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**“WEILL AUCHTYN ELDRIS EXEMPLIS WS TO STEIR”:
AENEAS AND THE NARRATOR IN THE PROLOGUES TO
GAVIN DOUGLAS’S *ENEADOS***

P. J. Klemp

Gavin Douglas has received only some of the recognition he deserves for his accomplishments in *The .xiii. Bukes of Eneados* (1553), his monumental translation of Virgil’s epic and Maffeo Vegio’s Book 13, properly called the *Supplement* (1428). The quality of Douglas’s literary achievement has elicited part of that recognition. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some readers rank Douglas with Gower and Chaucer.¹ Twentieth-century scholars refer to the *Eneados*’s “considerable poetic merits,” as well as its “greatness” and “extraordinary” quality. Others praise Douglas’s accomplishments in more concrete terms.² Though one might hesitate to join Ezra Pound in declaring the *Eneados* “better than the original,” many readers are eager to testify that it is “certainly one of the great achievements of early English translation.”³ Douglas’s work is even more noteworthy because when he wrote the *Eneados*, and when it was published forty years later, he had, as Edwin Morgan states, “no models,”

¹ J.A.W. Bennett, “The Early Fame of Gavin Douglas’s *Eneados*.” *Modern Language Notes*, 61 (1946): 83–88 (85-86). In this essay, quotations from the *Eneados* and in-text citations are from David F.C. Coldwell, ed., *Virgil’s “Aeneid” Translated into Scottish Verse by Gavin Douglas*, 4 vols [S.T.S. 3rd ser., vols 25, 27, 28, 30] (Edinburgh and London: Printed for the Scottish Text Society by William Blackwood and Sons, 1957–64). Also cited in text, for scholarly views, is Gordon Kendal, ed., *Gavin Douglas: “The Aeneid” (1513)*, 2 vols [M.H.R.A. Tudor and Stuart Translations, vols 7.1 and 7.2] (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2011).

² Bennett, 83; C.S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), 81; Christopher Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the “Aeneid” from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 40.

³ Ezra Pound, “How To Read,” in *Literary Essays of Ezra Pound*, ed. T.S. Eliot (London: Faber and Faber, 1954), 15–40 (35); Douglas Gray, “Gavin Douglas and “the gret prynce Eneas,”” *Essays in Criticism*, 51 (2001): 18–34 (32).

no British context of classical translations in which to situate it.⁴ The *Eneados* has thus been identified not only as “the first translation of Virgil into the vernacular in Britain,” but “the first attempt to translate one of the major classical poems into English or Scots.”⁵ Anna Cox Brinton comments on Douglas’s novel endeavor: “In the whole sixteenth century, hardly more than ten Latin authors were translated into English, and these were, in the main, represented by very small portions of their work.”⁶

The extent of Douglas’s remarkable achievement becomes more apparent because of the literary transition that the *Eneados* inaugurated. It was, as Denton Fox notes, “one of the first and best of the English translations of the Renaissance” and thus fortuitously positioned to be “the precursor of the Elizabethan translations,” including Chapman’s Homer, Fairfax’s Tasso, Golding’s Ovid, and Hoby’s Castiglione.⁷ As the context created by the body of early modern translations demonstrates, Douglas’s further pioneering role comes into focus because he is one of very few translators who breaks conventions by blurring the relationship between original prefatory matter and the classical text it accompanies. As he blurs the relationship between his prologues and the books of the *Aeneid* that

⁴ Edwin Morgan, “Gavin Douglas and William Drummond as Translators,” in *Bards and Makars. Scottish Language and Literature: Medieval and Renaissance*, ed. Adam J. Aitken, Matthew P. McDiarmid, and Derick S. Thomson (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1977), 194–200 (194). For context on “the only two complete sixteenth-century translations” of the *Aeneid*, Douglas’s and the one started by Thomas Phaer (1558) and completed by Thomas Twyne (1573 and 1584), see Margaret Tudeau-Clayton, “Supplementing the *Aeneid* in Early Modern England: Translation, Imitation, Commentary,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 4 (1998): 507–25 (507); for the translations themselves, Gavin Douglas, trans., *The .xiii. Bukes of Eneados of the Famose Poete Virgill* (London: n.p., 1553), and Thomas Phaer and Thomas Twyne, trans., *The Thirteene Bookes of Aeneidos* (London: Printed by Thomas Creede, 1596). I wish to express gratitude to SSL’s readers and to Patrick Scott during the editing of this article.

⁵ Bennett, 83; Morgan, 194; Brinton, as in next note, 33; Priscilla Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas: A Critical Study* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), 203–204. Ian Ross points out that “the first vernacular precursor of the *Eneados*, Enrique de Villena’s Castilian prose version of the *Aeneid*, [was] completed in 1428”; see Ian S. Ross, “‘Proloug’ and ‘Buke’ in the *Eneados* of Gavin Douglas,” in *Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance*, ed. Dietrich Strauss and Horst W. Drescher (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1986), 393–407 (393).

⁶ Anna Cox Brinton, *Maphaeus Vegius and His Thirteenth Book of the “Aeneid”* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, 1930), 37.

⁷ Denton Fox, “The Scottish Chaucerians,” in *Chaucer and Chaucerians: Critical Studies in Middle English Literature*, ed. D.S. Brewer (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1966), 164–200 (189, 200); Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas*, 94.

they introduce, Douglas's narrator sees many striking parallels between Aeneas's quest to found Rome and his own quest to translate an epic about that momentous event.⁸

1. The Genre of the Prologue

Accompanying the *Eneados* is an abundance of Douglas's paratexts or those features that are not part of the text proper. They form what Christopher Baswell terms a "codicological superstructure," made up of elements from "the late-medieval book of Virgil, with its hierarchical system of *accessus*, *vitae*, verse summaries, and commentaries."⁹ This superstructure includes Douglas's contributions—"The Contentis of Euery Buke Followyng," "Heir the translatar direkkis hys buk," "exclamatioung aganyst detractouris and oncurtass redaris," "tyme, space and dait of the translatioung of this buke," and authorial prose commentary—as well as translations of two poems attributed to Virgil ("Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avena" and "Mantua me genuit").¹⁰ These add up to

⁸ I assume throughout that Douglas, like Dante in the *Commedia* and Chaucer in the *Canterbury Tales*, presents all of *The .xiii. Bukes of Eneados*, including the rebus-poem "To knaw the naym of the translatur"—

The GAW onbrokkyn mydlyt with the WYNE,
The DOW ionyt with the GLASS rich in a lyne:
Quha knawys nocht the translaturis naym,
Seik na forthar, for lo, with litill pyne
Spy leill this verss: men cleyps hym swa at haym (Coldwell 4: 139)

—in the voice of a carefully constructed character whom I refer to as the *narrator* or, following Gray, the *narrator/translator* (Douglas Gray, "Gavin Douglas," in *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*, ed. Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams [Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006], 149–64 [161]). So I admit to some confusion when elsewhere Gray multiplies Douglas's poetic presences in the *Eneados*: "they [events in the epic] sometimes also have a significant effect on the narrating voice, when the voice of Douglas as expositor/commentator blends with that of Douglas the translator. . ." (Gray, "gret prynce Eneas," as in n. 3 above, 19). If these three voices exist, I do not see any way to distinguish them or any reason for doing so. At any rate, I believe, as Emily Wingfield suggests, that "Douglas is self-consciously modelling his narrator on Henryson's" in such places as Prologue 13 (Emily Wingfield, "Gavin Douglas' *Eneados*," in *The Trojan Legend in Medieval Scottish Literature* [Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2014], 150–77 [168]), and, even more crucially, that he "has learnt certain aspects of Chaucer's art, above all, the importance of the narrator" (Bawcutt, "Gavin Douglas and Chaucer," *Review of English Studies*, 21 [1970]: 401–21 [421]).

⁹ Baswell, as in n. 2, 277.

¹⁰ Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas*, 107–108. The "Ille ego" lines, "usually considered spurious," first appear in Suetonius's *Life* (Kendal, 1: 15); "Mantua me genuit" was

some 3,000 lines of poetry; in the Cambridge manuscript, Douglas also includes 70 prose glosses that annotate Prologue 1 and much of the *Eneados's* opening book.¹¹ Accounting for most of the poetry in these paratexts, some 2,500 lines, the thirteen prologues represent a substantial artistic contribution. Though all are “Writtin in the langage of Scottis natioun” (Pro 1.103), the prologues’ generic and stylistic variety demonstrates a broad awareness of contemporary literary conventions. They contain—or touch on—such genres as the invocation (Prologues 2, 3, and 6), *ars poetica* (1 and 5), prayer (10), description of seasons (7 and 12), and dream vision (8 and 13). In addition to putting on display “a virtual conspectus of late-medieval vernacular forms” (Baswell 277), the prologues, which accompany the Virgilian epic that is consistently translated into rhymed, mostly pentameter couplets, emphasize a range of rhyme schemes and stanza lengths. This bravura display of nine rhyme schemes becomes even more conspicuous when the narrator changes poetic form in the middle of Prologues 5 and 9.

The diversity of forms and styles contributes to critics’ early view of the prologues. Before the early 1970s, as Lois Ebin’s careful review of scholarship illustrates, readers “almost uniformly” viewed Douglas’s prologues as “unrelated poems, set-pieces added to the various books of the *Aeneid*.”¹² Since then, the opposite perspective has become accepted. Rather than debating whether the prologues are independent poems or texts connected to the *Eneados*, scholars are close to a consensus: they believe that the prologues are linked to the epic. Douglas Gray’s view sounds like a dissent—the prologues “sometimes become poems in their own right” (“Gavin Douglas” 158)—but in another essay his adverbs again place him mainly in the scholarly fold. The prologues, he argues, are “excellent and sometimes almost autonomous pieces of writing” (“Gavin Douglas and ‘the gret prynce Eneas’” 18). Finding a range of relationships between the *Eneados's* prologues and the thirteen books in Virgil’s and Vegio’s poems, Priscilla Bawcutt catalogues those prologues that are “closely linked” (e.g., Prologues 5 and 6), those that are “more loosely” connected (4 and 11), and those that have “a more tenuous connection with the books that they precede” (9 and 12; “Gavin Douglas and Chaucer” 403). Part of Ebin’s thematic focus is on the ways in which “the prologues alternate in their

“said to have been composed by Virgil as his epitaph”: Donatus and Suetonius are its earliest sources (Kendal 2: 734).

¹¹ For a discussion of the glosses’ authenticity, see Bawcutt, “The ‘Library’ of Gavin Douglas,” in *Bards and Makars*, as in n. 4 above, 107-126 (107); Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas*, 108; and Kendal 2: 735.

¹² Lois Ebin, “The Role of the Narrator in the Prologues to Gavin Douglas’s *Eneados*,” *Chaucer Review*, 14 (1980): 353–65 (353).

emphasis on the joy and the woe in the world" (355). But other scholars find coherence not just between individual prologues but between the prologues and the epic.

Ian Ross, after glancing at how the prologues "are linked to each other through patterns of comparison and contrast," addresses a larger connection.¹³ The prologues, he explains, "are linked to the several books of the epic which they introduce, often in subtle and surprising ways." In addition to identifying one kind of unity—points of similarity and contrast in the various prologues' "major theme[s]"—Ross occasionally connects a given prologue's and book's "leitmotif[s]" (396). When he draws conclusions about the *Eneados* as a political translation because it acts as "a validation model for the aristocracy," Ross sees typological connections between Virgil's protagonist and the scriptural figures named in Prologue 11 (402). Finally, when Ebin addresses the unifying force of some thematic matters, she presents a thesis that anticipates the general scope of my argument:

the narrator introduces a series of conflicts, which question the value of poetry and qualify the *Aeneid's* [sic] central themes. His activity establishes a movement from doubt and uncertainty to renewed creativity which complements the larger journey of Aeneas within the poem (353).

But her argument largely abandons these concerns. Despite its many valuable observations about the prologues—their articulation of "a defense of poetry" (354) and of "the tension between earthly and heavenly pleasures" (357)—Ebin's essay has unfortunately little to say about the "central themes" at the heart of the *Aeneid* or about the complementary journeys of Douglas's narrator and Virgil's Aeneas.

The most tantalizing claim about the relationship between the prologues and the *Eneados* appears in C.S. Lewis's assessment of the Scottish epic: "The work which Douglas has given us is ... a composite work, and it ought to be read as a whole" (87). Ian Ross's observations develop this point:

. . . more could be made of the aesthetic principle that [the *Eneados's*] prologues and translated books are parts of a unified long poem.... It can be plausibly argued that his [Douglas's] prologues and other adjuncts to the translation [i.e., its paratexts] were in his view necessary parts of his *Eneados* (393).

¹³ Ian S. Ross, 393; see also Gray, "Gavin Douglas," 157; Alastair Fowler, "Gavin Douglas: Romantic Humanist," in *Rhetoric, Royalty, and Reality: Essays on the Literary Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. Alasdair A. MacDonald and Kees Dekker (Paris, Leuven, and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2005). 83–103 (102).

Even Douglas's narrator contributes to this perspective when Maffeo Vegio chides him in Prologue 13's dream vision. Although the narrator has translated "'the tother twelf [books] into thy tong'" (Pro 13.103), he has ignored Vegio's *Supplement*: "'Bot to my buke zit lyst the tak na heid,'" he complains (106). The narrator asks for a "'perdon'" (108) and attempts to evade blame by claiming that many people think Vegio's text is no more necessary to the *Aeneid* than "'the fift quheill'" is to a cart (118). Accepting the Italian author's argument that "'My buke and Virgillis morall beyn, bath tway'" (142) and recognizing the persuasive power of the club Vegio uses to beat him, the narrator promises "to translait his buke, in honour of God" (151). As Charles S. Ross explains, "Vegio had some right to insist that there was a task to finish, for by 1513 when Douglas wrote, almost every major edition of Vergil [since 1471] included Vegio's supplement."¹⁴ By joining original prologues to another poet's text and insisting on the significance of the *Supplement*, the *Eneados*'s narrator thus initiates the scholarly chorus that finds unity in Gavin Douglas's most important work.

Creating much of that unity, Douglas's narrator notes the complementary relationship between two quests, his effort to translate Virgil's epic and Aeneas's journey to reach a new home. Echoing Aeneas's interpretive methods in Book 1, when the Roman studies the Trojan War's Greek combatants in the carvings on the Carthaginian temple's wall, and his narrative techniques, especially in Books 2–3, when he assumes the role of the epic poet narrating Troy's final hours, the narrator's first prologue in the *Eneados* is a 500-line meta-poem that "expounds his own critical theory of translation."¹⁵ Central to that theory are concerns about story-telling, specifically matters involving the style and the "sentence," which the narrator discusses in many of the *Eneados*'s prologues, particularly the first and ninth.¹⁶ At the outset of his quest, he states his

¹⁴ Charles S. Ross, "Maffeo Vegio's 'schort Cristyn wark,' with a Note on the Thirteenth Book in Early Editions of Vergil," *Modern Philology*, 78 (1981): 215–226 (217).

¹⁵ A.E.C. Canitz, "The Prologue to the *Eneados*: Gavin Douglas's Directions for Reading," *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 25 (1990): 1–22 (1); and cf. Wingfield, 155.

¹⁶ Sentence: "The meaning or sense of a word or passage, *specif.* of an instance of language" (*DOST* n. II.3). The clarification that follows is of particular relevance to the use of the word in the *Eneados*'s prologues: "Esp. with reference to the difficulties of translation or the inability of the poet to express his meaning as precisely as he would like." The *DOST*'s next definition is closely connected to the one quoted above: "The content, subject-matter, theme, esp. of a work of literature" (n. II.4). See Douglas's use of the term "sentence" in Pro 1.133, 398; Pro 6.12–13, 27; Pro 9.54. Bawcutt distinguishes her use of the word from Douglas's: "By

philosophy of translating the *Aeneid* into a compelling epic poem for his nation: "I set my bissey pane / As that I couth to mak it braid and plane, / Keepand na sudron bot our awyn langage" (Pro 1.109–11). These characteristics are not enough, however, because a "braid and plane" translation may leave readers with an inadequate understanding of the sentence. For the translator, the challenge is great because the epic contains "hyd sentence" (Pro 6.13) and Virgil is "ful of sentence our all quhare" (27). To emphasize his belief that Virgil's style and sentence are equally important, the narrator in the prologue to Book 5 offers praise by insisting that readers not scant the former:

The hie wysdome and maist profund engyne
Of myne author Virgile, poete dyvyne,
To comprehend, makis me almaist forvay,
So crafty wrocht hys wark is, lyne by lyne.
Tharon aucht na man irk, compleyn nor quhryne.
For quhy? He altyrris hys style sa mony way,
Now dreid, now stryfe, now lufe, now wa, now play,
Langeir in murnyng, now in melody,
To satyfy ilk wightis fantasy (28–36).

The narrator here defines style solely as a thematic matter (as does *DOST* n. II.4, quoted in n. 16 above). Following his interpretive remark about Virgil's altering his style, he dramatically alters his own style, now manifested as poetic form. He begins with the nine-line stanza that appears in Chaucer's *Complaint of Mars*, ll. 155–298, and in Part 3 of his own *Palice of Honour* and then turns to the seven-line rhyme royal stanza found in *Anelida and Arcite* and *Troilus and Criseyde*. The narrator is far more blunt, and interested in Aeneas as an exemplary figure, when, in the prologue to Book 9, he shifts from six-line stanzas to the couplets into which he translates the entire *Eneados*. Again bringing together Virgil's style and his own stylistic demands, the narrator signals a thematic transition: "Eneuch of this, ws nedis prech na mor" (Pro 9.19). He turns to connecting his style and Aeneas when he launches into a manual on poetic style, specifically "The ryall style, clepyt heroycall" (21). The narrator explicitly links Aeneas's status as "a nobill man" (Pro 1.325) to his own responsibility as a translator. His duty to follow Virgil ("Eftir myne outhouris wordis, we aucht tak tent / That baith accord" [Pro 9.29–30]) requires that he unite "The man, the sentens, and the knyghtlyke stile" (31) in a common cause. The characteristics of Virgil's protagonist—in short,

'sentence' here I mean not the larger moral or allegorical significance of the *Aeneid* (which Douglas scrupulously reserves for discussion in the prologues or prose commentary), but the meaning of individual words or phrases" (*Gavin Douglas* 110; see her chapter on "The *Eneados*: 'Text' and 'Sentence'" [92–127]).

“euery vertu” (Pro 1.325)—define not only Virgil’s style but also the narrator’s.

Original verse compositions, the narrator’s prologues are simultaneously contained in a translation of Virgil’s original poem and the containers of that poem. As such, they revise conventions by making the boundaries between prefatory matter and the translated source text extremely fluid. The *Eneados*’s narrator blurs the distinction between paratext and text, between his original writing in the prologues and that of the Virgil who has been transmitted through accretion or attribution. This runs contrary to the practice of medieval and early modern translators, who, even as they rarely make rigid distinctions between the genres of paraphrase, adaptation, and translation, usually distinguish their original writing from their translation of a source text. In *Troilus and Criseyde*, whose first two books adapt some 2,000 lines of Boccaccio’s *Filostrato*, Chaucer has it both ways: the prefatory stanzas in Books 1 and 5 are not set off in any way, while the same matter in the middle three books is distinguished from the narrative by the declaration “Incipit prohemium....”¹⁷ Even in the *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, a prose text whose prefatory section describes Chaucer’s double role—he is both “a lewd compiler” and one who has “translatid [‘this werk’] in myn Englissh” (61–62)—the narrator acts as a gentle pedagogue for “Lyte Lowys my sone” (1) before beginning the lessons about the “descripcion” and the “conclusions” of the astrolabe in Parts 1 and 2. Henryson’s *Morall Fabillis of Esope the Phrygian* is of some limited relevance here in part because it is “ane maner of translatioun” (Prolog 32) in ways that even the author did not realize. Aesop’s work is a late composite text.¹⁸ Despite medieval readers’ belief that it came from ancient Greek sources, seven fables originated in *Fabulae Aesopiae*, Romulus’s sixth-century prose translation of Phaedrus’s first-century verse fables, and the other six in the *Fabulae Extravagantes*.¹⁹ Although Henryson may introduce a hint of ambiguity about the authorship issue when he asserts that “This nobill clerk Esope ... / Be figure wrait his buke,” he presents his narrator as an independent character in his own autonomous Prolog (Elliott, 57–59).

¹⁷ Citations from Chaucer are to Larry D. Benson, gen. ed., *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed. (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1987); on *Troilus* and Boccaccio, see John H. Fisher, ed., *The Complete Poetry and Prose of Geoffrey Chaucer* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977), 401.

¹⁸ Edward Wheatley, *Mastering Aesop: Medieval Education, Chaucer, and His Followers* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 2000), 125.

¹⁹ Derek Pearsall, *John Lydgate* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1970), 193; Charles Elliott, ed., *Robert Henryson: Poems*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 144–145.

Translators create a boundary between prefatory matter, some or all of it their own writing, and their translation proper, identified as a “conuersion,” in Chapman’s *Homer* and Fowldes’s *Battell between Frogs and Mise*, or as a “traduction,” in Chapman’s *Achilles* and again in his *Homer*.²⁰ In addition to presenting material that is explicitly not part of the source text—epistles dedicatory and many “*Preface[s and] Sonnets, Epigrams Poems Elegies &c.*”²¹—translators write arguments and summaries. But these brief passages, merely condensed versions of what follows, are not offered as original literary texts or parts of the translation. Indeed, because of their contents and placement, they reinforce the boundary between the prefatory matter and the translation. Of the many dozens of translations that I have reviewed from Chaucer’s adaptations to poems by Milton’s contemporaries, George Chapman’s approach is an anomaly that begins to explore the limits of this convention.²² In *Homer Prince of Poets*, a translation of Books 1–12 of the *Iliad*, Chapman tenuously connects his own prefatory poem to Homer’s epic. Anticipating the introductory sights that precede George Herbert’s *Temple* (1633)—“The Church-porch, Perirrhanterium” and “Superliminare”²³—*Homer Prince of Poets* presents a revealing architectural metaphor. Where other translators create a clear distinction between their prefatory matter and their translations, Chapman’s “*To the Reader*” achieves nearly the opposite effect by using the imperative to give startling advice: “*Wash here; In this Porch to his [Homer’s] numerous Phane.*”²⁴ By claiming that this apparently prefatory poem allows a special kind of access to his translation of Homer’s epic, Chapman asserts a highly original connection. He implies that the texts (Chapman’s porch and Homer’s temple) are linked in

²⁰ George Chapman, trans., *Homer Prince of Poets: Translated According to the Greeke in Twelue Bookes of the Iliads* (London: Printed for Samuel Macham, [1609?]), A4v; William Fowldes, trans., *The Strange, Wonderfull, and Bloudy Battell betweene Frogs and Mise* (London: Imprinted by S. S. for Iohn Bayly, 1603), B2r; Chapman, *Achilles Shield. Translated as the Other Seuen Bookes of Homer, out of His Eighteenth Booke of Iliades* (London: Imprinted by Iohn Windet, 1598), A3r; Chapman, *Homer*, A4v.

²¹ Thomas Shelton, trans., *The History of Don Qvichote. The First Parte* ([London]: Printed for Ed: Blounte, [1620?]), ¶3v.

²² For a thorough survey, see R.R. Bolgar, “The Translations of the Greek and Roman Classical Authors Before 1600,” in his *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), Appendix II, 506–41.

²³ F.E. Hutchinson, ed., *The Works of George Herbert* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), 6, 25.

²⁴ Chapman, *Homer Prince of Poets*, A3r; “Phane” means fane or temple (*OED* n.2).

architectural and literary ways. If Chapman's instruction to the reader makes tentative steps toward breaking the literary convention that defines a well-established boundary, in the previous century Douglas's prologues and *Eneados* had taken this move to its conclusion. When Douglas's narrator uses his prologues to make that boundary permeable, he does more than "counterpoint his own experiences with those of Aeneas";²⁵ he blurs the roles of each section's main figure: the prologues' narrator and the epic's Aeneas. By performing just that bold act and merging his poem and Virgil's, the narrator becomes a pioneer who has few followers.

2. Douglas's Narrator and Virgil's Aeneas

Although the prologues and the translated epic in *The .xiii. Bukes of Eneados* are unified in many ways—among them, an emphasis on stylistic matters as well as shared themes, images, and values—the most revealing connection is between two characters, the Scottish narrator and the Trojan warrior. Gray begins to consider how the *Eneados*'s "narrator/translator," as he identifies this figure ("Gavin Douglas" 161), consistently displays "enthusiastic involvement in the story" ("Gavin Douglas and 'the gret prynce Eneas'" 19), "total involvement in the narrative" ("Gavin Douglas" 161), and an "imaginative participation in a scene . . . which . . . inspired in him a powerful emotional response" (160). Baswell, recognizing the significance of Prologue 1's critique of Caxton and Chaucer, comments on the relationship between Douglas and his narrator and between that narrator and Aeneas:

Paradoxically, . . . Douglas's very anger [with Caxton and Chaucer] suggests how personal a project this is for him, and how much he has emotionally (and even politically) invested in it. Such emotional involvement by a redactor/translator harkens back to the narrators of Chaucer's Virgilian tales, and those narrators' ambition to emulate, in the poetic sphere, a kind of Aenean or even Virgilian heroism (276–77).²⁶

²⁵ Colin Burrow, "Virgil in English Translation," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. Charles Martindale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 21–37 (22).

²⁶ Nothing compels readers to believe that Douglas composed the *Eneados* sequentially or that his narrator grasps Aeneas's experiences in a linear, book-by-book manner. Even Fowler does not assume this in his argument that the prologues trace a "Calendrical Cycle" (96–102) based on the "months of the year" (97). However, all evidence indicates that Douglas was well-versed in the *Aeneid* before spending "auchteyn moneth space" and completing the *Eneados* on 22 July 1513 ("[T]he tyme, space and dait of the translatioun of this buke" 12, 1–4). At least twelve years earlier (*The Palice of Honour* xxviii), Douglas in *The Palice of Honour* refers to Ulysses (260), tells the story of the treacherous Sinon (282–86), mentions "Quene

Gray's and Baswell's observations about the narrator's emotional investment in and involvement with Aeneas have significant implications. For the *Eneados's* narrator does not merely empathize with the Trojan warrior. A few episodes in which Douglas's narrator/translator closely resembles the *Eneados's* protagonist have received brief scholarly attention. Margaret Tudeau-Clayton observes that in Prologue 3 "the perils of the translator are aligned with the perils of Aeneas as moral/spiritual hero" (524). And Ian Ross finds that in Prologue 8 "the translator, like the hero of the epic, represents himself as falling asleep and encountering the figure of an old man in his dream" (400). Given these similarities, Ross's focus on these two prominent characters and his description of this "unified long poem," along with Lewis's emphasis on the place and role of Douglas's prologues in this "composite work," deserve further exploration. The prologues, as Baswell explains, follow the rest of the *Eneados's* "codicological frame" to "provide[] a place where Douglas ... explores his own quasi-heroic similarities with Aeneas and with Virgil, and thereby asserts the claim to mastery, to authority, earned by his poetic skill and effort" (277). In the prologues, the narrator/translator sees a close connection between poetic quests and epic journeys. Both characters have a nationalistic agenda, Aeneas recognizing that "'Predestinat is thar [Italy] Troy sal ryss agane'" (1.4.83) and "'Gret Italy to seik commandis wss'" (4.6.128), while the *Eneados's* narrator "lays claim to ... an original imperial theme" (Baswell 276). To accomplish this, the narrator/translator sets himself apart as "the first to distinguish the vernacular he wrote from that South of the Border and as a result deftly transform[s] his translation of Virgil's Latin *Aeneid* into a linguistic statement of Scottish independence and sovereignty" (Wingfield 159). As the narrator implies, the Roman protagonist's legacy is tied to the narrator's own poetic fame: "Be glaid, Ene, thy bell is hiely rong" ("Heir the translatar direkkis hys buk," 128). The extent of that Trojan and Scottish fame is profound:

Dido" (564; see 1668–69), refers to "the greit Latine Virgilius" (898; see 283, 1225), and summarizes Virgil's entire epic in just three stanzas (1630–56). Venus's command that the *Palice's* narrator "be obedient" and "put in Ryme" "ane buik" (1749–52) is interesting not only because this request, like Lord Sinclair's (discussed below), carries a strong sense of obligation but also because of the early date: "Tuitchand this buik peraenture 3e sall heir / Sum time efter, quhen I haue mair laseir" (1756–57). The London printing includes a marginal comment on this couplet: "By thys boke he menis Virgil." Given Douglas's knowledge of Virgil's writing, I therefore assume throughout that the narrator of the *Eneados's* early prologues can grow and learn from Aeneas's example in late books, and vice versa. (References above are to the 1579 Edinburgh text of *The Palice of Honour*, in Priscilla Bawcutt, ed., *The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas*, 2nd ed. [Scottish Text Society 5th ser., vol. 2] [Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 2003], 3–133).

“Enee / Is destinat onto the hevin to cum” (12.13.8–9; see 8.8.181). In the manner of the concluding lines of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, the narrator indicates the scope of his success: “Throw owt the ile yclepit Albyon / Red sall I be, and sung with mony one” (“Conclusio,” 11–12; see Bawcutt, “Library,” 113 and Gavin Douglas, 171).

As the narrator/translator’s poem is sung and Aeneas’s bell is thereby rung, the *Eneados*’s protagonist acts as a mirror in which Douglas’s narrator finds his own doubts and insecurities echoed. After the fall of Troy, when Aeneas and the other Trojans—defeated and leaderless—prepare to set sail, he experiences profound discomfort in the role of an ambitious hero questing for a new home. He lacks enthusiasm about those who, with no alternative except certain death at the hands of the Greeks, are ready to follow him into the unknown, “Reddy to wend in quhat cost or cuntre / That evir me list to cary thame our see” (2.12.75–76). Aeneas’s first soliloquy reveals his reservations about his ability to fill the hero’s role. He despairs when observing that authentic warriors were “happy and blissit” (1.3.4) because they died “Vnder hie wallis of Troy, by dynt of swerd” (5). This mood continues in his first speech to his “feris and deir frendis” (1.4.69), for he “fenzeit comfort” (87) to disguise his “mynd trublit” by “mony grewouss thocht” (86). An ambiguous mission (see 3.3.61–64) and weak-willed companions encourage Aeneas to view himself in anything but a heroic light. Confirming Anchises’s grim but realistic words that his son will be “irkit ... algatis / By the contrarius frawart Troiane fatis” (3.3.65–66), Aeneas says farewell to Helenus and Andromache by contrasting their lives—“weil ze be, / Weil mot ze leif in your felicite, / Quhamtill the prospir forton is brocht till end” (3.7.45–47)—with his own: “we, from werd to werd, and chance, mon wend. / Your rest is fund, you nedis sewch throw na seys, / Nor seik feildis of Itail, that evir ws fleys” (48–50). When Troy falls, many of those who join Aeneas’s quest quickly lose any motivation they may have had. The women who accompany Aeneas offer little reason to believe that a successful conclusion awaits them, for they endorse Iris’s description of them as “irkyt of lang travail” (5.11.32) and of their journey as “chayss[ing] Itale, that fleys ay” (59).

As the *Eneados*’s narrator/translator begins to write, he mirrors the Roman protagonist’s personality, which is associated with obstacles and perhaps failure. He draws attention to his lack of qualifications by asserting humility (“Quhy suld I than ... / Presume to write quhar thy [Virgil’s] sweit bell is rung” [Pro 1.19, 22]), intellectual incompetence (he has a “dull forhed,” “barrand emptyve brayn” [19–20], and “dull” “wyt” [Pro 3.11]), and inferior linguistic resources (he uses “bad, harsk spech and lewit barbour tong” [Pro 1.21]). Although such previous epic protagonists as Achilles and Dante the pilgrim learn the value of waiting for the

opportune moment and the quest's conclusion, Douglas's narrator/translator shares Aeneas's impatience about completing his journey—an impatience about which Helenus cautions the Trojan (3.6.189–96) and which may account for some of Aeneas's unheroic behavior with Dido (after he is prodded by Mercury) and the Sibyl (“na kynd of pane may ryss / Onknew to me, of new that may me gryss” [6.2.51–52]). Like Aeneas, who experiences a growing sense of fatigue and frustration, Douglas's narrator complains that “I lang to haue our buke done” (Pro 8.142), a longing that also resembles the Trojan women's agony about the ever-receding land of Italy. The many descriptions of Aeneas's dark inner world indicate that, while he cannot openly voice this pain, his Scottish narrator/translator is keenly aware of it and shares it.

Despite feeling pain and a lack of qualifications, Aeneas and the narrator demonstrate the capacity for heroic deeds. Just as Aeneas faces many “onkowth dangeris” (Pro 3.13) during the sea journey of Book 3, so the *Eneados's* narrator explains the analogous dangers that threaten his translation: “Thocht storm of temptatioun my schip oft schaik, / Fra swelth of Sylla and dyrk Carbidis bandis, / I meyn from hell, salue al go not to wraik” (Pro 3.43–45; see Tudeau-Clayton 524). Entering the epic's second or Iliadic half, Aeneas has met the Sibyl's implied challenge—“That is difficil wark, thar lawbour lysis” (6.2.107)—so he emerges from the underworld, adds Caieta's name to the list of deaths that includes Anchises, Palinurus, and Misenus, and prepares to face the implications of Juno's declaration of war: “Ital / Now byrnys into fury bellicall” (7.10.53–54). Contributing to Aeneas's distraught state is his recognition that “Heir is our dwelling place quhar we sall leynd, / Forto remane heir is our cuntre heynd” (7.2.39–40). The hero's sense of identity, based on confidence and the earned stability of home, also characterizes Douglas's narrator when he undertakes his journey. Like Aeneas, who must “wandir” because he is “expellit from Europ and Asia” (1.6.137) but eventually reaches “our dwelling place” and “our cuntre,” the *Eneados's* narrator/translator begins his quest by dedicating the translation to his patron Lord Sinclair with a stroke of nationalistic pride, for it is “Writtin in the langage of Scottis natioun” (Pro 1.103). Near the end of the volume, in the *commiato*, the narrator returns to the subject of his language and the nationality it represents, again without qualification but now with confidence about his book's worthiness to attract readers: “Go, wlgar Virgill,” he optimistically proclaims, “Now salt thou with euey gentill Scot be kend.” (“Ane exclamatioun aganyst detractouris” 37, 43). Yet he is fully aware of the pressures exerted by his Scottish audience and language, and by two authority figures, Sinclair and most of all “reuerend Virgill” (Pro 1.3), who is both “Maister of maisteris” (9) and “Lantarn, laid stern, myrroure and A per se” (8). The narrator must define and gain his place in this company by

coming to terms with the anxiety produced by his language and audience. These steps are important if he is going to become more confident and comprehend the restrictions and freedoms that make up his sense of being “constrenyt” (122). Aeneas, though he has no linguistic concerns, must accommodate his will to suit Jupiter’s and earn the title of hero, however redefined to include an incomplete, perhaps fragile, sense of confidence and a recognition that being *pius*—or, as the *Eneados* frequently renders it, “reuthful”—is somehow compatible with being “constrenyt.”²⁷

This constraint, shaped by Aeneas’s recognition of his exclusively public role, along with the many events that create the environment in which he moves, inevitably produces emotional and physical fatigue. When Aeneas and his followers leave Troy, they are “Wery and forwrocht” as Libya comes into view (1.4.6); later, in the Tiberinus, he “gave schort rest onto his wery banys” (8.1.28). During his first night in Carthage, we glimpse the inner world of a “mynd” that “gan mony thyng compass” (1.6.2). Later, after some of the women burn a few of the ships,

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 pass away (5.12.63–66; see 10.3.96).

Before locating a friend’s body in the underworld, Aeneas, “with drery cheir and eyn down cast” (6.3.1), feels emotional turmoil, as his “breste gan rolling all on raw / Thir onkouth chancis, wondir strange to knaw” (3–4). Then, when he and his followers prepare Misenus’s corpse for burial, “in hys breste gan to and fra cosaif, / Ful hevvely, thir materis war betyde” (54–55). Aeneas’s inner world is shown in great depth and detail, to readers and sometimes to himself, as he spends the *Eneados* “Bewal[ing]” troops lost at sea (1.4.101) and being “pensyve” (4.7.56) and later “perplexit” about Dido’s behavior (6.7.105). He is “Musyng in mynd sum deil, sad in a part” near the rivers Cocytus and Styx (6.5.77), “starrand on the grond” when thinking about Pallas and the future (8.8.152), experiencing “Samony curys in hys mynd” when he leaves the Etruscans

²⁷ For Douglas’s “reuthful” and Virgil’s *pius*, see, e.g., *Eneados* 1.6.1 and *Aeneid* 1.305, *Eneados* 1.6.125 and *Aeneid* 1.378; Douglas’s note on 1.6.125; and W.R. Johnson, introduction, in *Virgil: “Aeneid,”* trans. Stanley Lombardo (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2005), xv–lxxi (xxx–xxx). The acknowledgment of Aeneas’s “constrenyt” condition is a fair assessment of his thought process, despite Douglas’s prose gloss that claims the Roman acts “nocht be command of ony goddis, bot of his awyn fre wyl” (Pro 1.425n). Citations from Virgil here and below are from *Virgil*, with a translation by H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. ed., 2 vols [Loeb Classical Library, 63–64] (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1934–35).

(10.5.6), and being burdened by “hasty thoctfull curis” about the death of Pallas (11.1.3). Aeneas is thus not as single-minded and blindly devoted as his calculated appearance leads his followers to believe. Revealing little of the distress caused by the shades and doubts that occupy his inner world, he perseveres on his quest—a quest that has the potential to leave him emotionally hollow and in which he may not wholeheartedly believe.

The *Eneados*'s narrator, at times sharing this physical and emotional fatigue, sets aside the first prologue's tone of awe and the combativeness that the prose gloss describes as his “Admonitione vnto vnlearned peopill, quhase rudenes can nocht onderstand Vyrgill” (Pro 1.283n). The guarded optimism of the first prologue—“I pray 3ou, grape the mater cleyn, / Reproche me nocht quhill the wark be ourseyn” (497–98)—gives way to the despair that accompanies Troy's and Aeneas's fate: “Heir verifeit is that proverbe teching so, / ‘All erdly glaidness fynsith with wo”” (Pro 2.20–21). As the fall of Troy approaches in Book 2, he reveals that “Dyrk beynd my muse with dolorus armony” (Pro 2.1) before he invokes Melpomene to help him with his “dedly tragedy” (3) and then declares, “Saturn, thou auld fader of malancoy, / Thyne is the cuyr my wofull pen to gy” (13–14). A woeful perspective on Aeneas's quest appears in some prologues when considerations of heroism prompt the narrator to qualify Aeneas's deeds, pointing out that his ultimate accomplishment of winning an empire is only “a temporall ryng” (Pro 11.182). Engaged in a different struggle, readers are not melancholy in their role as “Crystis faithfull knychtis” (57) and “wyn[ning] the kynryk ay lestyng” (183). Yet the prologues that raise themes of joy, praising Virgil's talent (Pro 6) or the redemption that Jesus brings (Pro 10), are answered, and probably dominated, by the ones in which “wikkytnes” and “mysery” rule the land (Pro 8.79, 101). These negative forces take many forms that connect them to Aeneas's experiences, including temptation (likened to Scylla and Charybdis—“I meyn from hell” [Pro 3.45]) just before the most dangerous part of Aeneas's sea journey and “a symylitude of hell” in which the mind imagines “Gousty schaddois of eild and grisly ded” (Pro 7.44, 46) immediately after he emerges from the underworld. The narrator's enthusiasm and commitment are so diminished that he appears in bed in three of the prologues in the epic's second half (Prologues 7, 8, and 12) and falls asleep in “a garth vndir a greyn lawrer” in a fourth (Pro 13.64). He shares Aeneas's tendency to become mired in fatigue, fear, and excessive self-reflection, as well as doubts about his qualifications for his journey, emotional traits that produce reluctance in both characters until they are pushed to pursue their quests.

In Prologue 1, Douglas's narrator/translator transforms Aeneas's reluctance and lack of confidence into motivating forces for his own quest. He can overcome his obstacles if he follows the example of Aeneas, who

later studies his shield, presented by Venus, without “knawand the mater” (8.12.139). Far into his quest, that is, Aeneas lacks much knowledge that the hero should have. After all, the shield was made for him, and it illustrates the “hie renownye, / Or gloryus iestis of hys postheryte” (143–44). Yet even without comprehending that crucial information, he perseveres on his journey. Summoning the future to replace the past, he hoists the shield “Apon hys schulder” (142), the place once occupied by his father Anchises (2.11.49–52, 72–74), and moves from doubt to confidence when he announces that he is the chosen one: “I am callyt to the hevin” (8.8.181). The *Eneados*’s narrator shares Aeneas’s mixed perspectives, a combination of limited awareness and a developing belief in himself and his mission, when he turns to the labor of translating the epic’s last six (or, eventually, seven) books:

To write onone I hynt a pen in hand,
 Fortil perform the poet grave and sad,
 Quham sa fer furth or than begun I had,
 And wolx ennoyt sum deill in my hart
 Thar restit oncompletit sa gret a part. (Pro 7.144–48)

With the exception of only the Trinity, Aeneas is his best role model. In the Scottish version of the *Aeneid*, the narrator presents Aeneas summoning the motivation to continue even when facing considerable obstacles. Friends and family members die, some women who accompany him prefer to “rest” in Sicily and “seyk Troy na forthar” (5.11.75), and Aeneas learns the dire prophecies of the harpy Celaeno (3.4.75–94), Helenus (3.6.39–207), and the Sibyl (who compares his ““mony huge gret dangeris of the see”” [6.2.6] to the even greater dangers that remain ““on the land”” [7], mainly ““Batalis, horribil batalis”” [15]). If the Trojan warrior perseveres when faced with weariness, then so can the *Eneados*’s narrator, who reminds himself that ““Thou mon draw furth, the 3ok lyis on thy nek”” (Pro 7.150) and finds a moral lesson in his circumstances: “Na thing is done quhil ocht remanys ado” (152).

The role that Douglas’s narrator takes on—that of a translator who perseveres in the company of only a volume of poetry (see “Virgill on a lettron stand” [Pro 7.143]), its author, and its protagonist—puts him in a position much like that of the *Eneados*’s isolated hero. Throughout the epic, Aeneas chooses to act without the assistance of meaningful human company. With no counterpart to Achilles’s Patroclus in the *Iliad*, Dante the pilgrim’s Virgil in the *Commedia*, or Sir Guyon’s Palmer in Book 2 of *The Faerie Queene*, Aeneas has only the “ubiquitous and insubstantial” Achates.²⁸ Finding that the role of being “callyt to the hevin” is largely

²⁸ W.R. Johnson, *Darkness Visible: A Study of Virgil’s “Aeneid”* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976), 101.

defined by isolation, Aeneas seeks out remote places and embraces the solitude found on the bank, hill, and turret that he “on hie / Has clumminy” (1.4.41–42; 1.7.1–4; 2.8.40–43). In the company of others, he is still set apart. With Queen Dido, he is placed in “hys sege ryall” (1.12.4) and during the funeral games for Anchises, he has “hys sete” on “hys troyn grete” (5.6.9–10). Even the two episodes in the *Eneados* that place the greatest focus on martial acts reveal another form of Aeneas’s isolation, a lack of interest in finding warriors to stand by his side. Watching Troy fall and thinking of his father, wife, and son, Aeneas looks for other Trojans: “‘About I blent to behald, heir and thar. / Quha of our feris remanyt with me thar. / Al war thai fled full wery, left me alane’” (2.10.9–11). Later, when the slaughter in Italy becomes more and more extensive, his resolve to fight in single combat becomes stronger: “‘Suffir me perform my dereyn by and by, / And do away all dreid and villany. / I sall with my hand sone make ferm and stabill. . .’” (12.6.15–17). As he prepares to confront his Rutulian opponent, Aeneas is surrounded by “his pepill,” “My frendis” (5–6), but he dismisses their assistance: “‘Of det and ryght I aucht upon this land / Allane Turnus recontyr, hand for hand’” (13–14). He then goes “to seik and aspy” Turnus “allane” (12.8.52–53).

Although this isolation has physical and emotional consequences, many of them unfortunate, the *Eneados*’s narrator follows Aeneas’s “‘Exempill’” (12.7.137). He accepts it both as a conventional stance for epic narrators and protagonists and as an important role that will contribute to the successful completion of his poetic quest. When Lord Sinclair selects Douglas to take on the responsibility of translating the *Aeneid*, the patron and poet re-enact, wittingly or not, the roles of Augustus and Virgil. The emperor’s correspondence to Virgil asked for “a prose outline of the unwritten poem” from the one poet chosen to immortalize Augustus and his deeds.²⁹ Although Virgil declined to reply, an emperor’s words are more than hints or suggestions; they carry persuasive force. However Sinclair intended his wish that Douglas translate the *Aeneid*, in Prologue 1 the narrator points to his blood relationship to Sinclair (90) and interprets his “request” as “ane command” (91; see Pro 9.87–94). While all epic narrators experience the isolation that accompanies their special poetic callings and the magnitude of their artistic responsibilities, Douglas’s character makes his plight more difficult, his isolation more complete. He approves of authorities who are distant, either chronologically (Horace [Pro 1.400], Macrobius [67], and Gregory the Great [395]) or

²⁹ Peter Levi, *Virgil: A Life* (New York: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2012), 237; R.J. Tarrant, “Poetry and Power: Virgil’s Poetry in Contemporary Context,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. Charles Martindale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 169–87 (169).

geographically (Boccaccio [204] and Raoul Lefèvre [206]). But two authors from his own era and island, Caxton and Chaucer, receive varying degrees of harsh treatment. When he translates the *Aeneid*, the narrator turns not only to Virgil for guidance (“I follow the poete principall” [Pro 2.5]) but mainly to the example of the most isolated, most reflective protagonist in the classical epic tradition.

A willed isolation characterizes the narrator’s self-portrait in the *Eneados*’s thirteen prologues. Except for Sinclair’s offstage presence as the motivating force behind this translation, the narrator refers to no other family or friends. In place of such companionship, Prologue 4 offers a bitter rejection of the world, the devil, and the flesh. “Fair weil” (34), the narrator says to “fragil flesch” (8) and the “fenzeit faynt plesance” that it brings (6). In some of the prologues, the absence of human companionship is not apparent because the narrator distracts readers and himself by painting a landscape bustling with activity. Prologue 12, which one expects to be somber as it leads into the epic’s decisive encounter between Aeneas and Turnus, is instead what the narrator informally titles the “perle of May,” a highly allusive and “lusty, crafty preambill” (307). Describing a May morning, this prologue is deceptive. Filled with life and motion in the form of catalogues of flower and birds, and even human “luffaris” (201) and “wenschis and damysellis” (189), the scene never shows the narrator in contact with any of these vivid elements. Instead, when the birds’ song chides sluggardly behavior, he reveals that he has been not just an observer from indoors but a lazy one:

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

This passage casts doubt on whether he actually sees the scene he portrays in such vivid detail. It may well be the product of imagination or yearning, perhaps evidence of underlying dissatisfaction with his isolation. More revealing is the bleak winter environment of Prologue 7, which contains visions of “Gousty schaddois of eild and grisly ded” (46) that are as insubstantial as the “Puyr lauboraris and bissy husband men” (75), with whom the narrator again has no contact.

Emphasizing not merely the narrator’s lack of flesh-and-blood human company, the dream visions in Prologues 8 and 13 also reveal his fear of any such contact. While Aeneas’s isolation occurs gradually, as his wife, city, lover, father, nurse, helmsman, and others are stripped from him during his quest, the *Eneados*’s narrator embraces that isolation beginning with the opening prologue. Because he witnesses all and even shares some

of Aeneas's sense of overwhelming responsibility and the exhaustion and loneliness it produces, the rekindling of his inspiration becomes an essential recurring motif in a number of prologues. The many debilitating events of the *Eneados's* first half do not quench the narrator's desire to fulfill his quest, even if he, like Aeneas, sometimes needs to be reminded of its ultimate significance. The prologue to Book 8 reveals not only the anticipated dream vision but also the narrator's new-found enthusiasm for his task. During his dream, "a selcouth seg" (Pro 8.4) describes a "misanthropic view" of reality (Kendal 1: 357n1) and threatens the narrator: "'Ha, wald thou fecht?'" he asks (Pro 8.123). The narrator protests, "'Churle, ga chat the, and chyde with ane other'" (126), because he has something else in mind: "'lat me sleip'" (133), he begs, though he "lang[s] to haue our buke done" (142). But when this stranger provides "a roll" filled with doggerel (146) about "all the mowys in this mold" (148), the narrator discovers a collection of false myths and legends that people have believed through the centuries. The visitor eventually leads the narrator to a pit containing a hoard of pennies that he begins to collect. Waking, he finds that "all that welth was wiskyt away" (163), which produces his reductive assertion of the episode's moral. Rather than learning about the state of human affairs, the transience of material wealth, or his inner conflict between sloth and literary ambition, the narrator concludes that such "mervellus mater" (172) was "all in waist" (176): "For swevynnys ar for swengeouris that slummyrris nocht weill" (171). The narrator, as Ebin explains, "misses the point, both of the lessons and of the value of dreams. . ." (358). But when he recalls his dream vision, he recoils from its "faynt fantasy" (175) that contains "Nevir a word of verite" (176). Like Aeneas, who is eventually moved to action after being roused by Mercury in Carthage, the narrator "sprent spedely on fute, / And vndre a tre rute / Begouth this aucht buke" (180–82). Mercury interrupts Aeneas's period of stasis to inform him that "'The governour of goddis heth me sent'" to chide the Trojan for "'waist[ing] thi tyme into this fremmyt land'" (4.5.171, 176). Instead, he should be busy securing the future for his son Ascanius: "'the gret hope of his seid and ofspring'" (182), who has "'beyn destinate'" (184). Aeneas responds to Mercury's chiding by being "half mad and dum" (4.6.1) with his hair "Vpstart" (2) as "Sayr he langis to fle and to depart" (3). Although the departure seems urgent, it is stalled by Dido and by Aeneas's difficulty articulating a convincing farewell—convincing for Dido and perhaps also for himself. Soon Aeneas "Heich in hys eft schyp sownd slepand kan ly" (4.10.66) during a time of "'gret danger'" (75), only to be visited by the "hasty visioun" (95) of a figure that is like Mercury "in al fasson" (69), including the ability to scold the unmotivated hero into action. "'Awalk onon,'" Aeneas tells his followers,

“get vp, my men, inhy” (97), and they respond by following the dream vision’s instructions to “fle spedely be nycht” (83).

Inspired by the example of Aeneas’s renewed commitment to his journey and the future in Book 4 and Prologue 8, the narrator takes pen in hand and turns to the long remainder of his epic endeavor, only to find that he soon needs additional revitalizing. He prepares to continue his task, in part by calling on the “gentil barroun and knycht” Lord Sinclair (Pro 9.88) and in part by rejecting the need for extensive prefatory material: “Na mar as now in preambill me list expone, / The nynt buke thus begouth Eneadon” (97–98). Wakened by the birds of spring, he later rises “fortill compleit my langsum wark” of translating the *Aeneid* (Pro 12.270). In Prologue 13, he once again needs someone to motivate him. Set during dusk and night in June, when “schaddois [are] dym” and the bat “Vpgois . . . with hir pelit ledderyn flycht” (32–33), this prologue reveals a pensive narrator who walks to a garden, where he again falls asleep and dreams of “Ane agit man” (76) who is “stern of spech” (79) and wearing a laurel “Lyke to sum poet of the ald fasson” (88). None other than the author of the *Supplement*, the *Aeneid*’s thirteenth book, Maffeo Vegio is offended that the narrator has not translated his work. The narrator, after receiving “twenty rowtis apon my riggyng” (148), agrees to complete the epic to Vegio’s satisfaction. Although the friendship of his patron Sinclair implies only a “request” or perhaps “ane command” (Pro 1.91), it provides the motivation to begin the translation. The narrator’s dream-companions offer violence, whether threatened in Prologue 8 (“wald thou fecht?”) or realized in Prologue 13 (in “twenty rowtis”). Curiously, these two alien and hostile figures successfully push the narrator to resume working on his translation. The experience with the “selcouth seg” (Pro 8.4) prompts him to begin Book 8 and the violence of the “agit man” Vegio leads him to declare “twiching this thretteynt buke infeir, / . . . furthwith followis heir” (Pro 13.197–98). As those encounters illustrate, the narrator initiates no human relationships throughout the thirteen prologues. His role as an isolated, passive observer is consistent, interrupted only by his leaps into action as a translator, a defensive awareness that the *Eneados* will attract critics (Pro 3.19–27; Pro 6.14, 17–24; Pro 9.82–86; “Ane exclamatioun aganyst detractouris”), and the two misanthropes he meets in dream visions.

Not physically present in the world of the prologues, the figures of Vegio, Virgil, Aeneas, and Sinclair do not fill the narrator’s need for companionship in the ways that Christian spiritual sources do. Just as epic poets are traditionally motivated and inspired by supernatural figures—Virgil calls on Erato (7.1.25–44), Calliope and others (9.9.1–10), and “3he Musys” (7.11.1–6, 9.3.1–6, and 10.4.1–8)—so epic protagonists have their guides. Aeneas’s long list of inspirational voices ranges from the

supernatural (Venus and Mercury) to the mortal, whether dead (Creusa and Hector) or, like his father, before and after death. Anchises is one of the most important, for even in death his spirit wishes to give Aeneas instructions: “Thy fatis and thy destany also / I sal the teche per ordour, or thou go” (6.13.9–10). Consistent with Aeneas’s observance of such religious practices as sacrifices, burials, funerals, and games to commemorate his father, as he leaves home a sense of responsibility for the household gods moves him to tell Anchises,

“. . . sen that we may na langar byde,
Tak vp tha haly rellykis in thi hand,
And our penates or goddis of this land—
It war onleifful and wykkitnes to me
From sa gret slauchter, blude schedding and melle
Newly departit, to twich thame, for the blude,
Quhil I be weschyn into sum rynnand flude.”

(2.11.64–70; see 4.11.26–28).

Given the weight of Aeneas’s fate and its far-reaching movement into a future of “Perpetual empyre” (1.5.87), other supernatural forces assist him at every turn, particularly the Sibyl and Phoebus’s Delian oracle. For Aeneas, these spiritual figures are far more significant than, say, Ilioneus, Serestus, or Achates—or even the Sibyl, whom the Scottish narrator, adding to the Latin text (*Aeneid* 6.538), describes inaccurately, if suggestively, as Aeneas’s “trew marrow. . .” (6.9.9).

However, as the *Eneados*’s narrator explains and as his faith dictates, Virgilian supernatural powers and journeys to the underworld, while they may be “possibill” (Pro 1.214), may not be literally true because antiquity was filled with “ma illusionys / By dewillich warkis and coniuurations / Than now thar beyn” (215–17). Yet Virgil does not write “lie[s]” (203), for “vnder the clowdis of dyrk poecy / Hyd lyis thar mony notabill history” (193–94). Like Christian writers during many centuries, the narrator understands the traditional view that, though Virgil is not of his faith, he is an exceptional figure, an unwitting harbinger of that faith and an “ane hie theolog sentencyus. . .” (Pro 6.75):

. . . thoct Criste grund our faith,
Virgil sawis ar worth to put in stor.
Thay aucht not be hald vagabund nor waith—
Ful riche tresour thai bene and precius graith:
For oft by Sibily’s sawis he tonys his stevyn;
Thus faithfully in his Bucolykis he saith,
The maide cummyth bringis new lynnage fra hevyn.

(66–72; see *Eclogues* 4.6–7).

The *Eneados*’s narrator, eager to describe “our Saluyour Ihesus” as “that hevynly Orpheus” (Pro 1.469–70) and to proclaim that “Thow art our Sibill, Crystis moder deir” and “Sathan the clepe I, Pluto infernall” (Pro

6.145, 150), places no belief in pagan gods. After acknowledging Bacchus's association with pleasure and Proserpina's with victory (Pro 5.55–56), he asks, “Sal I 3ou call as 3our name war dyvyne?” (57). His response is immediate: “Na, na, it suffysyt of 3ou ful smal memorie; / I byd nothir of 3our turmentis nor 3our glorie. . .” (58–59). The narrator's expression of the strength and sense of belonging that he finds in faith, which is the source of his creative skill, culminates in Prologue 10's stirring hymn of praise to the “He plasmatour of thyngis vniuersall, / Thou renewar of kynd that creat all” (1–2). Disposing of pagan beliefs, the narrator makes a resolution about the spiritual company he keeps: “he quhilk may ws glaid perpetually, / To bryng ws tyll hys blyss on hym I cry” (Pro 5.60–61). From Aeneas, the narrator learns about fortifying his spiritual resources; motivated by his own faith, he focuses those spiritual resources on Christianity.

The narrator/translator learns much from Aeneas's “exempill,” many of the lessons anticipating commentary on Virgil during the past two centuries. *Darkness Visible*, W.R. Johnson's valuable study of the *Aeneid*, begins by identifying two perspectives on the epic. During the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century there was “a constant complaint” that Aeneas is “a poor excuse for a hero”; an even more cynical view held that Virgil memorialized “the cult of failure” (9). The *Eneados*'s narrator/translator, endorsing neither of these perspectives, looks ahead to a third view, an optimistic approach that saw Virgil reimagining heroism by distilling “post-Socratic ethical speculation” and implying “some criticism of the Homeric concept of heroism” (9). Johnson summarizes the results that the *Aeneid* achieves:

In Aeneas, . . . we have an authentic Stoic . . . who struggles from the old, primitive [Hellenistic] code and the mindless, amoral jungle into the clear sunshine of the Augustan enlightenment: *humanitas, pietas, ratio, salus* (9).

This is the Aeneas who teaches Douglas's narrator that even if his two artistic quests—to establish his career as the author of original poems and to translate the *Aeneid*—are not complementary, there is great value in continuing an epic poetic quest in which original prologues are unified with the *Aeneid*.

But the narrator, like his teacher/example, is a slow learner. When pressed in a dream by Maffeo Vegio to translate Book 13, the narrator is moved by Aeneas's example to reflect on stasis and wasted time. He argues that Virgil's book has already distracted him too much:

“. . . perdon I 3ou pray,
Not that I haue 3ou ony thing offendit,
Bot rathir that I haue my tyme mysspendit,
So lang on Virgillis volume forto stair,

And laid on syde full mony grave mater,
 That, wald I now write in that trety mor,
 Quhat suld folk deym bot all my tyme forlor?" (Pro 13.108–14).

Because his project is nearly complete, these protests are too little, too late; not sincere concerns, they are instead hopeful statements intended to resolve a confrontation. Despite the narrator/translator's half-hearted attempt to placate Vegio by claiming that his quest has suffered because he has "laid on syde" his own poetry—the *Eneados* is in fact Douglas's last surviving work (Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas* 2)—his epic quest is a worthy one. Rather than surrender to a sense of futility, the *Eneados*'s narrator establishes himself as an example, however imperfect, of someone who perseveres as he turns to other examples, primarily Virgil, the "poete dyvyne" (Pro 5.29) to whom the prologues attach the verb "follow" well over a dozen times :

Quharfor, 3ou gentill redaris, I besich
 Traste on na wyss at this my wark be sich,
 Quhilk dyd my best, as the wyt mycht atteyn,
 Virgillis versys to follow and no thing feyn (Pro 1.263–66).

Public journeys call for the translator to work on the epic and for Aeneas to found a new homeland. These quests are mutually exclusive from the private ones. From Aeneas, the narrator learns that human relationships interfere with a grander goal. Jupiter's first speech explicitly declares that Rome dominates Aeneas's future. A personal relationship between Aeneas and his second wife Lavinia—even one that is a pale reflection of his genuine affection for Creusa (see 2.10.6 and 2.12.16–56)—fades to an afterthought, her character relegated to the public role of providing the foundation of the new city's name, Lavinium (1.5.54, 73). Aeneas acts as a forceful example for his Scottish narrator/translator. As the *Eneados*'s principal portrait of "*humanitas, pietas, ratio, salus*," one who perseveres and remains dedicated even in the face of threats, isolation, exhaustion, and a wavering sense of duty, Aeneas illustrates the narrator's pronouncement in Prologue 11: "Weill auchtyn eldris exemplis ws to steir / Tyll hie curage, all honour till ensew" (5–6). In his epic quest, Gavin Douglas and his narrator have no Scottish or English author to act as an example, and the *Eneados* has no poetic example of a major classical poem translated into Scots or English. From the "exempill" of Aeneas, however, Douglas's narrator/translator grasps the lesson that he has not "mysspendit" his time by persevering in the creation of original prologues and a translation that together form his unified epic masterpiece.

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