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A.E.C. Canitz

The Prologue to the Eneados:
Gavin Douglas's Directions for Reading

Gavin Douglas endeavors to be faithful to Virgil in translating the Aeneid, and he even expounds his own critical theory of translation, yet he does what no modern translator would dare: he intersperses the translation of Virgil's work with his own original compositions—the Prologues. In each of the thirteen Prologues he comments in one way or another on the subsequent and sometimes also on the preceding Book, but the Prologues do more than just function as translator's notes. Read in sequence with the Books of the Aeneid rather than in isolation as individual poems, the Prologues offer a guide to the Aeneid, yet they also substantially change the experience of reading it. For one thing, the interpolation of the Prologues means that the continuity of the epic is compromised, since the Books are separated from each other, each now being introduced and commented on by its individual Prologue. And secondly, Douglas's comments in the Prologues color the contents of the Books, draw the reader's attention to certain issues and raise pertinent questions, with the result that the Books appear in a new light—no longer Virgil, but Virgil seen through Douglas's eyes. At the same time, the Prologues provide a theo-

1Virgil's Aeneid Translated into Scottish Verse by Gavin Douglas, ed. David F. C. Coldwell, 4 vols., STS 25, 27, 28, 30 (Edinburgh & London, 1957-64). All references to the Eneados are to this text.
retical apparatus in which Douglas discusses his principles and methods, and debates the value of poetry and justifies the role of the literary artist. The relationships of the Prologues to their respective Books are complex and at first reading sometimes obscure, but Douglas himself admonishes his readers to "Reid, reid agane, this volume, mair than twyss" (VI, Prol., 12), and closer scrutiny indeed reveals astonishingly subtle links between the Prologues and the Books to which they pertain.

The first Prologue fulfills the function of a general preface to the entire Eneados. It contains the preliminary matters of the praise of Virgil, the dedication of the work and the author's apology for errors and blunders. It also serves as a platform for Douglas to give an account of his principles and methods of critical translation and to review the work of his predecessors in the transmission of Virgil in English. In addition, Douglas offers a first preview of his interpretation of the role of Aeneas as the model prince. Prologue I thus consists of a general introduction, addressing matters which relate to the work as a whole rather than specifically to Book I.

The second Prologue, however, is already clearly focused on the particular Book which it precedes, and the coloring mentioned above is already evident. It is the shortest Prologue in the entire series, consisting of only three stanzas of rime-royal. In the first stanza Douglas toys with the idea of invoking Melpomene, the dark Muse appropriate for the narration of the "dedly tragedy" (I. 3) of the fall of Troy, but he immediately rejects this idea: Virgil himself will give guidance, and divine Grace will give Douglas the power to follow where Virgil leads, so that "fen3eit termys new" (I. 6), that is, the fanciful invocation of a non-existent Muse, are not necessary. The second stanza harks back to the first Prologue and the issue of faithful translation, promising new standards in the translation of Virgil into English. In the third stanza, however, Douglas points the lesson to be drawn from the ensuing Book. In each individual point Douglas takes his cue directly from Virgil's own text. When he reminds the ladies among the audience that it was a woman's beauty that ultimately caused the fall of Troy—"Harkis, ladeis,30ur bewte was the cawss" (I. 15)—he gives a condensed, though somewhat slanted, version of Aeneas' thoughts at seeing Helen hiding at Vesta's altar (ll. 567-82):

illa sibi infestos eversa ob Pergama Teucros
et Danaum poenam et deserti coniugis iras
praemetuens, Troiae et patriae communis Erinys,


2Bruce Dearing discusses the political aspect of the Eneados in his article "Gavin Douglas' Eneados: a Reinterpretation," PMLA, 67 (1952), 845-62.
Reading Douglas's Eneados

abdiderat sese atque aris invisa sedebat.
exarsere ignis animo; ...
'sclicet haec Spartam incolmis patriasque Mycenas
aspiciet partoque ibit regina triumpho.
(ll. 571-78)\(^3\)

* * *

Scho dreding less the Troianys wald hir schent
And kast sum way for hir distrucioun
Because al Troy for hir was thus bet doun,
Sayr punyiouin of Grekis dred scho, als
Hir husbandis wroth, quham scho left and was fals,
And eik the common fatale fury of Troy,
Hir self scho hyd tharfor and held ful koy,
Besyde the altare syting onethis seyn.
My spreit for ire brunt in propir teyn

Thocht I, sal scho pass to the realm of Spart
Hailskarth, and se Mycene hir natyve land,
And with triumphe follow hir fyrst husband?
Or lyke a queyn sal scho wend hame our se?
(IX, x, 20-35)

Although in the context of the Prologue ignores Venus' explicit denial "non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisa Lacaenae / culpatusve Paris" (ll. 601-2), Douglas translates this warning in the body of Book II:

Not the bewte of Helene Laconya,
Quham thou hat is, nor Parys, quhilk alswa
Is blamyt oft, ...

(II, x, 75-77)

Next addressing the "knychtis" and reminding them that the frenzy of war is madness, placing a man outside the circle of rational beings—"Harkis, knychtis, the wod fury of Mart" (l. 16)—Douglas recalls Aeneas' image of "Mar[s] indonit[us]" (l. 440), which embodies the horror of the panic and of the impulsive, unpremeditated fighting during the assault on Priam's stronghold when all ratiocination is suspended and action is guided by reflex rather than reason:

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\(^3\)This and all subsequent quotations from the Aeneid are taken from Virgil: Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid, Minor Poems, ed. Rushton H. Fairclough, 2 vols., rev. edn. (London, 1978). All references to the Aeneid are to this text.
sic animis iuvenum furor additus. inde, lupi ceces
raptore atra in nebula, quos improba ventris
exigit caecos rabies catulique relieti
faucibus expectant siccis, per tela, per hostis
vadimus hau dubiam in mortem mediaeque tenemus
urbis iter; nox atra cava circumvolat umbra.
quos cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando
explicet aut possit lacrimis acquare labores?
(ll. 355-62)

* * *

Swa with thir wordis the song menis curage grew
That in the dyrk lyke ravenus wolffis on rawis
Ouham the blynd fury of thar empty mawis
Dryvis furth of thar den to seik thar pray—
Thar litil quhelpis left with dry throtes quhil day—
So throw the wapynys and our fays went we,
Apon the ded ondowit, and wald nocht fle.
Amyd the cite we held the master streit,
The dyrk nycht hyd ws with cloyss schaddowis meit.

Ouha sal the harmsys of that woful nycht
Expreme? Or quha with tong to tell hes mycht
Sa feil ded corsis as thar lys slane?
Or thocht in cace thai weip quhil teris rayn
Equaly may bewail tha sorowis all?
(II, vi, 108-vii, 5)

Having pointed his finger at the particular vices to which the knights
and the ladies are supposed to be prone, Douglas finds proof in Book II
for the general lesson that "All erdly glaidness fynysith with wo" (l. 21),
which has a partial Virgilian counterpart in Aeneas' reflections on Priam's
fortunes:

haec finis Priami fatorum; hic exitus illum
sorte tulit, Troiam incensam et prolapsa videntem
Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum
regnatorem Asiae. iacet ingens lâore truncus,
avolsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus.
(II, 554-8)

* * *

Or Priamus thus was the finale fait—
Fortone heir endit his gloryus estait,
Scand Ilion albyrn in fryis brown
And Troys wallis fall and tumlyt down.
That ryal prince, vmquhile our Asya
Yet Aeneas' thoughts have none of the moralizing quality of Douglas's "proverbe." There is not question in the Latin lines of restitution, of "erdly glaidness" having to be paid for with "wo," and there is no suggestion that such a reversal of fortune is inevitable. The pessimistic interpretation of Priam's (and the Trojans') fate as a fall sands in the Fall of Princes tradition of the arbitrary yet predictable mercilessness of Lady Fortune and evokes none of the horror and consternation at the unfathomable fate of the patriarchal king which Aeneas feels at watching the slaughter of Priam. By presenting Book II in the context of such moralizing precepts, Douglas reinterprets Aeneas' narration of the destruction of Troy as a moral lesson told for the instruction of the reader rather than an account of Aeneas' sorrows and hardships told in the interest of feeding Dido's love and sympathy or even for the sake of establishing the morally impeccable character of the legendary progenitor of the Roman imperial line.

Prologue III is concerned with more general matters again, touching the work of the translator rather than offering a specific introduction to the particular Book. However, even this Prologue is linked with its Book by means of thematic connections. Preceding the account of Aeneas' sea-wanderings from Troy to Thrace, Delos, Crete, Epirus, Italy, Sicily, and eventually to Carthage, Prologue III opens with an apostrophe to Cynthia, the goddess of the moon who controls the sea's ebb and flow and is hallowed by "Schipmen and pilgrymys" (l. 5), to both of which categories Aeneas can be said to belong. But even though Cynthia has power to rule the waters, she needs to borrow her light from the sun,

Hornyt Lady, pail Cynthia, not brycht,
Qhilk from thi broder borrowis al thi lycht,
Rewlare of passage and ways mony one,
Maistres of strems, and glaidar of the nycht,

(prol., 1-4)

just as the Eneados shines with light borrowed from Virgil's work, although it is Douglas who controls the flow of the "Scottis" verse. In the first Prologue, Douglas had already expressed this notion—

So lamp of day thou [Virgil] art and schynand son
All otheris on forss mon thar lycht beg or borrow;
Thow Phebus lightnar of the planetis all—
(I, Prol., 60-3)

and it was clearly in Douglas's mind here again, for having made the connection between the invocation of Cynthia and the content of Book III, Douglas immediately alludes to the respective positions of the original author and the translator vis-a-vis the critics: Virgil is so far above criticism that he is immune to it, and Douglas, who "follow[s] Virgill in sentens" (I. 33), does not care about it. Disdaining to enter an argument with such fault-finders, Douglas freely admits that he is unacquainted with many of Virgil's place names and may therefore have made occasional errors in this respect. His comment that "Few knawis all thir costis sa far hens" (I. 34) contains a particularly sly barb, for not even the wise Anchises knew "all thir costis" and, one may assume, most of the critics have no more specific knowledge, either. In borrowing an image directly from Book III and using it in his own defense, Douglas thus turns the tables on his attackers. In the final lines of Prologue III, however, Douglas begins to use a method of interpretation which he is going to develop much further in subsequent Prologues, namely, the allegorization of mythical and mythological beings, here Scylla and Charybdis, whom he uses as a figure of hell:

From Harpyes fell and blynd Cyclopes handis
Be my laid star, virgyne moder but maik;
Thocht storm of temptatioun my schip oft schaik,
Fra swelth of Sylla and dyrk Caribdis bandis,
I meyn from hell, salue al go not to wreik.

(III, Prol., 41-5)

In praying to the Virgin for guidance to help him escape this double danger, he likens himself to the "Schipmen and pilgrymys" as well as to Aeneas, who can only avoid Scylla and Charybdis because of the divine guidance given by the seer Helenus (III, 410-32). Although the Christian allegorical interpretation is here only hinted at, it already serves to give Aeneas' ordeals at sea a coloring not only of personal trials which test and strengthen his character and his leadership qualities, but also of temptations in which his moral and religious strength are tested. This kind of coloring progressively increased in subsequent Prologues, until Aeneas eventually becomes a type of Christ in Prologue XI.

A similar but much more forceful reinterpretation takes place in Prologue IV. The verse form itself is already significant. It is again rime royal, and surely every courtly reader in Douglas's audience would have remembered the first few words of Chaucer's *Troilus*: "The double sorwe"
caused by love. This allusion implicit in the chosen form provides one of the themes for this Prologue, that is, that love which is based on erotic passion will inevitably lead to pain, misery, and loss. Dido exemplifies this precept, and Book IV becomes an extended exemplum to be added to the list of the tales of Solomon, Samson, Aristotle, Alexander, Hercules and many others.

From the initial denunciation of Venus and Cupid, Douglas turns to a definition of proper love as warmth, that is, a love which is neither excessive, and turning into heat, nor deficient, and becoming coldness. In using this simile, Douglas foreshadows the fire imagery running through Book IV in the description of Dido's emotional state, but he extends the range of meaning supported by this image, defining as cold the state of not being touched by any kind of love at all, and describing as warm the perfect state in which love is charity rather than erotic love. Having equated proper loved with caritas, Douglas alludes in a series of puns to the supreme instance of love, divine Grace, and contrasts the sincere plea for Grace and Mercy with the worldly lover's request to his lady to "haue mercy" (l. 145):

Faynt lufe, but grace, for all thi fen3eit layis,
Thy wantoun willis ar verray vanyte;
Grasless thou askis grace, and thus thou prayis:
"Hauc mercy, lady, hauc reuth and sum piete!"
And scho, reuthless, agane rewys on the:
Heir is na paramouris fund, bot all haitrent,
Quhar nowthir to weill nor resson tak thai tent.

Callys thou that reuht, quhilk of thar self ne rakiks?
Or is it grace to fall fra grace? nay, nay.
Thou sekis mercy, and tharof myscheif makkis.

(IV, Prol., 142-51)

This juxtaposition of rightful love, namely, love which is directed towards God, and erotic passion bordering on luxuria relies for its impact on the similarity between the formulas used in the invocation of Mary as the Queen of Mercy and their re-application in the idiom of courtly love. The implication of the irreconcilability of these two concepts of love amounts to an unqualified denunciation of fine amour, which is in the following eight stanzas expressly linked with adultery and prostitution, for even the pander and the bawd employ its euphemisms:

"Douchtir, for thy lufe this man hes gret dyseyss,"
Quod the bysmeyr with the slekyt speche,
"Rew on hym, it is meryte hys pane to meyss."

(IV, Prol., 190-92)
In this context Dido's love must appear not only unwise but positively sinful, although Douglas refrains from labelling it as such. Yet when he explicitly refers to Dido at the end of Prologue IV, Douglas's earlier condemnation of earthly love as "fowle deleyte" (l. 113) is still fresh in the reader's mind. Still, Douglas's assessment of Dido's case seems comparatively restrained: "Throw fulch lust" she has brought about her "awynd ondoyng" (l. 228), and her "honeste baith and gude fame" (l. 255) have fallen victim to her "blynd luffis inordinate desyre" (l. 250); she is another one in the long line of princes fallen from high to low degree, and her fate also provides an exemplum for the adage that "Temporal ioy endis wyth wo and pane" (l. 221). Very little, however, is said about Aeneas' part in the affair. By making Dido alone responsible for her own tragedy, Douglas removes the burden from Aeneas' shoulders which medieval tradition had heaped on him. He is no longer the perjured seducer but the innocent means by which Dido works her own downfall. Dido thus appears to deserve her fate, while Aeneas, more by omission than by explicit comment, is portrayed as blameless in her death and unblemished by it. Douglas has thus prepared the ground for a new and very different reading of Book IV.

Prologue V, composed for the most part in the same stanza form as Prologue III, is comparatively loosely linked to its Book. The first three stanzas catalogue all manner of people responding to nature's new growth in spring by doing what gives each the most pleasure. These lines capture the variety of possible responses and the joy and new hope inherent in the new beginning, which Douglas sums up in the adage that "A blith spreit makis greyn and floryst age" (l. 21). Book V finds Aeneas' company in a similar mood. The initial two-thirds of the Book picture the Trojans engaged in a variety of heroic athletic pursuits in the course of the funeral games for Anchises with which they hope to mark the end of their seven years' wandering before setting out on the last section of their journey to Italy, their promised but as yet elusive land of destiny. When they leave Acestes' country at the end of Book V, they are ready to make a new beginning, having just refreshed themselves and proven their mettle. Even the subsequent calamity inflicted by Juno, the partial burning of the fleet, only serves to strengthen the company further, in that only those with the strongest commitment choose and are chosen to continue the voyage and lay the foundations for the new Troy. On the eve of their entry into Italy,
all omens seem hopeful for the success of their mission and for the rebur­
geoning of Trojan power in a new land. The spring scene epitomized in
Douglas's very first line is thus an apt metaphor indicating the hopeful and
joyous mood in which the Trojans set out for Italy.

If Douglas the poet celebrates the endless variety of human responses
to new beginnings and the "Plesance and ioy" (l. 19) to be found in them,
in the second three stanzas of Prologue V Douglas the translator finds that
the variety and flexibility of Virgil's style are almost too much of a good
thing for himself. Yet while "The clerk reiosys hys bukis our to seyn" (l. 5),
Douglas the critical translator and scholar always enjoys a little flyting,
particularly with William Caxton, whose prose in Book V and elsewhere
he finds "mank and mutulate" (l. 51), while his own

    propyne com from the press fute hait,
    Onforlatit, not iawyn fra tun to tun,
    In fresch sapour new from the berry run.

(V, Prol., 52-4)

Douglas here uses a further image of freshness and rebirth, this time
shifting from the regeneration of nature and from the renewal of Troy's
dominion to his own new approach to translation. In contrast to this pre­
decessors, he breaks with the tradition of recension and goes back directly
to the original source, thus making a new beginning in the art of transla­
tion. Douglas's motion is not unlike that of the Trojans, who are also
seeking out their forefathers' original homeland in Hesperia in order to
found the new Troy, having discovered in the meantime that none of the
intermediate stations, such as Crete in particular, will suffice as a basis for
the realm yet to be reborn. Just as Book V ends with Venus' appeal to
Neptune to prosper Aeneas' enterprise, so Douglas concludes Prologue V
with a prayer, rejecting Bacchus, Proserpina and Victoria, the divinities as­
associated with the various aspects of the funeral games, and calling instead
on his own Lord with the plea to grant him the ability to forego such
earthly pleasure as might jeopardize his eternal happiness:

    Sen erdly plesour endis oft with sorow, we se,
    As in this buke nane exemplys 3e want,
    Lord, our protectour to all trastis in the,
    Bot quham na thing is worthy nor pyssant,
    To ws thy grace and als gret mercy grant,
    So forto wend by temporal blythness
    That our eternale ioy be nocht the less!

(V, Prol., 62-8)
Prologue V thus serves to introduce Book V turned into a moral subject lesson, but it is also an opportunity for the translator to make further refinements in his statements regarding the act of critical translation.

Prologue VI, even more so than Prologues II and IV, is again a "reader's guide" to the Book it precedes. Douglas here asks his readers not to dismiss Book VI as containing "bot iapis, / ... leys or ald ydolatryis" (ll. 9-10), but to penetrate "the clowdis of dyrk poecy" (I, Prol., 193) to find the underlying "sythfast materis" (I, Prol., 197). With an inexpressibility topos as his introduction—"Wald thou I suld this buke to the declare, / Qhilk war impossibil til expreme at schort?" (ll. 25-6)—Douglas launches a full-scale exposition of the parallelism between Virgil's underworld and the Christian afterlife, correlating Tartarus with Hell and the Elysian Fields with Heaven, and finding space, too, for a Purgatory and Limbo in Hades. As for the vices for which, as Aeneas is told, Tartarus is the price, Douglas finds that they are the same as "the synnys capital" (l. 41). Lest any reader find this reading far-fetched, Douglas cites Servius, Augustine and Ascensius as authorities for his interpretation. Furthermore, he even finds evidence in Virgil's reference to the anima mundi (VI, 724-32) that Virgil espoused the concept of one God the Father or, in another aspect, of one God the Creator. Virgil's other gods—"hevinly wightis" (l. 83)—in Douglas's reading become "hevinly spiretis" and "angellis" (ll. 82, 84), and Sibyl, who is "a maid of goddis secret preve" (l. 138), is equated with Mary, while Pluto, the "Prynce in that dolorus den of wo and pane" (l. 151), becomes Satan. However, although Virgil was "ane hie theolog sentencyus" (l. 75) anticipating many of the doctrines of Christianity, he "was na Cristyn man, per De" (l. 78), so that it is not surprising that he occasionally "erred," as in his tenet of the transmigration of the souls. Central as this concept is to the development of the latter part of Book VI, Douglas devotes only four lines to its refutation (ll. 129-32), pointing out, however, that it does have certain similarities with the Catholic concept of the re-unification of body and soul after Doomsday.

Even though Douglas offers a close interpretation of Book VI, he shifts the focus away from its final culmination and focuses instead on one of the secondary parts. Virgil's Book VI falls into three almost equally long, but progressively important parts: the preparations for the descent into the underworld (VI, 1-263); Aeneas' entry into the underworld and his journey through the neutral regions of neither punishment nor joy (including his meeting with Dido in the Mourning Fields, and a glance at Tartarus in passing) (VI, 264-636); and, finally, the meeting of Aeneas with Anchises in the Blissful Groves, where Anchises foretells the glory of the Roman Empire (VI, 637-901). Douglas's Prologue, however, concen-
trates almost exclusively on the middle section, relegating Anchises' prophecies to a mere four lines of benevolent criticism:

I say nocht all dys [Virgil's] warkis beyn perfyte,
Nor that sawlys turnys in othir bodeys agane,
Thocht we traste, and may pref be haly write,
Oure sawle and body sal anys togiddir remane.
(VI, Prol., 129-32)

By emphasizing one part at the expense of the other two, Douglas determines what the reader is to regard as important in Book VI. In Douglas's opinion, the prime concern of the Book is to show "Eftir thar deth, in quhat plyte saulis sal stand" (VI, Prol., 37), but this refocusing counteracts Virgil's design, in which the focal point of the Book is the rise of Rome. Douglas's reading does suggest a sense of awe and wonder, though not at the destined glory of the Roman Empire, but at the strength of Christian Truth, able to assert itself in a pagan writer even prior to its revelation. Douglas's Prologue thus reinterprets Book VI, drawing the reader's attention away from the already discredited final third, ignoring the first third, and presenting the middle third as a foreshadowing of the conditions following the Last Judgement.

Prologue VII, the "tristis prologus" which "smellis new cum furth of hell" (ll. 162a, 163), standing numerically at the center of the work, is closely connected with both the preceding and the subsequent Book. Apart from the thematic links with Book VI, verbal echoes also establish a close continuity between Virgil's vision of the realm of the shades and Douglas's image of the hell-like winter landscape. At the same time, the chaos in nature foreshadows the turmoil caused by Juno in Book VII and the beginning of the grim wars in the Iliadic half of the Aeneid. At Juno's instigation, Alecto rises for her hellish dwelling place to overturn the peaceful and beneficent rule of Latinus; her aspect terrifies, and her influence frenzies the characters who come in contact with her. She turns the world upside-down, provoking the populace to disobey the ruler, goading the queen and her matrons to set themselves against the decrees of the sage, divinely-guided king, and lashing Turnus on to rebel against his overlord and to go to war despite his liege's express command to the contrary. The images of unnatural disorder, death and violence in Douglas's "drery preambill" (VII, Prol., 166) anticipate the upheaval in Latium

where political and social bonds and even divine ordinances are temporarily overturned and where war is soon to demand its victims. Douglas's winter night functions as a metaphor for the benightedness of the Laurentines as their adherence to Latinus' calm and reasonable rule is suspended under Alecto's influence and as clarity of vision fails them. The hostility of the cold season depicted in the Prologue, making even bare survival precarious, corresponds to the shattering of Latinus' and the Trojan embassy's mutual offering of peace and particularly of Latinus' request for a marriage between Lavinia and Aeneas. In both scenarios beneficent growth and fruitful development are cut off, blighted, and actively suppressed. Nonetheless, the winter solstice is also a turning point, and the harsh period directly following it will eventually be superseded by a time of renewed growth during which the image of man "30k[ing] our pleuch agane" (l. 158) will be more than a metaphor for the weary poet; so, too, the Trojans have the assurance that after the period of war, death and destruction a time of flourishing development will begin. For Douglas the poet-translator, for the beings mentioned in the Prologue, and for the inhabitants of Ausonia, native and foreign alike, this crisis already holds the promise of fulfillment following a period of intense trial and hardship, and in this the images of the Prologue and of the Book correspond in harsh harmony.

Prologue VIII, a tour de force in alliterative writing in which a hostile dream figure presents conventional social criticism on the theme o tempor a, o mores and reproaches the dreamer-narrator for wasting his time on the writing of poetry, has variously been called "a most alien interpolation," and "a piece of comic relief to the heroic subject matter of the Aeneid [. . .] a grotesque parody of the opening lines of Book VIII;" Coldwell's statement that Prologue VIII, "on the distortion of the true polis, is a foil to the idealized state of the noble Evander" seems to come closest to the truth. While the dream-vision form links this Prologue to the first part of Book VIII, where the god of the river Tiber appears to Aeneas in an oraculum, the dislocated, chaotic state of society criticized by the "selcouth seg" (l. 4) contrasts sharply with the harmonious, law-abiding and devout ways of Evander's nation described in the main part of the Book. Even though Evander emphasizes that the Golden Age under Sat-
urn is past, by contrast to the utter social turmoil depicted in the Prologue, Evander's own state nonetheless appears ideal. Indeed, almost every statement made in the dream-figure's harangue can be paired with its opposite in Virgil's description of Evander's Arcadia. As a result, the juxtaposition of the two images of society enforces reflection on what is and what should be; it urges the audience to consider the alternatives and to make a moral and social choice. As Douglas later implies in Prologue IX, preaching is ineffective, however, and the diatribe of the "selcouth seg" in Prologue VIII consequently has much less of an impact than does the portrayal in the directly following Book of a well-governed, harmonious society in action, whose image Douglas presents as an alternative to the "mysery" (l. 101) which the dream-figure perceives in contemporaneous Scotland. Prologue VIII is thus less a "grotesque parody" than an expose of the political and moral deterioration of society.

Prologue IX is again a less direct introduction to the subsequent Book. Book IX contains the first sustained battle scenes, especially Nisus and Euryalus' heroic sortie and Turnus' single-handed combat inside the Trojan camp. In both these passages, Virgil emphasizes the high heroism of the three young warriors. However, no less important are Euryalus' speech demonstrating filial piety and Ascanius' speech exemplifying magnanimous governance. In his Prologue, Douglas takes up the theme of high-minded conduct—both knightly and royal—and transforms it into an examination of the kind of style which alone can do justice to this subject matter. The discussion of the "knychtlyke stile" (IX, Pro!. 31), however, is itself preceded by three highly embellished six-line stanzas on the virtues of honesty and judicious moderation:

Thir lusty warkis of hie nobilyte
Agilyte dyd wryte of worthy clerkis,
And tharin merkis wysdomc, stilyte,
Na vilyte, nor sic onhryfty sperkis;
Scurilyte is bot for doggis at barkis,
Ouha tharto harkis fallys in fragilyte.

Honeste is the way to worthyness,
Vertu, doubtles, the perfyte gait to blyss;
Thou do na myss, and eschew idilness,
Persew prowes, hald na thing at is hys;
Be nocht rakless to say sone 3a, I wyss,
And syne of this the contrar wyrk express.

Do tyll ilk wight as thou done to waldbe;
Be nevir sle and doubill, nor 3it our lyght;
Oyss not thy mycht abufe thyne awin degre,
Critics have occasionally commented on a lack of cohesion between the two stylistically very different parts of Prologue IX, or have ignored the first three stanzas altogether and treated the Prologue as if it consisted of the longer couplet section only.9 Lois Ebin, however, points to an important connection when she writes,

Like Henryson, who had suggested in his Fabillis that poetic style was a more effective response to the ills of the time than 'haly preiching,' Douglas implies by his contrast between moral and 'ryall' styles in Prologue IX a similar choice of a poetic medium rather than an explicitly moral one as 'bute.'10

When Douglas abruptly breaks off after the first three stanzas and continues the Prologue in a different verse form, he explicitly rejects the previous mode of writing, but he also implies a rejection of the poetic form in which it is phrased. His transitional line, "Eneuch of this, ws nedis prech na mor" (l. 19), makes it clear that Douglas finds the moralizing tone ineffective, and that if any didacticism is intended, it had better be merely implied in the harmony between subject matter and style, both of which together must also be appropriate to the intended recipient of the work. By switching to plain couplets, Douglas also rejects the extremely ornate style of the preceding three stanzas; the complex rhyme scheme of final and internal, feminine and masculine rhymes, and the florid word choice and la-

9 Bawcutt deals with Prologue IX in just two sentences, finding that there are "signs of earlier work being used in Prologue IX, where the first eighteen lines form a separate moralizing section in a different metre from the rest of the Prologue. Line 19 [...] effects the transition to a critical passage related to the book that follows" (Gavin Douglas, p. 164). I. S. Ross briefly comments on the stanzic initial section and suggests that there is no connection between it and the second part of the Prologue: "The main theme [of the stanzic part] is praise of virtue but Douglas does not wish to sustain this." ("'Proloug' and 'Buke' in the Eneados of Gavin Douglas," in Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance: Fourth International Conference 1984—Proceedings, eds. Dietrich Strauss and Horst W. Drescher (Frankfurt a. M., 1986), p. 401). Coldwell, in his checklist of the Prologues, omits any mention of the initial section and finds that Prologue IX, "in which Douglas turns on his critics, echoes Turnus' attack on the Trojans," thus suggesting a parallelism between the re-creator of the fortunes of Aeneas, on the one hand, and Aeneas' foremost opponent, on the other (Coldwell, I, 88).

bored word order draw attention to themselves and thereby make the communication of moral concepts ineffective. Moreover, it goes counter to the idea of "magnanymyte" (XI, Prol., 35) exemplified in Book IX and discussed in Prologue XI as an essential feature of true knighthood, for as soon as heroism or other high-mindedness becomes as self-conscious as is the style of the opening stanzas of Prologue IX, it becomes ostentatious and loses precisely the quality which gave it nobility in the first place. The kind of verbal "agilyte" (l. 2) demonstrated in the stanzaic section thus disregards appropriateness and degree, for while it certainly avoids "scurilyte" and "lowuss langage" (ll. 5, 25), it seems to "Clym ... our hie" (l. 16) and is therefore lacking in "grauyte" (l. 26).

Read in conjunction, both sections of the Prologue thus make the same point: the form of writing must harmonize with its content and its addressee; without such harmony, "Full litill it wald delyte" (l. 36). In using the "ryall style, clepyt heroycall" (l. 21) as an example to illustrate his discussion, Douglas implicitly draws attention to the distinguishing qualities which the audience may expect to find in the actions and speeches narrated in the Book that follows. If preaching is ineffective—as the ranting of the "selcouth seg" in Prologue VIII has sufficiently demonstrated—teaching by example may be better suited to achieving the virtues called for in the opening stanzas. As in the eighth Prologue and Book, preaching and explicit didacticism are here rejected in favor of showing virtue in action, so that Book IX with its depiction of Turnus' and Nisus' selfless heroism, of Euryalus' filial piety, and of Ascanius' generous governance becomes an object lesson in morally impeccable conduct, to be presented in the kind of style to which the audience is most likely to respond favorably.

Prologue X, principally a sermon on the Trinity, offers a strong Christian reinterpretation of the Book that follows and implies the refutation of the Olympian gods from which Douglas had refrained in Prologue VI. To achieve this effect Douglas here relies exclusively on a juxtaposition of the concepts developed in the Prologue and the scenes presented in the Book. Book X opens with Jupiter convening a council of the gods and commanding them to desist from their active discord and from further contravention of his ordinances. But neither Juno nor Venus is ready to yield her position, and other deities continue to take sides, so that Jupiter has to

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11Coldwell's misconception that "the complicated interlocking rime-scheme [is] so intricate that the sense is sacrificed to it" proves the point. (Coldwell, I, 225, note on IX, Prol., 1-18). Watt, *Douglas's Aeneid*, p. 111, describes the complex rhyme scheme as "a kind of weaving rhyme" which, "like the swing of a pendulum," links the internal rhyme word with the tail rhyme word of the preceding line.
take the awesome path of an oath invoking Styx in order to quell the discord and enforce his decree that neither side in the Latian war shall be favored, but that Fate shall take its course. While the gods are forced to submit to Jupiter's command, he himself is also bound by Fate, having power only to delay but not to alter it. From here on, the focus of the Book shifts from Olympus down to the Trojan camp and the seashore, where Trojans and Ausonians are locked in a battle which is the direct result of the discord among the gods and which moves even them to pity (X, 758-9). Douglas's Prologue, in contrast, stresses unity and love and, resulting from them, peace. In his learned discourse on the Trinity, he emphasizes time and again the co-eternal, co-eval, co-equal, and inseparable nature of this tri-unity. Unlike Jupiter, who has to resort to force to make the Olympian gods submit to his supremacy, the Trinity emanates love, grants man free will, and even after man's disobedience seeks to restore unity, harmony and love through the offer of Grace, another form of love.

While the first part of both Prologue and Book is thus occupied with the characteristics of Christian and pagan divine relationships, the second part glorifies the love which is prepared for self-sacrifice in order to redeem its object. I. S. Ross speaks of Book X as "in part an anthem for the doomed heroic youths Lausus and Pallas," both of whom sacrifice their lives, the one to save that of his father Mezentius, and the other to avert disaster from the routed Trojan and Arcadian forces. Personified in these two young heroes are the highest public and private Roman virtues. Just as Aeneas is in Prologue XI made a type of Christ in leading his people home to the "fatale centre of behest" (XI, Prol., 178), so Pallas and Lausus are types of Christ in placing the supreme virtues of their value system above their own lives. Douglas's meditation on the Incarnation and the Passion is thus a counterpart to Virgil's "anthem," yet it also stresses their essential difference: while "A drop had bene sufficient of [Christ's] blude / A thousand worldis to haue redeymt..." (X, Prol., 132-3), the sacrifices of Pallas and Lausus have no redemptive capacity or only a very limited one. While Douglas had in Prologue VI still been able to allegorize Virgil's pantheon, in Prologue X he literally rejects Virgil's "mawmentis" (l. 153), whose strife causes discord on earth and demands the price of such fruitless sacrifices. He reapplyes Virgil's phrase "divum pater atque hominum rex" (X, 2) to his own God, "the Fader of goddis and men" (l. 156), who also "haldis court our cristall hevynnys cleir" (l. 166; cf. X, 1-5), but in whose realm there is "Concord for ever," and hence "myrth, rest and endles blyss, / ... / ... all wilfair, eyss and euerlestand ioy" (ll. 171, 174).

Book X thus becomes an illustration of the state of man ruled by "ydoll, stok [or] elf" (l. 154) without divine "luf and cheryte" (l. 126).

Prologue XI, discussing true chivalry, follows the same basic pattern as Prologue IV, transforming the following Book into a moral lesson. Douglas again takes his cue from the contents of the subsequent Book, but also from the preceding one, each of which devotes approximately half of its length to a narration of the battles fought on the plain outside Latinus' city. It is striking, however, that while Aeneas is the main hero of the combats in Book X, he is not shown fighting at all in Book XI. On the contrary, Book XI shows Aeneas as religious leader, statesman and guardian of his people, while the battle scenes center on Volscan Camilla. Coldwell's statement that Prologue XI "joins the praise of true knighthood, or spiritual chivalry, to Vergil's fiercest fighting," thus seems to miss the point, considering too that the rage of battle is no less intense in Books IX, X and XII. When Douglas focuses on Aeneas in the final three stanzas of the Prologue, what he stresses is not so much Aeneas' outstanding heroism on the battlefield and during other times of danger, but rather Aeneas' moral qualities, namely, that he knows to "Ensew vertu, and eschew evey vyce" (l. 195) even though he is one of the "paganys aid" (l. 194) who did not have the promise of "the kynryk ay lestyng" (l. 183). Since Books VII to XII have a tendency to be remembered as one long battle account, it will be useful to recall here that Book XI opens at daybreak with Aeneas fulfilling his public duty to the gods even though he would have preferred first to honor his fallen friends and comrades by giving them burial. While still engaged in the sacred rites of Mars, he addresses the chieftains of his forces, trying to renew their courage, their hope of victory, and their faith in the benevolence of the gods. Immediately thereafter he takes great care to honor the dead Pallas and to arrange a fitting, even lavish, procession to have Pallas' body taken home to Evander. Only then, after the duties owed to the gods and to the ally are discharged, does Aeneas turn to the burial rites for the Trojans' own dead. He is, however, interrupted by envoys from Latinus, asking for a truce to enable the Latins to bury their even greater number of dead. "Bonus Aeneas," "heyn, curtass and gud," grants their request (XI, 106-7; XI, iii, 13) and addresses the enemy envoys with consideration and sympathy, causing aged Drances, the head of the embassy, to wonder aloud whether Aeneas' "gret gentryce and sa iust equyte, / Or [his] gret fors and laubour bellicall" (XI, iii, 60-1) are more to be admired ("iustitiaene prius mirer belline laborum?" XI, 126). After this act of magnanimous caritas on the part of Aeneas, the focus of Book XI shifts away from Aeneas to Evander, Latinus and finally Camilla, and Aen- 

13Coldwell, I, 88.
Aeneas is scarcely even mentioned again until the final lines, which prepare for the clash between Aeneas and Turnus in Book XII.

Aeneas' charity, piety and justice, and his, on the whole, morally and ethnically unimpeachable conduct are the features which are stressed here, after his heroism and warlike qualities have been demonstrated in the preceding Book. In the Prologue, Douglas uses the same pattern: martial prowess alone is not enough—it must be used only in the pursuit of justice, it must be tempered by "magnanymyte" (XI, Prol., 35), and it must be based on virtue. Douglas uses the military imagery suggested by the ongoing account of the wars in Latium and builds on it a discussion of the virtues which the Christian believer must apply in his daily battle against the temptations of the Flesh, the World, and the "aduersar principall" (I. 97); his conduct, like that of the knight in war, must be based on justice (II. 17-24) and must be characterized by fortitude (I. 33), which itself must lack neither produce (II. 37-8) nor temperance (II. 41-4). However, the four cardinal virtues alone do not suffice; in order to succeed in his struggle, the believer also requires the three theological virtues, which are here referred to in metaphors taken from the military sphere appropriate to the context of the second half of the Aeneid. The Christian must

Rayss hie the targe of faith vp in [his] hand,
On hed the halsum helm of hoip onlace,
In cheryte [his] body all embrace.

(XI, Prol., 101-3)

Equipped with the shield of Faith, the helmet of Hope, and the corslet of Charity, the only needs the additional sword of devotion (I. 104) to defend himself against the onslaughts of the Adversary. Given this kind of introduction, Aeneas' protracted battle in Latium must come to be seen by the reader as analogous with his own continuous spiritual warfare, with the result that at least the succeeding Books XI and XII will be read on both the literal and the allegorical level. This interpretation is further strengthened by the opening scene of Book XI, where Aeneas is shown in his capacity as a devout religious leader, discharging first his duty to the gods before he attends to his other, civic and military concerns. Beyond that, Aeneas is also made an exemplum for the Christian soldier, in quest for "hys fatale cuntre of behest" (I. 178). Since Aeneas can cultivate the above qualities in order to gain his destined "temporall ryng" (I. 182), even the ordinary Christian ought to be all the more ready to practice justice, magnanimity, charity, and virtue in general in order to gain "the kynryk ay lestyng," which "was hecht till Abraham and hys seyd" (II. 183, 199). Prologue XI thus offers a spiritual key to the subsequent Book reinterpreting it as a Christian allegory and transforming it into a guide to Christian conduct.
Prologue XII, the joyous Prologue which Douglas himself calls a "lusty crafty preambill" and which he entitles "perle of May" (l. 307), must at first reading seem entirely unconnected with the following Book, relating the final, bloody struggles in which Aeneas wins the battle for Italy. However, even though the atmosphere of the Prologue contrasts most sharply with that of the Book, the two parts are connected by strong thematic and structural links. As Nitecki has demonstrated, Prologue XII is essentially a hymn to the Sun and to its Creator, celebrating the triumph (l. 275) of the Lord of Light and showing all nature doing obeisance to its Lord. Knowing that they lack the power to prolong their wintery influence, the hostile planets flee from the presence of the rising Sun, whose beneficent rule brings rebirth and harmony on a cosmic plane. If Prologue VII, with its images of disorder, barrenness and death, introduces not merely Book VII but the entire Iliadic half of the Aeneid, then Prologue XII, filled with images of unity, renewed vitality and regeneration, heralds the end of the wars and anticipates the subsequent peace under Italy's new ruler. The Sun is the Prologue's counterpart to Aeneas, who in Book X, on his return from Evander's city, has been associated with the sun in the magnificent image of Aeneas standing at the stern of his ship with his "clipeum ... ardentem" (X, 261-2) catching the rays of the sun at dawn. The hasty withdrawal of Orion and the other planets and creatures of night at the emergence of the Sun in the opening lines of the Prologue XII parallels the rout of the Rutulians and Turnus' terrified flight from Aeneas, whose triumph over Turnus and ultimately over war itself is as predestined as is the triumph of the Sun over night and winter. After the destruction of the original Troy, after the ordeals of the Trojans' wanderings across the sea, and after the death-dealing wars in Latium, Aeneas' victory over Turnus brings the pre-ordained beginning of the reburgeoning of the Trojan empire, soon to be merged with the Latins. Whereas Prologue VII, the Winter Prologue, used the winter solstice as an image of the crisis point in the working-out of the Trojans' destiny, Prologue XII is based on the theme of spring—not summer—as an image of a new beginning rather than completion. Prologue XII thus looks beyond Book XII's stark final scene of the killing of Turnus, and gives an indication of what is to come after the barren, deadly and hellish night of the war is over.

In Book VII the initial peace agreement between Aeneas and Latinus was broken by the Latins as a direct result of the actions of Alecto, in Virgil's version the daughter of Night (VII, 331) and of Pluto (VII, 327), whom Douglas in Prologue VI equates with Satan; in Book XII Alecto ap-

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pears again, this time transformed into an owl, causing Turnus to be paralyzed with horror. The owl is also the only animal mentioned in the opening lines of Prologue XII (ll. 11-2) as hiding instead of rejoicing at the approach of the sun, which here represents it creator as well as the Lord of Light, the Son, with whom Aeneas has been associated since Prologue XI, where Aeneas' quest had been linked with the Christian nostos theme. Aeneas' victory is thus reinterpreted by Douglas as a metaphor for the inevitable victory of light and goodness over the powers of death and destruction; indeed, one might even go so far as to suggest that since Aeneas in Douglas's reading is a prototype of the model Christian soldier, who of his free will stands firm against the onslaughts of the Flesh, the World, and the Devil (XI, Prol., 81-104), his triumph over Turnus, whose opposition stems for infernal influences personified in Alecto, is used as a metaphor for the final victory of Good over Evil preceding Eternity. In any case, the Prologue certainly lessens the starkness of the Book's last scene and transforms it from an image of avenging retribution into one of triumphant victory.

Prologue XIII, with the poet-translator's dream interview with Maphaeus Vegius, lies on a different plane altogether. Here Douglas allows himself the comedy which he had so far rejected as inappropriate to the work in progress (IX, Prol., 23-5). This comedy, however, goes deeper than is usually assumed, and Douglas is even more under-handed in his joke at Maphaeus' expense than is usually recognized.

The Prologue's setting of the summer evening, as all nature lies down to sleep and rest, indicates the completion of the work in hand. But Douglas is not yet permitted to lay down his pen, for Maphaeus Vegius forcefully demands that Douglas add a translation of Maphaeus' own "schort Cristyn wark" (l. 140), pointing out that such an undertaking would be far more meritorious than the entire translation of the poem of Virgil, who was after all but "a gentile clerk" (l. 139). After Prologues II-XII have offered a systematic reinterpretation of the Aeneid along Christian lines, this argument obviously cannot fail to amuse Douglas, both in the dream and in waking life. Douglas's facetiously phrased promise "to translat [Maphaeus'] buke, in honour of God / And hys Apostolis twelf, in the numbir od" (ll. 151-2) is not only a fine and learned thrust directed at Maphaeus' vanity, but it also undercuts the argument that secular literature has less value than patently religious writing. Considering Virgil "ane hie theolog sentencys" (VI, Prol., 75), Douglas has worked out the Christian reading which he believes the Aeneid supports, but he knows too that the "Cristyn" writer who composed Book XIII had no such subtext in mind for his sequel; indeed, Maphaeus' claim rests solely on the Christianity of the man, not on any religious or didactic character of the work itself. Not
knowing just how Christian Virgil's work has become as a result of Douglas's interpolation of the Prologues, the dream-figure Maphaeus does not recognize that his own writing simply fails to approach the same level of high seriousness. Douglas's joke is thus for insiders—those who have followed his advice to "Reid, reid agane, this volume, mair than twyss" (VI, Prol., 12). At the same time, Prologue XIII sets a new tone for the reading of the remainder of the Eneados. The concentration and close attention which Douglas had so far deemed absolutely necessary are no longer required; instead, the rest of the work may be read at face value, and although Douglas promises to translate Maphaeus' work in a style consistent with the preceding twelve Books, he explicitly deflates all claims for the value which the supplement might have—literary, religious or otherwise—and makes it plain that he includes the thirteenth Book only nolens volens in order not to run afoul of popular taste and public demand. Prologue XIII thus makes it perfectly clear that, as far as Douglas is concerned, the Scottish Aeneid is complete at the end of Book XII, and even though the Eneados continues, Book XIII does not properly belong to the text. While offering a partial justification for including the sequel, Prologue XIII is also an extremely tactful way of telling the more perceptive and sophisticated readers not to bother with the Book that follows.

Despite the inclusion of Maphaeus's sequel and despite the addition of his own Prologues which filter and transvalue the Aeneid, Douglas feels certain that he has provided an absolutely faithful rendering and true representation of the original text. In the four short sections constituting the end matter—the Conclusion; the Direction; the Exclamation; and the passage on Time, Space, and Date—Douglas disdainfully and at length declines to argue with faultfinders who may reproach him for isolated errors, for transmitting "Plente of lesyngis, and aId perversyt synys" as well as "fen3eit fabillys of idolatry" (Dir., 30, 26), and generally for misspending his time (Dir., 31-5, 49-50). Even more important is that he also lays claim to fame, based on the supposed fidelity of his translation,¹⁵ which he asserts no less than seven times in the 243 lines of the end matter: he claims to have translated Virgil "al maste word by word" (Dir., 46) and to have "Na thing alterit in substans the sentens" (Dir., 95); he is sure that he "said na thing bot rycht" (Dir., 100) and exults, "Be glaid, Ene, thy bell is hiely rong" (Dir., 128); he confidently asserts, "weill I wait, of hys [Virgil's] sentens wantis non" (Excl., 25); and, addressing Virgil's work, he exclaims, "I avow thou art translatit rycht" (Excl., 38) and "I haue brocht thy purpos to

gud end" (Excl., 42). In addition he apostrophizes his *Eneados* as "wlgar Virgill" (Excl., 37), implying that the *Aeneid* remains the same, no matter whether it is read in Douglas's "Scottis" vernacular translation or in Virgil's Latin original. Even though the Prologues effect a thorough transformation of the *Aeneid*, in keeping with his image of Virgil as the divinely-inspired pre-Christian sage, Douglas sees his *Eneados* as a precise reflection perhaps not only of Virgil's actual work but also of the implications still unknown to Virgil himself.

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The Friends of the Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue was launched in 1984 under the Presidency of the Countess of Strathmore. In 1988 the Earl of Elgin succeeded the Countess of Strathmore as President of Friends of DOST. As many readers of this journal are aware, *DOST* is a large-scale, quotation-illustrated dictionary modelled on the *Oxford English Dictionary* and covers the history of Lowland Scots from the 1100s down to 1700. The first seven volumes have received lavish praise from reviewers and users. The first fascicle of Volume Eight (*Ru-Samy*) is now in the hands of the printers. If *DOST*'s recent excellent progress towards completion is to be maintained in this era of enforced reductions in expenditure on major projects of research in the humanities, substantial additional funding must be secured. It is to this end that the Friends has been launched. Donations or requests for further details should be sent to Professor A. Fenton, Director, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh EH8 9LD.

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