse, 'tis hard to find.
 Of man's injustice why should I complain?
 The gods, and Jove himself, behold in vain
 Triumphant treason; yet no thunder flies,
 Nor Juno views my wrongs with equal eyes.

IV, 518-534

- 362.vii.1 Douglas adds 'aggrevit'.
- 364.vii.4 luminibus tacitis: Douglas's version, 'With syght onstabil', is difficult to explain, as is Dryden's.
- 365.vii.6 Douglas adds, 'as is sayd'.
- 366.vii.8 Douglas adds 'cald' to 'hard' in rendering duris.
- 367.vii.10 Douglas adds the line
Thou sowkyt nevir womanis breist, weil I wait.
- 367.vii.11f. Douglas makes two alterations in translating this verse:
He replaces tigres with a singular and expands the phrase:
Bot of sum cruel tygir of Araby; he expands Hyrcanae, an adjective qualifying tigres, into a prepositional phrase:
'in the wod Hyrcany'.
- 368.vii.13f. nam quid dissimulo aut quae me ad maiora reservo?
Williams translates: 'For why should I pretend, or for what more crucial moment hold myself back?'
Douglas's version hardly corresponds to the Latin here:
'To quhat effect suld I hym langar perswaid,
Or quhat bettir may beleve than he hes said?'
- 369.vii.15 fletu . . . nostro: Douglas has an alliterative version:
'quhen we wepit and walyt'.
- 369.vii.16 Douglas adds, 'as ocht hym alyt?'
- 370.vii.18 Douglas supplies a response to Dido's rhetorical question:
'Na, not to yeir'.
- 371.vii.19 quae quibus anteferam? Douglas provides a lively translation of a short sentence difficult to render concisely:
'Quhou sal I begyn, quhat first, quhat last to say?'
- 371.vii.20 Douglas adds 'wallaway'.
- 372.vii.21 Saturnius . . . pater: Douglas has, 'Saturnys son, hie Jupiter'.
- 372.vii.22 aspicit: Douglas uses two verbs.

- 362 aversa: Dryden omits.
- 363 (519) Dryden adds 'the guilty man'.
- 364 tacitis: Dryden strangely translates, 'sparkling'.
 et sic accensa profatur: Lonsdale and Lee translate,
 'and thus breaks forth in rage'. Dryden translates freely,
 'Nor longer these outrageous threats forebore',
 apparently referring, not to what has gone before,
 but to what follows.
- 366 (522) perfide: Dryden expands into a full line:
 'False as thou art, and, more than false, forsworn!'
- 365 (523) generis nec Dardanus auctor: Dryden substitutes
 a general statement for the particular:
 'Not sprung from noble blood'.
- 367 Similarly, Dryden does not name the Caucasus.
- 368 (526) quid dissimulo: Dryden, freely, 'Why should I fawn?'
- 369 (527) Dryden adds, 'or lent a list'ning ear', producing an
 alliterative line.
- 370 victus: Dryden omits.
 aut miseratus amantem est: Dryden omits.
- 370 (529ff.) Dryden adds three lines:
 'All symptoms of a base ungrateful mind,
 So foul that, which is worse, 'tis hard to find.
 Of man's injustice why should I complain?'
- quae quibus anteferam? Dryden omits.
- (532) Dryden adds, 'The gods'.
 Dryden adds, 'behold in vain/Triumphant treason,
 yet no thunder flies'.
- 372 (534) haec: Dryden, explicitly, 'my wrongs'.
 oculis . . . aequis: Dryden has 'with equal eyes',
 an over-literal and obscure rendering.

tum vero exarsit iuveni dolor ossibus ingens
 nec lacrimis caryere genae, segnemque Menoeten
 oblitus decorisque sui sociumque salutis
 in mare praecipitem puppi deturbat ab alta;
 ipse gubernaculo rector subit, ipse magister
 hortaturque viros clavumque ad litora torquet.
 at gravis ut fundo vix tandem redditus imo est
 iam senior madidaque fluens in veste Menoetes
 summa petit scopuli siccaque in rupe resedit.
 illum et labentem Teucris et risere natantem
 et salsos rident revomentem pectore fluctus.

V, 172-182

Bot than, God wait, quhat payn in hart gan dre
 The yong Gyas - hym thocht al brynt hys banys!
 The watir bryst from baith hys eyn atanys;
 Foryet was wirschip and hys honeste thar,
 Foryet was of hys falloschip the weilfair,
 The ancyant treuth of Meneyt foryettis he,
 And swakkyt hym our schipburd in the see.
 Hym self, as skyppar, hynt the steir in hand,
 Hym self, as mastir, gan maryneris command,
 And threw the ruddyr to the costis syde.
 Be than the auld Meneyt our schipburd slyde,
 Hevy, and al his weid sowpyt with seys,
 Skars from the watir grond vpboltyt he is,
 Syne swymmand held onto the craggis hycht,
 Sat on the dry rolk, and hym self gan dycht.
 The Troianys lauchys fast seand hym fall,
 And, hym behaldand swym, thai keklyt all,
 Bot mast, thai makyn gem and gret ryot,
 To se hym spowt salt watir of hys throte.

V.iv.24-42

Gyas blasphem'd the gods, devoutly swore,
 Cried out for anger, and his hair he tore.
 Mindless of others' lives (so high was grown
 His rising rage) and careless of his own,
 The trembling dotard to the deck he drew;
 Then hoisted up, and overboard he threw:
 This done, he seiz'd the helm; his fellows cheer'd,
 Turn'd short upon the shelves, and madly steer'd.
 Hardly his head the plunging pilot rears,
 Clogg'd with his clothes, and cumber'd with his years:
 Now dropping wet, he climbs the cliff with pain.
 The crowd, that saw him fall and float again,
 Shout from the distant shore; and loudly laugh'd,
 To see his heaving breast disgorge the briny draught.

V, 223-236

- 172.iv.24 Douglas adds 'God wait'.
- 172.iv.24f. tum vero exarsit iuveni dolor ossibus ingens,
 'Then indeed the young man blazed with furious
 indignation in every fibre of his being' (Williams).
 Douglas has a good translation:
 'Bot than, God wait, quhat payn in hart gan dre
 The yong Gyas - hym thocht al brynt hys banys!'
- 173.iv.26 Douglas adds, 'atany's'.
- 174.iv.27 decorisque sui: 'of his own dignity';
 Douglas renders, 'wirschip and hys honeste'.
- 174.iv.27 Douglas adds 'thar'.
- 174.iv.29 Douglas adds the line,
 'The ancyant treuth of Meneyt foryettis he'.
- 173.iv.30 segnemque: Douglas omits.
- 175.iv.30 praecipitem: Douglas omits.
- 175.iv.30 puppi . . . ab alta: 'from the high stern';
 Douglas has, 'our schipburd'.
- 179.iv.34 Douglas adds, 'our schipburd slyde'.
- 179.iv.35 fluens: Douglas omits.
 Douglas adds, 'with seys'.
- 180.iv.37 Douglas adds, 'swymmand'.
- 180.iv.38 Douglas adds, 'and hym self gan dycht'.
- 181.iv.39 Douglas adds, 'fast'.
- 181f.iv.39ff. risere . . . / . . . rident:
 Douglas uses three expressions to represent the Latin
 verb repeated once: 'lauchys', 'keklyt' and 'makyn
 gem and gret ryot'.
- 182.iv.41 Douglas adds, 'Bot mast'.

- 172 (223) iuveni: named by Dryden and Douglas, 'Gyas'.
- 173 (223f.) The only external manifestation of the anger and frustration of Gyas mentioned in the Latin is the shedding of tears; Dryden substitutes four, much more violent, forms of reaction:
- 'Gyas blasphem'd the gods, devoutly swore,
Cried out for anger, and his hair he tore'.
- 174 decoris: Dryden omits.
- 172 (225f.) Dryden's parenthesis seems to be a representation of the first line of the Latin extract.
- 173 (227) Menoeten: Dryden omits the name.
- segnemque: 'lingering'; here, perhaps, 'over-cautious'.
Dryden's phrase, 'the trembling dotard', is not in the Latin.
- 175 (228) Dryden adds, 'Then hoisted up'.
- 176 (229) Dryden adds, 'his fellows cheer'd'.
- 177 hortaturque viros: Dryden omits.
- (230) Dryden adds, 'and madly steer'd'.
- 179 (231) Menoetes: Dryden again omits the name and this time refers to him as 'the plunging pilot'.
- 180 siccaque in rupe resedit: Dryden omits.
- (233) Dryden adds, 'with pain'.
- 181 Teucris: Dryden, omitting the name, has 'the crowd'.
- (234) Dryden adds, 'Shout from the distant shore'.
- 182 (235) Dryden adds 'loudly', modifying 'laugh'd'.
- (236) Dryden adds 'heaving', qualifying 'breast'.

portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat
 terribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento
 canities inculta iacet, stant lumina flamma,
 sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus.
 ipse ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat
 et ferruginea subvectat corpora cumba,
 iam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.
 huc omnis turba ad ripas effusa ruebat,
 matres atque viri defunctaque corpora vita
 magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae,
 impositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum.

VI, 298-308

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, ovr his schulderis lydder,
 Hang pevagely knyt with a knot togiddir.
 Hym self the cobill dyd with hys bolm furth schow,
 And, quhen hym list, halit vp salys fow.
 This ald hasart careis ovr fludis hoyt
 Spretis and figuris in hys irne hewyt boyt,
 All thocht he eildit was, or step in age,
 Als fery and als swippir as a page;
 For in a god the age is fresch and greyn,
 Infatigabill and immortall as thai meyn.
 Thiddir to the bra swarmyt all the rowt
 Of ded gostis, and stud the bank abowt,
 Baith matronys and thar husbandis all yferis,
 Ryal pryncis, and nobill chevaleris,
 Smal childering, and yong damysellis onwed
 And fair springaldis laitly ded in bed,
 In fader and moderis presence laid on beir.

VI.v.7-29

There Charon stands, who rules the dreary coast -
 A sordid god: down from his hoary chin
 A length of beard descends, uncomb'd, unclean;
 His eyes, like hollow furnaces on fire;
 A girdle, foul with grease, binds his obscene attire.
 He spreads his canvas; with his pole he steers;
 The freights of flitting ghosts in his thin bottom bears.
 He look'd in years; yet in his years were seen
 A youthful vigor and autumnal green.
 An airy crowd came rushing where he stood,
 Which fill'd the margin of the fatal flood:
 Husbands and wives, boys and unmarried maids,
 And mighty heroes' more majestic shades,
 And youths, intomb'd before their fathers' eyes,
 With hollow groans, and shrieks, and feeble cries.

VI, 413-427

- 298 (413) portitor: Dryden omits.
 Dryden adds, 'There . . . stands', and 'dreary'.
 aquas et flumina: Dryden, vaguely: 'coast'.
 horrendus: Dryden omits.
- 299 terribili squalore: Dryden has, 'a sordid god'.
- 300 (415) inculta: Dryden uses two adjectives: 'uncomb'd, unclean'.
 stant: Dryden omits.
 (416) Dryden adds a simile: 'like hollow furnaces'.
 Douglas also supplies a simile at this point.
- 301 (417) sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus,
 translated by Lonsdale and Lee, 'A filthy cloak hangs
 down from his shoulders by a knot'. Dryden's version
 is remote from the Latin:
 'A girdle, foul with grease, binds his obscene attire'.
 Charon could justifiably be described in Latin as
 obscenus, but for modern English readers the word
 'obscene' has quite a different meaning.
- 303 (419) ferruginea: 'rusty', not 'thin', the word Dryden uses.
 This alexandrine line follows soon after the last, only
 two before.
- 304 Dryden omits deo, which explains Charon's vigour.
- 305 (422) Dryden adds 'airy', qualifying 'crowd'.
 (423) ripas: Dryden has, 'the margin of the fatal flood',
 using 'fatal' in the sense of Latin fatalis, 'destined'.
- 306 (424) matres atque viri: 'mothers of families and grown men',
 not necessarily referring to husbands and wives, as
 Dryden and Douglas take it.
 (425) Dryden adds 'more majestic', qualifying 'shades'.
- 308 (427) Dryden's last line in the extract presumably refers to the
 whole company of ghosts, not the fathers in the previous

Galli per dumos aderant arcemque tenebant
 defensi tenebris et dono noctis opacae.
 aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea vestis,
 virgatis lucent sagulis, tum lactea colla
 auro innectuntur, duo quisque Alpina coruscant
 gaesa manu, scutis protecti corpora longis.
 hic exsulantis Salios nudosque Lupercos
 lanigerosque apices et lapsa ancilia caelo
 extuderat, castae ducebant sacra per urbem
 pilentis matres in mollibus.

VIII, 657-666

Thar mycht thou se the Franch army alhail
 Haist throu the bussys to the capitoll,
 Sum vndermyndand the grond with a hoill,
 So that almaist thai wan the forteres;
 Gret help thame maid the clos nychtis myrknes;
 Thar haris schane as doith the brycht gold wyre,
 And all of gold wrocht was thar rich attyre,
 Thar purpourobby bygareit schynand brycht,
 And in thar hand withhaldand euery knycht
 Twa iavillyng speris, or than gyssarn stavis,
 Forgit in the montanys al sik maner glavys,
 Thar bodeis all with lang tergis ourheild.
 Syne yonder mar was schapin in the feld
 The dansand prestis, clepit Salii,
 Hoppand and syngand wonder merely,
 And Panos prestis, nakit Lupercanys,
 The toppyt hattis guhar the woll threid remanys,
 And bowyt bukularis falland from the sky.
 Thar mycht besene, forgyt maste craftely,
 The chaist matronys throw the cite all
 In soft charis thar gemmys festual
 Ledand, and playand with myrthis and solace.

VIII.xi.36-57

th'approaching Gauls,
 Obscure in night, ascend, and seize the walls.
 The gold dissembled well their yellow hair,
 And golden chains on their white necks they wear.
 Gold are their vests; long Alpine spears they wield,
 And their left arm sustains a length of shield.
 Hard by, the leaping Salian priests advance;
 And naked thro' the streets the mad Luperci dance,
 In caps of wool; the targets dropp'd from heav'n.
 Here modest matrons, in soft litters driv'n,
 To pay their vows in solemn pomp appear,
 And odorous gums in their chaste hands they bear.

VIII, 873-884

- 657.xi.38 Douglas adds the line
 'Sum vndermyndand the grond with a hoill'.
- 657.xi.39 arcemque tenebant: Douglas's rendering,
 'So that almaist thai wan the forteres',
 brings out well the significance of the imperfect tense.
- 659.xi.41 Douglas supplies a simile:
 'Thar haris schane as doith the brycht gold wyre'.
- 660.xi.43 tum lactea colla/auro innectuntur:
 Omitted by Douglas, as if in reading the Latin his eye
 had passed from the middle of line 660 to the middle of 661.
- 661f.xi.45f. duo . . . Alpina . . . / gaesa:
 Much expanded by Douglas:
 'Twa iavillyng speris, or than gyssarn stavis,
 Forgit in the montans al sik maner glavys'.
- 663.xi.48f. Douglas adds 'in the feld' and 'prestis, clepit'.
- 663.xi.50 Douglas adds the line
 'Hoppand and syngand wonder merely'.
- 663.xi.51 Douglas adds 'Panos prestis'.
- 664.xi.53 In using the word 'bowyt' in his translation of
 et lapsa ancilia caelo Douglas indicates the shape
 of the shield. Fordyce writes: 'The ancile was a
 shield with a curved indentation on each side'.
- 665.xi.54 Douglas adds the line
 'Thar mycht besene, forgyt maste craftely'.
- 665.xi.56f. ducebant sacra: Fordyce translates, 'formed religious
 processions'. Douglas has 'thar gemmys festual/Ledand'.
- 665.xi.57 Douglas adds, 'and playand with myrthis and solace'.

* * *

- 657 (874) *defensi tenebris et dono noctis opacae:*
 'Screened by the darkness and the favour of a gloomy night'. This verse is much condensed by Dryden, with many of the Latin words omitted: 'Obscure in night'.
aderant: The Latin word stresses the suddenness of the enemy's appearance; Douglas's 'Haist' conveys some idea of this, but Dryden's 'ascend' lacks vividness.
arcemque tenebant: Dryden's 'seize' fails to represent the significance of the imperfect tense denoting uncompleted action; Douglas's 'almaist' gives the correct meaning.
- 660 *virgatis lucent sagulis:* Dryden omits.
- 662 (878) Dryden adds, 'their left arm'.
- 663 (879) Dryden adds 'advance'.
 (880) Dryden adds, 'through the streets'.
- 665 *extuderat:* Dryden omits.
- 666 (884) Dryden adds the line
 'And odorous gums in their chaste hands they bear'.

* * *

Tandem ductores audita caede suorum
 conveniunt Teucris, Mnestheus acerque Serestus,
 palantisque vident socios hostemque receptum.
 et Mnestheus: 'quo deinde fugam, quo tenditis?' inquit,
 'quos alios muros, quaeve ultra moenia habetis?
 unus homo et vestris, o cives, undique saeptus
 aggeribus tantas strages impune per urbem
 ediderit? iuvenum primos tot miserit Orco?
 non infelicis patriae veterumque deorum
 et magni Aeneae, segnes, miseretque pudetque?'

IX, 778-787

At last Mnestheus and strang Serestus,
 The Troiane capitans, herand quhow that thus
 Thar pepill slane war doun, dyd convene;
 Thar feris fleand pail and wan haue thai sene,
 And thar cheif ennemy closyt in thar wallys.
 Mnestheus on thame clepys thus and callys:
 "Quhar ettill yhe to fra hyne? Quhidder wald yhe fle?
 Quhat other wallys seik yhe, or cite?
 Quhar haue ye other strenth or forteres?
 O citesanys, behaldis heir expres
 Nane bot a man standand you aganys,
 Closyt within your dykis and wallys of stanys,
 Onrevengit, sa gret occisioun
 And huge slauchter sal mak within your tovn,
 Or sa feill valyeand ying capitans kend,
 Onresistit, thus down to hell sall send!
 O maste onworthy cowartis, ful of slewth,
 Of your onsilly cuntre haue yhe na rewth,
 Nor piete of your ancyent goddis kynd?
 Think yhe na lak and schame into your mynd,
 To do sa gret owtrage to strang Enee,
 In hys absens thus catyfly to fle?"

IX.xiii.1-22

The Trojan chiefs behold, with rage and grief,
 Their slaughter'd friends, and hasten their relief.
 Bold Mnestheus rallies first the broken train,
 Whom brave Seresthus and his troop sustain.
 To save the living, and revenge the dead,
 Against one warrior's arms all Troy they led.
 "O, void of sense and courage!" Mnestheus cried,
 "Where can you hope your coward heads to hide?
 Ah! where beyond these rampires can you run?
 One man, and in your camp inclos'd, you shun!
 Shall then a single sword such slaughter boast,
 And pass unpunish'd from a num'rous host?
 Forsaking honor, and renouncing fame,
 Your gods, your country, and your king you shame!"

IX, 1048-1061

- 780.xiii.4 Douglas adds 'pail and wan' as a description of 'Thar feris', 'pail' perhaps being suggested by palantisque, to which it is unrelated. Douglas also associates 'pail' with palantis at X.674.xi.167.
- 780.xiii.5 hostemque receptum: Douglas translates:
'And thar cheif ennemy closyt in thar wallys'.
- 780.xiii.6 inquit: Douglas has, 'on thame clepys thus and callys'.
- 781.xiii.7 deinde here indicates an indignant question.
Douglas omits.
- 782.xiii.9 Douglas adds the line
'Quhar haue ye other strenth or forteres?'
- 783.xiii.10 Douglas adds, 'behaldis heir expres'.
- 783.xiii.11 Douglas adds, 'standand you aganys'.
- 783f.xiii.12 vestris. . . /aggeribus: Douglas has two nouns:
'within your dykis and wallys of stanys'.
- 783.xiii.13f. tantas strages: Douglas again has two terms:
'sa gret occisioun/And huge slauchter'.
- 785.xiii.15 iuvenum primos tot: Expanded by Douglas:
'sa feill valyeand yyng capitanyes kend'.
- 785.xiii.16 Douglas adds 'Onresistit'.
- 787.xiii.17 segnes: 'inactive ones', 'sluggards'.
Douglas gives a whole line to this word:
'O maste onworthy cowartis, ful of slewth'.
- 786f.xiii.18f. non . . / . . miseretque . . ?
Douglas translates, 'haue yhe na rewth,/Nor piete . . ?'
- 786f.xiii.20f. non . . /et magni Aeneae . . . pudetque?'
'Does the thought of great Aeneas not make you ashamed of yourselves?' Expanded by Douglas into the last three lines of the extract.

- 778 tandem: Dryden omits.
audita: Dryden omits.
- 779 conveniunt: Dryden omits.
(1049) Dryden adds, 'and hasten their relief', which appears, strangely, to refer to 'Their slaughter'd friends'.
(1050) Dryden adds 'bold', qualifying Mnestheus.
Dryden adds, 'rallies first'.
(1051) Dryden adds, 'and his troop'.
Dryden adds 'sustain'.
- 780 hostemque receptum: Dryden omits.
(1052f.) Dryden adds two lines:
'To save the living, and revenge the dead,
Against one warrior's arms all Troy they led'.
- 781 Dryden appears to transfer segnes from line 787 to line 781 and to render it, 'O, void of sense and courage!'
(1055) Dryden adds the line
'Where can you hope your coward heads to hide?'
quos alios muros: Dryden omits.
- 784 (1057) Dryden adds, 'you shun'.
per urbem: Dryden omits.
(1059) Dryden adds, 'from a num'rous host'.
- 785 iuvenum primos tot miserit Orco: Dryden omits.
- 786 infelices: Dryden omits.
veterumque: Dryden omits.
et magni Aeneae: Dryden omits the name: 'and your king'.
(1060) Dryden adds the line
'Forsaking honor, and renouncing fame'.
miseretque: Dryden omits.

Iamque dies caelo concesserat almaque curru
 noctivago Phoebæ medium pulsabat Olympum:
 Aeneas (neque enim membris dat cura quietem)
 ipse sedens clavumque regit velisque ministrat.
 atque illi medio in spatio chorus, ecce, suarum
 occurrit comitum: nymphae, quas alma Cybebe
 numen habere maris nymphasque e navibus esse
 iusserat, innabant pariter fluctusque secabant,
 quot prius aeratae steterant ad litora prorae.
 agnoscunt longe regem lustrantque choreis;
 quarum quae fandi doctissima Cymodocea
 pone sequens dextra puppim tenet ipsaque dorso
 eminent ac laeva tacitis subremigat undis.

X, 215-227

Be this declynyt was the days lyght;
 The moyn intill hyr waverand cart of nycht
 Held rolyng throw the hewynnys myddil ward,
 As Eneas, the Troiane prynce and lard,
 For thochtis mycht na wys hys membris rest,
 Samony curys in hys mynd he kest,
 Bot sat in proper person, and nane other,
 To steir hys carvell and to rewle the ruther,
 And forto gyde the salys takand tent.
 Onone, amyð hys curs, thar as he went,
 Recontyris hym hys falloschip in hy
 Of nymphis, quham of schippys and his navy
 The haly moder, clepyt Cybele,
 Maid to becum goddessys in the see.
 All sammyn swam thai, hand in hand yfeir,
 And throw the wallys fast dyd sewch and scheir,
 Als feill in numbyr nymphys throu the flude,
 Als laitly with thar stelyt stevynnys stude
 Of Troiane schippys by the costis syde.
 A weil far way, as our the streme thai glyde,
 Thar kyng thai knaw, and all in carralyng
 About hys schyp went circulyt in a ryng,
 Amangis quham, in speche the maist expert,
 Cymodocea to the wail astart,
 And with hir rycht hand can the eft casteill
 Do gryp onon, that all hir bak ilk deill
 Abuf the sey watir dyd appeir;
 Beneth the calmyt stremys fair and cleir
 With hir left hand craftely swymmys sche.

X.v.1-29

Now was the world forsaken by the sun,
 And Phoebæ half her nightly race had run.
 The careful chief, who never clos'd his eyes,
 Himself the rudder holds, the sails supplies.
 A choir of Nereids meet him on the flood,
 Once his own galleys, hewn from Ida's wood;
 But now, as many nymphs, the sea they sweep,
 As rode, before, tall vessels on the deep.
 They know him from afar; and in a ring
 Inclose the ship that bore the Trojan king.
 Cymodoce, whose voice excell'd the rest,
 Above the waves advanc'd her snowy breast;
 Her right hand stops the stern; her left divides
 The curling ocean, and corrects the tides.

X, 308-321

hic natam in dumis interque horrentia lustra
 armentalis equae mammis et lacte ferino
 nutribat teneris immulgens ubera labris.
 utque pedum primis infans vestigia plantis
 institerat, iaculo palmas armavit acuto
 spiculaque ex umero parvae suspendit et arcum.
 pro crinali auro, pro longae tegmine pallae
 tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent.
 tela manu iam tum tenera puerilia torsit
 et fundam tereti circum caput egit habena
 Strymoniamque gruem aut album deiecit olorem.
 multae illam frustra Tyrrhena per oppida matres
 optavere nurum.

XI, 570-582

Quhar that his dochtyr, amang buskis ronk,
 In dern sladis and mony scroggy slonk,
 With mylk he nurist of the beistis wild,
 And with the pappys fosterit he his child
 Of savage stude meris in that forest;
 Oft tymys he thar pappys mylkit and prest
 Within the tendir lippys of his get.
 And, fra the child myght fut to erd set,
 And with hir solis first dyd mark the grond,
 With dartis keyn and hedis scharply grund
 Hir fystis and hir handis chargyt he;
 And at hir schuldir buklyt hes on hie
 Ane propir bow and lital arow cace;
 And for hir goldyn garland or hed lace
 In sted eik of hir syde garmont or pall,
 Our the schuldris fro hir nek down with all
 The grisly tygrys skyn of rent dyd hyng.
 The self tyme yit sche bot tendir yonglyng
 Thir dartis and the takillis swyft leit glyde;
 And oft about hir hed the ilk tyde
 Wald warp the stryngis of the stowt staf slyng,
 Quhar with feill sys to grund ded wald scho dyng
 The cran of Trace, or than the quhite swan.
 For nocht scho was desirit with mony a man,
 And moderis feill throu the townys Tuscane
 Desirit hir thar gud doucher, invane.

XI.xi.83-108

His daughter with the milk of mares he fed.
 The dugs of bears, and every savage beast,
 He drew, and thro' her lips the liquor press'd.
 The little Amazon could scarcely go:
 He loads her with a quiver and a bow;
 And, that she might her stagg'ring steps command,
 He with a slender jav'lin fills her hand.
 Her flowing hair no golden fillet bound;
 Nor swept her trailing robe the dusty ground.
 Instead of these, a tiger's hide o'erspread
 Her back and shoulders, fasten'd to her head.
 The flying dart she first attempts to fling,
 And round her tender temples toss'd the sling;
 Then, as her strength with years increas'd, began
 To pierce aloft in air the soaring swan,
 And from the clouds to fetch the heron and the crane.
 The Tuscan matrons with each other vied,
 To bless their rival sons with such a bride;
 But she disdains their love.

XI, 855-873

- 578.xi.100 manu: Douglas omits.
- 578.xi.100 tenera: ablative, qualifying manu, but Douglas appears to have taken it as nominative singular; 'bot tendir yonglyng'.
- 579.xi.102 Douglas adds, 'the ilk tyde'.
Douglas adds 'oft', modifying 'Wald warp'.
- 579.xi.103 fundam tereti . . . habena: 'a sling with neatly fitted thong'. Douglas translates, 'the stryngis of the stowt staf slyng'.
- 580.xi.104 deiecit: 'struck down'; Douglas renders vividly: 'feill sys to grund ded wald scho dyng'.
- 580.xi.106 Douglas adds the line
'For nocht scho was desirit with mony a man'.
- 582.xi.109f. sola contenta Diana: 'content with Diana alone'.
Douglas may have intended 'only', in his version, to be taken with 'Diane', but its position and the punctuation raise a doubt:
'For scho only, full ferm in hir entent,
Of Diane, goddes of chastyte, stud content'.
The phrases, 'full ferm in hir entent' and 'goddes of chastyte' are additions.
- * * *
- 570 in dumis interque horrentia lustra: Dryden omits.
- 571 (856) armentalis: Dryden omits.
Dryden adds, 'of bears'.
- 572 teneris: Dryden omits.
- 573f. (858) utque pedum primis infans vestigia plantis institerat:
'And as soon as the child began to plant her steps on the soles of her infant feet'; much condensed by Dryden:
'The little Amazon could scarcely go'.

accepit vocem lacrimis Lavinia matris
 flagrantis perfusa genas, cui plurimus ignem
 subiecit rubor et calefacta per ora cucurrit.
 Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro
 si quis ebur, aut mixta rubent ubi lilia multa
 alba rosa, talis virgo dabat ore colores.
 illum turbat amor figitque in virgine vultus;
 ardet in arma magis paucisque adfatur Amatam:
 'ne, quaeso, ne me lacrimis neve omine tanto
 proseguere in duri certamina Martis euntem,
 o mater.

XII, 64-74

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.
 The hait luf trublys sor the knyght,
 That on this maid he fixis all hys sycht,
 And all the mair he byrnys in desyre
 Of bargane into armys, hait as fyre;
 Syne to the queyn Amata, but abaid,
 In few wordis on this wys he said:
 "O my deir moder, of thy wepyng ho,
 I yow beseik, do not, do not so,
 Persew me not thus with your grete and teris,
 Nor quhen I pas onto thir mortall werys,
 In marciall bargane contrary my fo,
 Do wa to present me sik takyn of wo.

XII.ii.27-52

At this, a flood of tears Lavinia shed;
 A crimson blush her beauteous face o'erspread,
 Varying her cheeks by turns with white and red.
 The driving colors, never at a stay,
 Run here and there, and flush, and fade away.
 Delightful change! Thus Indian iv'ry shows,
 Which with the bord'ring paint of purple glows;
 Or lilies damask'd by the neighb'ring rose.
 The lover gaz'd, and, burning with desire,
 The more he look'd, the more he fed the fire:
 Revenge, and jealous rage, and secret spite,
 Roll in his breast, and rouse him to the fight.
 Then fixing on the queen his ardent eyes,
 Firm to his first intent, he thus replies:
 "O mother, do not by your tears prepare
 Such boding omens, and prejudge the war.

XII, 100-115

- 64.ii.27 Douglas adds, 'the maid', in apposition to 'Lavinia'.
Douglas adds, 'with soir smert'.
- 64.ii.28 Douglas adds, 'deip in hyr hart'.
- 65.ii.29 flagrantis: Douglas translates
'So that the rud dyd hyr vissage glow'.
- 65f.ii.31ff. cui plurimus ignem
subiecit rubor et calefacta per ora cucurrit:
Page translates: 'while a deep flush rose in fire,
and mantled o'er her glowing face'.
Douglas's version is free and much expanded:
'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'.
- 67.ii.38 sanguineo . . . ostro: 'with blood-red dye';
Douglas has two phrases for the Latin expression:
'With scarlet droppis or with brovn sangwane'.
- 68.ii.37 Douglas adds 'quhite', qualifying 'evor'.
- 68.ii.39 Douglas adds, 'in ony sted'.
multa: Douglas omits.
- 69.ii.40 Douglas adds 'vermel' and 'red', qualifying 'rosys'.
- 69.ii.35 Douglas adds, 'in this wofull rage'.
- 69.ii.36 Douglas adds 'fresch', qualifying 'vissage'.
- 70.ii.41 Douglas adds 'hait', qualifying 'luf',
and 'sor', modifying 'trublys'.
- 70.ii.42 Douglas adds 'all', qualifying 'sycht'.
- 71.ii.44 Douglas adds, 'hait as fyre', qualifying 'desyre',
supplying a simile.
- 71.ii.45 Douglas adds 'Syne', modifying 'said',
'queyn', in apposition to 'Amata'; and 'but abaid'.
- 71.ii.46 Douglas adds, 'on this wys'.

- 72.ii.47 Douglas adds, 'of thy wepyng ho'.
- 72.ii.48 Douglas adds, 'do not, do not so'.
- 72.ii.49 lacrimis: Douglas has two nouns: 'with your grete
and teris'.
- 73.ii.49 prosequere: 'send me forth'; Douglas: 'Persew me'.
- 73.ii.51 Douglas adds, 'contrary my fo'.
- 74.ii.47 Douglas adds 'deir', qualifying 'moder'.

* * *

- 64 (100) accepit vocem . . . matris: Dryden: 'At this'.
- 65f.(101ff.) Dryden's version is so free at this point that it is
difficult to locate in the Latin the words and phrases
which he is translating. flagrantis does not appear
to be represented, but genas appears in the phrase,
'Varying her cheeks'; plurimus and ignem are omitted;
'by turns' and 'with white and red' are additions, as is
'beauteous'. In the two lines

'The driving colors, never at a stay,
Run here and there, and flush, and fade away'

'run' represents cucurrit and calefacta might be
intended to represent 'flush', but the remainder is
pure invention.
- 66 (105) Dryden adds, 'Delightful change!'
- 67 (106) violaverit: Dryden omits.

sanguineo: Dryden omits.

Dryden adds, 'bord'ring paint'
- 69 alba: Dryden omits.

talis virgo dabat ore colores: not translated by
Dryden at this point, but possibly providing a source for
items in earlier lines describing Lavinia.

- 70 (109) Dryden adds the line
'The more he look'd, the more he fed the fire'.
- 71 (110f.) Dryden adds
'Revenge, and jealous rage, and secret spite
Roll in his breast',
but this sentence does not correspond to anything
in the Latin.
- 71 (112) 'his ardent eyes' is an addition which has possibly
been suggested by ardet.
- 71 (113) Dryden adds the line
'Firm to his first intent, he thus replies'.
- 73 Dryden omits this verse.

et nunc cedo equidem pugnasque exosa relinquo.
 illud te, nulla fati quod lege tenetur,
 pro Latio obtestor, pro maiestate tuorum:
 cum iam conubiis pacem felicibus (esto)
 component, cum iam leges et foedera iungent,
 ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos
 neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque vocari
 aut vocem mutare viros aut vertere vestem.
 sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges,
 sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago:
 occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia.'

XII, 818-828

And now, forsuith, thy will obey sall I,
 And giffis owr the caus perpetually,
 And heir I leif sik werys and debait,
 The quhilk, certis, I now detest and hait,
 Bot for the land of Latium or Itail,
 And for maieste of thine awin blude, sans fail,
 A thing I the beseik, quhilk, weill I wait, is
 Na wys include in statutis of the fatis:
 That is to knaw, quhen that, as weill mot be,
 With happy wedlok and felicite
 Yon pepillis twane sall knyt vp peax for ay,
 Bynd confiderans baith coniunct in a lay,
 That thou ne wald the ald inhabitantis
 Byd change thar Latyn name nor natyve landis,
 Ne charge thame nother tobe callit Troianys,
 Nor yit be clepit Phrigianys nor Tewcranys,
 Ne yit the Latyn pepill thar leid to change,
 Nor turn thar clething in other habyt strange.
 Lat it remane Latium, as it was air,
 And lat the kyngis be namyt euermar
 Pryncis and faderis of the stile Albane;
 The lynage eik and gret ofspring Romane
 Mot descend tharfra potent and mychty,
 Vndir the virtuus titill of Italy.
 Troy is doun bet - doun bet lat it remane,
 With name and all, and neuer vprys agane."

XII.xiii.65-90

And now, resign'd to your superior might,
 And tir'd with fruitless toils, I loathe the fight.
 This let me beg (and this no fates withstand)
 Both for myself and for your father's land,
 That, when the nuptial bed shall bind the peace,
 (Which I, since you ordain, consent to bless,)
 The laws of either nation be the same;
 But let the Latins still retain their name,
 Speak the same language which they spoke before,
 Wear the same habits which their grandsires wore.
 Call them not Trojans: perish the renown
 And name of Troy, with that detested town.
 Latium be Latium still; let Alba reign
 And Rome's immortal majesty remain."

XII, 1189-1202

- 818.xiii.65 cedo: 'I yield'; Douglas: 'thy will obey sall I'.
- 818.xiii.66 Douglas adds the line
'And giffis owr the caus perpetually'.
- 818.xiii.67 pugnasque: Douglas uses two nouns: 'sik werys and debait'.
- 818.xiii.68 exosa: 'in hatred'. Douglas has an adjective clause:
'The quhilk, certis, I now detest and hait'.
- 819.xiii.71 Douglas adds, 'weill I wait'.
- 820.xiii.69 pro Latio: Douglas: 'for the land of Latium or Itail'.
- 820.xiii.70 Douglas adds, 'sans fail'.
- 821.xiii.73 Douglas adds, 'That is to knaw'.
- 821.xiii.74 conubiis . . . felicibus: Douglas uses two nouns:
'With happy wedlok and felicite'.
- 821.xiii.75 Douglas supplies, as subject of component,
'Yon pepillis twane'.
Douglas adds, 'for ay'.
- 825.xiii.82 aut vertere vestem: 'or change the fashion of
their dress' (Lonsdale and Lee). Douglas translates,
'Nor turn thar clething in other habyt strange'.
- 826.xiii.83 Douglas adds, 'as it was air'.
- 826.xiii.84 per saecula: 'from age to age'; Douglas: 'euermar'.
- 826.xiii.85 Douglas adds, 'Pryncis and faderis'.
Albani: Douglas has 'of the stile Albane'.
- 827.xiii.87 sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago:
'Let there be a Roman line strong in Italian valour',
as Lonsdale and Lee translate. Douglas has two phrases
for propago, two adjectives for potens and a phrase
about Italy which is obscure:
'The lynage eik and gret ofspring Romane
Mot discend tharfra potent and mychty,
Vndir the virtuus titill of Italy'.

- 818 (1189) Dryden adds, 'to your superior might'.
 (1190) Dryden adds 'fruitless'.
 Dryden adds 'tir'd'.
 relinquo: Dryden omits.
- 820 (1192) pro Latio obtestor, pro maiestate tuorum:
 Dryden's line
 'Both for myself and for your father's land'
 reverses the Latin order; 'for your father's land'
 represents pro Latio and 'for myself' represents
 pro maiestate tuorum'.
- 821 (1194) esto: Expanded by Dryden into a whole line:
 'Which I, since you ordain, consent to bless'.
 felicibus: Dryden omits.
- 823 Dryden omits vetus and indigenas.
- 825 (1197f.) Dryden expands both vocem and vestem:
 vocem: 'the same language which they spoke before';
 vestem: 'the same habits which their grandsires wore'.
- 828 (1200) Dryden adds, 'with that detested town'.
- 826 per saecula: Dryden omits.
- 827 (1202) sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago:
 'Let there be a Roman race, deriving its strength
 from Italian courage'; this verse is freely rendered by
 Dryden, with no reference to the words Itala virtute:
 'And Rome's immortal majesty remain'.

Douglas and Dryden

To a modern reader a number of Dryden's expressions seem unnatural. In III, 655-668 there occur the words, 'Scarce had he said', which would constitute a literal translation of *dixerat* without an object, commonly used in Latin to indicate the end of direct speech. Here the Latin does not have *dixerat* without an object but *fatus erat* with an object; the reason for Dryden's version is therefore not clear.

In IV, 362-372 Dryden refers to Aeneas as 'the guilty man'; the description is out of place, since Virgil gives an account of Aeneas' conduct but leaves the reader to form his own judgment. Likewise the phrase, 'The careful chief' in X, 215-227 is a poor substitute for Aeneas' name. Two further examples are the references to Menoetes in V, 172-182 as 'The trembling dotard' and 'The plunging pilot'. Such descriptions do not represent the Latin idiom; where a person previously mentioned is not referred to by name, Latin would use a demonstrative pronoun such as *hic* or *ille*.

Dryden departs from the Latin in his use of exaggeration. One example occurs in V, 172-182, where Dryden goes far beyond Virgil (and Douglas) in describing Gyas' reaction to the cautiousness of his helmsman. Dryden appears to have a fondness for derogatory terms, for example in Juno's reference to Troy as 'that detested town' in XII, 818-828, a phrase not to be found in the Latin.

Dryden's commitment to the symmetrical, balanced line sometimes leads him astray. A notable example occurs in IX, 570-582: How are slaughtered friends to be relieved?

In the same passage Dryden has the antithetical line,
'To save the living and revenge the dead',
but it does not correspond to anything in the Latin text and its
purpose is not clear.

There is a homeliness and vividness in Douglas's version
which is missing in that of Dryden. In XII, 818-828 the goddess
Juno is speaking to her husband in the course of a private
conversation. Douglas's version includes phrases like 'That is
to know' and 'weill I wait', both homely expressions, but the last
four lines of the extract from Dryden read like a political speech.
In IV, 362-372 Douglas's lines convey admirably the indignation of
Dido, the twice repeated num of the Latin being represented by
the twice repeated 'Quhiddir' of the Middle Scots.

Douglas's description of Charon is much more vivid than
Dryden's. The latter's version resembles the Latin in conciseness
but is inaccurate in describing Charon's attire. The reader of
Douglas's version has to pause to take in all the unsavoury details.
Similarly, in III, 655-668, Douglas's line, because of its rugged
irregularity, conveys something of the misshapen appearance of
Polyphemus: 'A monstre horribyll, onmesurabill and myschaip'.

The ruggedness of Douglas's lines is more attractive
than the formal regularity of Dryden's, which would tend to produce
monotony if read in quantity. While Douglas went out of his way,
sometimes very far out of his way, to produce a rhyming line-ending,
the result tends to be unobtrusive and the reader's attention is
not distracted from the flow of the narrative.

Extracts from Mandelbaum

This American scholar's version of the Aeneid was published in 1972. Like Surrey, he chose blank verse as his metre and offers a translation which is almost entirely free of additions and omissions. As an accurate rendering of the Latin, Allen Mandelbaum's version rivals many a prose translation, yet provides the reader with a memorable poetic experience.

The following extracts have been chosen:

Virgil: I, 102-112	Mandelbaum: I, 144-161
I, 325-334	I, 461-473
III, 306-316	III, 398-411
V, 700-710	V, 923-937
VII, 8-18	VII, 10-22
VIII, 608-616	VIII, 788-798
X, 289-307	X, 413-423
X, 773-782	X, 1062-1075
XI, 473-482	XI, 626-639
XII, 142-151	XII, 191-204

Talia iactanti stridens Aquilone procella
 velum adversa ferit, fluctusque ad sidera tollit.
 franguntur remi, tum prora avertit et undis
 dat latus, insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons.
 hi summo in fluctu pendent; his unda dehiscens
 terram inter fluctus aperit, furit aestus harenis.
 tris Notus abreptas in saxa latentia torquet
 (saxa vocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus Aras,
 dorsum immane mari summo), tris Eurus ab alto
 in brevia et Syrtis urget, miserabile visu,
 inliditque vadis atque aggere cingit harenae.

I, 102-112

And al invane thus quhil Eneas carpit,
 A blastrand bub out from the north brayng
 Gan our the forschip in the baksail dyng,
 And to the sternys vp the flude gan cast.
 The aris, hechis and the takillis brast,
 The schippis stevin frawart hyr went gan wryth,
 And turnyt hir braid syde to the wallis swyth.
 Heich as a hill the iaw of watir brak
 And in ane hepe cam on thame with a swak.
 Sum hesit hoverand on the wallis hycht,
 And sum the swowchand sey so law gart lycht
 Thame semyt the erd oppynnyt amynd the flude -
 The stour vp bullyrrit sand as it war wode.
 The sowth wynd, Nothus, thre schippis draif away
 Amang blynd cragis, quhilk huge rolkis thai say
 Amynd the sey Italianys Altaris callis;
 And othir thre Eurus from the deip wallis
 Cachit amang the schald bankis of sand -
 Dolorus to se thame chop on grond, and stand
 Lyke as a wall with sand warpit about.

I.iii.14-33

Aeneas hurled these words. The hurricane
 is howling from the north; it hammers full
 against his sails. The seas are heaved to heaven.
 The oars are cracked; the prow sheers off; the waves
 attack broadside; against his hull the swell
 now shatters in a heap, mountainous, steep.
 Some sailors hang upon a wave crest; others
 stare out at gaping waters, land that lies
 below the waters, surge that seethes with sand.
 And then the south wind snatches up three ships
 and spins their keels against the hidden rocks -
 those rocks that, rising in midsea, are called
 by the Italians "Altars" - like a monstrous
 spine stretched along the surface of the sea.
 Meanwhile the east wind wheels another three
 off from the deep and, terrible to see,
 against the shoals and shifting silt, against
 the shallows, girding them with mounds of sand.

I, 144-161

- 102.iii.14 Douglas adds, 'al invane'.
- 102.iii.15 *stridens Aquilone procella*: Douglas's vivid rendering is noteworthy for its alliteration:
 'A blastrand bub out from the north brayng'.
 There is no alliteration in the Latin at this point.
- 103.iii.16 *velum adversa ferit*: Expanded by Douglas:
 'Gan our the forschip in the baksail1 dyng'.
- 104f.iii.18ff. *franguntur remi, tum prora avertit et undis dat latus*:
 Douglas expands, giving each Latin clause a line to itself:
 'The aris, hechis and the takillis brast,
 The schippis stevin frawart hyr went gan wryth,
 And turnyt hir braid syde to the wallis swyth'.
- 105.iii.21f. *insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons*:
 'Down in a heap comes a sheer mountain of water',
 (Fairclough). Where Virgil has a metaphor, Douglas uses a simile:
 'Heich as a hill the iaw of watir brak
 And in ane hepe cam on thame'.
 Douglas adds, 'with a swak'.
- 106.iii.24 Douglas adds 'snowchand', qualifying 'sey';
 Douglas again has alliteration where there is none in Virgil.
- 110.iii.28 Douglas omits *dorsum* and *mari summo*.
- 112.iii.33 *aggere harenae*: Douglas again substitutes a simile for a metaphor: 'Lyke as a wall with sand'.

* * *

Mandelbaum gives a vivid rendering of this passage, keeping close to the Latin with few grammatical variations (e.g. passive voice for active in *fluctusque ad sidera tollit*). The economy of language is noteworthy; every English word represents a Latin word, the single exception being 'stare out', line 151. Otherwise there are no additions and no omissions.

Sic Venus et Veneris contra sic filius orsus:
 'nulla tuarum audita mihi neque visa sororum,
 o quam te memorem, virgo? namque haud tibi vultus
 mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat; o, dea certe
 (an Phoebi soror? an Nympharum sanguinis una?),
 sis felix nostrumque leves, quaecumque, laborem
 et quo sub caelo tandem, quibus orbis in oris
 iactemur doceas: ignari hominumque locorumque
 erramus vento huc vastis et fluctibus acti.
 multa tibi ante aras nostra cadet hostia dextra.'

I, 325-334

Thus said Venus, and hir son agane
 Answeris and said, "Trewly, maide, in plane
 Nane of thi systeris dyd I heir ne se.
 Bot, O thou virgyne, quham sal I cal the?
 Thy vissage semys na mortale creatur
 Nor thi voce sovndis not lyke to humane nature:
 A goddes art thou suythly to my syght.
 Quhidder thou be Dyane, Phebus systir brycht,
 Or than sum goddes of thir nymphis kynd,
 Maistres of woddis, beis to ws happy and kynd,
 Releve our lang travell quhat euer thou be,
 And vndir quhat art of this hevyn sa hie
 Or at quhat cost of the world finaly
 Sal we arrive, thou tech ws by and by;
 Of men and land onknaw we are drive will
 By wynd and storm of sey cachit hiddertill;
 And mony fair sacrifice and offerand
 Befor thyne altar sal de of my ryght hand."

I.vi.35-52

So Venus. Answering, her son began:
 "I have not seen or heard your sister, maiden -
 or by what name am I to call you, for
 your voice is not like any human voice.
 O goddess, you must be Apollo's sister
 or else are to be numbered with the nymphs!
 Whoever you may be, do help us, ease
 our trials; do tell us underneath what skies,
 upon what coasts of earth we have been cast;
 we wander, ignorant of men and places,
 and driven by the wind and the vast waves.
 Before your altars many victims will
 fall at our hands, as offerings to you."

I, 461-473

- 326.vi.36 Douglas adds, 'Trewely, maide, in plane'.
- 328.vi.41 Douglas adds, 'to my syght'.
- 329.vi.42 an Phoebi soror? Expanded by Douglas:
'Quhidder thou be Dyane, Phebus systir brycht'.
- 329.vi.44 Douglas adds, 'Maistres of woddis'.
- 330.vi.44 sis felix: Douglas combines two meanings of felix:
'beis to ws happy and kynd'.
- 331.vi.47 tandem is used here to lend emphasis, but Douglas
takes it in a temporal sense, 'finaly'.
- 332.vi.48 iactemur: present subjunctive, but translated by Douglas
as if it were a future indicative, 'Sal we arrive'.
- 332.vi.48 Douglas adds, 'by and by'.
- 334.vi.51 multa . . . hostia: 'many a victim'; Douglas expands
the phrase, 'mony fair sacrifice and offerand'.
- * * *
- 325 (461) Veneris . . . filius: Mandelbaum: 'her son',
but nothing is lost by discarding the repetition
Venus . . . Veneris.
- 326 (462) nulla tuarum . . . sororum: 'none of your sisters';
Venus had given the impression that there were a number.
Mandelbaum's line,
'I have not seen or heard your sister, maiden',
refers to one only.
- 327f. (464) haud tibi vultus/mortalis; Mandelbaum omits.
- 328 (465) certe: represented by the verb, 'you must be'.
- 330 (467) sis felix: Fairclough translates, 'Be thou gracious';
Mandelbaum, in more modern idiom: 'Do help us'.
- 331 (468) tandem: Mandelbaum combines the emphatic word tandem
with doceas in his rendering, 'do tell us'.

ut me conspexit venientem et Troia circum
 arma amens vidit, magnis exterrita monstris
 deriguit visu in medio, calor ossa reliquit,
 labitur, et longo vix tandem tempore fatur:
 'verane te facies, verus mihi nuntius adfers,
 nate dea? vivisne? aut, si lux alma recessit,
 Hector ubi est?' dixit, lacrimasque effudit et omnem
 implevit clamore locum. vix pauca furenti
 subicio et raris turbatus vocibus hisco:
 'vivo equidem vitamque extrema per omnia duco;
 ne dubita, nam vera vides.

III, 306-316

And alsone as scho me aspyis perchance,
 And Troiane armour and ensenyeis with`me saw,
 Affrayit of the ferly, scho stude syk aw,
 And at the fyrst blenk become so mait,
 Naturale heyt left hir membris in sik stait
 Quhil to the grond half mangit fel scho down,
 And lay a lang tyme in a dedly swown
 Or ony speche or word scho mycht furth bring,
 Yit thus, at last, sayd eftir hir dwawmyng:
 'Is that thine awyn face, and suythfast thyng?
 Schawis thou to me a verray sovyr warnyng?
 Levis thou yit, son of the goddes?' quod sche.
 'Gif thou be ded, quhar is Hector? - tell me.'
 And with that word, scho bryst furth mony a teir,
 And walit so that piete was to heir,
 Quhil al about dynnys of hir womentyng.
 A few wordis skars as I mycht furth bryng
 For to confort that maist lamentabill wight,
 With langsum speche said, quhispirand, as I mycht:
 'I leif forsuyth and ledis lyfe, as ye se,
 In al hard chance of fortunys extreymte.
 Be nocht agast, ye se bot suythfast thyng.

III.v.47-68

"And when, distracted, she caught sight of me
 and saw our Trojan armor all around her,
 in terror of these mighty omens, she
 grew stiff; heat left her bones; she fell, fainting.
 But after long delay, at last she asks:
 'Are you, born of a goddess, a true body,
 a real messenger who visits me?
 Are you alive? Or if the gracious light
 of life has left you, where is Hector?' So
 she spoke. Her tears were many and her cries
 filled all the grove. She is so frenzied, I -
 disquieted - must stammer scattered words:
 'Indeed I live and drag my life through all
 extremities; do not doubt - I am real.

III, 398-411

- 306.v.47 Douglas adds 'perchance'.
- 306f.v.48 Troia . . ./arma: Douglas translates, 'Troiane armour and ensenyeis', but the reference is much more likely to be to the Trojan warriors accompanying Aeneas.
- 308.v.50 deriguit visu in medio: 'even as she gazed she became rigid'; Douglas has, 'at the fyrst blenk become so mait', but 'mait' suggests weakness rather than a numbing stiffness.
- 309.v.53ff. et longo vix tandem tempore fatur:
Douglas has a characteristic expansion, which on this occasion is appropriate to its context:
'And lay a lang tyme in a dedly swown
Or ony speche or word scho mycht furth bring,
Yit thus, at last, sayd eftir hir dwawmyng'.
- 310.v.56 verane te facies: Douglas expands into a line:
'Is that thine awyn face, and suythfast thyng?'
- 311.v.59 si lux alma recessit: an example of Douglas's occasional, unexpectedly prosaic renderings: 'Gif thou be ded'.
- 312.v.61 Douglas adds the line,
'And walit so that piete was to heir'.
- 313.v.64 furenti: 'to her in her frenzy'; Douglas translates'
'For to confort that amidst lamentabill wight'.
- 314.v.65 et raris turbatus vocibus hisco: Douglas renders,
'With langsum speche said, quhispirand, as I mycht',
but nothing in the Latin suggests that his remarks were tedious ('langsum'), and there is no reason to suppose that Aeneas would be whispering.
- 315.v.66 Douglas adds, 'as ye se'.

306 (398) venientem: Mandelbaum omits, as does Douglas.

308 (401) visu in medio: Mandelbaum omits.

309 (402) vix: 'with difficulty', 'with a great effort';
Mandelbaum omits.

313 (408) locum: Mandelbaum: 'the grove'.

vix pauca: Mandelbaum omits.

314 (409) subicio: Mandelbaum omits.

316 (411) ne dubita: 'Do not doubt'.

The placing of 'not' at a stressed syllable lends
emphasis to Aeneas' words of assurance to Andromache.

At pater Aeneas casu concussus acerbo
nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas
mutabat versans, Siculo sic resideret arvis
oblitus fatorum, Italasne capesseret oras.
tum senior Nautes, unum Tritonia Pallas
quem docuit multaque insignem reddidit arte -
haec responsa dabat, vel quae portenderet ira
magna deum vel quae fatorum posceret ordo;
isque his Aeneas solatus vocibus infit:
'nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur;
quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.

V, 700-710

The fader Eneas, smyte with this smart cace,
Now heir, now thar, gan huge thyngis compace,
Rollyng in mynd quhiddir he suld or nay
Remane in Sycill, or thens pas away,
Or gif he suld seik yyt to Italy,
Lyke as he had foryet hys destany.
Thus as he musyt, stad in sykkyn dowl,
Ane of the eldast herys stude abowl,
Clepyt Nawtes, quham the goddes Mynerve
Our al the layf instrukkyt hym to serve
And rendryt had ful scharp and rype of wyt,
Syk answer gave and plane declaris it,
Quhat pretendis this fellon goddes greif,
And eik, accordyng thar fatis, quhat was releif,
And comfortand Eneas, thus gan say:
"Son of the goddes, lat ws follow that way,
Bakwart or fordwart, quhyddir our fatis dryve;
Quhat evir betyde, this is na bute to stryve;
All chance of forton tholand ourcumyn is.

V.xii.63-81

But, battered by this bitter crisis, father
Aeneas now was mulling mighty cares
this way and that within his breast; whether
to settle in the fields of Sicily,
forgetful of the fates, or else to try
for the Italian coast. Then aged Nautes -
to whom especially Tritonian Pallas
had taught (and brought him fame for his great art)
how to explain the meaning of the gods'
great wrath or what the scheme of fate has asked -
consoles Aeneas, saying this to him:
"O goddess-born, there where the fates would have us
go forward or withdraw, there let us follow;
whatever comes, all fortune must be won
by our endurance.

V, 923-937

- 702.xii.65 Douglas adds, 'or nay'.
- 702.xii.66 Douglas adds, 'or thens pas away'.
- 703.xii.68 oblitus factorum: Douglas's rendering,
 'Lyke as he had foryet hys destany',
 well represents the Latin, but comes in oddly after
 xii.67: 'Or gif he suld seik yyt to Italy'.
- 703.xii.69 Douglas adds the line,
 'Thus as he musyt, stad in sykkyn dowl'.
- 704.xii.70f. tum senior Nautas: Douglas, explicitly:
 'Ane of the eldast herys stude abowt,/Clepyt Nawtes'.
- 704.xii.71 Tritonia Pallas: Douglas: 'the goddes Mynerve'.
- 705.xii.72 Douglas has the puzzling addition, 'hym to serve'.
- 705.xii.73 multaque insignem reddidit arte:
 Williams translates, 'whom she had made renowned for
 great knowledge of her lore'. Douglas has
 'And rendryt had ful scharp and rype of wit', a version
 which does not correspond closely to the Latin.
- 706.xii.74 Douglas adds, 'and plane declaris it'.
- 706.xii.75 ira: 'anger'; Douglas: 'greif'.
- 710.xii.80 Douglas adds, 'this is na bute to stryve'.
- * * *
- 700 (923) concussus: Mandelbaum: 'battered', a vivid translation.
- 706 (931) haec responsa dabat: Mandelbaum omits.

aspirant aurae in noctem nec candida cursus
 luna negat, splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus.
 proxima Circaeae raduntur litora terrae,
 dives inaccessos ubi Solis filia lucos
 adsiduo resonat cantu, tectisque superbis
 urit odoratam nocturna in lumina cedrum
 arguto tenuis percurrens pectine telas.
 hinc exaudiri gemitus iraeque leonum
 vincla recusanteum et sera sub nocte rudentum,
 saetigerique sues atque in praesepibus ursi
 saevire ac formae magnorum ululare luporum.

VII, 8-18

The pypyng wynd blew in thar tail at nyght,
 Nor the schene moyn hir curs and cleir' lyght
 Has nocht denyit, so that the haw stremys
 Couth schyne and glittir vndre the twynkland glemys.
 The cost endlang the ille Circea
 Thai swepyng fast by, hard on burd the bra,
 Quhar as the ryche Sonnys douchtir, Circe,
 Thai schawis, quhamto repar nane aucht tobe,
 With hir ythand sweit sang and caralyng
 Cawsys allway forto resound and ryng,
 And in hir prowde place of beddis all the nycht
 The weil smelland cedyr byrnys bright;
 With subtil slays and hir hedlys sle,
 Rich lynye wobbis natly wefis sche.
 From this land redly on fer mycht thai her
 The gret rageyng of liones and the beir,
 Quhilk thai dyd mak, refusyng tobe in band
 In silens, all the lait nycht rumesand;
 The byrsit baris and beris in thar styis
 Roryng all wod with quhrynys and wild cryis,
 And gret figuris of wolffis eik infeir,
 Yowland with yammering grisly forto her.

VI.xvi.17-38

Night falls; the winds breathe fair; the brilliant moon
 does not deny his way; the waters gleam
 beneath the quivering light. The Trojans sail
 close by the shore of Circe's island, where
 the wealthy daughter of the Sun, with song
 unending, fills her inaccessible groves;
 she kindles fragrant cedarwood within
 her handsome halls to light the night and runs
 across her finespun web with a shrill shuttle.
 The raging groans of lions fill her palace -
 they roar at midnight, restless in their chains -
 and growls of bristling boars and pent-up bears,
 and howling from the shapes of giant wolves.

VII, 10-22

- 8 (VI.xvi.17) in noctem: 'as night came on', (Fordyce).
Douglas: 'at nyght'.
- 9 (VI.xvi.20) splendet: 'sparkled'; Douglas uses two verbs:
'Couth schyne and glittir'.
- 9 (VI.xvi.19) pontus: 'the sea'; Douglas: 'the haw stremys'.
- 10 (VI.xvi.21) Circaeae . . . terrae: 'Circe's land'.
Douglas: 'the ille Circea'.
- 10 (VI.xvi.22) Douglas adds, 'hard on burd the bra'.
- 11 (VI.xvi.23) filia: named by Douglas, 'Circe'.
- 12 (VI.xvi.25) adsiduo . . . cantu: 'with ceaseless song';
Douglas: 'With hir ythand sweit sang and caralyng'.
- 12 (VI.xvi.27) tectis: 'palace'; Douglas: 'place of beddis'.
- 13 (VI.xvi.27) nocturna in lumina: Fordyce translates, 'to give
light through the night'. Douglas's separation of
'all the nycht' from 'byrnys bright' results in failure
to convey the sense of purpose in the Latin phrase.
- 13 (VI.xvi.28) Douglas adds 'weil', modifying 'smelland'.
Douglas adds 'bright', modifying 'byrnys'.
- 14 (VI.xvi.29f.) arguto tenuis percurrens pectine telas:
Fordyce translates: 'as she sweeps across the
delicate web with the whistling shuttle'.
Douglas translates:
'With subtil slays and hir hedlys sle,
Rich lynye wobbis natly wefis sche'.
Although pecten properly means 'a comb', the word
does not always have that meaning, as Page explains,
adding that it can reasonably be applied to a shuttle.
Douglas's version does not represent the whistling
sound referred to in the word arguto.

- 15 (VI.xvi.31) Douglas adds, 'redly on fer', modifying 'mycht . . her'.
 16 (VI.xvi.33) vincla recusantum: 'fretting against their fetters';
 Douglas: 'refusyng tobe in band'.
 16 (VI.xvi.34) Douglas adds, 'In silens'.
 18 (VI.xvi.36) Douglas adds, 'with quhrynys and wild cryis'.
 18 (VI.xvi.37) Douglas adds, 'eik infeir'.
 18 (VI.xvi.38) Douglas adds, 'with yammering grisly forto her'.

* * *

- 10 (12) raduntur: Mandelbaum substitutes an active construction
 and names the subject of the verb 'The Trojans'.
 12 (14f.) adsiduo cantu: Mandelbaum: 'with song/unending',
 using the transition from one line to the next to
 good effect. Every word, every thought in the Latin
 is faithfully reproduced, with no additional material.
 The high proportion of run-on lines is noteworthy,
 reflecting at lines 16 to 18 the continuous nature
 of the weaving activity by night.

At Venus aetherios inter dea candida nimbos
 dona ferens aderat; natumque in valle reducta
 ut procul egeledo secretum flumine vidit,
 talibus adfata est dictis seque obtulit ultro:
 'en perfecta mei promissa coniugis arte
 munera. ne mox aut Laurentis, nate, superbos
 aut acrem dubites in proelia poscere Turnum.'
 dixit, et amplexus nati Cytherea petivit,
 arma sub adversa posuit radiantia quercu.

VIII, 608-616

Bot than Venus, the fresch goddes, bedene
 Amang the hevynly skyis brycht and schene,
 Berand with hir the dyvyne armour cleir,
 To mak tharof a presand, can draw neir,
 And as on far hir son scho dyd behald,
 Secret allone by the chill ryver cald,
 Amyd ane holl cleuch, or a dern valle,
 Of hir fre will tyll hym apperis sche,
 And with sic wordis to hym spak, sayng:
 "Lo, my reward heir, and my promysyng
 Fulfillyt iustly by my husbandis wark;
 So that, my son, now art thou sovyr and stark,
 That the not nedis to haue ony feir
 Fortill resist the prowde Latynnys in weir,
 Nor yit the strang Turnus to assaill,
 Hym to provok, or challance for batale."
 Thus said the scheyn Citherea fair of face,
 And, with that word, can hyr deyr child enbrace,
 And thar the schynand armour forgane his sycht
 Vndre a bowand aik layd down full rycht.

VIII.x.29-48

But Venus, the bright goddess, bearing gifts,
 drew near in airy clouds; and when far off
 she saw her son in a secluded valley,
 withdrawn beside a cooling stream, then she
 showed herself freely to him, saying this:
 "You see, my son, these perfect offerings,
 my husband's promised art; then do not doubt,
 but dare brave Turnus and the proud Laurentians
 to battle." These were Cytherea's words.
 She sought her son's embraces, then set up
 his glittering arms beneath a facing oak.

VIII, 788-798

- 608.x.29 Douglas adds 'bedene'.
- 608.x.30 aetherios inter . . . nimbos: 'amid the clouds of heaven'. Page comments, 'She comes "amid clouds", which are imagined as conveying her to the spot. There is also a contrast suggested between her brilliant beauty and their darkness'. Douglas's rendering, 'Amang the hevynly skyis brycht and schene', with no mention of clouds, is strange.
- 609.x.31 dona: 'her gifts'; Douglas, explicitly: 'the dyvyne armour cleir,/To mak tharof a presand'.
- 610.x.34 egelido . . . flumine: Douglas: 'by the chill ryver cald', perhaps using two adjectives to convey the intensive sense of egelido, 'icy-cold'.
- 609.x.35 in valle reducta: Douglas employs two phrases: 'Amyd ane holl cleuch, or a dern valle'.
- 612.x.38 Douglas takes promissa as a noun, 'my promysyng'.
- 613.x.40 Douglas adds, 'now art thou sovyr and stark'.
- 614.x.42ff. in proelia poscere: 'to challenge to battle'; Douglas uses four expressions to translate this phrase: 'Fortill resist . . . in weir', 'to assail', 'to provok' and 'challance for batale'.
- 615.x.45 Cytherea: Douglas: 'the scheyn Citherea fair of face'.
- 616.x.48 Douglas adds 'bowand' and 'full rycht'.
- * * *
- 612 (793) perfecta: 'brought to completion', with promissa . . . arte dependent. Mandelbaum takes it adjectivally and translates the phrase promissa . . . arte as if it were nominative in apposition to munera.
- 613 (795) mox: Mandelbaum omits.

quae talia postquam
 effatus Tarchon, socii consurgere tonsis
 spumantisque rates arvis inferre Latinis,
 donec rostra tenent siccum et sedere carinae
 omnes innocuae. sed non puppis tua, Tarchon:
 namque inflicta vadis, dorso dum pendet iniquo
 anceps sustentata diu fluctusque fatigat,
 solvitur atque viros mediis exponit in undis,
 fragmina remorum quos et fluitantia transtra
 impediunt retrahitque pedes simul unda relabens.

X, 298-307

Fra Tarchon had thir wordis said, but mair
 Hys feris startis ilk man till ane ayr.
 The stowrand famy bargis dyd rebound,
 Inrowand fast towart the Latyn grond,
 Quhyl that thar stammys tuke the bankis dry,
 And thar kelys stak in the slyke fast by,
 Bot ony harm or danger, euery one.
 Bot sa tyd not onto thy schyp, Tarchon,
 For in the schald scho stoppys, and dyd stand
 Apon a dry chyngill or bed of sand,
 A lang tyme all to schakyng with the flude,
 Quhill fynaly, thar rokkand as scho stude,
 To brystis scho, and ryvys all in sondyr,
 Warpyt the man amynd the faym thar vndir;
 The plankis, hechis and mony brokyn ayr,
 That on the streym went flotand heir and thar,
 Maid to thar landing gret impediment,
 And slyddry glar so from wallys went
 That oft thar feyt was smyttyn vp on loft;
 Bot finaly, all drowkyt and forwrocht,
 Thai salwyt war, and warpyt to the cost.

X.vi.25-45

At Tarchon's words the crews rise on their oars
 and bear the galleys up on Latin shores.
 The beaks have gripped dry land, and all the keels
 can settle down, unharmed. But, Tarchon, not
 your own ship, for she strikes the shoals and hangs
 on an uneven hard sandbank; she is held
 for long in balance, beating at the waves,
 until she smashes, tossing out her men
 among the breakers. And the sailors tangle
 with drifting rowing benches, broken oars,
 and waves that ebb and suck make going hard.

X, 413-423

- 298.vi.25 Douglas adds, 'but mair'.
- 299.vi.26 consurgere: 'rose to'; Douglas: 'startis . . . till'.
- 300.vi.27 spumantisque: Douglas, vividly, 'stowrand famy'.
- 300.vi.27 Douglas adds, 'dyd rebound'.
- 300.vi.28 Douglas adds, 'fast', modifying 'Inrowand'.
- 301.vi.30 Douglas adds, 'in the slyke' (i.e river-bed ooze).
Douglas adds, 'fast by', modifying 'stak'.
- 302.vi.31 innocuae: 'unharmd'; Douglas uses two terms:
'Bot ony harm or danger'.
- 302.vi.32 sed non puppis tua: Douglas supplies a verb:
'Bot sa tyd not onto thy schyp'.
- 303.vi.33 inflicta vadis: 'dashed upon the shoals' (Lonsdale and Lee); Douglas uses a less violent expression:
'in the schald scho stoppys'.
- 303.vi.34 dorso . . . iniquo: 'on a projecting sand-bank';
Douglas employs two phrases:
'Apon a dry chyngill or bed of sand'.
- 304.vi.35 anceps sustentata diu: 'long balanced in suspense';
Douglas's version deals with a different aspect of the situation in which the ship is involved:
'A lang tyme all to schakyng with the flude'.
- 304.vi.35 fluctusque fatigat: Douglas omits.
- 304.vi.36 Douglas adds the line
'Quhill fynaly, thar rokkand as scho stude'.
- 305.vi.37 solvitur: 'it broke up'; Douglas employs a whole line:
'To brystis scho, and ryvys all in sondyr'.
- 306.vi.39f. fragmina remorum . . et . . fluitantia transtra:
Douglas substitutes three tems for two:
'The plankis, hechis and mony brokyn ayr,
That on the streym went flotand heir and thar'.

306.vi.40 Douglas adds, 'on the streym'.
 Douglas adds, 'heir and thar', modifying 'went flotand'.

307.vi.44f. Douglas adds two lines:
 'Bot finaly, all drowkyt and forwrocht,
 Thai salwyt war, and warpyt to the cost'.

* * *

299f. (413f.) The first two lines of this extract from Mandelbaum's
 version are in rhyme.

300 (414) spumantis: Mandelbaum omits.

307 (423) retrahitque pedes: Mandelbaum: 'makes going hard',
 an excellent translation.

This extract well illustrates Mandelbaum's verbal economy, being
 only one line and a half longer than the original.

'dextra mihi deus et telum, quod missile libro,
nunc adsint! voveo praedonis corpore raptis
indutum spoliis ipsum te, Lause, tropaeum
Aeneae.' dixit, stridentemque eminus hastam
iecit. at illa volans clipeo est excussa proculque
egregium Antorem latus inter et ilia figit,
Herculis Antoren comitem, qui missus ab Argis
haeserat Euandro atque Itala consederat urbe.
sternitur infelix alieno vulnere, caelumque
aspicit et dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos.

X, 773-782

"My rycht hand, and this fleand dart mot be,
Quhilk now I tays, as verray God to me!
Assistyng to my schot I you beseik;
For I awow, and heir promittys eyk,
In syng of trophe or triumphall meith,
My lovit son Lawsus forto cleith
With spulye and all harnes rent," quod he,
"Of yondir rubbaris body, fals Enee."
Thus said he, and fra hys hand the ilk tyde
The castyng dart fast byrrand lattis glyde,
That fleand scientis on Eneas scheid,
Syne, standand far onrovvm yond in the feild,
Smate worthy Anthores the ilk thraw,
Betwix the bowellys and the rybbys law:
Anthores, ane of gret Hercules ferys,
That com from Arge into hys lusty yheris,
Inherdand to Evander the Arcaid,
And had hys dwellyng and hys residens maid
In Palentyn, cite Italian,
Onhappely now lyggis thus down slane,
All of a wound and dynt quhilk in the fycht
Addressit was towart ane other knycht.
Yit, deand, he beheld the hevynnys large,
And can ramembir hys sweit cuntre of Arge.

X.xiii.41-64

"My own right hand, which is my god, and this
my shaft that I now poise to cast, be gracious:
I vow that you yourself, Lausus, my son,
shall be the living trophy of Aeneas,
dressed in the spoils stripped from that robber's body."
He spoke and hurled his hissing spear from far;
it flies but glances off Aeneas' shield
and strikes, nearby - between the groin and side -
the great Antores, friend of Hercules,
who, sent from Argos, stayed with King Evander
and settled down in an Italian city.
Luckless, he has been laid low by a wound
not meant for him; he looks up at the sky
and, dying, calls to mind his gentle Argos.

X, 1062-1075

- 774.xiii.43 Douglas adds, 'I you beseik'.
- 774.xiii.44 voveo: Douglas uses a whole line, with two verbs:
'For I avow, and heir promittys eyk'.
- 774.xiii.48 Douglas adds 'yondir', qualifying 'rubbaris'.
- 775.xiii.46 Douglas adds, 'My lovit son', in apposition to 'Lawsus'.
Douglas discards the apostrophe.
- 775.xiii.45 tropaeum: Douglas uses two nouns:
'In syng of trophe or triumplall meith'.
- 776.xiii.48 Douglas adds 'fals', qualifying 'Enee'.
- 776.xiii.49 Douglas adds, 'fra hys hand the ilk tyde'.
- 776.xiii.50 Douglas adds 'fast', modifying 'byrrand'.
- 776.xiii.52 eminus: Douglas omits.
- 777.xiii.52 proculque: 'and hard by'; Douglas: 'far onrovm'.
- 778.xiii.52 Douglas adds, 'Syne, standand' and 'yond in the feild'.
- 778.xiii.53 Douglas adds, 'the ilk thraw'.
- 779.xiii.56 missus: Variouslly interpreted: 'came' (Lonsdale and Lee);
'sent' (Davidson); 'who had come on a mission' (C. Day
Lewis); 'when he was expelled' (Jackson Knight'.
Douglas: 'com', supported by Lonsdale and Lee's version.
- 779.xiii.56 Douglas adds, 'into hys lusty yheris'.
- 780.xiii.57 Douglas adds, 'the Arcaid', in apposition to 'Evander'.
- 780.xiii.58 consederat: Douglas's version employs two nouns:
'had hys dwellyng and hys residens maid'.
- 780.xiii.59 Douglas adds, 'Palentyn', in apposition to 'cite'.
- 781.xiii.63 Douglas adds 'large', qualifying 'hevynnys'.
- * * *
- 782 (1075) dulcis: 'gentle' seems an unusual epithet for a place,
particularly where it is the emotional aspect of Antenor's
recollections of his home that is most prominent.
Otherwise, a fine rendering of the passage.

praefodiunt alii portas aut saxa sudesque
 subvectant. bello dat signum rauca cruentum
 bucina. tum muros varia cinxere corona
 matronae puerique, vocat labor ultimus omnis.
 nec non ad templum summasque ad Palladis arces
 subvehitur magna matrum regina caterva
 dona ferens, iuxtaque comes Lavinia virgo,
 causa mali tanti, oculos deiecta decoros.
 succedunt matres et templum ture vaporant
 et maestas alto fundunt de limine voces.

XI, 473-482

Sum tho, thar cite entre forto kepe,
 Befor the portis delvis trynschis deip;
 Sum to the yettis weltis wegty stonys,
 And sum gret iestis and sillys for the nonys;
 The bas trumpet with a bludy sovn
 The syng of batell blew our all the tovn.
 The wallis than thai stuffit rownd about
 With divers sortis of mony syndry rowt,
 Baith wifis, barnys, childer, men and page
 (Na kynd of stait was sparit tho, nor age);
 The heyast poynt and lattir resistens
 Callit euery wight to laubour and defens.
 The queyn also, Amata, furth can hald
 Onto the tempill and Pallas souerane hald,
 Born in hir char, and walkyng hir about
 Of matronys and nobil wemen a rowt;
 Offerandis and gyftis brocht with hir scho had;
 Nixt hand hir went Lavynia the maid,
 The caus of all this harm and wofull teyn,
 That down for schame dyd cast hyr lusty eyn.
 The matronys entris in the goddis presens,
 And smokis the tempill with sweit vapour and sens,
 And reuthful vocis warpis lovd on hie.

XI.ix.67-89

Some of them dig trenches
 before the gates or heave up stones and stakes;
 the raucous trumpet sounds the bloody signal
 for battle. Boys and women, in a motley
 circle, are ranged along the walls, the final
 crisis calls all. And Queen Amata, too,
 with many women, bearing gifts, is carried
 into the citadel, Minerva's temple
 upon the heights; at her side walks the girl
 Lavinia, the cause of all that trouble,
 her lovely eyes held low. The women follow;
 and they perfume the altars with the smoke
 of incense, and their voices of lament
 pour from the shrine's high threshold.

XI, 626-639

- 473.ix,67 Douglas adds 'tho', modifying 'delvis'.
Douglas adds, 'thar cite entre forto kepe'.
- 473.ix.68 Douglas adds 'deip', qualifying 'tryschis'.
- 473.ix.70 sudesque: 'stakes'; Douglas: 'gret iestis and sillys'.
Douglas adds, 'for the nonys'.
- 474.ix.72 Douglas adds, 'our all the tovn'.
- 475.ix.74 varia . . . corona: 'in a motley circle' (Williams);
Douglas: 'With divers sortis of mony syndry rowt'.
- 476.ix.75 matronae puerique: 'married ladies and boys';
Douglas has five nouns in place of two:
'Baith wifis, barnys, childer, men and page'.
- 476.ix.76 Douglas adds the line
'Na kynd of stait was sparit tho, nor age'.
- 476.ix.77f. vocat labor ultimus omnis:
'the extremity of distress calls everyone' (Davidson);
Douglas's version provides a good example of his
fondness for pairs of expressions:
'The heyast poynt and lattir resistens
Callit euery wight to laubour and defens'.
- 478.ix.79 Douglas adds 'Amata', in apposition to 'queyn'.
- 478.ix.82 magna: Douglas omits.
matrum: Douglas employs two nouns:
'Of matronys and nobil wemen'.
- 479.ix.83 dona: Yet another example of two terms for one:
'Offerandis and gyftis'.
- 480.ix.85 causa mali tanti: 'cause of all the terrible calamity'
(Jackson Knight). Douglas's version is characteristic:
'The caus of all this harm and wofull teyn'.
- 480.ix.86 Douglas adds, 'for schame'.
- 481.ix.87 Douglas adds, 'in the goddis presens'.
- 481.ix,88 ture: Douglas: 'with sweit vapour and sens'.
- 482.ix.89 Douglas adds 'lovd', modifying 'warpis'.
Douglas adds 'on hie', perhaps suggested by alto,
qualifying limine.
- * * *
- 478 (631) regina: named by Mandelbaum, 'Amata'.

'nympha, decus fluviorum, animo gratissima nostro,
 scis ut te cunctis unam, quaecumque Latinae
 magnanimi Iovis ingratum ascendere cubile,
 praetulerim caelique libens in parte locarim:
 disce tuum, ne me incuses, Iuturna, dolorem.
 qua visa est Fortuna pati Parcaeque sinebant
 cedere res Latio, Turnum et tua moenia texi;
 nunc iuvenem imparibus video concurrere fatis,
 Parcarumque dies et vis inimica propinquat.
 non pugnam aspicere hanc oculis, non foedera possum.

XII, 142-151

"O thou nymphes, wirschip of fludis cleir,
 That to my saul is hald maste leif and deir,
 Thow knawys weill, I the preferrit ay
 To all the otheris damysellys, perfay,
 Of Latyn cuntre, quhat so evir thai wer
 That wrangwisly ascendit or drew neir
 The bed onprofitabill of Iupiter mast hie;
 And glaidly eik haue I not stakyt the
 Intill a party of the hevyn alssua?
 Hark now thy sorow, thou Iuturna,
 And wyte me not bot I the warnyt haue.
 Turnus and thy cheif cite haue I save,
 Sa lang as that the fatis sufferit me,
 And quhill werd sisteris sa tholyt tobe;
 Bot now I se that yong man haste, but fail,
 To mach in feild with fatis inequail;
 The lattir day and term approchis ne
 Of fatale fors and strangast destyne.
 Nowder this bargane yonder on the greyn
 Nor confideratioun may I se with eyn.

XII.iii.65-84

"You, nymph, the glory
 of rivers and most dear to me, you know
 how more than all the Latin girls that mounted
 upon great-hearted Jove's ungrateful bed
 it was yourself I held the highest, giving
 to you, and willingly, a place in heaven.
 Juturna, learn your sorrow, lest you blame me.
 Wherever Fortune left me leeway, where
 the Fates let Latium succeed at all,
 there I watched over Turnus and your city.
 But now I see him face unequal Fates;
 the day of doom, of bitter force draws near;
 I cannot bear to see this battle or
 this treaty.

XII, 191-204

- 142.iii.65 decus fluviorum: 'glory of rivers' (Fairclough);
Douglas: 'wirschip of fludis'.
Douglas adds 'cleir', qualifying 'fludis'.
- 142.iii.66 gratissima: Douglas: 'maste leif and deir'.
- 143.iii.68 cunctis: Douglas: 'To all the otheris damysellys'.
Douglas adds 'perfay'.
- 144.iii.70 ascendere: Douglas: 'ascendit or drew neir';
'or drew neir' seems a pointless addition.
Douglas adds 'wrangwisly', modifying 'ascendit'.
- 145.iii.67 Douglas adds 'ay', modifying 'preferrit'.
- 145.iii.73 Douglas adds 'alssua'.
- 146.iii.74 Douglas adds 'now', modifying 'Hark'.
- 146.iii.75 Douglas adds, 'bot I the warnyt haue'.
- 148.iii.78 Latio: Douglas omits.
- 148.iii.76 Douglas adds 'cheif', qualifying 'cite'.
- 149.iii.79 Douglas adds, 'but fail'.
- 150.iii.81 Parcarumque dies: 'the (last) day which the Fates
have decreed' (Williams); Douglas translates,
'The lattir day and term'.
- 150.iii.82 et vis inimica: 'and unfriendly power' (Davidson);
Douglas's version takes a familiar form:
'Of fatale fors and strangast destyne'.
- 151.iii.83 Douglas adds, 'yonder on the greyn'.
- * * *
- 151 (203) oculis: Mandelbaum omits.

Douglas and Mandelbaum

It will be clear from the preceding pages that Mandelbaum adds and omits little, keeping close to the Latin but producing what reads like original poetry of a high standard. The four centuries that separate Douglas and Mandelbaum might be thought to make a comparison impossible, but in a number of respects it is evident that they have features in common, not the least important being the creation of the illusion that their work is not translation but original poetry.

Both poets make effective use of alliteration, Mandelbaum in I, 144-161 in 'The hurricane is howling' and 'surge that seethes with sand, Douglas at X, 298-307 in the line,

'For in the schald scho stoppys, and dyd stand', suggesting a ship stuck on a sand-bank.

Another noteworthy feature of both poets is their skill in handling the metre and in the effective placing of words. In I, 144-161 Mandelbaum's rendering varies in tempo from the slowness of 'Some sailors hang upon a wave crest' and 'like a monstrous/spine stretched along the surface of the sea' (incorporating skilful use of the transition from one line to the next), to the speed of 'and spins their keels upon the hidden rocks'. The same order of skill is shown in Douglas's version of the half-line of Virgil, with its striking monosyllabic ending, *praeruptus aquae mons*:

'Heich as a hill the iaw of watir brak
And in ane hepe cam on thame with a swak'.

In the same passage Douglas's phrase 'hesit hoverand' is well placed to describe the precarious momentary position of the sailors.

In the final line of Mandelbaum's version of I, 325-334 the word 'fall' is effectively placed in the emphatic position of first word, followed by two unstressed syllables; this produces a clear image of the sacrificial animals dropping lifeless. Similar use of the beginning of a line is made by Douglas in X, 298-307. The words describing the destruction of Tarchon's ship, 'To brystis scho', are prepared for in the preceding two lines, yet come with suddenness, like the final disintegration of the vessel. In the same passage Douglas has two highly expressive phrases, 'slyddry glar' and 'all drowkyt and forwrocht'.

On occasion Mandelbaum's rendering is closer to the Latin than Douglas's. One example is at III, 306-316, where the Latin has the clause, *si lux alma recessit*. Mandelbaum reproduces the euphemism in 'if the gracious light/of life has left you', while Douglas, realistically but prosaically, has 'Gif thou be ded'. Similarly, in XI, 473-482, Mandelbaum's version of *oculos deiecta decoros*, 'her lovely eyes held low', is to be preferred to Douglas's

'That dovn for schame dyd cast hyr lusty eyn'.

For the reader whose knowledge of Latin is not as extensive as he might wish, Mandelbaum's version could well be used as a companion to Douglas's translation, indicating, by reason of its faithfulness to the original, what exactly Virgil wrote and what has been added by Douglas. In this way a great translation of the sixteenth century is illuminated by a great translation of the twentieth.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the Introduction Douglas's own statements of his aims and methods were surveyed. In these a certain contradiction was noted between claims to have produced a version that was 'a1 maste word by word' and justifications for having made additions for various reasons, such as for purposes of explanation or to produce a rhyme. The one unambiguous statement noted was Douglas's hope that he had produced a translation that would bring the works of Virgil within reach of those to whom the Aeneid had been a closed book.

In Chapter I the subject of expansion was briefly introduced, a topic to be touched upon frequently in later chapters, in association with other matters.

The next six chapters dealt with the subject of mistranslation, Chapter II being concerned with general examples and Chapters III to VII with specific grammatical errors in relation to particular parts of speech. Errors arising from failure to pay adequate attention to the metre of the Latin hexameter were noted in Chapter VIII.

In Chapters IX to XII attention was given to renderings which failed to do justice to the significance of Latin words or phrases, to unfortunate additions, to unduly free translations and to passages where the subject-matter had been confusingly or misleadingly re-arranged.

Chapter XIII was concerned with passages where scholars had differed in their interpretations of the Latin, and it was indicated in each case where Douglas's rendering had received support.

Chapter XIV quoted Douglas's versions of forty-five passages along with the corresponding version of one of five other poets. After each pair of passages there were notes on each version, and /

and at the end of each section an assessment was attempted of the relative merits of Douglas's version and that of the other poet.

It is hoped that the evidence collected in Chapters III to XII will not only prove Douglas's claim to have produced a translation that was 'al maste word by word' unjustified, but will show that a much more recent statement, that of C. S. Lewis, to the effect that 'the two texts [the Aeneid and the Eneados] are generally so close that a glance at one serves to elucidate anything that is difficult in the other' (English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, excluding Drama, Oxford, 1954, pp. 81f.) is untenable. Similarly, a much more recent assessment¹ of Douglas as a 'remarkably faithful translator' (Longer Scottish Poems, vol. I, Edinburgh, 1987, p. 233) is hardly borne out by the evidence. In another recent publication, The History of Scottish Literature, vol. I, ed. R. D. S. Jack, Aberdeen, 1988, p. 84, Mrs Bawcutt writes:

But in the sixteenth century 'Virgillis text' was rather different from that we read today. The edition that Douglas used, almost certainly that published by Jodocus Badius Ascensius in 1501, differed from a modern one in wording as well as in spelling and punctuation; it omitted or inserted whole lines, and completed some of the famous half-lines. Any assessment of Douglas's accuracy as a translator must take account of this. Many apparent blunders or barbarisms originated not in his ignorance but in the peculiarities of his Latin text.

Mrs Bawcutt is being too generous to Douglas here, because a comparison of the 1501 text with the current standard text published at Oxford in 1969, as collated in Appendix C, will show that while a few apparent mistranslations may be explained in this way, the vast majority of discrepancies are due to the types of error discussed in Chapters III to XII.

If an explanation for the large number of errors made

by/

¹ Longer Scottish Poems, vol. I, edited by Priscilla Bawcutt and

by Douglas is sought, it is most likely to be found in Douglas's lines on 'tyme, space and dait' at the very end of his book, where he says that 'it was compylit in auchteyn moneth space'. A period as short as this would allow little time for second thoughts and perhaps none for general revision.

The parallel passages discussed in Chapter XIV aim at making clear some of the positive qualities of Douglas's version, for example his greater emotional depth when compared with Surrey, his freedom from metrical monotony when compared with Phaer and Twyne, his responsible attitude to his original when compared with Mure and his refreshing informality and metrical variety when compared with Dryden. The passages from the version of Mandelbaum indicate the differences and resemblances in the works of poets separated by over four centuries.

If Douglas's poetic aims have not been achieved to the extent that he would have wished, he has nevertheless produced a poem which is undeniably great. Assessments have tended to be distorted by failure to recognise that the Eneados and the Aeneid are poems of different kinds. Virgil's 'key' word to the character of Aeneas, *pius*, is invariably rendered by Douglas as 'reuthfull', indicating a much more homely quality than the dutifulness which Virgil intended his hero to personify. Another non-epic feature of the Eneados is the homely aside; many occur in the course of Douglas's poem, but most strikingly perhaps at XIII.583.x.111f., where the Latin verse runs

Dixit: et inde leves fugiens se vexit ad auras.

Douglas's version reads

Na mair scho said, bot, as the gleym doith gleit,
From thens scho went away in the schyre ayr,
I wait nocht quhidder, for I com neuer thar.

Further, ~~Douglas leaves his readers in no doubt that he regards both~~

Further, Douglas leaves his readers in no doubt that he regards both Virgil and himself as primarily story-tellers. In the Prologue to Book I, lines 503f., we find Douglas introducing his poem in this fashion:

Quha list attend, gevis audiens and draw neir,
Me thocht Virgill begouth on this maner.

If criticism could discard the view that the Aeneid and the Eneados provide reciprocal illumination it might be possible to arrive at a valid assessment of the Scots poem. It might well be found that some of the most memorable lines in the Eneados are not those noted for their closeness to the original but those added by Douglas. In the extract on page 209 (II.276.v.48f.) the Latin reads

vel Danaum Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignis!

Surrey has an accurate translation:

Or when he threw into the Grekish shippes
The Troian flame!

Douglas has seen the poetic possibilities of Servius on Phrygios ignis (quoted on p. 210) and substituted for Virgil's general reference the mention of a specific occasion which not only provides the reader with a more definite image than that evoked by Virgil or Surrey but rises to the heights of sheer poetry:

Or quhen the Troiane fyry blesis, I wys,
On Grekis schippis thyk fald he slang that day
Quhen that he slew the duke Prothesylay!

It is unfortunate that Douglas has invited his readers ('Exclamatioun', lines 19ff., quoted on p. 59) to make a detailed comparison of his version with the original. Dryden was wiser when he wrote in his Dedication of the Aeneis (Cambridge Edition, edited by George R. Noyes, 1908, p. 519),

Lay by Virgil, I beseech your Lordship, and all my better
sort of judges, when you take up my version; and it will
appear a passable beauty when the original Muse is absent.

The reader who lays by Virgil when taking up the Eneados ^{will} ~~is likely to~~

Appendix A: A Question of Manuscript Readings

At X.133.iii.31f. the Latin reads

Dardanius caput, ecce, puer, detectus honestum,
translated by Douglas, in Coldwell's edition, as

'in covert quhar he yeid,
Thar mycht be seyn in hys fresch lustyhed'.

This does not make good sense; but the word *caput* points the way to a solution of the problem. 'Lusty hed' (written as two words) would provide a good translation of *caput honestum*. An examination of the five complete extant manuscripts reveals that although the Cambridge and Ruthven MSS have 'lustyhed', as printed by Coldwell, the Elphynstoun, Bath and Lambeth MSS have 'lusty hede' or 'lusty hed' as two separate words, surely the reading intended by Douglas.

A similar instance occurs later in the same book.

At X.639.xi.87 the Latin reads *divini adsimulat capitis*, translated in Coldwell's edition,

'Be semlant lyke Eneas godlyhed'.

Here again the Cambridge and Ruthven MSS have the incomprehensible single word while the Elphynstoun, Bath and Lambeth MSS have the accurate 'godly hede' or 'godly hed'.

The first printed edition of the *Eneados* (London, 1553), has the two separate words in both instances, as has Ruddiman's edition (Edinburgh, 1710), but the edition of Rutherford and Dundas (Edinburgh, 1839) follows the text of the Cambridge and Ruthven MSS.

A further, highly desirable, emendation would be the substitution of 'incovert', admirably translating *detectus*, for the nonsensical 'in covert'; unfortunately there is no manuscript authority for such an alteration.

Appendix B: Note on the 1501 Edition

One of the most obvious features of the 1501 edition is the exclusive use of upper case letters for the initial letter of the first word in each verse. Lower case letters are used for every other word, including proper nouns. As a result Douglas occasionally translates a common noun as if it were proper, for example *genius* at V.95.ii.103 and VII.136.ii.68.

Certain consonants, notably 'm' and 'n', are sometimes represented by a stroke placed above an adjacent vowel, for example *ímanis* for *immanis* at VI.77.

The diphthong *ae* is frequently represented by *e*, for example, *ir_eque* for *iraeque* at VII.15, *pr_eter* for *praeter* at VII.24. The practice of adding this subscript to the letter 'e' spreads to words in which no diphthong occurs, for example, *telum*. Of the 148 appearances of this word (including oblique cases) in the *Aeneid*, in 12 instances the 'e' is given a subscript, but as *taelum* is not a Latin word there is no ambiguity. A much more notable case is the word *letum*, which (including oblique cases) occurs 36 times in the *Aeneid*. *letum* is printed three times as *laetum*, *leti* is printed once as *laeti* and *leto* is printed once as *laeto*; the more usual forms are *l_etum* (seven times), *l_eti* (four times) and *l_eto* (six times). The subscript is absent in the case of *letum* (three times), *leti* (twice) and *leto* (eight times). On one occasion *letum* is printed as *telum*. The result of the printing of the diphthong and the subscript is that the word *letum* and its oblique cases are typographically indistinguishable from the word *laetus*, 'happy'; on one occasion Douglas has been misled by/

by the spelling (and a note of Ascensius, 'i. laeticie & voluptatis') into translating leti (printed lēti at IV.169.iv.83) as, 'of hir glaidnes'.

The punctuation of the 1501 edition differs markedly from that of modern editions, the comma and the semi-colon not being employed at all. A brief extract from the 1501 edition with the corresponding verses from the Oxford Classical Text, edited by R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969) will make the difference clear.

Paris, 1501: Erramus pelago: totidem sine sydere noctes.

Quarto terra die primú se attollere tandem

Visa: aperire procul montes: ac voluere fumú.

Vela cadunt: remis insurgimus. haud mora: nautę

Adnixi torquent spumas: & cęrula verrunt.

Oxford, 1969: erramus pelago, totidem sine sidere noctes.

quarto terra die primum se attollere tandem

visa, aperire procul montis ac uoluere fumum.

vela cadunt, remis insurgimus; haud mora, nautae

adnixi torquent spumas et caerula uerrunt.

(III, 204ff.)

Appendix C: The 1501 (Paris) Edition and the 1969 (Oxford) Edition

The following variations occur so frequently that it has been considered more useful to list them here than to keep repeating them throughout the collation:

Assimilations (e.g. *alloquitur* for *adloquitur*);
 Words ending in *-es* representing *-is* (e.g. *orbes* for *orbis*);
littus (and oblique cases) for *litus*;
sydus (and oblique cases) for *sidus*;
sylva (and oblique cases) for *silva*;
 Omission of 's' after 'x' (e.g. *expirantem* for *exspirantem*);
lachrymabilis (and oblique cases) for *lacrimabilis*;
lachrymans (and oblique cases) for *lacrimans*;
lachryma (and oblique cases) for *lacrima*;
humerus (and oblique cases) for *umerus*;
clypeus (and oblique cases) for *clipeus*;
nequicquam for *nequiquam*.

Variations in punctuation are not listed; reference has been made to this subject in Appendix B.

<u>Book I</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
2	lavinaque	Laviniaque
13	Carthago	Karthago
	tyberinaque	Tiberinaque
24	charis	caris
30	relliquias	reliquias
41	oili	Oelei
51	foeta	feta
57	sceptra	sceptra
70	diuersas	diuersos
	disiice	dissice
72	deiopeiam	Deiopea
73	connubio	conubio
78	scaeptra	sceptra
80	nymborumque	nimborumque
86	Aphricus	Africus
97	Tytide	Tydide
99	scaeus	saeuus
108	arreptas	abreptas
113	orontem	Oronten
117	vortex	vertex
120	ilioni	Ilionei
121	grandeuus	grandaeuus
	alethes	Aletes
122	hyems	hiems
125	hyemem	hiemem
	neptúnus	Neptunus
133	terram	terramque
138	scaeuumque	saeuumque
149	sceuitque	saeuitque
169	anchora	ancora
174	silicis	silici
181	antea	Anthea
193	aequat	aequet
198	antemalorum	ante malorum
201	cyclopea	Cyclopia
212	veribusque	veribusque
213	ahena	aëna
221	credelia	crudelia
236	omni	omnis
	ditione	dicione
244	lyburnorum	Liburnorum
	tymaui	Timavi
253	sceptra	sceptra
260	aeneam	Aenean
272	tercentum	ter centum
284	pthiam	Pthiam
289	honestum	onustum
293	artis	artis
295	ahenis	aënis
297	maiae	Maia
298	carthaginis	Karthaginis
317	Harpalice	Harpalyce
330	foelix	felix

<u>Book I</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
337	cothurno	coturno
343	sicheus agri	Sychaeus auri
347	imanior	immanior
348	sicheum	Sychaeum
351	caelauit	celauit
364	foemina	femina
366	carthaginis	Karthaginis
368	circundare	circumdare
380	a	ab
386	inter fata	interfata
391	nuncio	nuntio
393	bissenos	bis senos
	cygnos	cycnos
411	sepsit	saepsit
413	possit	posset
414	&	aut
	exquirere	poscere
417	thure	ture
427	theatri	theatris
429	alta	apta
432	foetus	fetus
436	fragrantia	fraglantia
439	septus	saeptus
441	umbra	umbrae
449	ahenis	aënis
455	labores	laborem
465	humectat	umectat
467	graii	Grai
469	rhaesi	Rhesi
471	Tytides	Tydides
475	infoelix	infelix
486	currum	currus
	ipsumque ut	utque ipsum
489	Aeasque	Eoasque
	mennonis	Memnonis
498	cinthi	Cynthi
502	pertentant	pertemptant
506	septa	saeppta
510	Antea	Anthea
512	aduexerat	auexerat
513	perculsus	percussus
518	cuncti	cunctis
530	graii	Grai
531	glebae	glabrae
532	Oenotrii	Oenotri
534	huc	hic
558	acestem	Acesten
567	obtusa	obtusa
570	acestem	Acesten
572	consistere	considerere
581	eneam	Aenean
585	cetera	cetera

<u>Book I</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
590	genitrix	genetrix
593	circundatur	circumdatur
594	Tunc	tum
598	relliquias	reliquias
603	dii	di
613	Obstupuit	Obstipuit
618	simeontis	Simoentis
621	tunc	tum
622	ditione	dicione
631	eneam	Aenean
636	lēticiamque dei	laetitiamque dii
642	antiquē	antiqua
644	achatem	Achaten
646	chari	cari
649	achanto	acantho
653	scaeptrum	sceptrum
655	baccatum	bacatum
668	iacteturque iniquae	iactetur acerbae
670	Hunc	nunc
677	chari	cari
686	latycemque	laticemque
687	et	cum
689	genitricis	genetricis
697	quum	cum
702	mantilia	mantelia
703	longo	longam
712	infoelix	infelix
714	puero pariter	pariter puero
719	insideat	insidat
720	sicheum	Sychaeum
721	tentat	temptat
722	iampridem	iam pridem
736	mensa	mensam
740	cythara	cithara
745	occeano	Oceano
746	Hyberni	hiberni
747	plausum	plausu
<u>Book II</u>		
7	vlyxi	Vlixi
8	humida	umida
10	cognescere	cognoscere
29	sceus	saeus
30	acies	acie
31	inupte	innuptae
32	tymoetes	Thymoetes
38	tentare	temptare
44	vlyxes	Vlixes
49	quicquid	quidquid
56	stares	staret
71	insuper	et super
81	aliquid	aliquod

<u>Book II</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
82	inclyta	incluta
88	regnumque	regumque
89	consiliis	conciliis
90	vlyxi	Vlixi
97	vlyxes	Vlixes
111	hyems	hiems
113	equus	equus
114	eurypilum	Eurypylum
120	Obstupuere	obstipuere
122	itachus	Ithacus
126	Bisquinos	bis quinos
129	rupit	rumpit
139	ad	et
142	restat	restet
146	arcta	arta
150	imanis	immanis
151	relligio	religio
164	vlyxes	Vlixes
172	simulachrum	simulacrum
176	tentanda	temptanda
178	omnia	omina
179	aduexere	auexere
180	tunc	nunc
182	degerit	digerit
	omnia	omina
187	neu	ne
	possit	posset
188	relligione	religione
193	pelopeia	Pelopea
197	tytides	Tydides
	larissaeus	Larissaeus
200	obiicitur	obicitur
201	neptúno	Neptuno
202	solennes	sollemnis
207	cetera	cetera
232	simulachrum	simulacrum
236	subiiciunt	subiciunt
	stupea	stuppea
238	Foeta	feta
241	inclyta	incluta
245	infoelix	infelix
261	Thersandrus	Thessandrus
	vlyxes	Vlixés
262	athamasque	Acamasque
264	epeus	Epeos
265	somnoque	somno
274	hei	ei
283	Expectare	expectate
299	quamvis	quamquam
308	devertice	de vertice
312	sigea	Sigea
317	præcipitant	praecipitat
319	otriades	Othryades
331	nunquam	umquam
333	Oppositi	oppositis

<u>Book II</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
334	tentant	temptant
336	otriade	Othryadae
337	erynnis	Erinys
339	ripheus	Rhipeus
340	Ephitus	Epytus
341	chorebus	Coroebus
342	Mygdonidis	Mygdonides
	illis qui ad	illis ad
345	Infoelix	infelix
346	audierat	audierit
347	audere	ardere
349	cupido est	cupido
352	dii	di
365	relligiosa	religiosa
374	Segnicies	segnities
378	Obstupuit	obstupuit
383	circumfundimur	circumfundimur
386	chorebus	Coroebus
392	Androgeo	Androgei
394	ripheus	Rhipeus
402	quenquam	quemquam
407	chorebus	Coroebus
408	moriturus	periturus
411	Obruimur nostrorum	nostrorum obruimur
413	erepte	ereptae
417	oeois	Eois
418	sceuitque	saeuitque
420	pervram	per umbram
424	chorebus	Coroebus
426	ripheus	Rhipeus
428	diis	dis
	dimasque	Dymasque
435	Hyphitus	Iphitus
436	vlyxi	Vlix
444	obiiciunt	obiciunt
	prensant	prensant
445	tecta	tota
447	telis	telis
459	tela	tela
470	telis	telis
	ahena	aena
477	autumedon	Automedon
488	foemineis	femineis
510	Circundat	circumdat
517	simulachra	simulacra
	tenebant	sedebant
518	iuuenilibus	iuuenalibus
526	polytes	Polites
532	uitam multo	multo uitam
536	dii	di
538	letum	letum
542	sepulchro	sepulcro
547	nuncius	nuntius

<u>Book II</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
548	Pellide	Pelidae
549	narrate	narrare
559	sceus	saeus
560	Obstupui	obstipui
561	equeum	aequaeuum
569	clara	claram
572	poenas Danaum	Danaum poenam
573	Permetuens	praemetuens
	erynnis	Erinys
584	foeminea	feminea
	nec habet	habet haec
587	flamme,	famam
592	prehensum	prehensum
594	furor	dolor
596	aspicias	aspicies
602	uerum	dium
605	humida	umida
610	Neptunnus	Neptunus
616	nymbo	nimbo
	sceua	saeua
634	Ast	Atque
646	sepulchri est	sepulcri
654	iisdem	isdem
659	reliqui	relinqui
661	leto	leto
666	Ascaniumque	Ascanium
683	molli	mollis
699	in	ad
702	Dii	di
715	relligione	religione
718	ex	e
727	ex agmine	examine
	graii	Grai
739	lassa	lapsa
755	animos	animo
760	ad	et
762	vlyxes	Vlixes
767	stant circum: & tacitis implent mugitibus aures.	stant circum.
771	furenti	ruenti
772	Infoelix	infelix
	simulachrum	simulacrum
774	Obstupui	obstipui
775	tunc	tum
776	labori	dolori
778	hinc comitem asportare	comitem hinc portare
779	olimpi	Olympi
781	Ad	et
	hesperiam	Hesperiam
782	tybris	Thybris
786	graiis	Grais
788	genitrix	genetrix
792	brachia	bracchia
800	quascunque	quascumque
804	montem	montis

<u>Book III</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
3	Neptúnia	Neptunia
8	incoeperat	inceperat
12	diis	dis
19	dioneē	Dionaeae
27	arbor	arbos
32	tentare	temptare
37	nixu	nisu
48	Obstupui	obstipui
50	Infoelix	infelix
62	polidoro	Polydoro
74	neptunnio	Neptuno
	egeo	Aegaeo
75	arcitenens	arquitenens
76	mycone	Mycono
82	agnoscit	agnouit
85	tymbree	Thymbraee
87	reliquias	reliquias
101	iubeatve	iubeatque
102	monumenta	monimenta
111	cybele	Cybeli
112	Ideumque	Tdaeumque
115	gnosia	Cnosia
117	creteis	Cretaeis
119	neptúno	Neptuno
120	hyemi	Hiemi
	foelicibus	felicibus
123	domos	domum
125	donytam	Donusam
131	curretum	Curetum
136	connubiis	conubiis
139	loetifer	letifer
141	syrius	Sirius
146	tentare	temptare
151	insomnis	in somnis
	manifesto	manifesti
158	Idem	idem
163	graii	Grai
164	glebe	glabrae
165	Oenotrii	Oenotri
170	coritum	Corythum
	require	requirat
172	ac	et
187	tunc	tum
189	dictis	dicto
194	himber	imber
195	hyememque	hiememque
	vmbra	unda
211	celeno	Celaeno
221	herbam	herbas
223	predam: partemque	partem praedamque
228	tetrum	taetrum
230	clausi	clausam
240	tentant	temptant
246	Infoelix	infelix

<u>Book III</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
246	rupitque	rumpitque
251	phebo	Phoebo
260	diriguit	deriguit
262	obscoenaeque	obscenaeque
263	At	et
265	dii	di
267	diripere	deripere
269	uocabant	uocabat
271	Dulychiumque	Dulichiumque
272	itachae	Ithacae
273	scaeui	saeui
	vlyxis	Vlixi
277	anchora	ancora
281	palestras	palaestras
285	hyems	hiems
286	magnis	magni
293	butroti	Buthroti
	ascendimus	accedimus
298	Obstupui	obstipui
301	solennes	sollemnis
	tum	cum
302	simeontis	Simoentis
304	cespite	caespite
305	lachrymans	lacrimis
308	diriguit	deriguit
310	nuncius	nuntius
314	subiicio	subicio
315	& uitam	uitamque
319	connubia	conubia
321	foelix	felix
330	inflammatus	flammatus
338	quis te	quisnam
341	ecquenam	ecqua tamen
352	necnon	nec non
354	Aulai in medio	aulai medio
360	clarii lauros	Clarissimi et laurus
362	omnem	omnis
363	relligio	religio
364	tentare	temptare
367	Obscoenamque	obscenamque
376	hic	is
377	ex	e
386	circes	Circae
390	littoreis	litoreis
391	foetus	fetus
398	graiis	Grais
399	naritii	Narycii
400	salentinos	Sallentinos
402	petilia	Petelia
407	omnia	omina
409	relligione	religione
415	muta re	mutare
429	pachynni	Pachyni
435	preque	proque

<u>Book III</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
440	metiere	mittere
452	sybille	Sibyllae
455	uocent	uocet
462	fatis	factis
463	affatus	effatus
464	sectoque	ac secto
466	dodoneosque	Dodonaeosque
	lebetes	lebetas
471	ingruit	instruit
480	foelix	felix
481	surgentis	surgentis
483	subtegmine	subtemine
484	honor	honore
486	monumenta	monimenta
487	andromaches	Andromachae
493	foelices	felices
499	fuerint	fuerit
	graiis	Grais
500	tybrim	Thybrim
	tybridis	Thybridis
502	Cognatasque	cognatas
503	hesperia	Hesperiam
520	tentamusque	temptamusque
528	dii	di
533	aeo	euroo
535	brachia	bracchia
536	a	ab
538	tudentes	todontis
541	iidem	idem
542	quadrupedes	quadripides
543	est	et
545	velamus	velamur
549	antenarum	antennarum
553	naufigum	nauifragum
	scyllaceum	Scyllaceum
558	haec	hic
	caribdis	Charybdis
564	iidem	idem
565	descendimus	desedimus
571	sonat	tonat
581	motat	mutet
583	tecti in	tecti
586	syderea	siderea
589	humentemque	umentemque
593	illuvies	inluuies
594	tegmen	tegimen
	caetera	cetera
601	quascunque	quascumque
606	manibus hominum	hominum manibus
613	itacha	Ithaca
	infoelicis	infelicitis
	vlyxi	Vlixii
614	adamasco	Adamasto
620	dii	di
621	effabilis	adfabilis
625	expersa	aspersa

<u>Book III</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
628	vlyxes	Vlixes
629	itachus	Ithacus
632	Immensum	immensus
648	tremisco	tremesco
649	infoelicem	infelicem
	baccas	bacas
650	haerbae	herbae
654	laeto	leto
661	solamenque mali de collo fistula pendet.	solamenque mali.
668	uerrimus	uertimus
670	dextram	dextra
672	ponthus	pontus
676	portum	portus
681	constiterant	constiterunt
684	charybdimque	Charybdinque
685	vtranque	utrimque
	leti	leti
686	teneant	teneam
687	a	ab
689	tapsumque	Thapsumque
690	retrorsum	retrorsus
691	infoelicis	infelicis
	vlyxi	Vlixii
693	Plemmyrium	Plemyrium
694	Orthygiam	Ortygiam
697	Numina magna loci iussi veneramur	iussi numina magna loci veneramur
699	pachynni	Pachyni
700	nunquam	numquam
703	agragas	Acragas
705	selinis	Selinus
708	actis	actus
716	omnibusunus	omnibus unus

Book IV

7	Humentemque	umentemque
8	unanimem	unanimam
18	pertesum	pertaesum
20	sichei	Sychaei
26	erebi	Erebo
27	violem	uiolo
	resoluam	resoluo
30	sinus	sinum
38	placido ne	placitone
40	getule	Gaetulae
43	Barchei	Barcaeii
45	Diis	dis
46	Huc	hunc
52	hyems	hiems
54	incensum	impenso
	inflammavit	flammauit
58	lyeo	Lyaeo

<u>Book IV</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
66	flammas	flamma
68	infoelix	infelix
70	quem	quam
	cressia	Cresia
73	laetalis	letalis
	arundo	harundo
87	exercent	exercet
91	Chara	cara
95	foemina	femina
97	carthaginis	Karthaginis
99	hymeneos	hymenaeos
100	quod tota mente	tota quod mente
106	lybicas	Libycas
113	tentare	temptare
126	connubio	conubio
129	relinquit	reliquit
131	Raetia	retia
132	Massilique	Massylique
135	frena	frena
137	Sydoniam	Sidoniam
	circundata	circumdata
138	humero	auro
139	purpurea	purpuream
143	liciam	Lyciam
145	-	instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum
149	tela	tela
168	connubii	conubiis
169	leti	leti
173	lybie	Libyae
174	quo	qua
179	caeo	Coeo
	encheladoque	Enceladoque
188	nuncia	nuntia
189	tunc	tum
191	aeneam	Aenean
	troiano a sanguine	Troiano sanguine
193	hyemem	hiemem
196	hiarbam	Iarban
211	foemina	femina
212	precio	pretio
213	connubia	conubia
214	aeneam	Aenean
217	subnixus	subnexus
219	aramque	arasque
224	carthagine	Karthagine
227	genitrix	genetrix
237	nuncius	nuntius
243	tristia tartara	Tartara tristia
257	lybie	ad Libyae
260	Aeneam	Aenean
265	carthaginis	Karthaginis
271	lybicis	Libycis
	ocia	otia
274	heredis	heredis
276	debentur	debetur

<u>Book IV</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
284	affatu: et que	adfatu? quae
288	cloanthum	Serestum
290	sit rebus	rebus sit
293	tentaturum	temptaturum
294	qui	quis
	ocyus	ocius
302	Thyas	Thyias
304	eneam	Aenean
309	moliris	moliri
316	connubia	conubia
	incoeptos	inceptos
320	lybice	Libycae
	numadumque	Nomadumque
325	pygmaleon	Pygmalion
326	getulus	Gaetulus
328	soboles	suboles
329	tantum	tamen
330	aut	ac
334	nunquam	numquam
336	hoc reges	hos regit
338	unquam	umquam
339	tedas	taedas
341	meas	mea
343	relliquias	reliquias
	colerem: & priami	colerem, Priami
345	gryneus	Gryneus
347	carthaginis	Karthaginis
348	lybiceque	Libycaeque
351	humentibus	umentibus
353	insomnis	in somnis
367	tygres	tigres
373	eiectum & littore	eiectum litore
375	sociosque	socios
402	ueluti	uelut
403	hyemis	hiemis
408	tunc	tum
409	quotve	quosue
413	tentare	temptare
427	cineres	cinerem
433	spaciumque	spatiumque
436	relinquam	remittam
441	ueluti	uelut
	annosam	annoso
	ualido	ualidam
443	alte	altae
444	terras	terram
446	Aethereas	aetherias
450	infoelix	infelix
452	incoeptum	inceptum
	pergat	peragat
453	thuricremis	turicremis
455	obscoenum	obscenum
466	insomnis	in somnis
468	querere	quaerere
471	agamennonius	Agamemnonius
480	Oceani	Oceani

<u>Book IV</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
486	humida	umida
490	ciet	mouet
492	chara	cara
498	monumenta	monimenta
	iubet	iuuat
502	sichei	Sychaei
505	tedis	taedis
513	ahenis	aënis
518	vinclisque	uinclis
528	laborem	laborum
529	infoelix	infelix
	nec	neque
	unquam	umquam
532	scevit	saeuit
535	numadumque	Nomadumque
	connubia	conubia
536	sum	sim
539	ratibusque	ratibusue
545	sydonia	Sidonia
549	obiicis	obicis
552	sicheo	Sychaeo
559	iuventae	iuuenta
561	circunstent te	te circum stent
564	uarioque	uariosque
	fluctuat	concitat
	aestu	aestus
569	Eia	heia
570	foemina	femina
576	stimulat	instimulat
586	primum	primam
590	abscisa	abscissa
	proh	pro
596	Infoelix	infelix
597	sceptra	sceptra
602	patrisque	patriisque
	apponere	ponere
606	extinsem: & memet	exstinxem, memet
610	dii	di
	elisae	Elissae
611	auertite	aduertite
614	si	sic
632	sichei	Sychaei
638	incoepa	incepta
641	celerabat	celebrabat
651	sinebant	sinebat
657	foelix	felix
658	nunquam	numquam
667	foemineo	femineo
670	Carthago	Karthago
	tyrus	Tyros
682	extinxi	exstinxti
689	stridet	stridit
690	innixa	adnixa
700	rosida	roscida

<u>Book V</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
3	infoelicis	infelicis
6	foemina	femina
11	hyememque	hiememque
14	neptúne	Neptune
19	antro	atro
30	acestem	Acesten
35	excelso	ex celso
47	reliquias	reliquias
48	terre	terra
50	dii	di
53	solénisque	sollemnisque
58	cuncti laetum	laetum cuncti
59	mea	me
62	dat capita in naves: divos adhibete penates:	dat numero capita in navis; adhibete penatis
68	leuibusue	leuibusque
73	helimus	Helymus
74	cetera	cetera
83	tybrim	Thybrim
89	trahit	iacit
90	Obstupit	obstipuit
94	incoptos	inceptos
96	quinas	binas
101	onerantque	onerant
102	ahena	aëna
103	subiiciunt	subiciunt
	verubus	ueribus
105	phaetontis	Phaethontis
108	& pars	pars et
116	pistrim	Pristim
123	cluenthi	Cluenti
126	cori	Cauri
134	cetera	cetera
	vestitur	uelatur
136	brachia	bracchia
143	rostris stridentibus	rostrisque tridentibus
146	non	nec
154	pistris	Pristis
156	pistris	Pristis
	abit	habet
158	longe	longa
	carine	carina
161	menetem	Menoeten
162	dirige	derige
163	levas	laeua
164	menetes	Menoetes
166	menete	Menoete
173	menetem	Menoeten
179	menetes	Menoetes
184	mnestheoque	Mnestheique
187	partem	partim
	pistris	Pristis
192	getulis	Gaetulis
195	neptúne	Neptune
204	Infoelix	infelix
218	fugat	fuga

<u>Book V</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
218	pistris	Pristis
228	resonat clamoribus	resonatque fragoribus
235	Dii	di
238	porriciam	proiciam
240	panopeaque	Panopeaque
247	aptare	optare
256	necuiquam	nequiquam
264	connixi	conixi
265	Demoleus	Demoleos
269	evicti	euincti
270	sceuo	saeuo
281	plenis subit ostia velis	uelis subit ostia plenis.
292	preciis	pretiis
299	arcadia tegee de sanguine	Arcadio Tegeaeae sanguine
306	Gnosia	Cnosia
312	circumplectitur	circum amplectitur
313	Baltheus	balteus
317	nymbo	nimbo
319	ocyor	ocior
327	ipsum	ipsam
329	infoelix	infelix
337	murmure	munere
347	reddantur	reddentur
348	pius	pater
350	casum	casus
351	getuli	Gaetuli
359	dydimaonis	Didymaonis
360	Neptuni	Neptuni
364	brachia	bracchia
367	solatia	solacia
369	darhes	Dares
373	amici	Amyci
375	darhes	Dares
377	brachia portendens	bracchia protendens
380	pugna	palma
382	leua	laeua
396	effoete	effetae
398	exultant iuuenta	exsultat iuuentas
399	precio	pretio
403	brachia	bracchia
404	Obstupuere	obstipuere
406	darhes	Dares
410	siquid	si quis
417	darhes	Dares
427	Brachiaque	bracchiaque
449	radicitus	radicibus
456	darhen	Daren
460	darheta	Dareta
463	darheta	Dareta
465	Infoelix	infelix
470	reiectantem	eiectantem

<u>Book V</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
475	iuuenili	iuuenali
476	darheta	Dareta
482	effudit	effundit
483	darhetis	Daretis
486	ponit	dicit
489	telum	ferrum
496	Pandere	Pandare
499	tentare	temptare
500	Tunc	tum
505	timuitque	micuitque
514	eurycion	Eurytion
518	aeriis	aetheriis
520	aethereas	aërias
	contorsit	contendit
521	artem: pariterque	artemque pater
522	Hinc	hic
	subito	subitum
	obiicitur	obicitur
525	arundo	harundo
531	acestem	Acesten
534	honorem	honores
538	monumentum	monimentum
540	acestem	Acesten
541	eurycion	Eurytion
547	Epitidem	Epytiden
558	&	it
559	collum it	collum
561	bisseni	bis seni
568	atis	Atys
	acti	Atii
	dixere	duxere
572	monumentum	monimentum
573	Cetera	cetera
	trinacriae	Trinacriis
579	Epitides	Epytides
583	alias	alios
584	Aduersis	aduersi
585	simulachra	simulacra
586	fuge	fuga
587	pariter facta	facta pariter
591	falleret	frangeret
592	aliter	alio
594	humida	umida
595	Carpathium Libycúque	Carpathium Libycumque
	secant: luduntque	secant.
	per undas.	
604	Hic	Hinc
605	solennia	sollemnia
608	monens	mouens
619	Coniicit	conicit
620	ismarii	Tmarii
	doricli	Dorycli
624	letum	letum
625	Infoelix	infelix

<u>Book V</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
638	nobis	uobis
	nunc	iam
640	Neptúno	Neptuno
642	connixa	conixa
	choruscat	coruscat
644	in	e
645	Pirgo	Pyrgo
647	doricli	Dorycli
649	vocisve	uocisque
662	Coniiciunt	coniciunt
	vulcanus	Volcanus
666	nymbo	nimbo
667	cursusque	cursus
674	simulachra	simulacra
676	ille	illae
680	iccirco	idcirco
	flammae	flamma
684	Mec	nec
692	dimitte	demitte
694	tremiscunt	tremescunt
708	Iisque hic eneam	isque his Aenean
709	rerrahuntque	retrahuntque
710	quicquid	quidquid
714	Pertesum	pertaesum
	incoepti	incepti
716	quicquid	quidquid
718	promisso	permisso
720	animum	animo
725	Chare	care
734	tristesve	tristes
735	sybilla	Sibylla
738	humida	umida
746	acestem	Acesten
747	chari	cari
756	troie	Troiam
759	Tunc	tum
761	additur	additus
	anchiseo	Anchiseo
772	Tres	tris
773	funes	funem
775	celsa in puppi	procul in prora
776	Proiicit	proicit
779	neptúnum	Neptunum
781	nec	neque
782	neptúne	Neptune
784	fatis ve	fatisque
786	poenam traxisse	nec poenam traxe
787	reliquias	reliquias
789	Ipsa	ipse
793	proh	per
799	Tunc	tum
809	aeneam	Aenean
	diis	dis
810	eripui	rapui

<u>Book V</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
812	mihi perstat	perstat mihi
817	curru	auro
822	Tunc	tum
823	palemon	Palaemon
825	leva	laeua
	tenent	tenet
828	pertentant	pertemptant
	ocyus	ocius
829	brachia	bracchia
832	flumina	flamina
835	humida	umida
840	tristia somnia	somnia tristia
842	fuditque	funditque
843	Iaside	Iaside
850	Aeneam	Aenean
	austris	auris
854	leteo	Lethaeo
856	cunctanti	cunctantique
861	in	ad
862	secius	setius
863	neptúni	Neptuni
864	syrenum	Sirenum
866	Tunc	tum
<u>Book VI</u>		
4	Anchora	ancora
17	superastitit	super astitit
20	laetum	letum
23	gnosia	Cnosia
25	Pasyphae	Pasiphae
26	monumenta	monimenta
33	omnem	omnia
39	de	ex
40	eneam	Aenean
44	sybille	Sibyllae
55	fuditque	funditque
57	direxti	derexti
60	Masyllum	Massylum
64	diique	dique
69	templa	templum
74	nomina	carmina
78	posset	possit
84	terra	terrae
86	evenisse	et venisse
87	tybrim	Thybrim
96	Quam	qua
98	sybilla	Sibylla
100	frena	frena
102	rapida	rabida
108	chari	cari
116	natique	gnatique
120	cythara	cithara

<u>Book VI</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
123	a	ab
126	auerni	Auerno
131	Diis	dis
141	foetus	fetus
152	sepulchro	sepulcro
154	stygios	Stygis
161	exanimem	exanimum
177	sepulchri	sepulcri
182	abuoluunt	aduoluunt
185	dum	cum
193	agnoscit	agnouit
195	Dirigite	derigite
197	Alma	diua
207	foetu	fetu
	circundare	circumdare
209	bractea	brattea
211	sybille,	Sibyllae
218	ahena	aëna
219	vngunt	unguunt
222	Coniiciunt	coniciunt
	pheretro	feretro
225	Thurea	turea
227	reliquias	reliquias
228	choryneus	Corynaeus
	aheno	aëno
229	circuntulit	circumtulit
230	foelicis	felicis
232	sepulchrum	sepulcrum
233	Imposuit	imponit
236	sybille,	Sibyllae
242	graii	Grai
	auernum	Aornum
245	setas	saetas
252	inchoat	incohat
254	superque	super
255	lumina	limina
258	prophani	profani
264	Dii	Di
265	phlegeton	Phlegethon
	silentia	tacentia
268	umbras	umbram
276	male suada	malesuada
277	lētumque laborque	Letumque Labosque
278	lētī	Leti
282	brachia	bracchia
300	Canicies	canities
303	cymba	cumba
316	arena	harena
320	linqunt	linguunt
324	Dii	di
327	nec	et
334	orontem	Oronten
352	coepisse	cepisse
366	Iniice	inice
367	siquam	si quam
375	abibis	adibis

<u>Book VI</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
377	solatia	solacia
380	solénia	sollemnia
389	iamque istinc comprime	iam istinc et comprime
	gressus	gressum
393	pyrithoumque	Pirithoumque
394	Diis	dis
398	quem	quae
	amphrisia	Amphrysia
407	rabida	tumida
413	cymba	cumba
421	Obiicit	obicit
433	Conciliumque	consiliumque
434	letum	letum
438	Fata obstant	fas obstat
	tristique	tristisque
	unda	undae
439	cohercet	coercet
443	celant	celant
445	phedram	Phaedram
447	laodomia	Laodamia
448	foemina	femina
452	umbram	umbras
453	quis	qui
456	Infoelix	infelix
474	sicheus	Sychaeus
475	perculsus	percussus
476	lachrymans	lacrimis
	miseratus	miseratur
479	inclytus	inclutus
480	Parthenopeus	Parthenopaeus
483	thersilocumque	Thersilochemque
484	polybetem	Polyboeten
495	uidit	uidet
503	de	te
505	rethéo	Rhoeteo
509	Atque hic	ad quae
	relictum est.	relictum;
512	monumenta	monimenta
514	at	et
517	euantis	euhantis
520	Tunc	tum
521	Infoelix	infelix
529	dii	di
	grais	Grais
538	sybilla	Sibylla
549	circundata	circumdata
552	solideque	solidoque
553	ferro	bello
556	insomnis	exsomnis
557	scaeva	saeua
558	catenae	catenae
562	inclyte	inclute
566	Gnosius	Cnosius
579	etherium	aetherium
589	honores	honorem

<u>Book VI</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
590	nymbos	nimbos
591	cursu	pulsu
593	tedis	taedis
597	adunco	obunco
598	foecundaque	fecundaque
602	cadenti	cadentique
614	poenas	poenam
618	Infoelix	infelix
622	precio	pretio
623	hymeneos	hymenaeos
626	forma	formas
627	possem	possim
634	spacium	spatium
638	uireta	uirecta
651	mirantur	miratur
652	terre	terra
653	campos	campum
658	lauri	lauris
659	erydani	Eridani
664	alios	aliquos
665	iis	his
666	sybilla	Sibylla
669	foelices	felices
675	sed si vos	sed uos, si
676	superare	superate
685	Aeneam	Aenean
694	lybie	Libyae
697	thyrreno	Tyrrheno
	dextras	dextram
700	brachia	bracchia
702	Per	par
704	sylvis	siluae
713	Tunc	tum
733	nec	neque
734	Respiciunt	dispiciunt
746	reliquit	relinquit
754	possit	posset
763	posthuma	postuma
772	At qui	atque
779	stent	stant
780	signet	signat
781	inclyta	incluta
783	circundabit	circumdabit
784	Foelix	felix
	berecynthia	Berecynthia
792	dium	diui
793	que	qui
794	garamanthas	Garamantas
798	aduentu	aduentum
799	meotica	Maeotia
803	Placarit	pacarit
805	tygres	tigris
811	Fundavit	fundabit
813	Ocia	otia

<u>Book VI</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
817	tarquinos	Tarquinius
819	scevasque	saevasque
822	Infoelix	infelix
	fata	facta
833	vertice	uertite
835	Proiice	proice
843	lybie	Libyae
844	serane	Serrane
852	pacisque	pacique
861	iuuenem forma	forma iuuenem
865	Quis	qui
	in ipso est?	in ipso!
868	nate	gnate
873	tyberine	Tiberine
876	intantum	in tantum
879	quisquam se	se quisquam
890	Exin	exim
897	vbi	ibi
	sybillam	Sibyllam
900	littore	limite

Book VII

2	Aeternam	aeternam
7	reliquit	relinquit
8	cursum	cursus
10	circeę	Circaeae
17	Setigerique	saetigerique
18	Sceuire	saeuire
19	sceua	saeua
23	Neptúnus	Neptunus
31	uorticibus	uerticibus
70	iisdem	isdem
71	thedis	taedis
77	vulcanum	Volcanum
84	scequamque	saeuamque
86	ferunt	petunt
87	contulit	cum tulit
89	simulachra	simulacra
96	connubiis	conubiis
98	ueniunt	uenient
109	herbas	herbam
113	poenuria	penuria
122	&	haec
139	Ideumque	Idaeumque
144	Deditur	diditur
151	tybrim	Thybrim
156	rapidique	rapidisque
167	nuncius	nuntius
172	relligione	religione
173	Hinc	hic
178	ex	e
182	Martia qui	Martiaque

<u>Book VII</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
188	ancyle	ancile
196	cursus	cursum
198	per tot uada	tot per uada
206	Aruncos	Auruncos
207	penetrauit	penetrarit
209	corithi	Corythi
	a	ab
214	hyems	hiems
221	littora	limina
222	sceuis	saeuis
226	occeano	Oceano
229	Diis	dis
232	Phama	fama
	tantive	tantique
237	precantum	precantia
242	tybrim	Thybrim
244	relliquias	reliquias
247	sceptrumque	sceptrumque
	tyaras	tiaras
252	ne	nec
	sceptra	sceptra
253	connubio	conubio
257	hinc	huic
259	dii	di
	uestra	nostra
260	quos	quod
287	Sceua	saeua
288	eneam	Aenean
289	abusque	ab usque
	pachynno	Pachyno
292	effudit	effundit
294	sygeis	Sigeis
298	haud	aut
303	tybridis	Thybridis
305	lapithis	Lapithum
306	calydone	Calydona
309	infoelix	infelix
320	pregnans	praegnas
324	alecto	Allecto
	a	ab
	sororum	dearum
329	sceue	saeuae
333	connubiis	conubiis
335	vnanimis	unanimos
338	foecundum	fecundum
339	Disiice	dissice
341	Exin	exim
	alecto	Allecto
345	Foeminee	femineae
347	Coniicit	conicit
349	corpora	pectora
355	pertentat	pertemptant
358	nata	natae
372	achrysiusque	Acrisiusque
376	infoelix	infelix

<u>Book VII</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
381	spaciis	spatiis
	turba	supra
386	nephas	nefas
389	Heu ohe	euhoē
391	choros	choro
398	hymeneum	hymenaeos
400	ubicunque	ubi quaeque
401	infoelicis	infelicis
405	alecto	Allecto
412	auī	auis
413	terris	tectis
417	obscoenam	obscenam
422	sceptra	sceptra
424	heres	heres
437	nuncius	nuntius
440	effoeta	effeta
444	gerant	gerent
445	alecto	Allecto
447	Diriguere	deriguere
	erynnis	Erinys
452	effoeta	effeta
455	letumque	letumque
457	thēdas	taedas
458	rupit	rumpit
459	Perfudit	perfundit
	ruptus de	proruptus
461	Sceuit	saeuit
463	ahēni	aēni
464	aque vis	aquai
465	alte	alte
476	Alecto	Allecto
480	Obiicit	obicit
481	malorum	laborum
485	tyrrheusque	Tyrrhusque
490	herili	erili
493	rapide	rabidae
497	direxit	derexit
499	arundo	harundo
502	repleuit	replebat
507	repertum est	repertum
508	telum	telum
	tyrrheus	Tyrrhus
510	Scindebant	scindebat
511	sceua	saeua
515	intonuere	insonuere
517	Sulphurea	sulpurea
519	buccina	bucina
520	telis	telis
522	effudit	effundit
523	Direxere	derexere
527	lumine	nubila
532	tyrrhei	Tyrrhi
	almon	Almo
535	galesus	Galaesus

<u>Book VII</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
543	conuexa	conuersa
555	connubia	coniugia
565	Ansanti	Amsanti
566	utrinque	utrimque
568	sceui dytis	saeui Ditis
570	erynnis	Erinys
573	Imposuit	imponit
575	galesi	Galaesi
581	thyasis	thiasis
586	pelagi	pelago
592	sceue	saeuae
599	foelici	felici
600	Sepsit	saepsit
605	Hyrcanisque	Hyrcanisue
608	relligione sceui	religione saeui
614	cetera	cetera
618	aduersusque	auersusque
622	rupit	rumpit
633	ahenos	aenos
637	id	it
640	findoque	fidoque
643	tantum	iam tum
646	At	ad
649	hunc	huic
652	agilina	Agyllina
660	auras	oras
662	Geryone tyrinthius	Geryone Tirynthius
664	Pyla sceuosque	pila saeuosque
666	tegmen	tegimen
667	seta	saeta
670	tyburtia	Tiburtia
671	tyburti	Tiburti
673	tela	tela
674	nubinigae	nubigenae
675	otrynque	Othrymque
679	Vulcano	Volcano
683	rosida	roscida
684	pascit	pascis
691	mesapus neptunia	Messapus Neptunia
695	fesceninas	Fescenninas
697	cimnicum	Cimini cum
701	loge	longe
703	ex agmine	examine
704	aeream	aeriam
711	mitisce	Mutuscae
714	hymelle	Himellae
715	tybrim	Tiberim
716	ortyne	Ortinae
718	lybico	Libyco

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719	sceus	saeuus
720	quum	cum
722	pulsusque	pulsuque
724	halesus	Halaesus
725	foelicia	felicia
727	Arunci	Aurunci
729	vulturni	Volturni
730	aclides	aclydes
732	cetra	caetra
734	sebetride	Sebethide
737	ditione	dicione
739	rufas	Rufras
740	belle	Abellae
744	nurse	Nersae
745	foelicibus	felicibus
747	aequicola	Aequicula
	glebis	glaebis
750	marrubia	Marruua
751	foelici	felici
758	in montibus	montibus
763	aegerie	Egeriae
	hymetia	umentia
768	Aetherea	aetheria
	reli	caeli
773	in	ad
774	arma	alma
775	aegerie	Egeriae
781	secius	setius
785	chimeram	Chimaeram
786	aetneos	Aetnaeos
790	setis	saetis
793	clypeataque	clipeataque
794	densantur	densentur
797	tyberine	Tiberine
806	Foemineas	femineas

Book VIII

1	laurentis	Laurenti
11	aeneam	Aenean
14	increbescere	increbescere
20	celerem nunc huc	nunc huc celerem
22	ahenis	aënis
31	tyberinus	Tiberinus
35	Tunc	tum
43	Littoreis	litoreis
44	foetus	fetus
47	terdenis	ter denis
60	irasque	iramque
64	tybris	Thybris
67	eneam	Aenean
70	sustulit	sustinet
	effudit	effundit
73	eneam	Aenean
74	cunque	cumque
75	tenet	tenent
78	tandem	tantum
82	foetu	fetu

<u>Book VIII</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
86	Tybris	Thybris
90	incoeptum	inceptum
98	uident	procul
99	procul	uident
100	euander	Euandrus
101	Ocyus	ocius
102	solénem	sollemnem
103	Amphytrioniade	Amphitryoniadae
108	tacitis	tacitos
111	telo	telo
113	tentare	temptare
117	tela	tela
120	viros	duces
121	Obstupuit	obstipuit
	perculsus	percussus
122	quicumque	quicumque
132	dedita	didita
	phama	fama
135	graii	Grai
137	ethereos	aetherios
139	Cyllene	Cyllenae
	in vertice	uertice
141	torquet	tollit
144	tentamenta	temptamenta
	meque	me, me
159	archadie	Arcadiae
160	iuventa	iuuentas
163	iuvenili	iuuenali
165	phoeni	Phenei
178	eneam	Aenean
185	solennia	sollemnina
187	veterumve	ueterumque
198	vulcanus	Volcanus
202	geryonis	Geryonae
203	ac	hac
205	furiis	furis
206	intentatum	intractatum
211	raptos	raptor
212	Querentem	quaerenti
214	Amphitrionyades	Amphitryoniades
216	clemore	clamore
227	obiice	obice
228	tyrinthus	Tirynthius
231	tentat	temptat
239	insonat	intonat
245	diis	dis
246	trepidant	trepident
247	depreſsum in luce	depreſsum luce
251	pericli est	pericli,
260	inherens	inhaerens
266	setis	saetis
275	vocare	uocate
278	ocyus	ocius
282	gerebant	ferebant
291	oethaliamque	Oechaliamque

<u>Book VIII</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
294	Hyleumque	Hylaeumque
	cressia	Cresia
304	adiiciunt	adiciunt
306	Exin	Exim
308	aeneam	Aenean
312	monumenta	monimenta
313	euander	Euandrus
319	aethereo	aetherio
324	Aureaque (ut perhibent)	aurea quae perhibent
338	romano	Romani
344	licei	Lycaei
346	laetum	letum
349	relligio	religio
356	relliquias	reliquias
	monumenta	monimenta
357	urbem	arcem
367	eneam	Aenean
372	Vulcanum	Volcanum
383	neri	Nerei
401	Quicquid	quidquid
	possunt	possum
407	abacta	abactae
408	foemina	femina
420	gemitum	gemitus
422	Vulcani	Volcani
	vulcania	Volcania
425	pyracmon	Pyragmon
428	Deicit	deicit
435	horrificam	horriferam
437	connexosque	conexosque
444	Ocyus	ocius
448	Tela	tela
452	brachia	bracchia
462	herilem	erilem
466	olli	illi
470	nunquam	numquam
477	Ostentas	ostentat
478	colitur	incolitur
479	agilline	Agyllinae
480	hetruscis	Etruscis
482	sceuis	saeuis
484	dii	di
492	cedes	caedem
494	hetruria	Etruria
498	aruspex	haruspex
503	hetrusca	Etrusca
506	sceptro	sceptro
	tarcon	Tarchon
508	effoeta	effeta
510	Gnatum	natum
514	solatia	solacia
519	palas	Pallas
527	Suscipiunt	suspiciunt
	intonat	increpat

<u>Book VIII</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
530	Obstupuere heros	obstipuere heros
535	vulcaniaque	Volcaniaque
540	Tybri	Thybri
543	Suscitat	excitat
545	Euander	Euandrus
548	cetera	cetera
550	Nuncia	nuntia
555	Ocyus littora	ocius limina
559	inexpletum	inexpletus
563	herilum	Erulum
566	leto	leto
569	Gnate unquam	nate umquam
570	sceua	saeua
581	chare	care
582	ne nuncius	neu nuntius
588	In	it
596	quadrupedante	quadripedante
597	ceretis	Caritis
598	relligione	religione
600	Syluano	Siluano
603	tarco	Tarcho
607	fessi	fessique
619	brachia	bracchia
624	levis	leuis
630	foetam	fetum
631	geminosque	geminos
633	reflexam	reflexa
638	tacioque	Tatioque
639	iidem	idem
642	metum	Mettum
645	sylvas	siluam
651	chloelia	Cloelia
659	illis	ollis
662	Gessa	gaesa
679	diis	dis
682	diis	dis
690	rostris stridentibus	rostrisque tridentibus
694	stupea	stuppea
695	neptunia	Neptunia
699	neptunu	Neptunum
700	sceuit	saeuit
703	consanguineo	cum sanguineo
710	iapige	Iapyge
715	diis	dis
718	aris	arae
724	numadam mulcifer aphros	Nomadum Mulciber Afros
725	Hinc	hic
728	daci	Dahae
729	vulcani	Volcani

<u>Book IX</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
3	tunc	tum
9	Sceptra	sceptra
20	video medium discindere	medium uideo discedere
21	Pallantesque sequar	palantisque sequor
22	tum	et
27	Mesapus	Messapus
29	uertitur arma tenens: et toto uertice supra est:	-
37	scandite	ascendite
38	heia	eia
45	Obiiciunt	obiciunt
46	Armarique	armatique
51	mecum o iuvenes	mecum, iuuenes
54	accipiunt	excipiunt
63	Sceuit	saeuit
66	irē: & duris	irae, duris
67	tentet qua	temptet quae
68	equor	aequum
70	septam	saeptam
75	humida	fumida
76	Theda vulcanus	taeda Volcanus
77	sceva	saeua
79	Discite phama	dicite fama
82	genitrix berecynthia	genetrix Berecynthia
84	chara	cara
89	urget	angit
94	genitrix	genetrix
99	quaecunque	quaecumque
102	clotho	Doto
103	galathea	Galatea
109	thedas	taedas
110	effulsit	offulsit
111	nymbus	nimbus
117	genitrix	genetrix
121	quot prius aeratae steterant ad litora prorae.	-
123	Obstupere	obstipere
124	Mesapus	Messapus
125	tyberinus	Tiberinus
135	datum est: tetigere	datum, tetigere
140	Si	sed
142	Foemineum	femineum
143	discrimine parvo	discrimina parua
144	an	at
145	Neptúni	Neptuni
146	quis	qui
148	vulcani	Volcani
150	Hetrusci	Etrusci
151	summae	late
153	circundare	circumdare
155	putent	ferant
157	lecti	laeti

<u>Book IX</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
158	parati	parari
160	mesapo	Messapo
165	ahenos	aënos
171	instant	instat
173	iuveni	iuuenum
180	nec	neque
184	diine	dine
189	sepulti	soluti
192	Aeneam	Aenean
197	Obstupuit	obstipuit
	perculsus	percussus
204	aeneam	Aenean
209	quicumque	quicumque
213	precioque	pretioque
215	sepulchro	sepulcro
218	Prosequitur	persequitur
224	Cetera	Cetera
226	primi: & delecta	primi, delecta
228	nuncius	nuntius
230	campi in medio	campi medio
232	preciumque	pretiumque
236	sepulti	soluti
237	Procubuere	conticuere
238	pater	patet
241	aeneam	Aenean
	ad	et
246	animis	animi
	alethes	Aletes
247	Dii	di
254	Dii	di
	caetera	cetera
256	unquam	umquam
260	quaecunque	quaecumque
274	id	his
283	Aut	haud
284	genitrix	genetrix
287	pericli est.	pericli
292	perculsa	percussa
	dederunt	dedere
296	Spondeo	sponde
297	genitrix	genetrix
299	quicumque	quicumque
	sequetur	sequentur
305	Gnosius	Cnosius
307	alethes	Aletes
329	Tres	tris
330	premit rhemi	Remi premit
337	foelix	felix
344	hebesumque	Herbesumque
	rhetumque	Rhoetumque
345	rhetum	Rhoetum
351	mesapi	Messapi
	ubi	ibi
360	tyburti	Tiburti
365	mesapi	Messapi
368	Cetera	cetera
370	Tercentum	ter centum
	volscente	Volcente

<u>Book IX</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
371	muroque	murosque
375	volscens	Volcens
376	vię est	uiaę
379	Obiiciunt	obiciunt
383	ducebat	lucebat
	semina	semita
387	Adque	atque
390	infoelix	infelix
400	hostes	enses
402	Ocyus	ocius
	torquens	torquet
406	unquam	umquam
411	Coniicit	conicit
412	adversi	auersi
413	fixo	fisso
418	iit	it
	utrunque	utrumque
420	volscens	Volcens
421	ardens se	se ardens
430	infoelicem	infelicem
432	rupit	rumpit
433	leto	leto
439	Volscentem	Volcentem
	volscente	Volcente
440	cominus	comminus
441	segnius	setius
444	exanimem	exanimum
447	unquam	umquam
451	Volscentem	Volcentem
	exanimem	exanimum
456	plenos	pleno
	spumanti	spumantis
458	Mesapi	Messapi
460	Tythoni	Tithoni
462	circundatus	circumdatus
463	cogit	cogunt
471	videbant	mouebant
474	phama	Fama
475	relinquit	reliquit
477	infoelix	infelix
	foemineo	femineo
480	questubus	questibus
481	illa	ille
492	quae	hoc
494	Coniicite	conicite
514	libet	iuvet
521	hetruscam	Etruscam
523	Mesapus	Messapus
	neptúnia	Neptunia
527	dimiserit	demiserit
529	et meministis enim	-
	diuae: et memorare	
	potestis,	
542	male	mole
546	licinia	Licymnia

<u>Book IX</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
551	septa	saepta
553	Iniicit	inicit
555	qua vidit	qua tela uidet
558	Prendere	prendere
563	cignum	cycnum
568	thēdas	taedas
571	chorineum	Corynaeum
	asylas	Asilas
574	itin	Ityn
	promulumque	Promolumque
575	idam	Idan
576	capis	Capys
579	levo	laeuo
	lateri manus	alte lateri
580	letali	letali
582	ibera	Hibera
584	matris	Martis
	symethia	Symaethia
586	armis	hastis
590	Tunc	Tum
593	remulus	Remulo
600	connubia	conubia
602	vlyxes	Vlixes
612	Caniciem	canitiem
613	Conuectare	comportare
620	Idee	Idaeae
623	brachia	bracchia
626	solēnia	sollemnia
631	letifer	fatifer
634	Traicit	traicit
638	cum	tum
642	Diis	dis
656	Cetera	cetera
667	galee flictu	flictu galeae
669	nymbi	nimbi
671	hyemem	hiemem
673	hiera	Iaera
676	Freți	freti
679	liquetia	liquentia
684	equicolus	Aquiculus
685	tinarus	Tmarus
	hemon	Haemon
694	incoeptum	inceptum
699	tenuem	tenerum
702	erymantha	Erymanta
703	bytiam	Bitian
710	Qualis	talis
712	iaciunt ponto	ponto iaciunt
715	prochyra	Prochyta
717	animum mars armipotens:	Mars armipotens animum
724	conuersam	conuerso
730	tygrim	tigrim
733	Sanguineo	sanguineae
749	Sit	sic
762	phalarim	Phalerim

<u>Book IX</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
764	tergum	tergus
765	alym	Halyn
	confixum	confixa
767	Alchandrumque	Alcandrumque
	nemonaque	Noemonaque
	prytaninque	Prytanimque
769	connixus	conixus
772	foelicior	felicior
773	Vngere	unguere
774	clycium	Clytium
	cretea	Crethea
775	Cretea	Crethea
776	cythare	citharae
	chordi	cordi
780	Pallantesque	palantisque
782	quae iam	quaeue
783	septus	saeptus
786	infoelicis	infelicis
790	amni	unda
800	conuersa	confusa
803	aeream	aëriam
818	ad socios	sociis
<u>Book X</u>		
3	Sydeream	sideream
11	accersite	arcessite
12	carthago	Karthago
18	diumque	rerumque
24	moerorum	murorum
25	nunquamne	numquamne
28	Tytides	Tydides
39	intentata	intemptata
41	Alecto	Allecto
49	quacunq̄ue	quacumque
51	paphos	Paphus
53	ditione	dicione
54	Carthago	Karthago
56	medios	medium
65	Aeneam	Aenean
71	Tyrrhenamve	Tyrrhenamque
74	circundare	circumdare
	flammas	flammis
81	aeneam	Aenean
86	paphos	Paphus
87	tentas	temptas
93	fovique	fouiue
97	flumina	flamina
100	summa	prima
106	licitum est	licitum
108	rutulusve	Rutulusne
120	Ast	at
123	Iasius	Asius
	icetaoniusque	Hicetaoniusque
	tymetes	Thymoetes
124	thybris	Thymbris

<u>Book X</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
126	hemon	Thaemon
127	connixus	conixus
128	agmon	Acmon
129	clycio	Clytio
136	terebyntho	terebintho
138	subnectit	subnectens
140	dirigere	derigere
145	capis	Capys
	dicitur	ducitur
148	hetruscis	Etruscis
153	tarcon	Tarchon
154	fatis	fati
164	thuscis	Tuscis
165	Aeneam	Aenean
166	tygri	Tigri
169	Chorytique	gorytique
	letifer	letifer
172	Sexcentos	sescentos
174	chalibum	Chalybum
180	hetrusca	Etrusca
181	Astur	Astyr
182	Tercentum	ter centum
	adiiciunt	adiciunt
185	lygurum	Ligurum
186	cygne	Cunare
187	holorinae	olorinae
189	cygnum	Cycnum
	phaetontis	Phaethontis
199	manthus	Mantus
205	benaco	Benaco
	arundine	harundine
206	Mintius	Mincius
215	discesserat	concesserat
220	cybele	Cybebe
234	genitrix	genetrix
238	hetrusco	Etrusco
252	dyndima	Dindyma
261	tum	cum
265	Strimonie	Strymoniae
270	ac	a
273	syrius	Sirius
277	preripere	praecipere
279	perfingere	perfringere
282	laudesque	laudes
291	immurmurat	remurmurat
313	Aeneam	Aenean
	scuta	suta
314	squallentem	squalentem
315	licham	Lichan
317	Cui	quo
	cyssea	Cissea
318	gyam	Gyan
319	leto	leto
320	Nil	nec

<u>Book X</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
322	pharon	Pharo
325	clycium	Clytium
	infoelix	infelix
330	Coniiciunt	coniciunt
332	& fidum	fidum
	achatem	Achaten
334	steterant	steterunt
343	Aeneam	Aenean
352	occurrit	accurrit
	alesus	Halaesus
353	Arunceque	Auruncaeque
	neptúnia	Neptunia
354	mesapus	Messapus
358	cedit	cedit
366	quis	aquis
371	laudis	laudi
377	magno	magna
378	pelago	pelagus
	petetis	petamus
381	magno vellit	uellit magno
383	dedit	dabat
384	hisbon	Hisbo
388	stenelum	Sthenium
	rheti	Rhoeti
389	imcestare	incestare
393	Ai	at
	palas	Pallas
399	palas	Pallas
	rhetea	Rhoetea
400	Traicit	traicit
	spacium	spatium
401	direxerat	derexerat
402	rheteus	Rhoeteus
	teutra	Teuthra
403	tyrem	Tyren
408	vulcania	Volcania
411	alesus	Halaesus
413	lacona	Ladona
414	Strimonio	Strymonio
	diripit	deripit
416	dispergit	dispersit
417	alesum	Halaesum
419	telisque	telisque
420	palas	Pallas
422	alesi	Halaesi
424	alesus	Halaesus
425	infoelix	infelix
429	hetrusci	Etrusci
430	graiis	Grais
433	palas	Pallas
439	succurrere	succedere
442	palanta	Pallanta
	palas	Pallas
450	leto	leto

<u>Book X</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
458	palas	Pallas
473	reicit	reicit
474	palas	Pallas
475	diripit	deripit
480	palanta	Pallanta
482	ac	at
483	Cum	quem
	circundata	circumdata
486	capit	rapit
487	sanguisque	sanguis
489	Terram et	et terram
492	palanta	Pallanta
493	quicquid	quidquid
495	farus	fatus
496	balthei	baltei
497	nephas	nefas
499	bonus	Clonus
	eurycion	Eurytides
	celaverat	caelauerat
500	potirus	potitus
501	fortisque	sortisque
504	palanta	Pallanta
506	palanta	Pallanta
510	phama	fama
516	primus	primas
522	ac	at
	tremebunda	tremibunda
523	affatur	effatur
525	nato	gnatoque
529	haud	aut
530	cui contra	contra cui
533	palante	Pallante
535	leua	laeua
536	abdidit	applicat
539	armis	albis
542	tropheum	tropaeum
543	vulcani	Volcani
544	a montibus	montibus
549	Caniciemque	canitiemque
551	Sylvicolę	siluicolae
553	impetit	impedit
554	Tunc	tum
557	non optima	non te optima
558	patriove	patrioque
561	licham	Lucam
563	volscente	Volcente
565	Aegeon	Aegaeon
	brachia	bracchia
569	desceuit	desaeuit
570	niphei	Niphaei
581	non	nec
	achillis	Achilli
587	leuo	laeuo

<u>Book X</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
589	leuum	laeuum
595	inermes	inertis
596	Infoelix	infelix
602	victor	ductor
614	haec	hoc
622	leti	leti
628	cui	et
	illachrymans	adlacrimans
631	quin ut potius	quod ut o potius
634	hyemem	hiemem
	nymbo	nimbo
641	phama	fama
646	Coniicit	conicit
647	eneam	Aenean
656	enee trepida	trepida Aeneae
657	Coniicit	conicit
659	rupit	rumpit
	660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665	660, 663, 664, 661, 662, 665
673	Quosve	quosque
674	pallantes	palantis
675	agam	ago
679	neque	nec
	neque	nec
687	estu fluctuque	fluctuque aestuque
696	dolicaonis	Dolichaonis
702	euantem	Euanthen
	minanta	Mimanta
704	genitori	genitore
	amico	Amyco
	pregnans	praegnas
705	parin creat:	Parim; Paris
706	minanta	Mimanta
710	Pastus	pascit
	rhetia	retia
	713, 714, 715, 716 717, 718, 719	713, 717, 718, 714, 715, 716, 719
719	coryti	Corythi
720	hymeneos	hymenaeos
726	hyans	hians
	erexit	arrexit
727	accumbens	incumbens
	teter	taeter
730	infoelix	infelix
732	orodem	Oroden
747	Cedicus	Caedicus
749	Mesapus	Messapus
	ericatem	Erichaeten
753	Deiicit	deicit
	atronium	at Thronium
754	Insignis	insidiis
758	Dii	di
763	ceu	quam
772	spacium	spatium
775	tropheum	tropaeum
778	anthorem	Antoren
779	anthorem	Antoren
781	infoelix	infelix
786	ocys	ocius

<u>Book X</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
787	vrso	uiso
789	chari	cari
797	dextrę	dextra
801	coniiciunt	coniciunt
	proturbant	perturbantque
803	nymbi	nimbi
807	possit	possint
809	detinet	detonet
832	morte	more
833	tyberini	Tiberini
834	lauabat	leuabat
835	accliuis	acclinis
838	perpexam	propexam
839	multosque	multumque
844	Caniciem	canitiem
846	voluntas:	uoluptas,
850	Exilium	exitium
	infoelix	infelix
852	meorum	paternis
853	paternis	meorum
855	nec	neque
862	cruenta	cruento
867	assueta	consueta
871	Imo	uno
872	Et furiis agitatus amor:	-
	et conscia virtus	
873	aeneam	Aenean
874	eum	enim
884	aerius	aureus
888	tedet	taedet
891	coniicit	conicit
892	quadrupes	quadripes
897	vbi	et
906	sepulchro	sepulcro
 <u>Book XI</u>		
1	Oceanum	Oceanum
5	armis	ramis
7	tropheum	tropaeum
27	palas	Pallas
30	palantis	Pallantis
	acetes	Acoetes
32	foelicibus	felicibus
39	palantis	Pallantis
44	nec	neque
53	Infoelix	infelix
57	hei	ei
62	solatia	solacia
64	pheretrum	feretrum
72	ostroque auroque	auroque ostroque
74	manibus quondam	quondam manibus
82	sparsuros	sparsurus
	flammam	flammas

<u>Book XI</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
85	infoelix	infelix
	acetes	Acoetes
90	humectat	umectat
91	cetera	cetera
93	duces	omnes
97	pala	Palla
105	sociisque	socerisque
110	Pacemne	pacem me
112	ni	nisi
115	turno	Turnum
117	hic decuit mecum	his mecum decuit
120	obstupuere	obstipuere
139	phama	Fama
146	tecto	tectis
155	possit	posset
159	Foelix	felix
167	natum	gnatum
169	pala	Palla
172	trophea	tropaea
	leto	leto
173	armis	aruis
175	infoelix	infelix
178	natoque	gnatoque
181	nato	gnato
184	tarcon	Tarchon
193	Hinc	hic
	direpta	derepta
194	Coniiciunt	coniciunt
196	foelicia	felicia
198	Setigerosque	saetigerosque
201	humida	umida
207	Cetera	cetera
214	longe	longi
215	chara	cara
217	hymeneos	hymenaeos
224	tropheis	tropaeis
230	petendam	petendum
237	rex	et
238	sceptris	sceptris
246	argiripam	Argyripam
247	condeabat	condebat
250	intulerit	intulerint
260	caphareus	Caphereus
262	prothei	Protei
263	etneos	Aetnaeos
	vlyxes	Vlixes
265	libycove	Libycone
268	deuicta asia	deuictam Asiam
269	oris	aris
274	lachrymosis	lacrimosis
282	eneam	Aenean
288	Quicquid	quidquid
294	regum	regis

<u>Book XI</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
303	melius fuerat	fuerat melius
304	obsidet	adsidet
310	Cetera	cetera
312	quenquam	quemquam
316	thusco	Tusco
339	futilis	futtilis
343	nec nostrę	nostrae nec
350	tentat	temptat
354	Adiicias	adicias
361	Proiicis	proicis
378	drances	Drance
385	tropheis	tropaeis
388	circunstant	circumstant
393	tybrin	Thybrim
395	exhaustos	exutos
398	septus	saeptos
402	et contra	contra
403	tremiscunt	tremescunt
404	tytides	Tydides
	larisseus	Larissaeus
405	adriacas	Hadriacas
408	Nunquam	numquam
410	magne	magna
414	inermes	inertis
425	variusque	uariique
429	mesapus	Messapus
	foelixque	felixque
437	tentare	temptare
439	vulcani	Volcani
441	vterum	ueterum
442	Deuoueo	deuoui
447	Nuncius	nuntius
449	thyberino	Tiberino
458	cygni	cycni
464	equites	equitem
	mesapus	Messapus
467	Cetera	cetera
470	pectore	tempore
472	eneam	Aenean
474	Subiiciunt	subuectant
475	Buccina	bucina
481	thure	ture
483	belli praeses	praeses belli
487	ahenis	aënis
505	tentare	temptare
518	mesapus	Messapus
519	Tyburtique	Tiburtique
520	mesapus	Messapus
523	quem	quam
524	vtrinque	utrimque
527	Planicies	planities
537	Chara	cara
	nec	neque
545	tela	tela

<u>Book XI</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
550	charoque	caroque
554	sylvestri	siluestri
563	Infoelix	infelix
566	Gramineum	gramineo
	cespite	caespite
567	non ullae	ullae, non
568	nec	neque
574	oneravit	armauit
577	Tygridis	tigridis
586	Chara	cara
589	pugne	pugna
591	Hanc	hac
592	italusve	Italusque
595	demissa	delapsa
598	Hetruscique	Etruscique
601	obuersus	conuersus
603	mesapus	Messapus
612	aduersi	aduersis
613	Connixi	conixi
614	quadrupedantum	quadripedantum
619	Reiciunt	reiciunt
620	inuasit	inducit
	asillas	Asilas
621	uersique	rursusque
624	alternis	alterno
625	undam	unda
627	rapido	rapidus
629	thusci	Tusci
640	iollam	Iollan
642	Deicit	deicit
645	viri	uirum
	dolorem	dolore
650	densat	denset
654	dirigit	derigit
658	bone	bonas
659	thermodoontis	Thermodontis
663	Foeminea	feminea
665	Deicis	deicis
666	Eumenium	Eunaeum
	clycio	Clytio
669	sub	se in
670	lyrin	Lirim
	pegasumque	Pagasumque
671	Suffosso	suffuso
672	inertem	inermem
674	Hippotadem	Hippotaden
675	harpalicumque	Harpalycumque
677	ornitus	Ornytus
678	hyapige	Iapyge
684	nec	neque
685	Traicit	traicit
691	aduersum	auersum
693	Invenit	lucent
	leuo	laeuo

<u>Book XI</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
697	insurgens	exurgens
700	Apenninicolae	Appenninicolae
702	pugna	pugnae
705	foemina	femina
706	& comminus	et te comminus
709	incensa	accensa
710	assistit	resistit
714	quadrupedemque	quadripedemque
715	ligur	Ligus
716	tentasti	temptasti
719	prehensivis	prehensivis
727	tarchontem	Tarchonem
732	et	o
734	Foemina	femina
738	Expectare	exspectate
739	hic	hoc
	aruspex	haruspex
740	Nunciet	nuntiet
743	Direptumque	dereptumque
746	ethere	aequore
749	letale	letale
755	adunco	obunco
757	tyburtum	Tiburtum
759	cum	tum
	aruns	Arruns
761	tentat	temptat
763	aruns	Arruns
766	Hosque	hos
768	cybele	Cybelo
	choreus	Chloreus
770	ahenis	aënis
771	auroque	auro
	inserta	conserta
773	cortinia	Gortynia
774	sonat	erat
778	templi	templis
782	Foemineo	femineo
783	cunctanti	cum tandem
784	Coniicit	conciat
	aruns	Arruns
790	tropheum	tropaeum
791	cetera	cetera
793	patriam	patrias
	urbem	urbes
800	acies	acris
801	auras	aurae
806	aruns	Arruns
814	aruns	Arruns
819	relinquit	reliquit
835	arcadis	Arcades
839	mulctatam	mulcatam
845	relinquet	reliquit
846	laetum	letum
848	quicumque	quicumque

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853	aruntem	Arruntem
855	dirige	derige
862	Leua	laeua
864	aruns	Arruns
871	adversi	auersi
872	letumque	letumque
875	Quadrupedumque	quadripedumque
878	Foemineum	femineum
879	rupere	inrupere
889	frenis	frenis
890	obiice	obice
895	audent	ardent
897	Nuncius	nuntius
898	cecidisse	cecidisse
899	infestos	infensos
901	nam	et
907	longe	longis
910	eneam	Aenean
911	Aduentusque	aduentumque
912	pugnam	pugnas
	tentent	temptent

Book XII

23	animusque aurumque	aurumque animusque
	latino:	Latino est;
24	agris	aruis
26	hec	hoc
28	homines: diuique	diuique hominesque
32	bella	Turne
33	Turne	bella
35	tyberina	Thybrina
38	accire	ascire
40	caetera	cetera
42	connubia	conubia
44	moestum quem nunc	quem nunc maestum
45	haudquicquam	haudquaquam
47	incipit	instinit
53	Foeminea	feminea
61	cunque	cumque
63	eneam	Aenean
68	vel	aut
75	Nuncius	nuntius
76	refert	refer
77	conuecta	inuecta
79	rutulum	Rutuli
87	squallentem	squalentem
	oricalcho	orichalco
89	& clypeum	clipeumque
92	Exin	exim
94	arunci	Aurunci
100	myrrhaque	murraque
104	tentat	temptat

<u>Book XII</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
118	diis	dis
120	lino	limo
126	decori	superbi
128	mesapus	Messapus
	neptúnia	Neptunia
129	spacia	spatia
135	Tunc	tum
	neque	aut
136	spectabat	aspectabat
143	quecunque	quaecumque
149	video iuuenem imparibus	iuuenem imparibus uideo
151	nec	non
154	profudit	profundit
159	relinquit	reliquit
164	vt	it
167	Sydereo	sidereo
170	Setigerum	saetigeri
	foetum	fetum
172	surgentis	surgentem
	solis	solem
176	precanti	uocanti
179	inclyte	inclute
180	tenes: qui	pater, sub
182	Relligio	religio
188	dii	di
193	soléne	sollemne
199	diri	duri
201	mediosque	medios
205	caelumve	caelumque
206	sceptrum	sceptrum
207	Nunquam	numquam
209	brachia	bracchia
218	aequis	aequos
221	iuuenili	iuuenali
229	cuncti pro	pro cunctis
231	hic	hi
232	hetruria	Etruria
235	phama	fama
240	-	ipsi Laurentes mutati
		ipsique Latini
245	prestantius	praesentius
248	Littoreas	litoreas
250	Cygnum	cycnum
261	rutuli	miseri
262	nostra	uestra
264	densate	densete
269	cuneique	cunei
272	gilippo	Gylippo
274	Baltheus	balteus
276	extendit	effundit
280	hic	hinc
281	agilinique	Agyllinique
288	Subiiciunt	subiciunt
289	Mesapus	Messapus

<u>Book XII</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
298	chorineus	Corynaeus
299	ebuso	Ebyso
300	illi	olli
306	supereminet	superimminet
308	Disiicit	dissicit
310	clauduntur	conduntur
317	iam debent haec	debent haec iam
319	illapsa	adlapsa
321	casusve deusve	casusne deusne
324	eneam	Aenean
341	Stheleniumque	Sthenelumque
	thamyrimque	Thamyrumque
	polumque	Pholumque
342	ambos	ambo
343	iaden	Laden
344	onerauerat	ornauerat
350	precium	pretium
	currum	currus
352	precio	pretio
	achillis	Achilli
356	elapsoque	lapsoque
357	dextra	dextrae
358	tinxit	tingit
	atque insuper	atque haec insuper
361	tentare	temptare
362	buten	Asbyten
363	sibarimque	Sybarimque
	thersilocumque	Thersilochumque
366	egeo	Aegaeo
368	quacunq̄ue	quacumque
378	stricto	ducto
379	Quem	cum
380	effuditque	effunditque
382	harena	harenae
384	eneam	Aenean
391	iapys	Iapyx
394	cytharamque	citharamque
406	sceus	saeuus
407	Crebescit	crebescit
411	Tum	Hic
412	genitrix	genetrix
	cretea	Cretaea
414	captis	capris
416	nymbo	nimbo
419	succos	sucos
420	iapis	Iapyx
425	iapis	Iapyx
441	altis	ingens
443	Anteusque	Antheusque
451	nymbus	nimbus
458	tymbreus	Thymbraeus
	osyrim	Osirim
459	Archetium	Arcetium
464	aduersos	auersos
466	densa caligine	densa in caligine

<u>Book XII</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
470	relinquit	reliquit
476	humida	umida
479	ostendit	ostentat
482	deiecta	disiecta
484	tentauit	temptauit
488	mesapus	Messapus
490	dirigit	derigit
506	moratus	morantem
507	crudo	crudum
508	ense	ensem
509	diorem	Dioren
511	abscissa	abscisa
513	tanainque	Tanaimque
514	onytem	Oniten
517	menoetem	Menoeten
521	veluti	uelut
523	vrbi	ubi
531	ingenti	ingentis
535	hiloque	Hyllo
538	creteu	Cretheu
539	cupentum	Cupencum
541	eris	aerei
547	Lyrnessi sepulchrum	Lyrnesi sepulcrum
550	mesapus	Messapus
551	arcadis	Arcades
554	genitrix	genetrix
556	Ocyus	ocius
562	caetera	cetera
566	incoeptum	inceptum
568	dictis	uicti
589	Ille caerea	illae cerea
591	nunc	tum
596	Incendi	incessi
598	Infoelix	infelix
603	laeti	leti
606	cetera	cetera
607	latae	late
608	infoelix	infelix
611	Caniciem	canitiem
612	multaque se incusat: qui non acceperit ante	-
613	Dardanium eneam: generumque asciuerit ultro	-
619	illetabile	inlaetabile
620	Hei	ei
624	currusque	currumque
627	possunt	possint
637	spondet iam	iam spondet
639	Muranum fuerat	Murranum superat
	charior	carior
641	infoelix	infelix

<u>Book XII</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
649	unquam	umquam
651	sages	Saces
661	mesapus	Messapus
662	aciem	acies
	utrinque	utrimque
665	Obstupuit	obstipuit
667	Imo	uno
669	menti est.	menti,
670	acies	orbis
673	vortex	uertex
675	instruxerat	instrauerat
678	quicquid	quidquid
	acerbum	acerbi
691	Sanguine	sanguine
694	Quaecunque	quaecumque
701	athon	Athos
	qnantus	quantus
703	apenninus	Appenninus
705	rutuli	Itali
714	miscentur	miscetur
715	veluti	uelut
	syla	Sila
719	pecori	nemori
723	Haud	non
735	Phama	fama
	primum	prima
737	trepidant	trepidat
738	pallantia	palantia
739	vulcania	Volcania
	ventum	uentum est,
740	futulis	futtillis
743	deinde	inde
746	tardante	tardata
749	in flumine	flumine .
750	septum	saeptum
	formidine	formidine
753	ac	at
760	contra mortem	mortem contra
764	nec	neque
769	notas	uotas
789	prophanos	profanos
790	Insistunt	adsistunt
794	aeneam	Aenean
801	Nec	ne
	edat	edit
802	coruscent	recursent
805	himeneos	hymenaeos
806	tentare	temptare
808	magna	magne
821	connubiis	conubiis
	foelicibus	felicibus
825	vestes	uestem
832	incoeptum	inceptum
837	Adiiciam	adiciam

<u>Book XII</u>	<u>1501</u>	<u>OCT</u>
851	letum	letum
853	demittit	demisit
862	subito	subitam
863	inbustis	in bustis
865	ad	ob
870	Infoelix	infelix
873	miseræ	duræ
874	tali	talin
876	Obscoenæ	obscenæ
880	Conditio	condicio
882	Iam mortalis	immortalis
	haud mihi quicquam	aut quicquam mihi
890	cartandum	certandum
891	quicquid	quidquid
895	dii	di
897	qui	quod
899	illud	illum
904	saxumque	saxumue
907	spacium	spatium
	nec	neque
908	veluti	uelut
	insomnis	in somnis
912	nec	aut
916	telumque	letumque
	tremiscit	tremescit
918	aurigamque	aurigamue
921	nunquam	numquam
930	supplexque	supplex
941	infoelix	infelix
942	Baltheus	balteus
943	Palantis	Pallantis
945	monumenta	monimenta
948	palas	Pallas
	palas	Pallas

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