

# **Equivalency, Page Design, and Corpus Linguistics: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Gavin Douglas's *Eneados***



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## ABSTRACT

This thesis demonstrates an interdisciplinary method for analysing medieval translations that makes use of descriptive translation studies, corpus linguistics, and philology. This method involves the compilation of a set of digital texts that can be analysed by a computer and are encoded with features salient to the study of translation. The method also advises the inclusion of information regarding layout, arguing that how texts are presented intrinsically affects how they are read and translated.

This thesis applies this method to the study of Gavin Douglas's *Eneados* (1513)—the first full, direct translation of the *Aeneid* in either the English or Scottish tradition. Douglas's text is posited as a suitable testing ground for this method, based on its complexity and length, which has made it a difficult text for a single critic to analyse by traditional means. This has resulted in some large gaps and contradictions in scholarly descriptions of Douglas's translation method, which has fed into a general confusion about his periodisation, his status as a humanist, and the nature of his nationalism.

To resolve this confusion, this thesis embarks on a series of studies that examine units of equivalence across the whole of the *Eneados*. It discovers that Douglas's method is not consistent but evolves away from a 'sense for sense' method towards a more literal, but also more expansive, one. This evolution is driven partly by content, with expansive and compendious translation proving to be stylistically conditioned, partly by the layout in Douglas's source text—Ascensius's (1501) edition—which also changes over the course of the text, and partly by pragmatic type, with speech attracting the addition of more original content than narrative.

Such a practice has several implications. First, it reveals that Douglas probably translated the *Aeneid* in its textual order. However, the evolution in his translation away from paraphrased forms of translation suggests that his Prologues were not written in order, as Prologue I criticises adaptative translation and thus was probably written towards the end of the *Eneados* when Douglas's translation practice was fully realised. Consequently, Douglas's comments in Prologue I do accurately describe his translation practice, but make a fine distinction between 'word for word' and literal translation, where 'word for word' translation describes fidelity to form and extreme lexical equivalency, whereas literal translation more specifically describes Douglas's practice of closely following the content and grammar of his source. In this way, Douglas narrows the purview of acceptable translation to one that is tied closely to its source.

The fact that Douglas translates the *Aeneid* in its textual order corroborates that layout affects how a text is translated. More than that, however, it indicates that Douglas has a greater interest in the formal qualities of the *Aeneid* than previously acknowledged. Not only do arbitrary aspects of his source text's layout, like page breaks, affect how he segments his translation, but he also imitates many of Virgil's repeated lines. Such activity reveals a real interest in the quality of his source text indicating an editorial streak in Douglas's practice.

This interest in textuality also affects how Douglas translates certain aspects of character. Douglas aligns Aeneas with his own voice in the Prologues, making Aeneas representative of Douglas's poetic capability. This is part of an intertextual allegory that reinterprets the *Aeneid* as Douglas's own evolution as a poet-translator. In this allegory, Douglas's ideas on gender, religion, and nationality are conditioned by the textual traditions they represent. His objections to Dido are based on how she represents an alternative mode of reading the *Aeneid* that he objects to, not necessarily because of her gender. Likewise, his layout necessitates him to Christianise the text to avoid the attribution of Virgil's pagan ideas to his own authority. Moreover, Douglas's declaration that he writes in Scots is motivated more by a desire to disassociate the *Eneados* from romance traditions of the *Aeneid* that are written in English than nationalism—though the fact that he conducts the first complete and direct vernacular encounter with the *Aeneid* in Scots has nationalist significance. In this way, many alterations that Douglas makes to the *Aeneid* are justified as being in service to the text. The one big shift in his presentation of the *Aeneid* is the importance he attaches to rhetoric and poetic capability. While Virgil does not trust rhetoric unless it is in service to the state, Douglas creates a rhetorical, poetically expressive form of translation that can nonetheless represent truth.

The Introduction explains the significance of this project within the 'Two Cultures' debate and gestures towards what gaps it fills in current criticism. Chapter 1 introduces the interdisciplinary method used in this thesis, with an overview of each subject this method utilises, and a summary of some of the most important translators before Douglas and their contributions to translation theory. Chapter 2 introduces Gavin Douglas and the *Eneados*, providing essential information regarding Douglas's biography and the content of the *Eneados*, as well as an overview of criticism concerning the *Eneados* and an analysis of the main scholarly debates. Chapter 3 introduces the corpus-based apparatus created for this method, which is comprised of digital versions of the *Eneados* and its source text. Chapter 4 measures equivalency in the *Eneados*, discovering that Douglas's ideas on translation change over the course of his translation and that this is partly stylistically conditioned. Chapter 5 cross-references Douglas's fluctuating ideas on equivalency with the layout of his source text, revealing that how he translates is largely conditioned by how his source is presented. Chapter 6 considers how Douglas handles formal, imitable aspects of Virgil's style—namely his use of repetition—and how this indicates an editorial facet in Douglas's intentions. Chapter 7 investigates Douglas's methods of translation and how they fluctuate when presenting the discourse of characters—especially characters with different sociolinguistic variables. Chapter 8 summarises the results of the previous chapters and produces a comprehensive description of Douglas's translation method.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|                                                                              |        |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| ABSTRACT.....                                                                | ii     |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....                                                       | iv     |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS.....                                                       | v      |
| TABLE OF TABLES .....                                                        | x      |
| TABLE OF FIGURES .....                                                       | xviii  |
| TABLE OF EQUATIONS.....                                                      | xxiii  |
| TABLE OF EXAMPLES .....                                                      | xxiv   |
| TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS .....                                                 | xxv    |
| NOTE ON THE IMPACT OF THE PANDEMIC ON THIS WORK .....                        | xxvi   |
| NOTE ON THE EDITION OF THE <i>ENEADOS</i> USED IN THIS WORK .....            | xxvii  |
| NOTE ON ANNOTATIONS .....                                                    | xxviii |
| NOTE ON NUMBERING OF TABLES AND FIGURES IN THE THESIS AND APPENDIX .....     | xxix   |
| NOTE ON DIGITAL FILES AND SCRIPTS.....                                       | xxx    |
| NOTE ON DATASETS.....                                                        | xxxi   |
| NOTE ON IMAGES .....                                                         | xxxiii |
| INTRODUCTION: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO THE <i>ENEADOS</i> .....      | 1      |
| CHAPTER 1: THE NOTION OF EQUIVALENCY IN TRANSLATION AND HOW TO STUDY IT ...  | 9      |
| 1.1 Descriptive Translation Studies .....                                    | 10     |
| 1.2 Ancient, Medieval, and Early Renaissance Approaches to Equivalency ..... | 13     |
| 1.2.1 Cicero.....                                                            | 14     |
| 1.2.2 Jerome and Augustine.....                                              | 16     |
| 1.2.3 Boethius .....                                                         | 19     |
| 1.2.4 Chaucer .....                                                          | 20     |
| 1.2.5 Caxton .....                                                           | 24     |
| 1.3 Corpus Linguistics .....                                                 | 28     |
| 1.4 Philology .....                                                          | 33     |
| 1.5 Evaluation of Methodology .....                                          | 37     |

|                                                                                   |           |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| <b>CHAPTER 2: AN INTRODUCTION TO GAVIN DOUGLAS AND THE <i>ENEADOS</i></b>         | <b>42</b> |
| <b>2.1 Gavin Douglas</b>                                                          | <b>43</b> |
| 2.1.1 <i>A Brief Biography</i>                                                    | 43        |
| 2.1.2 <i>The Place of Douglas and the ‘Eneados’ in the Scottish Canon</i>         | 44        |
| <b>2.2 The <i>Eneados</i></b>                                                     | <b>48</b> |
| 2.2.1 <i>Contents and Structure</i>                                               | 48        |
| 2.2.2 <i>Douglas’s Source Text</i>                                                | 49        |
| 2.2.3 <i>The Transmission of the ‘Eneados’ via Manuscript and Print</i>           | 50        |
| <b>2.3 A Brief Overview of Scholarship on the <i>Eneados</i></b>                  | <b>52</b> |
| 2.3.1 <i>The Medieval vs. Renaissance Debate</i>                                  | 56        |
| 2.3.2 <i>Adaptation and Allegory in the Prologues</i>                             | 57        |
| 2.3.3 <i>Douglas’s Nationalism and Choice of Language</i>                         | 60        |
| 2.3.4 <i>Douglas’s Humanism and Pedagogical Method</i>                            | 63        |
| <b>2.4 ‘Word for Word’ or ‘Sense for Sense’: Douglas’s Comments in Prologue I</b> | <b>68</b> |
| <b>CHAPTER 3: A MANUAL FOR THE CORPUS-BASED APPARATUS</b>                         | <b>75</b> |
| <b>3.1 The Corpus-Based Apparatus</b>                                             | <b>75</b> |
| 3.1.1 <i>Source Texts</i>                                                         | 80        |
| 3.1.2 <i>XML Structure</i>                                                        | 84        |
| 3.1.3 <i>Layout Annotation</i>                                                    | 86        |
| 3.1.4 <i>Pragmatic Annotation</i>                                                 | 88        |
| 3.1.5 <i>Alignment</i>                                                            | 91        |
| 3.1.6 <i>Normalisation and Modernisation</i>                                      | 93        |
| 3.1.7 <i>Part-of-Speech and Semantic Tagging</i>                                  | 96        |
| <b>3.2 Corpus-Based Data</b>                                                      | <b>98</b> |
| 3.2.1 <i>Tools and Procedures</i>                                                 | 98        |
| 3.2.2 <i>A Brief Guide to Statistics</i>                                          | 99        |

|                                                                                                                     |            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>CHAPTER 4: NAVIGATING WORDS AND SENSE: AN INVESTIGATION OF DOUGLAS'S LINE RATIOS.....</b>                        | <b>107</b> |
| <b>4.1 The Qualities of Fidelity in Translation.....</b>                                                            | <b>108</b> |
| <b>4.2 Douglas's Regular Mode of Translation .....</b>                                                              | <b>117</b> |
| <b>4.3 Changing Line Ratios in the <i>Eneados</i> .....</b>                                                         | <b>124</b> |
| 4.3.1 <i>An Example from Book I .....</i>                                                                           | 128        |
| 4.3.2 <i>An Example from Book XIII .....</i>                                                                        | 130        |
| 4.3.3 <i>An Example from Book VII.....</i>                                                                          | 133        |
| 4.3.4 <i>The Evolution in Douglas's Translation Practice .....</i>                                                  | 134        |
| <b>4.4 The Effect of Time on Douglas's Translation Method.....</b>                                                  | <b>139</b> |
| <b>4.5 The Effect of Context and Content on Douglas's Translation Method .....</b>                                  | <b>141</b> |
| 4.5.1 <i>Context and Content .....</i>                                                                              | 142        |
| 4.5.2 <i>'War and Violence' vs. 'Death and Destruction' .....</i>                                                   | 147        |
| 4.5.3 <i>'Catalogue and Description' and References .....</i>                                                       | 150        |
| <b>CHAPTER 5: TRANSLATING THROUGH ASCENSIVS: HOW DOUGLAS'S PROCESS OF READING REINVENTS THE <i>AENEID</i> .....</b> | <b>159</b> |
| <b>5.1 The Layout of Ascensius's (1501) Edition .....</b>                                                           | <b>160</b> |
| <b>5.2 Douglas's Fidelity to Ascensius's Layout and <i>Ordinatio</i> .....</b>                                      | <b>172</b> |
| <b>5.3 The Effect of Ascensius's Layout on Douglas's Translation Method .....</b>                                   | <b>183</b> |
| 5.3.1 <i>Six-Book vs. Twelve-Book Readers .....</i>                                                                 | 185        |
| 5.3.2 <i>Interaction Between Layout, Commentary, and Douglas's Expansions .....</i>                                 | 189        |
| <b>5.4 Douglas's Own Layout and <i>Ordinatio</i>.....</b>                                                           | <b>195</b> |
| 5.4.1 <i>Print vs. Manuscript .....</i>                                                                             | 198        |
| 5.4.2 <i>Prologues .....</i>                                                                                        | 201        |
| 5.4.3 <i>Comment.....</i>                                                                                           | 204        |
| 5.4.4 <i>Book Divisions .....</i>                                                                                   | 207        |
| 5.4.5 <i>Chapter Divisions.....</i>                                                                                 | 211        |

|                                                                                                                                         |            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>CHAPTER 6: ‘REID, REID AGANE’: HOW DOUGLAS TRANSLATES REPETITION IN THE ENEADOS .....</b>                                            | <b>218</b> |
| <b>6.1 Repetition in the <i>Aeneid</i> .....</b>                                                                                        | <b>219</b> |
| 6.1.1 <i>The Traditional View and John Sparrow</i> .....                                                                                | 220        |
| 6.1.2 <i>Allusive Function of Repetition</i> .....                                                                                      | 223        |
| 6.1.3 <i>Structural Function of Repetition</i> .....                                                                                    | 224        |
| 6.1.4 <i>Composition by Repetition</i> .....                                                                                            | 227        |
| <b>6.2 Translation of Repetition in the <i>Eneados</i>.....</b>                                                                         | <b>231</b> |
| 6.2.1 <i>The Contextual Similarities and Thematic Relevance of Repeated Segments</i> .....                                              | 233        |
| 6.2.2 <i>Cyclical Reading vs. Linear Translation</i> .....                                                                              | 237        |
| 6.2.3 <i>The Influence of Ascensius’s (1501) Edition on Repetition</i> .....                                                            | 242        |
| <b>6.3 Original Repetitions and Book XIII.....</b>                                                                                      | <b>249</b> |
| 6.3.1 <i>Repetition in the ‘Supplement’</i> .....                                                                                       | 253        |
| 6.3.2 <i>Repetitions as a Means of Narrative Unity</i> .....                                                                            | 257        |
| <b>CHAPTER 7: THE ROLE OF RHETORIC IN TRANSLATION: DOUGLAS’S APPROACH TO SPEECH AND NARRATIVE AND THE TRANSLATION OF IDENTITY .....</b> | <b>268</b> |
| <b>7.1 Characterisation in the <i>Aeneid</i> .....</b>                                                                                  | <b>269</b> |
| <b>7.2 Douglas’s Interpretation of Virgil’s Character Design .....</b>                                                                  | <b>273</b> |
| 7.2.1 <i>Labovian Narrative Analysis</i> .....                                                                                          | 276        |
| 7.2.2 <i>Narrative vs. Speech Analysis</i> .....                                                                                        | 278        |
| 7.2.3 <i>Evaluation and Douglas’s Expansions</i> .....                                                                                  | 281        |
| <b>7.3 Douglas’s Narrative vs. Character Narrative .....</b>                                                                            | <b>285</b> |
| 7.3.1 <i>Prologues vs. Translation</i> .....                                                                                            | 292        |
| 7.3.2 <i>Reported Speech</i> .....                                                                                                      | 298        |
| <b>7.4 Female vs. Male Speakers .....</b>                                                                                               | <b>300</b> |
| <b>7.5 Gods vs. Mortals .....</b>                                                                                                       | <b>309</b> |
| <b>7.6 Trojans vs. Italians .....</b>                                                                                                   | <b>317</b> |

|                                                                               |            |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION: GAVIN DOUGLAS'S ACTUAL TRANSLATION METHOD .....</b> | <b>331</b> |
| <b>8.1 A Final Review of the Method of this Thesis.....</b>                   | <b>332</b> |
| <b>8.2 Douglas's Actual Translation Method .....</b>                          | <b>336</b> |
| <i>8.2.1 Inclusion of Prologues and Book XIII .....</i>                       | <i>338</i> |
| <i>8.2.2 Order of Translation .....</i>                                       | <i>339</i> |
| <i>8.2.3 How Douglas Conceives of his Translation .....</i>                   | <i>342</i> |
| <b>8.3 A Reanalysis of Prologue I.....</b>                                    | <b>344</b> |
| <b>8.4 Douglas's Quality of Humanism .....</b>                                | <b>349</b> |
| <b>8.5 Douglas's Nationalism and his Use of Scots.....</b>                    | <b>352</b> |
| <b>8.6 Final Remarks .....</b>                                                | <b>354</b> |
| <b>WORKS CITED .....</b>                                                      | <b>360</b> |
| <b>Manuscripts .....</b>                                                      | <b>360</b> |
| <b>Early Printed Books .....</b>                                              | <b>360</b> |
| <b>Primary Sources.....</b>                                                   | <b>361</b> |
| <b>Catalogues, Dictionaries, and Other Reference Materials .....</b>          | <b>364</b> |
| <b>Corpora, Software, and Other Digital Resources .....</b>                   | <b>365</b> |
| <b>Unpublished Theses .....</b>                                               | <b>366</b> |
| <b>Secondary Sources .....</b>                                                | <b>366</b> |
| <b>APPENDIX.....</b>                                                          | <b>383</b> |
| <b>Tables.....</b>                                                            | <b>383</b> |
| <b>Equations .....</b>                                                        | <b>442</b> |
| <b>Figures.....</b>                                                           | <b>443</b> |
| <b>Examples.....</b>                                                          | <b>452</b> |

## TABLE OF TABLES

|                                                                                                                                                                                 |            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <i>Table 1: Summary of the translation methods of Cicero, Jerome, Augustine, Boethius, Chaucer, and Caxton. ....</i>                                                            | <i>27</i>  |
| <i>Table 2: Breakdown of the base files of the ‘corpus-based apparatus’.....</i>                                                                                                | <i>76</i>  |
| <i>Table 3: Summary of the analysis of context and content categories and their preferences for succinct or expansive translation. ....</i>                                     | <i>146</i> |
| <i>Table 4: List of printed editions of Virgil’s works examined here and their details. ....</i>                                                                                | <i>160</i> |
| <i>Table 5: Summary of lexical and part-of-speech keyword analyses comparing narrative and speech in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                     | <i>278</i> |
| <i>Table 6: Summary of a semantic key word analysis comparing narrative and speech in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                                    | <i>279</i> |
| <i>Table 7: List of narrative speeches in the ‘Aeneid’ and their speakers, contexts, and equivalent lines the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                | <i>286</i> |
| <i>Table 8: Summary of lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas’s narrative to character narrative in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                    | <i>287</i> |
| <i>Table 9: Summary of lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas’s narrative to Aeneas’s narrative in Books II and III in the ‘Eneados’.....</i> | <i>291</i> |
| <i>Table 10: Summary of a lexical keyword analysis comparing general narrative and the Prologues in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                      | <i>293</i> |
| <i>Table 11: Summary of a part-of-speech keyword analysis comparing general narrative and the Prologues in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                               | <i>294</i> |
| <i>Table 12: Summary of a semantic keyword analysis comparing general narrative and the Prologues in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                     | <i>295</i> |
| <i>Table 13: Summary of results from lexical, grammatical, and semantic keyword analyses comparing female and male speech in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                             | <i>303</i> |
| <i>Table 14: Summary of results from lexical, grammatical, and semantic keyword analyses comparing divine and mortal speech in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                           | <i>312</i> |
| <i>Table 15: Summary of results from lexical, grammatical, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Italian and Trojan speech in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                          | <i>319</i> |
| <i>Table 16: Summary of the translation methods of Cicero, Jerome, Augustine, Boethius, Chaucer, Caxton, and Douglas. ....</i>                                                  | <i>357</i> |
| <i>Table 17: Description of XML elements in the corpus-based apparatus. ....</i>                                                                                                | <i>383</i> |

|                                                                                                                                                                       |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Table 18: Number of chapters in the ‘Eneados’ and sections in Ascensius’s (1501) edition of the ‘Aeneid’ per book.</i>                                             | 385 |
| <i>Table 19: Number of lines of narrative and speech per book in the ‘Aeneid’ and ‘Eneados’.</i>                                                                      | 385 |
| <i>Table 20: Number of lines of reported speech and twice reported speech per book in the ‘Aeneid’ and ‘Eneados’.</i>                                                 | 385 |
| <i>Table 21: Number of lines per speaker of a certain gender per book in the ‘Aeneid’ and ‘Eneados’.</i>                                                              | 386 |
| <i>Table 22: Number of lines per speaker of a certain status per book in the ‘Aeneid’ and ‘Eneados’.</i>                                                              | 387 |
| <i>Table 23: Number of lines per speaker of direct speech of a certain nationality per book in the ‘Aeneid’ and ‘Eneados’.</i>                                        | 388 |
| <i>Table 24: Number of lines per speaker of reported speech of a certain nationality per book in the ‘Aeneid’ and ‘Eneados’.</i>                                      | 389 |
| <i>Table 25: Number of lines per speaker of twice reported speech of a certain nationality per book in the ‘Aeneid’ and ‘Eneados’.</i>                                | 389 |
| <i>Table 26: List of characters delivering direct speech, their sociolinguistic categorisation, and number of spoken lines in the ‘Aeneid’ and ‘Eneados’.</i>         | 390 |
| <i>Table 27: List of characters delivering reported speech, their sociolinguistic categorisation, and number of spoken lines in the ‘Aeneid’ and ‘Eneados’.</i>       | 392 |
| <i>Table 28: List of characters delivering twice reported speech, their sociolinguistic categorisation, and number of spoken lines in the ‘Aeneid’ and ‘Eneados’.</i> | 392 |
| <i>Table 29: Number of translation units per book of the ‘Aeneid’ and ‘Eneados’.</i>                                                                                  | 393 |
| <i>Table 30: List of USAS tags and their categories as well as an indication of how these categories have been revised for this thesis.</i>                           | 393 |
| <i>Table 31: Frequency of ranges of line ratio for translations units in the ‘Eneados’.</i>                                                                           | 399 |
| <i>Table 32: Number of different sized translation units in the ‘Eneados’ that maintain a line ratio of 2.</i>                                                        | 399 |
| <i>Table 33: Distribution of eight different translation types within the most succinct and expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’.</i>                         | 399 |
| <i>Table 34: Distribution of expansion types in literal and paraphrased translation within the most expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’.</i>                 | 400 |
| <i>Table 35: Distribution of expansion types in complete and incomplete translation within the most expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’.</i>                 | 400 |

|                                                                                                                                                                                  |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Table 36: Distribution of expansion types in the most expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’.</i>                                                                       | 400 |
| <i>Table 37: Number of ‘standard’ translation units across books in the ‘Eneados’.</i>                                                                                           | 400 |
| <i>Table 38: Number of lines per book in the ‘Aeneid’, ‘Supplement’, and ‘Eneados’.</i>                                                                                          | 401 |
| <i>Table 39: Average number of Latin and Scots lines in every translation unit in every book of the ‘Eneados’.</i>                                                               | 401 |
| <i>Table 40: Frequency of literal and paraphrased translation within the most succinct and expansive translation units in each book of the ‘Eneados’.</i>                        | 402 |
| <i>Table 41: Frequency of complete and incomplete translation within the most succinct and expansive translation units in each book of the ‘Eneados’.</i>                        | 402 |
| <i>Table 42: Results of a Tukey test comparing the number of Latin lines in each translation unit in every book of the ‘Eneados’.</i>                                            | 403 |
| <i>Table 43: Number of consecutive and non-consecutive translation units within the most succinct and expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’.</i>                          | 403 |
| <i>Table 44: Number of consecutive translation units with the same and different translation type within the most succinct and expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’.</i> | 403 |
| <i>Table 45: Distribution of sections across 12 context categories.</i>                                                                                                          | 404 |
| <i>Table 46: Distribution of context categories across the most succinct and expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’.</i>                                                   | 405 |
| <i>Table 47: Distribution of context categories within the early (I-VI) and later (VII-XIII) books of the ‘Eneados’.</i>                                                         | 406 |
| <i>Table 48: Distribution of content categories within the most succinct and expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’.</i>                                                   | 406 |
| <i>Table 49: Comparison of segmentation in Auct. Q 4.19 and other printed editions of Virgil’s works.</i>                                                                        | 406 |
| <i>Table 50: Comparison of segmentation in Ascensius’s (1501) edition and other printed editions of Virgil’s works.</i>                                                          | 407 |
| <i>Table 51: Number of chapters and translation units within the ‘Eneados’ which do or do not preserve section boundaries in Ascensius’s (1501) edition of the ‘Aeneid’.</i>     | 407 |
| <i>Table 52: Number of translation units within the ‘Eneados’ which do or do not preserve page boundaries in Ascensius’s (1501) edition of the ‘Aeneid’.</i>                     | 407 |
| <i>Table 53: Number of breaks in ‘ordinatio’ in the ‘Eneados’ and Ascensius’s (1501) edition of the ‘Aeneid’ that Matthew Geddes preserves in the Trinity College MS.</i>        | 407 |



|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |            |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <i>Table 54: Results of a series of pairwise proportion tests comparing the number of ‘ordinatio’ breaks in the ‘Aeneid’ and ‘Eneados’ that Geddes preserves in the Trinity College MS .....</i>                                                                                 | <i>408</i> |
| <i>Table 55: Number and type of breaks in the ‘ordinatio’ in the ‘Eneados’ and Ascensius’s (1501) edition of the ‘Aeneid’ that coincide with page breaks in the Trinity College MS .....</i>                                                                                     | <i>408</i> |
| <i>Table 56: Distribution of the most succinct and expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’ across different positions within sections of Ascensius’s (1501) edition of the ‘Aeneid’ .....</i>                                                                               | <i>408</i> |
| <i>Table 57: List of line ratios for translation units covering Aen. VII.458-74 and Ene. VII.8.113-54.....</i>                                                                                                                                                                   | <i>409</i> |
| <i>Table 58: Results of a Tukey test comparing the number of Scots lines in each translation unit in every book in the ‘Eneados’. .....</i>                                                                                                                                      | <i>409</i> |
| <i>Table 59: Results of a Tukey test comparing the line ratios in each translation unit in every book in the ‘Eneados’. .....</i>                                                                                                                                                | <i>410</i> |
| <i>Table 60: Distribution of expansion types in sourced and unsourced expansions within the most expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’. .....</i>                                                                                                                         | <i>410</i> |
| <i>Table 61: Distribution of expansion types in the most expansive translation units across the books in the ‘Eneados’. .....</i>                                                                                                                                                | <i>411</i> |
| <i>Table 62: Comparison of glosses from the commentary that are used and not used in the most expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’ and the position of potential source material in Ascensius’s (1501) edition relative to the relevant lines in the ‘Aeneid’. .....</i> | <i>411</i> |
| <i>Table 63: Number of lines per Prologue in the ‘Eneados’ .....</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                             | <i>411</i> |
| <i>Table 64: Number of chapter rubrics that are separated from their chapters by a page break, number of chapters that start on new pages in general, and total chapters. ....</i>                                                                                               | <i>412</i> |
| <i>Table 65: Passages in the ‘Aeneid’ that are made up of multiple repetitions of 10-12 elements and their equivalent lines in the ‘Eneados’. .....</i>                                                                                                                          | <i>412</i> |
| <i>Table 66: Number of words repeated in the ‘Eneados’. .....</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                | <i>413</i> |
| <i>Table 67: Number of repetitions in the ‘Eneados’ that are significant or not and that are sourced from the ‘Aeneid’ or are original. ....</i>                                                                                                                                 | <i>413</i> |
| <i>Table 68: Number of repetitions of 10-11 elements in the ‘Aeneid’ that Douglas (1957-64), Dryden ([n.d].), and Williams (1910) recognise in their translations.....</i>                                                                                                       | <i>413</i> |
| <i>Table 69: Number of repetitions of 10-11 elements in the ‘Aeneid’ and sourced repetitions in the ‘Eneados’ that have or do not have matching contexts. ....</i>                                                                                                               | <i>413</i> |
| <i>Table 70: Number of repetitions of 10-12 elements in the ‘Aeneid’ and sourced repetitions in the ‘Eneados’ within six books and beyond. ....</i>                                                                                                                              | <i>413</i> |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                       |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Table 71: Number of repetitions of 10-12 elements in the 'Aeneid' and sourced repetitions in the 'Eneados' within four books and beyond.</i>                                                       | 414 |
| <i>Table 72: Distribution of repetitions of 10-12 elements in the 'Aeneid' and sourced repetitions in the 'Eneados' across a range of proximities.</i>                                                | 414 |
| <i>Table 73: Distribution of repetitions of 10-12 elements in the 'Aeneid' and sourced repetitions in the 'Eneados' across books.</i>                                                                 | 414 |
| <i>Table 74: Number of notes in Ascensius's (1501) and Servius's (1501) commentaries that are relevant to repetitions of 10-12 elements in the 'Aeneid' and sourced repetitions in the 'Eneados'.</i> | 415 |
| <i>Table 75: Number of repetitions of 10-12 elements in the 'Aeneid' and sourced repetitions in the 'Eneados' that share or do not share layout positions in Ascensius's (1501) edition.</i>          | 415 |
| <i>Table 76: Number of sourced repetitions of certain lengths in the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                                                                                   | 415 |
| <i>Table 77: Number of repetitions of 10-12 elements in the 'Aeneid' that Douglas recognises or does not recognise in the 'Eneados' and whether they consist of broken lines.</i>                     | 415 |
| <i>Table 78: Number of repetitions of 10-12 elements in the 'Aeneid' and sourced repetitions in the 'Eneados' that include multiple lines.</i>                                                        | 415 |
| <i>Table 79: Number of sourced repetitions in the 'Eneados' that are positioned at the beginning and end of chapters that share or do not share chapter layout across their iterations.</i>           | 416 |
| <i>Table 80: Number of original repetitions in the 'Eneados' that have or do not have matching contexts.</i>                                                                                          | 416 |
| <i>Table 81: Number of original repetitions in the 'Eneados' that use segments that occur within 10 lines of segments that occur in repetitions in the 'Aeneid'.</i>                                  | 416 |
| <i>Table 82: Passages in the 'Eneados' that are made up of multiple repetitions and their equivalent lines in the 'Aeneid'.</i>                                                                       | 416 |
| <i>Table 83: Number of lines spoken by Aeneas in the books of the 'Aeneid' and 'Eneados' and their average line ratio.</i>                                                                            | 417 |
| <i>Table 84: Average line ratios for translation units in books, narrative, and speech across the course of the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                                        | 417 |
| <i>Table 85: Results of a lexical keyword analysis comparing narrative and speech in the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                                                               | 418 |
| <i>Table 86: Results of a part-of-speech keyword analysis comparing narrative and speech in the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                                                        | 419 |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Table 87: Results of a semantic keyword analysis comparing narrative and speech in the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                                                                                       | 420 |
| <i>Table 88: Results of a lexical keyword analysis comparing Douglas's narrative and character narrative in the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                                                                 | 421 |
| <i>Table 89: Results of a part-of-speech keyword analysis comparing Douglas's narrative and character narrative in the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                                                          | 421 |
| <i>Table 90: Results of a semantic keyword analysis comparing Douglas's narrative and character narrative in the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                                                                | 421 |
| <i>Table 91: Frequency of past tense verbs in Douglas's narrative and character narrative in the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                                                                                | 422 |
| <i>Table 92: Results of a series of two-sample t-tests comparing the range of effects across lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing narrative, speech, and character narrative in the 'Eneados'.</i> | 422 |
| <i>Table 93: Results of a series of two-sample t-tests comparing the line ratios in character narratives to those in Douglas's narrative in respective books.</i>                                                              | 422 |
| <i>Table 94: Results of lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to Jupiter's narrative in Book I of the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                            | 423 |
| <i>Table 95: Results of lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to Venus's narrative in Book I of the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                              | 423 |
| <i>Table 96: Results of lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to Aeneas's narrative in Books II and III of the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                   | 424 |
| <i>Table 97: Results of lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to Deiphobe's narrative in Book VI of the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                          | 425 |
| <i>Table 98: Results of lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to Anchises's narrative in Book VI of the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                          | 426 |
| <i>Table 99: Results of lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to Evander's narrative in Book VIII of the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                         | 427 |
| <i>Table 100: Results of a lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to Cymodoce's narrative in Book X of the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                        | 427 |
| <i>Table 101: Results of lexical, grammatical, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to Diana's narrative in Book XI of the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                               | 427 |
| <i>Table 102: Results of a lexical keyword analysis comparing general narrative and the Prologues in the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                                                                        | 428 |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <i>Table 103: Results of a part-of-speech keyword analysis comparing general narrative and the Prologues in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                                                                                                        | <i>429</i> |
| <i>Table 104: Results of a semantic key word analysis comparing general narrative and the Prologues in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                                                                                                             | <i>430</i> |
| <i>Table 105: Results of a series of two-sample t-tests comparing the range of effects in lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses that compare general narrative to the Prologues, and Douglas’s narrative to the Prologues, within the ‘Eneados’.....</i> | <i>430</i> |
| <i>Table 106: Results of a series of two-sample t-tests comparing the range of effects in lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses that compare general narrative to the Prologues, and Aeneas’s narrative to the Prologues, within the ‘Eneados’.....</i>  | <i>431</i> |
| <i>Table 107: Results of a lexical keyword analysis comparing Douglas’s narrative and the Prologues in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                                                                                                             | <i>431</i> |
| <i>Table 108: Results of a part-of-speech keyword analysis comparing Douglas’s narrative and the Prologues in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                                                                                                      | <i>432</i> |
| <i>Table 109: Results of a semantic keyword analysis comparing Douglas’s narrative and the Prologues in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                                                                                                            | <i>433</i> |
| <i>Table 110: Results of a lexical keyword analysis comparing Aeneas’s narrative and the Prologues in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                                                                                                              | <i>434</i> |
| <i>Table 111: Results of a part-of-speech keyword analysis comparing Aeneas’s narrative and the Prologues in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                                                                                                       | <i>434</i> |
| <i>Table 112: Results of a semantic keyword analysis comparing Aeneas’s narrative and the Prologues in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                                                                                                             | <i>435</i> |
| <i>Table 113: Average line ratios for translation units in general narrative, speech, and reported speech across the ‘Eneados’. ....</i>                                                                                                                                  | <i>435</i> |
| <i>Table 114: Average line ratios for translation units in female and male speech and speech in general across the ‘Eneados’. ....</i>                                                                                                                                    | <i>436</i> |
| <i>Table 115: Results from lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing female and male speech in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                                                                                              | <i>436</i> |
| <i>Table 116: Line ratios for Aen. IV.305-30, 333-61, 365-87 and Ene. IV.6.49-99, 104-60, 7.6-51 labelled by speaker. ....</i>                                                                                                                                            | <i>437</i> |
| <i>Table 117: Average line ratios for translation units in divine and mortal speech and speech in general across the course of the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                                                                                     | <i>438</i> |
| <i>Table 118: Results from lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing divine and mortal speech in the ‘Eneados’. ....</i>                                                                                                                           | <i>438</i> |

|                                                                                                                                                  |            |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <i>Table 119: Line ratios for Aen. VI.388-97, 399-406 and Ene. VI.6.7-26, 29-44 labelled by speaker. ....</i>                                    | <i>438</i> |
| <i>Table 120: Line ratios for Aen. X.228-45, 252-55 and Ene. X.5.32-76, 91-101 labelled by speaker. ....</i>                                     | <i>439</i> |
| <i>Table 121: Line ratios for Aen. V.623-40, 646-52 and Ene. V.11.47-81, 91-102 labelled by speaker. ....</i>                                    | <i>439</i> |
| <i>Table 122: Line ratios for Aen. IX.625-29, 633-35, 641-44, 653-56 and Ene. IX.10.82-92, 99-104, 117-27, 145-54 labelled by speaker. ....</i>  | <i>440</i> |
| <i>Table 123: Average line ratios for translation units in Italian and Trojan speech and speech in general across the ‘Eneados’. ....</i>        | <i>440</i> |
| <i>Table 124: Results from lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Italian and Trojan speech in the ‘Eneados’. ....</i> | <i>441</i> |
| <i>Table 125: Line ratios for Aen. X.524-29, 531-34 and Ene. X.9.43-58, 61-70 labelled by speaker. ....</i>                                      | <i>441</i> |

## TABLE OF FIGURES

|                                                                                                                                                                                        |            |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <i>Figure 1: Diagram illustrating the workflow of the creation of the corpus-based apparatus..</i>                                                                                     | <i>79</i>  |
| <i>Figure 2: Example boxplot for a dataset consisting of 20 values. ....</i>                                                                                                           | <i>104</i> |
| <i>Figure 3: Distribution of eight different translation types within the most succinct and expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’.</i> .....                                    | <i>120</i> |
| <i>Figure 4: Distribution of expansion types in literal and paraphrased translation within the most expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’.</i> .....                            | <i>121</i> |
| <i>Figure 5: Distribution of expansion types in complete and incomplete translation within the most expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’.</i> .....                            | <i>121</i> |
| <i>Figure 6: Distribution of expansion types in the most expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’.</i> .....                                                                       | <i>123</i> |
| <i>Figure 7: Distribution of translation units exhibiting ‘standard’ and ‘non-standard’ translation modes across the ‘Eneados’.</i> .....                                              | <i>126</i> |
| <i>Figure 8: Average line ratios across the thirteen books of the ‘Eneados’.</i> .....                                                                                                 | <i>126</i> |
| <i>Figure 9: Number of lines in each book of the ‘Aeneid’ and ‘Eneados’.</i> .....                                                                                                     | <i>127</i> |
| <i>Figure 10: Average number of Latin and Scots lines in each translation unit in every book of the ‘Eneados’.</i> .....                                                               | <i>127</i> |
| <i>Figure 11: Distribution of literal and paraphrased translation in the most succinct and expansive translation units in each book of the ‘Eneados’.</i> .....                        | <i>136</i> |
| <i>Figure 12: Distribution of complete and incomplete translation in the most succinct and expansive translation units in every book of the ‘Eneados’.</i> .....                       | <i>136</i> |
| <i>Figure 13: Visual representation of results from a Tukey test comparing the number of Latin lines in each translation unit in every book of the ‘Eneados’ to one another.</i> ..... | <i>138</i> |
| <i>Figure 14: Distribution of consecutive and non-consecutive units in the most succinct and expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’.</i> .....                                   | <i>140</i> |
| <i>Figure 15: Distribution of consecutive units with the same and different translation type in the most succinct and expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’.</i> .....          | <i>140</i> |
| <i>Figure 16: Distribution of context categories across the most succinct and expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’.</i> .....                                                  | <i>142</i> |
| <i>Figure 17: Distribution of context categories in each half (Books I-VI and Books VII-XIII) of the ‘Eneados’.</i> .....                                                              | <i>144</i> |
| <i>Figure 18: Distribution of content categories in the most succinct and expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’.</i> .....                                                      | <i>144</i> |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <i>Figure 19: UB Freiburg, Ink. 4. D 7672 fols. 18<sup>v</sup>-19<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. I.198-222.....</i>                                                                                                          | <i>162</i> |
| <i>Figure 20: Bodl. Auct. O 1.18a, fols. 68<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. I.1-8. ....</i>                                                                                                                    | <i>162</i> |
| <i>Figure 21: UB Freiburg, Ink. 4. D 7672 fol. 3<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. I.1-7.....</i>                                                                                                                               | <i>166</i> |
| <i>Figure 22: UB Freiburg, Ink. 4. D 7672 fol. 4<sup>v</sup>, featuring Aen. I.8-11.....</i>                                                                                                                              | <i>166</i> |
| <i>Figure 23: Bodl. Auct. O 1.18b fol. 330<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. XII.672-715.....</i>                                                                                                                               | <i>167</i> |
| <i>Figure 24: UB Freiburg, Ink. 4. D 7672 fols. 366<sup>v</sup>-367<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. XII.425-73.....</i>                                                                                                       | <i>169</i> |
| <i>Figure 25: UB Freiburg, Ink. 4. D 7672 fols. 381<sup>v</sup>-382<sup>r</sup>, featuring Sup. 19-82. ....</i>                                                                                                           | <i>169</i> |
| <i>Figure 26: Bodl. Auct. Q 4.19 fol. 316<sup>r</sup>, featuring Sup. 1-110. ....</i>                                                                                                                                     | <i>170</i> |
| <i>Figure 27: UB Freiburg Ink. 4. D 7672 fol. 230<sup>v</sup>, featuring Aen. VII.461-76. ....</i>                                                                                                                        | <i>173</i> |
| <i>Figure 28: UB Freiburg Ink. 4. D 7672, fol. 383<sup>r</sup> (labelled 385<sup>r</sup>), featuring Sup. 115-46.....</i>                                                                                                 | <i>173</i> |
| <i>Figure 29: UB Freiburg Ink. 4. D 7672 fol. 15<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. I.142-53.....</i>                                                                                                                            | <i>176</i> |
| <i>Figure 30: UB Freiburg Ink. 4. D 7672 fol. 15<sup>v</sup>, featuring Aen. I.154-59.....</i>                                                                                                                            | <i>176</i> |
| <i>Figure 31: UB Freiburg Ink. 4. D 7672 fols. 93<sup>v</sup>-94<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. III.189-218.....</i>                                                                                                         | <i>178</i> |
| <i>Figure 32: Cambridge Trinity College MS O.3.12 fol. 12<sup>v</sup>, featuring Ene. I.4.a-42.....</i>                                                                                                                   | <i>180</i> |
| <i>Figure 33: Percentages of each type of ‘ordinatio’ break that are acknowledged in the Trinity College MS out of all the existing breaks of each type in Ascensius’s edition of the ‘Aeneid’ and the ‘Eneados’.....</i> | <i>181</i> |
| <i>Figure 34: Number of Scots lines per chapter over the course of the ‘Eneados’. ....</i>                                                                                                                                | <i>182</i> |
| <i>Figure 35: Number of lines per page over the course of the Trinity College MS .....</i>                                                                                                                                | <i>182</i> |
| <i>Figure 36: Representation of Douglas’s line ratios for Aen. VII.458-74 and Ene. VII.8.113-54.....</i>                                                                                                                  | <i>185</i> |
| <i>Figure 37: Visual representation of results from a Tukey test comparing the number of Scots lines in each translation unit in every book of the ‘Eneados’. ....</i>                                                    | <i>188</i> |
| <i>Figure 38: Visual representation of results from a Tukey test comparing the line ratios in each translation unit in every book of the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                               | <i>188</i> |
| <i>Figure 39: Distribution of expansions in the ‘Eneados’ that are (partially) sourced or not sourced from the commentary in Ascensius’s (1501) edition of the ‘Aeneid’ across expansion types.....</i>                   | <i>189</i> |
| <i>Figure 40: Distribution of expansion types within the most expansive translation units across the thirteen books of the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                                             | <i>192</i> |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                            |            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <i>Figure 41: Percentages of glosses from the commentary that are used and not used in the most expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’ and their position relative to the text they explain.....</i> | <i>192</i> |
| <i>Figure 42: Total number of lines in each prologue of the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                                                                                             | <i>194</i> |
| <i>Figure 43: Cambridge Trinity College MS O.3.12 fols. 9<sup>v</sup>-10<sup>r</sup>, featuring Ene. I.1. ....</i>                                                                                         | <i>196</i> |
| <i>Figure 44: Cambridge Trinity College MS O.3.12 fol. 31<sup>r</sup>, featuring Ene. II.5.54-92. ....</i>                                                                                                 | <i>213</i> |
| <i>Figure 45: Cambridge Trinity College MS O.3.12 fol. 9<sup>r</sup>, featuring the Book Rubrics and the I.1 chapter rubric.....</i>                                                                       | <i>213</i> |
| <i>Figure 46: Diagram depicting where lines (10-12 elements) are repeated in the ‘Aeneid’.....</i>                                                                                                         | <i>225</i> |
| <i>Figure 47: Diagram depicting where repetitions in the ‘Aeneid’ are represented in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                                                                | <i>235</i> |
| <i>Figure 48: Distribution of sourced repetitions in the ‘Eneados’ and repetitions of 10-12 elements in the ‘Aeneid’ across a range of proximities. ....</i>                                               | <i>238</i> |
| <i>Figure 49: Distribution of repetitions of 10-12 elements in the ‘Aeneid’ and sourced repetitions in ‘Eneados’ across books. ....</i>                                                                    | <i>239</i> |
| <i>Figure 50: UB Freiburg, Ink. 4. D 7672 fol. 136<sup>v</sup>, featuring Aen. IV.584-606. ....</i>                                                                                                        | <i>248</i> |
| <i>Figure 51: UB Freiburg, Ink. 4. D 7672 fol. 285<sup>v</sup>, featuring Aen. IX.456-87. ....</i>                                                                                                         | <i>248</i> |
| <i>Figure 52: Colour coded diagram depicting where repetitions in the ‘Aeneid’ are recognised in the ‘Eneados’ and where they are not, overlaid with Douglas’s original repetitions. ....</i>              | <i>251</i> |
| <i>Figure 53: Diagram depicting where lines (10-12 elements) are repeated in the ‘Aeneid’ and ‘Supplement’. ....</i>                                                                                       | <i>253</i> |
| <i>Figure 54: Diagram depicting original repetitions across the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                                                                                         | <i>258</i> |
| <i>Figure 55: Number of lines spoken by Aeneas in the books of the ‘Aeneid’ and ‘Eneados’. ....</i>                                                                                                        | <i>274</i> |
| <i>Figure 56: Average line ratios for translation units in books, narrative, and speech across the course of the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                                        | <i>275</i> |
| <i>Figure 57: Boxplot of effects from keyword analyses comparing Douglas’s narrative to speech and character narratives in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                          | <i>289</i> |
| <i>Figure 58: Boxplot of effects from keyword analyses comparing Douglas’s narrative to character narratives in the ‘Eneados’.....</i>                                                                     | <i>290</i> |
| <i>Figure 59: Boxplot of effects for keywords analyses comparing Douglas’s narrative to the Prologues, and general narrative to the Prologues, within the ‘Eneados’. ....</i>                              | <i>297</i> |



|                                                                                                                                                                         |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Figure 60: Boxplot of effects from keyword analyses comparing Aeneas's narrative to the Prologues, and general narrative to the Prologues, within the 'Eneados'.</i> | 297 |
| <i>Figure 61: Average line ratios for translation units in books, narrative, speech, and reported speech across the course of the 'Eneados'.</i>                        | 298 |
| <i>Figure 62: Average line ratios for male and female speakers over the course of the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                                    | 303 |
| <i>Figure 63: Line ratios for Aen. IV.305-30, 333-61, 365-87 and Ene. IV.6.49-99, 104-60, 7.6-51.</i>                                                                   | 305 |
| <i>Figure 64: Average line ratios for divine and mortal speakers over the course of the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                                  | 311 |
| <i>Figure 65: Line ratios for Aen. VI.388-97, 399-406, and Ene. VI.6.7-26, 29-44.</i>                                                                                   | 313 |
| <i>Figure 66: Line ratios for Aen. X.228-45, 252-55 and Ene. X.5.32-76, 91-101.</i>                                                                                     | 313 |
| <i>Figure 67: Line ratios for Aen. V.623-40, 646-52 and Ene. V.11.47-81, 91-102.</i>                                                                                    | 314 |
| <i>Figure 68: Line ratios for Aen. IX.625-29, 633-35, 641-44, 653-56 and Ene. IX.10.82-92, 100-104, 117-27, 145-54.</i>                                                 | 314 |
| <i>Figure 69: Average line ratios for speakers of different nation over the course of the 'Eneados'.</i>                                                                | 319 |
| <i>Figure 70: Line ratios for Aen. X.524-29, 531-34 and Ene. X.9.43-58, 61-70.</i>                                                                                      | 322 |
| <i>Figure 71: Bodl. Auct. O 1.18b fol. 113<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. I.1-3.</i>                                                                                       | 443 |
| <i>Figure 72: Bodl. Auct. P 2.15 fol. 83<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. I.1-3.</i>                                                                                         | 443 |
| <i>Figure 73: Bodl. Auct. P 2.18 fol. 71<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. I.1-3.</i>                                                                                         | 444 |
| <i>Figure 74: Bodl. Auct. Q 4.19 fol. 79<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. I.1-3.</i>                                                                                         | 444 |
| <i>Figure 75: Bodl. Auct. Q inf. 2.4 fol. 124<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. I.1-3.</i>                                                                                    | 445 |
| <i>Figure 76: Bodl. Auct. O 1.18a fol. 272<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. XII.691-738.</i>                                                                                 | 445 |
| <i>Figure 77: Bodl. Auct. P 2.15 fol. 67<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. XII.710-44.</i>                                                                                    | 446 |
| <i>Figure 78: Bodl. Auct. P 2.18 fol. 283<sup>v</sup>, featuring Aen. XII.669-721.</i>                                                                                  | 446 |
| <i>Figure 79: Bodl. Auct. Q 4.19 fol. 312<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. XII.679-721.</i>                                                                                  | 447 |
| <i>Figure 80: Bodl. Auct. Q inf fol. 341<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. XII.675-719.</i>                                                                                   | 447 |
| <i>Figure 81: Bodl. Auct. O 1.18a fol. 275<sup>r</sup> featuring Sup. 1-114.</i>                                                                                        | 448 |
| <i>Figure 82: Bodl. Auct. O 1.18b fol. 333<sup>v</sup>, featuring Sup. 1-103.</i>                                                                                       | 448 |

|                                                                                                                                                                |            |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <i>Figure 83: Bodl. Auct. P 2.15 fol. 71<sup>r</sup>, featuring Sup. 1-101. ....</i>                                                                           | <i>449</i> |
| <i>Figure 84: Bodl. Auct. P 2.18 fol. kk1<sup>r</sup>, featuring Sup. 1-109. ....</i>                                                                          | <i>449</i> |
| <i>Figure 85: Bodl. Auct. Q inf. 2.4. fol. 344<sup>r</sup>, featuring Sup. 1-78. ....</i>                                                                      | <i>450</i> |
| <i>Figure 86: Cambridge Trinity College MS O.3.12 fol. 46<sup>v</sup>, featuring Ene. III.3.82-4.7.....</i>                                                    | <i>450</i> |
| <i>Figure 87: Cambridge Trinity College MS O.3.12 fols. 10<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>r</sup>, featuring Ene. I.2 as well as the beginning of I.3 (I.3.a-14). ....</i> | <i>451</i> |
| <i>Figure 88: Boxplot of effects from keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to character narratives in the 'Eneados'. ....</i>                        | <i>451</i> |

## TABLE OF EQUATIONS

|                                                                                                         |            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <i>Equation 1: How to calculate expected values for the chi-squared test.....</i>                       | <i>442</i> |
| <i>Equation 2: The equation for the chi-squared test. ....</i>                                          | <i>442</i> |
| <i>Equation 3: The equation for Cramér's V test.....</i>                                                | <i>442</i> |
| <i>Equation 4: Formula for calculating the rate of repetition in the 'Eneados' in terms of lines. .</i> | <i>442</i> |

## TABLE OF EXAMPLES

|                                                                                                                                                     |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Example 1: Expansive translations of content pertaining to ‘strong emotion’ within narrative in the ‘Eneados’.</i>                               | 452 |
| <i>Example 2: Expansive translations of content pertaining to ‘strong emotion’ within speech in the ‘Eneados’.</i>                                  | 454 |
| <i>Example 3: Dido and Aeneas’s argument in Book IV: Aen. IV.305-30, 333-61, 365-87 / Ene. IV. 6.49-99, 6.104-60, 7.6-51.</i>                       | 455 |
| <i>Example 4: Charon and Deiphobe’s exchange in Book VI: Aen. VI.388-97, 399-406 / Ene. VI.6.7-26, 29-44.</i>                                       | 461 |
| <i>Example 5: Cymodoce and Aeneas’s exchange in Book X: Aen. X.228-45, 252-55 / Ene. X.5.32-76, 91-101.</i>                                         | 463 |
| <i>Example 6: Exchange between Iris and Pirgo in Book V: Aen. V.623-40, 646-52 / Ene. V.11.47-81, 91-102.</i>                                       | 465 |
| <i>Example 7: Exchange between Ascanius and Apollo in Book IX: IX.625-29, 633-35, 641-44, 653-56 and Ene. IX.10.82-92, 100-104, 117-27, 145-54.</i> | 467 |

## TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

|                |                                                            |
|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| @              | Attribute in XML                                           |
| <>             | Element in XML                                             |
| <i>Aen.</i>    | <i>Aeneid</i>                                              |
| ANOVA          | Analysis of variance                                       |
| Asc.           | Ascensus (Appendix tables only)                            |
| Bk             | Book (Appendix tables only)                                |
| Comp.          | Comparison (Appendix tables only)                          |
| Conc.          | Conclusion (postscript in the <i>Eneados</i> )             |
| Dir.           | Direction (postscript in the <i>Eneados</i> )              |
| <i>DSL</i>     | <i>Dictionary of the Scots Language</i>                    |
| DTS            | Descriptive Translation Studies                            |
| Eft            | Effect (Appendix tables only)                              |
| <i>Ene.</i>    | <i>Eneados</i>                                             |
| Epi.           | Epilogue                                                   |
| Excl.          | Exclamation (postscript in the <i>Eneados</i> )            |
| <i>Il.</i>     | <i>Iliad</i>                                               |
| Name           | Name of the Translator (postscript in the <i>Eneados</i> ) |
| <i>Od.</i>     | <i>Odyssey</i>                                             |
| <i>OED</i>     | <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>                           |
| <i>p</i>       | <i>p</i> -value (Appendix tables only)                     |
| POS            | part-of-speech                                             |
| Prol.          | Prologue                                                   |
| <i>Sup.</i>    | <i>Supplement</i>                                          |
| TEI            | Textual Encoding Initiative                                |
| Time           | Time, Space, and Date (postscript in the <i>Eneados</i> )  |
| TI             | Total                                                      |
| <i>Troilus</i> | <i>Troilus and Criseyde</i> (c. 1381-86)                   |
| XML            | Extensible Markup Language                                 |
| XSLT           | Extensible Stylesheet Language Transformations             |

### **NOTE ON THE IMPACT OF THE PANDEMIC ON THIS WORK**

This work was completed during the COVID-19 pandemic, and these circumstances have affected its quality to a certain extent. The closure of the libraries during the final year of this research was a significant obstacle that was also compounded by personal circumstances, which necessitated that I move away from Oxford to live with my partner during lockdown, thus further limiting my access to Oxford resources.

Fortunately, most of the research presented here was completed before the pandemic struck. However, not having reliable access to libraries limited the sources this thesis draws on—especially in its discussion on Caxton, which was implemented towards the end of the thesis, and could have benefited from wider reading. Please bear this in mind when considering this work.

## NOTE ON THE EDITION OF THE *ENEADOS* USED IN THIS WORK

The edition of the *Eneados* used within this work and as the basis for the digital files created here is Coldwell's (1957-64; 4 vols) edition, published by the Scottish Text Society (3<sup>rd</sup> Series: 30, 25, 27, 28). While the first volume of an updated Scottish Text Society edition of the *Eneados* edited by Bawcutt (2020; 5<sup>th</sup> series: 17) has just been released, this edition unfortunately arrived too late for this project to make significant use of it.

This work specifically uses the version of Coldwell's text made available via *Literature Online*. This is virtually identical to the printed version, except for differences in how chapters are numbered in certain books: Books VII and XII start with chapter 2 rather than chapter 1. This is because couplets in Prologue VII and XII that are set apart from the text by space breaks are identified as chapter rubrics. These count as chapter 1 rubrics, even though they occur within prologues instead of books, and subsequent chapters within Books VII and XII are numbered to reflect this. The digital files used here follow this numbering practice as do quotations from the *Eneados* within this work. Instances where chapter numbering differs from the printed edition have footnotes providing the standard numbering.

Material from this edition is cited by book, prologue, and chapter number. There are also preliminary materials and a series of postscripts with unwieldy titles that are referenced on occasion. These are cited by simplified titles as listed below and sometimes abbreviated (see Table of Abbreviations):

|                        |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Book Rubrics           | The Contentis of Euery Buke Followyng                                                                                                                                               |
| Mention                | Heir the translatour of this buk makis mensioun of thre of hys principall warkis                                                                                                    |
| Name of the Translator | To know the naym of the translatour                                                                                                                                                 |
| Conclusion             | Conclusio                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Direction              | Heir the translatar direkkis hys buk and excusis hym self                                                                                                                           |
| Exclamation            | Ane exclamatioun aganyst detractouris and oncurtass redaris that beyn our studyus, but occasioun, to note and spy owt faltis or offencis in this volum, or ony other thryfty warkys |
| Time, Space, and Date  | Heir followys the tyme, space and dait of the translatioun of this buke                                                                                                             |
| Epitaph                | Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc Parthenope; cecini pascua, rura duces                                                                                                 |

## NOTE ON ANNOTATIONS

Throughout this work various passages from the *Aeneid* and *Eneados* are presented as part of the analysis. These passages are often presented with annotation highlighting various aspects of Douglas's translation and how it corresponds to the source material. Each chapter reintroduces the reader to aspects of this annotation, but for ease of reference, the following presents a full key of all the annotation in this work and what it indicates:

|                                 |                                                                                                                                                |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Text in bold:</b>            | Content that has been added during translation; chapter rubrics in the <i>Eneados</i> are always in bold because they are original to Douglas. |
| <b>Bolded text in red:</b>      | Content that Douglas has added during translation that has no basis in the source text; called 'additions'.                                    |
| <b>Bolded text in blue:</b>     | Content that translates material twice; called 'double translations'.                                                                          |
| <b>Bolded text in purple:</b>   | Content that Douglas has added during translation that is inspired by the source; called 'elaborations'.                                       |
| <b>Bolded text in green:</b>    | Content that Douglas has added during translation that is drawn from the commentaries in Ascensius's (1501) edition.                           |
| <i>Text in italics:</i>         | Content that has been paraphrased.                                                                                                             |
| <del>Text struck through:</del> | Content that has been elided.                                                                                                                  |
| <u>Text underlined:</u>         | Content that is equivalent between the <i>Aeneid</i> and the <i>Eneados</i> .                                                                  |
| [Text in brackets]:             | Layout annotation; sometimes also used to demarcate sentential or translation units.                                                           |



## **NOTE ON NUMBERING OF TABLES AND FIGURES IN THE THESIS AND APPENDIX**

Various tables and figures are included in the body of this thesis and the Appendix. The figures and tables provided in the body of the thesis are specifically illustrative of arguments that the thesis makes. The figures and tables in the Appendix provide the raw data behind various statistical claims as well as additional data visualisations and examples from early printed books.

Rather than provide separate numbering systems between the thesis and Appendix, the numbering is continuous between them. Tables 1-16 occur in the body of the thesis; Tables 17-125 are in the Appendix. Figures 1-70 are in the body of the thesis; Figures 71-88 are in the Appendix. A separate copy of the preliminary material in this thesis (including tables of contents and keys to annotation) and the Appendix is included in the submission materials for ease of reference.

## NOTE ON DIGITAL FILES AND SCRIPTS

The analysis in this thesis is assisted by a series of digital files compiled from the text of the *Eneados* and Douglas's source text, Ascensius's (1501) edition of the *Aeneid*. These files enable a computer-assisted analysis of the *Aeneid*. They include all thirteen books and prologues of the *Eneados* as well as the twelve books of the *Aeneid* and the *Supplement* in both plain and annotated versions. The annotated versions include layout, pragmatic, and alignment as well as normalised, part-of-speech, and semantic tags. They also contain extensive metadata in the form of a TEI header. These files are included as part of the submission of this thesis. A version of them is also available on Oxford's *CQPweb* server (<<https://cqpweb-dev.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/CQPweb/>>). Please be advised that it is necessary to create an Oxford *CQPweb* account to gain access to these files.

In addition to these files, a series of XSLT and 'sed' scripts are submitted with this thesis. The XSLT scripts were written by me, the 'sed' scripts were written by my supervisor, Martin Wynne. These scripts perform one of two functions: either the development of the digital files used here, or the creation of different versions of files. Scripts with the former function are numbered to indicate the order that they were implemented and are organised into folders labelled to correspond to processes illustrated in Figure 1. Scripts with the latter function are labelled with the type of file they create—normalised/modernised, part-of-speech, semantic, narrative only, speech only, reported speech only, or the speech of characters of certain gender, mortality, or nationality only, to compare their linguistic qualities to one another.

Finally, the adapted TEI schema that is associated with these digital files is also included along with an online handbook documenting this schema. These were both generated by *Roma* (Mittelbach & Rahtz 2019).

## NOTE ON DATASETS

In addition to providing an Appendix, this thesis is also accompanied by several datasets. These are not included as part of the Appendix as they are easier to use in a digital format. The raw data tables in the Appendix are derived from these datasets and it is always noted which dataset the table is referencing. The datasets are referred to by the following numbers and short titles and contain the information summarised below:

|           |                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                        |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Dataset 1 | Line ratios                                                                                | A list of equivalent lines between the <i>Eneados</i> and <i>Aeneid</i> with their line ratios.                                                                        |
| Dataset 2 | Succinct and expansive qualitative data                                                    | A list of the equivalent lines with high ( $\geq 4$ ) and low ( $\leq 1$ ) line ratios categorised by features such as translation type, pragmatic type, context, etc. |
| Dataset 3 | Comparison of segmentation in multiple editions                                            | Comparison of segmentation across seven early printed editions of the <i>Aeneid</i> .                                                                                  |
| Dataset 4 | Comparison of chapters in the <i>Eneados</i> and sections in the <i>Aeneid</i>             | A list of which sections in Ascensius's (1501) <i>Aeneid</i> correlate with which chapters in <i>Eneados</i> and whether the chapters preserve section boundaries.     |
| Dataset 5 | Comparison of sections in the <i>Aeneid</i> and translation units in the <i>Eneados</i>    | A comparison of boundaries between translation units and boundaries between sections in Ascensius's (1501) <i>Aeneid</i> .                                             |
| Dataset 6 | Comparison of page breaks in the <i>Aeneid</i> and translation units in the <i>Eneados</i> | A comparison of boundaries between translation units and page breaks in Ascensius's (1501) <i>Aeneid</i> .                                                             |
| Dataset 7 | Summary of <i>ordinatio</i> in the Trinity College MS                                      | A guide to a PDF version of the Trinity College MS counting the number of lines on each page and monitoring whether page breaks converge with other <i>ordinatio</i> . |

|            |                                                         |                                                                                                                                                         |
|------------|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Dataset 8  | Summary of <i>ordinatio</i> in Ascensius's 1501 edition | A guide to a PDF version of Ascensius's (1501) <i>Aeneid</i> tracking which lines are on which page.                                                    |
| Dataset 9  | Repetitions in the <i>Aeneid</i>                        | A list of repeated lines in the <i>Aeneid</i> categorised by layout, pragmatic type, context, etc.                                                      |
| Dataset 10 | Repetitions in the <i>Eneados</i>                       | A list of repeated segments in the <i>Eneados</i> and their Latin equivalents.                                                                          |
| Dataset 11 | Sourced repetitions in the <i>Eneados</i>               | A list of repeated lines in the <i>Eneados</i> that are sourced from the <i>Aeneid</i> , further categorised by layout, pragmatic type, context, etc.   |
| Dataset 12 | Original Repetitions in the <i>Eneados</i>              | A list of repeated segments in the <i>Eneados</i> that are not sourced from the <i>Aeneid</i> , further categorised by layout, pragmatic, context, etc. |
| Dataset 13 | Line Ratios and Pragmatic Tagging                       | A version of Dataset 1 altered to account for pragmatic boundaries.                                                                                     |

## NOTE ON IMAGES

Special thanks to the Wren Digital Library (Trinity College, University of Cambridge) and UB Freiburg for their excellent digitisations of the Trinity College MS (O.3.12) and Ascensius's (1501) edition of the complete works of Virgil (Ink. 4. D 7672), respectively. Images of these two texts have been modified from their originals; they have been resized and cropped to fit the confines of the page better. The material from the Wren Digital Library is covered by a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International (CC BY-NC 4.0) licence, which allows for sharing and adaptation for non-commercial purposes, provided proper attribution is made (see full licence at <<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>>). The material from UB Freiburg is in the public domain (see <<https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/mark/1.0/>>).

Special thanks as well to the Weston Library (University of Oxford) for permission to photograph various early printed editions of the complete works of Virgil (Auct. O 1.18a, Auct. O 1.18b, Auct. P 2.15, Auct. P 2.18, Auct. Q 4.19, Auct. Q inf. 2.4). These images were photographed and modified by me.

## INTRODUCTION:

### AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO THE *ENEADOS*

With the advent of computers and more sophisticated full-text search technology, it was only a matter of time until such tools were co-opted into the study of literature. This has been in development for fifty years and has culminated in the past decade with the publication of numerous studies where computational methods have been used to analyse entire genres (like fan fiction; see Milli & Bamman 2016), literary periods (like Victorian era, 1840-1900; see Houston 2014), works by a single author (like Charles Dickens, 1812-70; see Mahlberg & C. Smith 2012), or even a single text (like Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*, 1927; see Hammond, Brooke, & Hirst 2013). Such projects have been able to cover more content and observe features previously unnoticed, thus providing new perspectives on well-studied texts, and opening new frontiers in literary scholarship.

Admittedly, such studies have sometimes been met with scepticism by the academic community. On the side of traditional literary theorists, there is a real doubt that computational methods can recognise the nuance of poetic style or language in narrative (see Fish 1973; cf. Underwood 2020). There is a worry that such studies will result in a proverbial 'not seeing the forest for the trees'; for, while a computer can tell us exactly how many words are in a text, what those words are, their grammatical and semantic characteristics, and features of their arrangement, it cannot distil the actual experience of reading the work.

On the other hand, linguists, computational scientists, and statisticians have not entirely embraced this emerging discipline either. There is a disdain towards what some deem the 'woolly' nature of literary analysis, which is perceived as being subjective and intuitive rather than objective and evidence-based; the Sokal Affair, where a physicist

submitted a bogus article to a journal in the humanities to prove lesser standards, was very much in this spirit (see Sokal 1996). A more charitable version of this argument is that literary data is not suited to quantitative methods by its very nature and that these types of studies misuse statistical tools (see Da 2019: 601). However, by far the most valid claim is that not all literary scholars are equipped to understand computational studies of literary texts, and thus these studies can have limited impact and are difficult to assess (602).

In this sense, Snow's (1969) problem of 'The Two Cultures'—the stark cultural divide between the sciences and humanities, where adherents of different disciplines fundamentally misunderstand the nature and quality of the evidence the other works with—is still alive and well even in the twenty-first century. This work traverses this divide and presents a study that proves the value of using both quantitative and qualitative methods to analyse a literary text. The following thesis demonstrates an interdisciplinary method for analysing medieval translations drawing on descriptive translation studies, corpus linguistics, and philology.

Chapter 1 first introduces these three disciplines and provides an overview of their basic concepts along with an indication of how they can be effectively combined when studying texts. Corpus linguistics is a branch of linguistics that involves the compilation of large (usually digital) collections of texts that are used as a database of linguistic examples, enabling improved descriptions of language in practice (see McEnery & Hardie 2013). The field of descriptive translation studies analyses the process of translation in actual examples and extrapolates general principles of translation from them (see Holmes 1987). This especially involves comparative analysis of the translation and its source. Philology is understood here as the study of language within the context of an oral or written text

and is concerned not just with the quality of language but the quality of the text itself, including its physical presentation (Greetham 1994: ix).

The result of combining these three disciplines is a computational method informed by disciplines that are rooted in the text, providing a new perspective on translated texts (specifically, Gavin Douglas's *Eneados*, see below) that is balanced by an awareness of the literary, historical, linguistic, and material context. In effect, this is a pragmatist research approach in that it uses many different frameworks of interpretation and is closely wedded to the topic's context; this is referred to by Pihlström (2011: 49) as 'contextualist pluralism'. This approach also combines quantitative and qualitative methods to adapt more easily to the differences between literary and computational data (see D.L. Morgan 2007). Moreover, by viewing a text from multiple perspectives in this way, it is possible to cater for readers of various backgrounds so that this work might be understood by both literary- and computationally-minded scholars.

This thesis applies this method to the study of Gavin Douglas (c. 1475-1522) and his *Eneados* (1513)—the first full, direct translation of the *Aeneid* in either the English or Scottish tradition—to demonstrate this method's value in analysing a literary text. Chapter 2 introduces Douglas and his translation, providing a brief biography of his life, a basic description of the *Eneados*, and an overview of scholarship concerning the *Eneados* to date. Based on this overview, this chapter argues that the *Eneados* is an appropriate subject for this method due to its structure and length, which has made it difficult for a single critic to analyse in its entirety, and far more convenient to examine in a piecemeal fashion.

Such fragmentary accounts have resulted in incomplete scholarly descriptions of Douglas's translation method. For example, critics are often torn between Douglas's



disavowal of ‘word for word’ (ostensibly literal) translation in Prologue I and his actual practice which adheres closely to the source text; his insistence on maintaining the integrity of his source text and his large original additions; his declaration that he writes in Scots and his extremely variegated vocabulary that draws on Scots, English, French, Latin, Dutch, and archaic sources (see Gordon 1970). The lack of clarity on these issues has in turn fed into a lack of consensus about Douglas’s context and qualities as a translator. There is widespread debate about whether he is a medieval or Renaissance translator (see Dearing 1952; Lewis 1954; Brewer Hall 1960), the status and quality of his humanism (see Bawcutt 1976; Gray 1989; A. Fowler 2005), and whether his political allegiances influence his text (see Cummings 1995; Canitz 1996; Simpson 1998). The lack of perspective on Douglas’s entire text also results in a tendency for Douglas and the *Eneados* to be considered in isolation from other members of the Older Scots canon. This results in a missed opportunity to identify Douglas’s contribution to the tradition of Scottish translation beyond the translated text itself.

To remedy this, this project compiles a digital version of the *Eneados* and its source text (Ascensius’s 1501 edition of the *Aeneid*). Chapter 3 describes how this resource was compiled according to corpus linguistic principles, and various aspects of its annotation and coding which highlight salient features of the text. These include (1) layout, (2) pragmatic type with (3) sociolinguistic aspects, (4) units of equivalency, and (5) grammatical and semantic information.

- (1) Layout annotation indicates how the text is segmented in its source by page, section, and chapter. This information is included under the assumption that how a text is presented intrinsically affects how it is read, and, consequently, translated (see Mak 2011).

- (2) Pragmatic annotation indicates different modes of discourse, including narrative, speech, and reported speech. Pragmatics is a field of linguistic study concerned with grammaticalized differences between language in different contexts (Levinson 1983: 9). This information is included again under the assumption that different types of discourse may also be subject to different forms of translation.
- (3) Segments of speech and reported speech are also annotated with sociolinguistic information concerning their speakers. Sociolinguistics is a branch of linguistics that studies how social variables affect aspects of language (Labov 1972a, 1972b). The most prominent variables are gender, status (reinterpreted here as ‘mortality’ to represent the division between gods and mortals), and nationality. This is included to test whether Douglas was sensitive to differences in language between social identities and whether he valued this distinction enough to replicate it.
- (4) Units of equivalency refer to material in the translation and material in the source that it is drawn from—also referred to as ‘translation units’. Equivalency refers to the relationship between the translation and its source and is a key piece of evidence in reconstructing a translation method (see Toury 2012). To examine this the *Eneados* and its source are aligned to one another by line.
- (5) Grammatical and semantic information describes the syntactical and semiotic function of each word in the text. They are used here to track the grammatical and contextual qualities of Douglas’s text across discourse types and sociolinguistic variables.

Using this digital apparatus, this thesis conducts various analyses examining translation units across the entire *Eneados*. Chapter 4 first examines the size and shape of translation units, how they fluctuate over time, and how they correspond to qualities

of translation such as how strict or loose it is (sometimes referred to in terms of literalness and paraphrase or by the medieval terms ‘word for word’ and ‘sense for sense’) and how complete it is (i.e. whether source content is elided). It then considers whether various aspects of translation units are conditioned by their content and context to determine if Douglas’s translation method is stylistically conditioned.

Chapter 5 focuses on the impact of the layout of the source text on how Douglas conducts his translation. It provides a description of the layout of Ascensius’s (1501) edition and how it compares to the layout of other early printed editions of the *Aeneid*. It then considers how Douglas interprets various aspects of this layout—especially Ascensius’s division of the text into sections, which become longer over the course of the text, drastically changing the layout of the page. This chapter then examines aspects of the layout of Douglas’s text in the Trinity College MS (O.3.12, Trinity College, University of Cambridge, 1513)—specifically its medium, the inclusion of the Prologues and Book I Comment, the alteration of book divisions, and the implementation of chapter divisions—and their relationship to Ascensius’s own layout decisions.

Chapter 6 continues to investigate the impact of the presentation of Douglas’s source text on his translation but focuses more specifically on Virgil’s practice of repeating lines. First, Virgil’s practice of repetition is analysed to determine if this is just a product of chance or artistic intention. Then, repetitions in the *Eneados* are compared with those in the *Aeneid* to determine how sensitive Douglas is to formal aspects of Virgil’s style. This, in turn, is used as evidence for determining how Douglas read the *Aeneid* and approached the text while translating. Lastly, this chapter considers the motivation

behind Douglas's original repetitions, especially those that occur within his translation of Maffeo Vegio's *Supplement* (1428)—a hypothetical thirteenth book of the *Aeneid*.

Chapter 7 considers differences in how Douglas conducts translation across different pragmatic types using both quantitative methods and Labovian narrative analysis—a linguistic framework for describing features of narrative, especially syntax (see Labov & Waletzky 1967). The pragmatic types in question include narrative, speech, narrative delivered by characters, Douglas's original poetry in the Prologues, and reported speech. It also considers how Douglas presents characters of different gender, mortality, and nationality to reconstruct his personal perspectives on the relation between the sexes, reading a pagan text within a Christian context, and nationalism.

Chapter 8 summarises the results of all these studies to present a much more comprehensive overview and analysis of the *Eneados* than previously seen. This, in turn, offers new perspectives on Douglas's translation, identifying the specific mechanics of his method, his motivations behind his translation choices, and his aims as a translator. Using this information, this thesis offers new arguments and builds on existing ones regarding Douglas's cultural context, especially regarding his status as a humanist and the quality of his linguistic nationalism. This thesis also reunites Douglas with the Older Scots canon and offers some indication of how he reformulates various translation maxims that could have some bearing in the study of other Scottish translators.

To summarise: Chapter 1 introduces this work's methodology. Chapter 2 provides foundational information on Gavin Douglas and the *Eneados* as well as a literature review on the subject. Chapter 3 describes the creation of the digital files used to conduct the analysis in this work. Chapter 4 provides a rubric for quantitatively evaluating Douglas's translation

method and then uses it to consider the impact of content of his translation style. Chapter 5 considers how Douglas interacts with the layout of his source text over the course of translation and what effect that has on the *Eneados*. Chapter 6 evaluates how closely Douglas read Virgil and what aspects of his style he felt should be preserved. Chapter 7 considers differences between how Douglas presents his own poetic voice, Virgil's voice, Aeneas's voice, and those of other characters of various backgrounds. Chapter 8 brings the results from these four studies in conversation with one another and provides a new, comprehensive description of Douglas's translation method as well as some suggestions regarding the significance this has for how Douglas is understood within his historical context and the Older Scots canon.

## CHAPTER 1:

### THE NOTION OF EQUIVALENCY IN TRANSLATION AND HOW TO STUDY IT

One of the main questions when studying translation is whether something can be translated perfectly. Is a flawless transposition of ideas, style, and context possible across languages? The generally accepted answer is 'no'—the semantic networks of one language are too complex to be reproduced perfectly by another. However, closer examination reveals the issue is even more fraught, raising questions such as how to define a perfect translation, how to evaluate it, and if it is even desirable. Different answers to these questions yield different approaches to translation and different implications as to the nature of meaning. Some approaches separate meaning from language or its physical context. Others, like the one pursued here, argue that meaning is multidimensional, created not only by language, but also by context and presentation. Therefore, a multidimensional, interdisciplinary method must be adopted to study translation.

This work undertakes such a method to investigate Gavin Douglas (c. 1475-1522) and his *Eneados* (1513), the first full translation of the *Aeneid* (19 BC) in either the Scottish or mutually intelligible English tradition. This project aims not only to examine Douglas's translation method and provide descriptions and explanations of it that add to critical discourse on this topic, but also to demonstrate the efficacy and analytical power of an interdisciplinary method that views translation not only in terms of linguistic exchange, but also literary value, and material function.

This chapter describes the methodology used in this investigation of Douglas's translation practices in the *Eneados*. This method is a highly interdisciplinary one on account of how translation is a multifaceted occurrence that interacts on several different planes of

language and culture. Consequently, it is important to view it from as many different perspectives as possible. To that end, the following considers the three disciplines that inform the methodology of this study: descriptive translation studies, corpus linguistics, and philology. Moreover, since there is an historical disconnect between modern theories of translation and medieval ones, special attention will be paid to ancient and medieval approaches to translation. This chapter concludes with an evaluation of this method and what it aims to achieve.

### **1.1 Descriptive Translation Studies**

According to Holmes (1987: 15), translation studies has two purposes: '(1) to describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience, and (2) to establish general principles by means of which these phenomena can be explained and predicted'. The latter can be described as 'theoretical translation studies', while the former is known as 'descriptive translation studies' (DTS), and more closely aligns to the intentions of this project.

When identifying a work as a translation, it is usually assumed in DTS that there is a source text, a transferral process from the source text to the translation, and a tangible relationship between the translation and the original (Toury 2012: 29-30). DTS aims to recover this transferral process and assumes that there is some form of equivalency between source- and target-text linguistic choices. There are several different approaches to understanding this equivalency, which might best be characterised as permutations of two concepts: that translation is only concerned with surface-level linguistic structures, and that translation involves the transformation of larger cultural concepts (see Baker 1992: 5-6). These two concepts roughly equate to 'word for word' and 'sense for sense' translation—the popular terms for discussing translation in the ancient and medieval

tradition (see Section 1.2). Broadly, the issue is this: should equivalency be measured by linguistic standards, such as how well words in the source and the translation map onto each other, or by functional standards that evaluate how the translation and its source perform within 'the recipient socio-cultural situation' (Holmes 1987: 15-16)?

As previously intimated, the idea of perfect linguistic equivalency has been universally disavowed. No one lexical item can perfectly match another's denotation, connotation, semantic network, and, in the case of poetry, homophonic properties. It is for this reason Jumpertz-Schwab (1998: 16), in her analysis of the adoption of Latin loanwords in Scots via translation, argues that 'It is always difficult for a translator to find a single word in the target language with the same semantic content as the word in the source'. Even ancient, medieval, and early Renaissance translators acknowledge the impossibility of the perfect reproduction of the original text via translation; indeed, some, like Cicero, do not consider such an aim to be desirable anyway (see Sections 1.2 and 1.2.1). However, according to Vermeer (1987: 31), 'cultural equivalents' are possible—i.e. words or expressions that serve the same cultural function, but not necessarily the same linguistic one. Ivir (1987) goes further and proclaims that 'translating is not merely and not even primarily a linguistic process'. Rather many DTS scholars see translation as a process of cultural transformation (see Snell-Hornby 1987: 96).

It is largely accepted that language is an aspect of culture. Snell-Hornby (1987: 98) argues that culture is 'a totality of knowledge, proficiency and perception', connected 'with behaviour (or action) and events' which depend on societal norms, including 'those accepted in the *language system*' (my italics). In terms of translation, Even-Zohar (1998: 110) claims that translated works correspond to their greater context in two ways: in how they select source texts and in how they 'adopt specific norms'—that is, standards or



behaviours—from the target language. Two main points can be gleaned from this: (1) that translations are norm-governed behaviours and (2) that these norms are supplied by the receiving culture. Based on this, Vermeer (1987: 29), and later Toury (2012: 18), advocate a ‘target-oriented approach’ that focuses on the target-language’s cultural context.

Nevertheless, the importance of cultural context within the function of translation does not fully supplant its linguistic aspects. To transcribe a helpful diagram in Toury’s (2012: 7, fig. 2) work: ‘The (prospective) system position and function of a translation determines its appropriate surface realisation (= textual-linguistic make-up), [which] governs the strategies whereby a target text (or parts thereof) is derived from its original, and hence the relationships which hold them together’. Cultural concerns dictate the linguistic realisation of a translation, which select the appropriate translation strategies. Consequently, the linguistic manifestation of a translation can be used to reverse-engineer its cultural context. This involves a more ‘product-oriented’ and ‘process-oriented’ approach which necessitates close observation of linguistic practice in translation to recuperate its translation process (see Holmes 1987: 15-16). However, ‘[cultural] functions should be regarded as always having at least logical priority over their surface realizations’ (Toury 2012: 7-8). This is the approach to translation analysis adopted here.

In response to this tension between specific formalist concerns and broader cultural concerns, Toury (2012: 69-70) defines equivalency in terms of two principles: acceptability and adequacy, with the former describing how well a text meets the target language’s cultural standards, and the latter describing how accurately a text corresponds to its source. In other words, equivalency in translation is not a one-to-one equation between source and target, but rather a balance between source, target, and the target language’s expectations.

Furthermore, this balance is calibrated based on the translator's own intentions: a 'linguistically-motivated translation' favours adequacy over acceptability, while a 'textually-dominated mode of translation' favours acceptability over adequacy (202). The following section investigates different formulations of equivalency according to these two principles in the works of ancient and medieval translators to demonstrate this principle of equivalency and to describe the cultural context surrounding Douglas's understanding of translation.

## **1.2 Ancient, Medieval, and Early Renaissance Approaches to Equivalency**

This section summarises historical attitudes towards translation, by analysing the comments of several pivotal figures—Cicero (106-43 BC), Jerome (c. 347-420), Augustine (354-430), Boethius (c. 477-524), Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1340-1400), and William Caxton (c. 1422 – c. 1491). This is by no means an exclusive list of people who wrote and thought about translation, but these figures are canonical, and the ones Gavin Douglas—the focus of this thesis—was probably most familiar with: Cicero, Jerome, Augustine, and Boethius are regularly invoked in discussions of translation—especially medieval ones. Chaucer and Caxton are included, despite the time jump between them and the others, because Douglas responds directly to them in the *Eneados* and comments on their respective 'translations' (really more an 'adaptation' in Chaucer's case) of the *Aeneid*—the *Legend of Good Women* (III.924-1367; c. 1386) and *Eneydos* (1490; see Section 2.4).

We know Douglas was also aware of figures from the Italian Quattrocento—specifically, Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459), Lorenzo Valla (c. 1407-1457), and Cristoforo Landino (1424-98)—based on his references to them in the *Eneados* (1957-64: I.Prol.127; Comment n. 45) and his earlier work the *Palice of Honour* (c. 1501; 2018: II.901; II.1232-33; see Bawcutt 1977: 117-18). However, he does not explicitly engage

with their ideas on translation or imitation; rather, his references to these authors indicate his engagement with humanist literature. Consequently, these authors are considered within a humanist context later in this work (see Section 2.3.4).

Likewise, later sixteenth-century translators who innovate new metrical forms in response to translation—like Sir Thomas Wyatt (1503-42; see Dasenbrock 1988: 122), Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (1517-47; see Rhodes, Kendal, & Wilson 2013: 56), and Richard Stanyhurst (1547-1618; see Brammall 2015: 43)—are of interest because they possess an impulse to translate more formal aspects of language (how it is presented and how it sounds), whose beginnings, it will be argued, are evident in Douglas's translation. However, Douglas never had a chance to engage with the works of Wyatt, Surrey, or Stanyhurst, as he died before their work was published. Consequently, these figures are not considered here either, but in a later analysis of how Douglas renders Latin lines (Surrey only; see Sections 4.1 and 4.2).

While the figures discussed below are presented chronologically, that does not necessarily mean that their ideas evolved linearly from one figure to the next. Rather, the aim of this summary is to show how each figure interprets equivalency based on their context, and how equivalency is by no means a simple topic, but an issue that can be interpreted in many ways dependent on the translator's aims. The analysis produced here largely follows that in Copeland's (1991) book *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages*, which is a comprehensive and highly influential examination of the evolution of translation from the classical era through the middle ages.

### 1.2.1 Cicero

As in descriptive translation studies (DTS), the main issue that dominates ancient and medieval discussion of translation is whether total equivalency can be assumed and translation proceed

‘word for word’ (i.e. literally) or ‘sense for sense’ (loosely, via adaptation and paraphrase) (see Copeland 1991: 9). This originates with Cicero’s comments in *De optimo genere oratorum* (46 BC). This work is presented as an introduction to Cicero’s translation of speeches by Greek orators Demosthenes (384-22 BC) and Aeschines (389-14 BC), and it is here that Cicero briefly explains his translation method as ‘non verbum pro verbo’ (1949: V.14) or ‘not word for word’.

Cicero’s reason for not pursuing lexical equivalency is framed by a discussion of what oratory is and whether Attic oratory can be replicated in Latin (1949: IV.11). He argues that its quality can be replicated, but not its style—style understood here as genre and the syntax and diction associated with the genre (II.6). Any style can be donned by a skilled orator (II) but the essence of Attic oratory is its quality. It is a standard rather than a style and consequently need only be translated by a style that is just as good, and not translated ‘word for word’. In Copeland’s (1991: 17) terms, Cicero understands translation as a rhetorical ‘praxis’ and not a grammatical ‘episteme’, or ‘theoretical or scientific knowledge’. Rhetoric uses grammatical knowledge to achieve its effects, but these can be achieved in many ways. In this configuration, translation prizes the translator’s own rhetorical skill at the expense of the original text’s style but can still claim to be accurate. In this way, ‘[T]ranslation in Roman theory is figured as a pattern of transference, substitution, and ultimately displacement of the source’ (30).

Such a method is conditioned by the ‘bilingualism and biculturalism’ of educated Romans, which produced ‘the competing senses of continuity with and disjunction from the hegemony of Greek culture’ (Copeland 1991: 25). Indeed, Cicero (1949: VI.18) seems to address an audience that can read Greek, producing strawman arguments like ‘Verum Melius Graeci’ (‘truly [the text] is better in Greek’) and ‘Quid istas potius legam quam Graecas?’ (‘why should I read these [translations] when the Greek [texts] are better?’).

These imply a readership that can access the original Greek texts and assess their quality. Consequently, to convince this audience that his translations are worth their attention, Cicero must reinvent the text (see Copeland 1989: 19). This is the motivation behind his famous money metaphor: 'Non enim ea me adnumerare lectori putavi oportere, sed tamquam appendere' (Cicero 1949: V.14) ('nor indeed did I think it proper that I count out these [words] to a reader like coins, but to pay by weight, as it were').

In this way, Cicero adopts what might be called in DTS a 'functional' sense of equivalency, where the aim is for translations and adaptations to perform the same function as their sources, but within a different context. He prioritises the acceptability of his translation over its adequacy. To succeed in this endeavour, he renounces linguistic equivalency. In so doing, he transforms the prestige inherent in Ancient Greek language and texts into Roman cultural capital.

### *1.2.2 Jerome and Augustine*

While this injunction to translate loosely is repeated in the early middle ages, the context for this statement naturally changes along with its implications. Rhetoric and grammar transform, where 'rhetoric is narrowed to what seems often a purely academic ... enterprise' (Copeland 1991: 38), while grammar 'takes over what had been rhetoric's function of discursive analysis and production' (154). Likewise, the competitive aspect of translation produced in a Roman context dissipates. Patristic fathers provide the main conduit of continuity for translation theory between the middle ages and Rome. However, patristic translation theory is concerned largely with 'translation of the Bible and of theological texts', so 'the question of displacement ... is naturally ruled out here as an ideal' (43). Two slightly different perspectives on translation are formulated from this situation: Jerome argues that 'sense for sense' translation should be

pursued and separates language from meaning altogether, while Augustine takes an interest in language and grammar as hermeneutic activities.

Jerome, the translator of the Vulgate Bible (c. 375-400), is one of the most quoted sources of translation theory by medieval translators. He explains his ideas on translation in his letter *Ad Pammachium de optimo genere interpretandi* (395 AD), where he defends his translation of a letter by Bishop Epiphanius (c. 310-40 – 403). Jerome (1845: V) argues that any fault found with his translation is due to different understandings of equivalency, explaining that while some view literal translation as ‘veritatem interpretationis’ (‘true interpretation’), educated people (‘eruditi’) understand it as ‘κακοζηλίαν’—‘poor imitation marred by affectation’ (see Liddell et al. 1996: κακόζηλος). Jerome argues this on the grounds that lexical equivalency is impossible, requiring at times circumlocution (‘longo ambitu’, 1845: V), and that what is natural syntax in one language is unnatural in another (‘Quanta enim apud ... apud illos displicebunt’, XI; see Pratt 1991: 3).

Jerome’s (1845: V) position appears to mimic Cicero, whom he quotes extensively. Moreover, he refers to the concept of style more than once (‘puritate sermonis’, II; ‘linguae gratiam’, V; ‘eloquentia’, ‘lepos’, ‘eloquio’, ‘sermone’, XII), which suggests that, like Cicero, he uses ‘sense for sense’ translation to ensure the stylistic quality of the target text. However, there is one notable difference, exemplified by the following declaration:

Qui in sermone imitari se dicit Apostolus, prius imitetur virtutes in vita illorum, in quibus loquendi simplicitatem excusabat sanctimoniae magnitudo. (XII)

He who says that he imitates the Apostles in style, should first imitate their virtues in life, where great holiness absolved their simplicity of speech. (my translation)

In other words, style is dictated by virtue, by internal essence, that cannot be dimmed by language. In this way, sense and signifier become divided, with sense understood as something 'transcendent, from which no version, despite its linguistic peculiarities, is exempt' (Copeland 1989: 22). Consequently, as with Cicero, adherence to the original text is not required. However, rather than quality of style and high rhetoric being the aim of the translation, the sense of the original text is prized instead.

This view of translation holds sway for the rest of the medieval period. However, that does not mean that 'word for word' translation is shunned altogether. Rather, it is prized when translating sacred texts like the Bible, which was understood very literally as the word of God and thus 'needed to be preserved as completely as possible' (Pratt 1991: 2-3). Even Jerome (1845: V) grants that literal translation is appropriate in these cases 'where even word order is holy' ('ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est'), though he undercuts this remark with numerous examples of where translators have not followed the text closely and how this is preferable (VII-XI).

Augustine, however, in *De doctrina christiana* (397-426 AD) goes further. While not directly addressing translation, he divides his work into two subjects: 'modus inveniendi quae intellegenda sunt et modus proferendi quae intellecta sunt' (2010: I.1.1), or 'the means of finding what things mean and the means of declaiming what has been understood'. This division is analogous to reading and translating a text. Augustine focuses more on the art of interpretation, providing three books on the subject (Books I-III) versus just the one on preaching (Book IV), indicating a greater interest in language and its significance than his own stylistic powers. This reflects the reformulation of rhetoric and grammar, where grammatical pursuits carry hermeneutic power (Copeland 1991: 156).

However, Augustine does not go so far to claim that the stylistic character of a text should be reproduced in translation. Rather, in Book IV he argues like Jerome, declaring:

... nequaquam tamen putare debemus imitandos nobis eos esse in his ... utili ac salubri obscuritate dixerunt. ... Non ergo expositores eorum ita loqui debent, tamquam se ipsi exponendos simili auctoritate proponant, sed in omnibus sermonibus suis primitus ac maxime ut intellegantur elaborant ... (2010: IV.8.1-7)

... by no means ought we to think that imitating [sacred writers] is necessary for us in those [passages] where ... [the sacred writers] speak with useful and moral obscurity. ... Therefore, expositors of these [sacred texts] should not speak the same way, they should not put themselves forward as though their expoundings have the same authority, but in all their sermons they should take pains primarily and mostly that they are understood ... (my translation)

In other words, it is better to present interpretations of a text lucidly rather than imitate the language of the source. However, for Augustine the issue is not style, or meaning, but authority. To imitate or translate the source too closely would be to displace it, which is inappropriate.

In this way, ideas on translation change between Cicero and the patristic fathers: Cicero wants to displace his source, but for Jerome and Augustine the issue is one of access rather than appropriation. All three adopt a form of translation that prioritises cultural equivalency; however, while Cicero values his translation's acceptability, Jerome argues that such practice also serves a translation's accuracy, while Augustine, in a posture almost the reverse of Cicero's, believes acceptability should be prioritised to avoid usurping the source text's authority.

### *1.2.3 Boethius*

The patristic fathers were mostly concerned with the translation of scripture, which required special handling due to its cultural importance. When it came to the translation of secular texts, however, the traditional injunction on literal translation remained, and even was further encouraged, as there was less perceived need for meticulous translation. However, Boethius



challenges this idea in Book I of his second commentary on *Isagoge* (c. 500 AD). Here he admits that he has committed the fault of ‘fidi interpretis’—‘the faithful translator’—by translating ‘cum verbum verbo’ (2010: I.1.1), ‘word by word’. However, he argues that this is appropriate for complicated philosophical texts, where truth—‘in corrupta veritas’—should be prized above stylistic grace—‘orationis lepos’ (I.1.2). Such a statement inverts Jerome’s pronouncement that truth is only in the meaning. Rather, ‘Boethius has assigned a certain priority to discourse itself, recognising it not only as cognitive intermediary but also as the locus of intention and hence meaning’ (Copeland 1989: 31). In so doing, Boethius prioritises accuracy in translation.

However, at the same time, Boethius’s comments are not aimed at the preservation of the original text, even though they advocate the imitation of the text’s language. Rather Boethius (2010: I.1.2) admits that his aim is to translate philosophical texts into Latin so perfectly (‘per integerrimae translationis’) that there would no longer be any need for Greek texts (‘nihil in Graecorum litteris amplius desideretur’). He makes adequacy a condition of a text’s acceptability in the recipient culture. In this way, Boethius adopts a translation method that is the opposite of Cicero and Jerome’s but adopts a combination of their aims. Like Cicero he aims to replace his source text. However, his reason for doing so is to make texts accessible, like Jerome and Augustine. In effect, Boethius attempts to transform academic discourse so that it is conducted only in Latin. This likely represents the rise of Latin as the main language of academic discourse while knowledge of Greek was becoming less prevalent.

#### 1.2.4 Chaucer

In the almost thousand years that follow Boethius, Latin became the dominant mode of expression in prestigious environments (Lerer 2015: 55). The vernacular was not the primary language of literature and tended to be relegated to less ‘serious’ works.

However, there were the beginnings of general movements towards vernacular literary languages throughout Europe. In England, this became most apparent in the fourteenth century with the emergence of John Gower (c. 1330-1408), Chaucer, and John Lydgate (c. 1370 – c. 1451), who are frequently heralded as the fathers of English.

Chaucer is a complicated figure in the history of translation, as he produced an array of texts that run the gamut between academic translation (the *Boece*, c. 1381-86) to pure adaptation (*Legend of Good Women*, c. 1386; see Burnley 1989: 37). As Machan (1989: 62) notes, all of Chaucer's texts involve 'the incorporation of material from other texts or the inclusion of original and significant additions'. Even his original texts are compilations of sorts—the *Parlement of Fowles* (c. 1381-82) retells Cicero's 'Dream of Scipio' (Book VI in *De re publica*, 54-51 BC), the *Book of the Duchess* (1368) makes use of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (8 AD) and the *Le Roman de la Rose* (c. 1225-30, 1280), the *House of Fame* (c. 1374-85) references the *Aeneid* and various other classical stories of women wronged by their lovers. Of course, such practice is extremely common in the Middle Ages, but Chaucer is notable for how he combines strict translation with looser adaptation, retelling, and original content (see Windeatt 2008: 139-40, 145).

Chaucer makes this practice acceptable by adopting a self-effacing pose. In the Ballad of the *Legend of Good Women* (B Text), Alcestis exonerates Chaucer for his creation of texts that disparage love (i.e. *Romaunt of the Rose*, c. 1367-70, and *Troilus and Criseyde*, c. 1381-86) because he did not author the words:

He ne hath nat doon so greuously amis  
To translaten that olde clerkes wryten,  
As thogh that he of malice wolde endyten  
Despyt of love, and had him-self hit wrought. (1894b: 369-72)

Here, Chaucer hides behind his sources. However, while he does not claim authority, his use of prestigious sources authorises his texts and his role as their producer. Such a defence can be interpreted as an excuse for both adequacy and acceptability (see Windeatt 2008: 141). Should anyone in the recipient culture find his translation offensive, Chaucer can argue that his work is accurate, so his source is at fault. At the same time, he can justify any liberties he takes with the text by arguing that he cannot closely follow his source at the risk of intruding on the text's authority.

Such a practice is deeply rooted in Chaucer's linguistic context. As Burnley (1989: 40-41) notes, medieval England was multilingual, utilising Middle English, Anglo-Norman, and Medieval Latin, and each language had different uses and registers. While the languages were not always mutually intelligible, they were also not as disparate as French, English, and Latin are today. In fact, Chaucer himself was well-versed in Anglo-French, Italian, and Latin (Windeatt 2008: 138). In this sense, Chaucer, like Cicero, was likely dealing with a multilingual audience who may have had first-hand access to many of the texts he translates and references (Burnley 1989: 41). In which case, he could conceive of his texts as compilations, where different forms of translation and adaptation are figured as types of allusion (see Windeatt 2008: 145). According to Windeatt, 'Chaucer's classification of what constitutes translation would define the greater part of his compositions as translation in varying degrees and senses' (141), even if modern notions of translation do not agree.

In this way, Chaucer at times pursues an open-ended method where 'the boundaries between "translacions" and "enditynges" ... tend to blur' (Windeatt 2008: 145-46). Naturally, such an approach contains aspects of all four of the translation policies previously examined. Like Jerome, he tends to separate words from meaning and is not committed to representing

his source's language (see Machan 1989: 56; Koff 1996: 397); however, at the same time, he is willing to translate aspects of texts literally like Boethius—especially when handling Boethius's own *De consolacione philosophiae* (c. 524). Like Cicero, Chaucer's general aim is not to provide access to difficult texts, but rather, to mine texts for poetic content and stylistic inspiration. At the same time, he displays an anxiety about authority that is reminiscent of Augustine's.

However, there is a key difference between Chaucer and the previously examined figures. For Chaucer, pursuing either 'word for word' or 'sense for sense' translation (or both) can be appropriate to attain 'fidelity to what is signified by the text' (Koff 1996: 397-98). His approach is calibrated based on his content and style, rather than single-mindedly prioritising a text's 'sense' or 'language'. This is like Jerome's caveat that the Scripture should be translated strictly. However, Chaucer goes a step further and applies this approach to a variety of texts and nuances it so that there are more options available for literary translation and adaptation. Consequently, 'none of the works in which he claims to have adopted the Hieronymic posture can be considered unequivocally a sense for sense translation' (Machan 1989: 57). Likewise, none of his 'word for word' translations are straightforwardly literal; he 'rarely translates without significantly adapting and recasting' (Windeatt 2008: 145). His texts are not just compilations of sources but compilations of methods.

This naturally begs the question—to what end? Both Copeland (1991) and Koff (1996) agree that Chaucer's goal is to enhance the cultural status of English. Copeland (1991: 179) argues that in the *Legend of Good Women* Chaucer transforms 'the techniques of exegesis into techniques of topical invention', and thus he 'redefine[s] the terms of vernacular translation itself'. Likewise, Koff (1996) identifies a 'vernacular hope' (400) in Chaucer's practice where 'Chaucer ... means English to be the vehicle for cultural aspirations' (403).

### 1.2.5 Caxton

One hundred years after Chaucer, this ‘vernacular hope’ is further realised in the creation of the first English press by William Caxton (1476). Caxton is the first to print texts in English on English soil. Nevertheless, it is significant that a large portion of the texts he produced were translations of French or Latin content (see Amos 1920: 9; Blake 1991: 128; Gillespie 2004: 308-09; Coldiron 2014: 35). Blake (1991: 66) explains that this reliance on translation was driven by the demands the printing press, which required a constant stream of content to keep busy—more than English textual resources could reliably supply. Consequently, Caxton turned to French exemplars, which required translation to be marketable in England on the scale of a print run (34-35, 67). Consequently, his ideas on translation are interwoven with the demands of printing and the demands of the market.

This is evident in the paratexts of the *Recuyell of the Histories of Troy* (1472-74) and the *Eneydos* (1490). These paratexts are some of the most frequently cited material by Caxton, since the *Recuyell* is the first English book printed, and the *Eneydos* features famous comments on the state of the English language at the time of printing. Moreover, they have a special significance here as both texts are rooted in the Matter of Troy and textual traditions related to the *Aeneid*. Despite the gap in time between these two texts, both paratexts outline the same principles in translation. For while Caxton changes how he presents and creates his paratexts in the fifteen year timespan between these two texts (Blake 1991: 89-106), there is a continuity in his approach to translation (123).

In both paratexts, Caxton claims to be a close translator (1973: *Recuyell* I.Prol.54-58; 1890: p. 4, ll. 14-20), which Blake (1991: 125-26) confirms. However, this close method is obscured by Caxton’s paratexts, which argue that his translation is removed from its

source in three respects. First, Caxton does not translate the original Latin text directly, but rather via a French paraphrase (1973: *Recuyell* I.Prol.6-16; 1890: p. 1, ll. 16-27; p. 2, ll. 1-8). Second, Caxton observes the differences between various dialects and the difference that makes in translating (1973: *Recuyell* I.Prol.22-29; 1890: p. 2, ll.9-36; p. 3, ll. 1-8). Third, Caxton proves to be aware of the differences between manuscript and print and emphasises the physical production of text (1973: *Recuyell* III.Epi.3-17; 1890: p. 1, ll.26-27; p. 2, ll. 1-3). The resulting impression is that Caxton approaches his translation through a series of ‘veils’, pursuing a mode of translation that, like Chaucer’s, can lay claim to many different translation types simultaneously, being in some respects a close translation, and in other respects removed from its source.

This ambivalence is reflected in the terminology Caxton uses to refer to his process. He uses several different synonyms for translation—‘compose’ and ‘draw out’ (1973: *Recuyell* Preface 1-4; II.Epi.1-4), and ‘reduce’ (1890: p. 2, ll. 12-18; p. 3, ll. 18-22)—but each one has different connotations that sometimes contradict one another. ‘Compose’ and ‘draw out’ suggest that translation involves the creation of original material. This aligns Caxton with more adaptative forms of translation with little interest in fidelity to sources. However, this is contradicted by ‘reduce’, which can mean ‘to lead back’, implying that translation returns language to its true meaning. This indicates that Caxton is interested in fidelity to meaning, but that this does not necessarily reside in language.

Caxton defends his translation from being found deficient in comparison to other versions of the text on similar grounds. In his Epilogue to Book III of the *Recuyell*, he observes how ‘dyverce men have made dyverce bookes whiche in all poyntes acorde not’, citing Dares, Dictys, and Homer, who all wrote their own versions of the Fall of Troy (1973:

26-28). However, he says that even if these accounts differ in their details and ‘dyverce equiyvocacions’ (33), they all agree on the outcome—that Troy falls—which is the moral lesson of the text. He can accept all these texts are correct (and his text too) because they adhere to the general meaning of the story (34-46). In this way, Caxton again indicates that he believes meaning is separate from language, which allows his translation to be some distance from its source.

The aim of such an open-ended method is fundamentally the creation of a market for English printed books that he can profit from. Such an effort must be predicated on access to foreign texts and comprehensibility of language to attract a large audience. The latter necessitates that Caxton prioritise acceptability over adequacy. However, the former demands that he create an authoritative translation. His innovation is the implicit recognition that careful translations that adhere to the source text are more reputable—a substantial move away from the precepts of the other translators examined here, who by and large cling to a Hieronymic posture. However, this is complicated by Caxton’s anxiety about his new medium of textual production, and how it has altered the ‘authorities and roles of translators, patrons, printers, and readers’ (Coldiron 2014: 31). Consequently, Caxton disguises his translation and his agency by means of patrons (Blake 1991: 32), intermediate sources, and meditations on language.

...

All the translation theories presented here reject the idea of perfect lexical equivalency, which they equate with literal or ‘word for word’ translation. Translation is identified implicitly as a transformative process, and not a form of encryption where a message can be encoded and then decoded without any change of meaning. However, that is the only

thing that all these theories agree on. Each of the authors above has configured their own unique take on the ‘problem’ of equivalency based on their context and aims.

Cicero formulates an approach to translation where meaning is valued to give the translator stylistic freedom and displace the source culture. Jerome also values sense above all and separates it from language, but this is done for the sake of accessing texts that are becoming difficult to read. Augustine and Boethius reunite meaning and linguistic expression; however, while the former argues that style should not be imitated at the risk of displacing the original texts, the latter pursues literal translation and its concomitant displacement. Finally, Chaucer and Caxton, like Jerome, separate meaning from language, and in so doing free themselves to adopt a more open-ended method. Chaucer’s method is always dictated by the content and his poetic style. Caxton’s method is dictated by the perceived needs of the market. For an easy summary of these views, see Table 1.

*Table 1: Summary of the translation methods of Cicero, Jerome, Augustine, Boethius, Chaucer, and Caxton.*

|                  | Equivalency           |                   |                     |                              |
|------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
|                  | 'Word for Word'       | 'Sense for Sense' | Adequate            | Acceptable                   |
| <b>Cicero</b>    |                       | x                 |                     | x                            |
| <b>Jerome</b>    | for sacred texts only | x                 | x                   | x                            |
| <b>Augustine</b> |                       | x                 |                     | x                            |
| <b>Boethius</b>  | x                     |                   | x                   | x                            |
| <b>Chaucer</b>   | x                     | x                 | x                   | x                            |
| <b>Caxton</b>    | x                     | x                 |                     | x                            |
|                  | Aim                   |                   | Location of Meaning |                              |
|                  | Displacement          | Access            | Sense in Language   | Sense Separate from Language |
| <b>Cicero</b>    | x                     |                   | x                   |                              |
| <b>Jerome</b>    |                       | x                 |                     | x                            |
| <b>Augustine</b> |                       | x                 | x                   |                              |
| <b>Boethius</b>  | x                     |                   | x                   |                              |
| <b>Chaucer</b>   | x                     |                   |                     | x                            |
| <b>Caxton</b>    | of competitors        | x                 |                     | x                            |



### 1.3 Corpus Linguistics

As the previous sections illustrated, there are no strict rules on what a translation method entails—the method must be considered in reference to the translator’s historical context. A translation’s concept of equivalency can be understood as a solution to a problem, with the source’s ‘problem’ being the origin of the target text’s ‘solution’, but the ‘solution’ also providing a unique interpretation of what the ‘problem’ is. As Zellermayer (1987: 77-78) puts it, differences between source and target texts are ‘metamessages’ that ‘communicate statements about the relationship between the interactant texts as well as messages about textuality’. To find these differences, Toury (2012: 102-03) advises ‘mapping each assumed translation onto its assumed source’.

Corpus linguistics can help with this endeavour. As Toury (2012: 243-44) notes, ‘it is precisely in the lexicon that the distinctiveness of a language variety used for the formulation of translations is most conspicuous’, and corpus linguistics provides a means of detailed analysis of a text’s lexis. It can count the frequency of certain words and analyse their contexts using statistics. This enables the comparison of equivalent lexical items on a large scale, providing data for a comprehensive reconstruction of a translation process. For examples, see the studies in Fantinouli & Zanettin’s (2015) volume, *New directions in corpus-based translation studies*.

In corpus linguistics, researchers use a computer to find patterns of language usage within a large collection of texts—known as a ‘corpus’. A corpus is designed to illustrate a certain type or range of language. Sometimes this is as simple as gathering an indiscriminate number of electronic texts with little curation and then running statistical analysis on their

linguistic patterns—colloquially known as the ‘quick and dirty’ method. Other times, texts are carefully sampled and supplied with detailed metadata, which provides information regarding the texts’ greater context, looking specifically at extra-linguistic variables like author, genre, and language. Sometimes texts are also annotated with phonetic, prosodic, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, discourse, stylistic, and/or lexical information (Leech 2005: 18). Metadata and annotation increase a corpus’s ‘searchability’, allowing the researcher to look specifically at certain aspects of language within certain contexts (17). However, some corpora do not include annotation to let the texts speak for themselves and to experience ‘the corpus without adulteration with information which is suspect, possibly reflecting the predilections, or even the errors, of the annotator’ (17). This is known as a ‘plain text’ corpus.

These texts are then searched using scripts, browsers, or special software (Wynne 2008-09: 1.709). The main functions of a corpus linguistic search are to produce concordances and count frequencies. Concordances are lists of appearances of certain words and their contexts and afford researchers the opportunity to investigate how specific lexical items are used (710-11). Frequency counts are then used to statistically evaluate the behaviour of these lexical items to better describe language use across different contexts. More advanced programmes are also able to find collocates and n-grams, and to create word lists and keyword lists (these are more fully explained in Section 3.2.1).

In addition, some corpus linguistic programmes can search translations and their sources in tandem—this is called parallel concordancing. This provides several types of information useful for the study of translation. First, for texts to be simultaneously searchable the texts must be aligned, which provides a measure of equivalency. This is essentially the same ‘mapping’ process that Toury (2012: 102-03) advises in descriptive translation studies

(DTS; see Section 1.1). Moreover, by using a computer, researchers can retrieve source and translation pairs on a large scale and investigate in greater detail how translators interpret the linguistic structures of their sources. Corpus linguistics also enables statistical analysis, which can illustrate general trends in the translation and indicate what aspects of the text deserve closer examination. In this way, corpus linguistics can provide a different perspective on translated texts and streamline existing methodologies. In so doing it provides 'descriptions [of language] far above what we live with at present' (Sinclair 2005: 81).

However, these descriptions are 'product-oriented' rather than 'process-oriented' with respect to DTS, which raises the question whether the use of such a formalist approach is valid when studying translation, given the importance attributed to the cultural function of translations (see Section 1.1). This question mimics the equivalency debate in that formalist approaches are inherently interested in the surface manifestations of texts; however, translation itself is a cultural exercise. As Vermeer (1998: 26) says, there is no 'process of translating which is not intuitive but governed by strict rules alone', so a formalist method can have limited power. Indeed, work like Ivir's (1987: 47) hierarchy of translation methods is somewhat unconvincing as it is figured as a universal condition, even though he otherwise admits that 'No uniform treatment of unmatched elements of culture in translation is possible'. Corpus linguistics might be considered vulnerable to falling into this 'formalist pitfall', because it is intrinsically lexical in its approach to analysis. Consequently, it could be more prone to assume lexical equivalency in translation—which, again, is not considered good practice.

However, corpus linguistics is versatile enough to adapt to different ideas of equivalency, because corpus annotation can be adapted to highlight any number of features within a translation—though there are limits based on the tools used. Moreover, while lexical

equivalents do not exist, 'structural equivalents' do, and 'may be found in statistics' (Vermeer 1987: 32). Corpus linguistics is a powerful tool in this respect as it can count things like the 'average word number per sentence, adjective frequency per corpus, occurrence of adverbial phrases versus conjunctive clauses and so on' (32), which can provide insight into when an author deviates from his source and the means for tracking how and why.

A corpus's ability to provide such information depends on how well it represents language use by covering 'the range of text types' and 'the range of linguistic distributions' in a language (Biber 1993: 243). A corpus that is representative of language is more powerful, but it is unclear whether such representativeness is truly possible. There are two main methods for achieving representativeness—strategic stratification and large corpora. The former involves the identification and random sampling of linguistic subgroups to ensure 'that all strata are adequately represented while at the same time selecting a non-biased sample within each stratum' (244). However, this approach is naturally flawed because language is not perfectly proportional, and sampling frameworks are not always established clearly (246). Indeed, Meurman-Solin (2001a: 14-15), creator of the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots*, questions whether representativeness should involve diversity at all, because such practice could improperly represent variety where there is none. Moreover, the metadata that inform the identifications of these sampled subgroups are provided by the corpus compiler's own judgment. Consequently, these corpora do not represent the actual condition of language but what the compiler thinks it is. For these reasons, larger corpora that are more likely to capture the natural proportions of language are preferred.

This calls into question the effectiveness of using corpus linguistic methods to analyse a single translation—which is the practice here—as this is by no means a large enough sample to

represent Scots or even Douglas's oeuvre. Nevertheless, some scholars, like Meurman-Solin (2001a: 12), argue that smaller, 'focused corpora' designed 'for a specific purpose' can still be effective, because it is easier to design a representative sample of a highly specified variety of language than larger subsets. Smaller corpora also have more specific compilation principles that are justified by previous scholarly work, as opposed to larger, more 'general-purpose corpora where the variables structuring them are often rather vaguely defined and loosely applied' (13). In this way, smaller corpora can provide sharper, if not exhaustive, insight into language usage. In this case, while the digital apparatus used here is not representative of sixteenth-century Scots, or translations in general, it is representative of the *Eneados*, and offers a means of examining the entire text without sacrificing detail-oriented analysis.

That is not to say that smaller corpora are immune to the issues that plague larger corpora. Perfect representativeness in linguistic corpora is not possible, because representativeness is a matter of perspective (see Sinclair 2005: 81). For this reason, despite the immense power and capability that corpus linguistics offers, both Sinclair (2005), one of the pioneers of corpus linguistics, and Anthony (2013), designer of the popular concordancer *AntConc*, advocate caution. There is a clash between notions of accuracy and the distribution of patterns in corpora, and while corpus linguistics reveals these patterns, it is also informed by our notions of accuracy via metadata and corpus design (Sinclair 2005: 81). For this reason, this work is 'corpus-based' rather than 'corpus driven' (see Anthony 2013: 242), and considers results derived from this digital apparatus as indicative, never definitive.

Perfect representativeness is also not possible in corpus linguistics because the description it provides is intrinsically divorced from its context. By its very nature, corpus linguistics looks at language beyond its physical form (see Meurman-Solin 2001a: 8, 20). This

can be a huge oversight when studying a translation as more and more researchers (see Weitemeir 1996: 101-02; J. Smith & Kay 2011: 212; Kallendorf 2015: 4) acknowledge the importance of textual transmission in understanding a translator's reception of a text. This is especially vital when studying medieval and early modern texts, when many choices regarding book production and formatting 'had not yet [been] standardised' (Moore 2017: 23).

However, by taking advantage of the immense capabilities of modern technology, corpus linguistics is designed using modern assumptions of what a text is and how it functions. As a result, the use of a modern method like corpus linguistics to analyse historical texts from periods where books have a different value as cultural objects may not be appropriate. Consequently, such an endeavour must be broached carefully, with reference to other subjects. Luckily, corpus linguistics can be modified easily to enable the research of older texts, provided that their cultural contexts are considered at the level of corpus design. This can even be an extremely productive process, revealing 'both the values and assumptions of the book-as-artefact, and the capacities and constraints of the powerful new technology through which it is to be represented' (Adair 2017: 141).

#### **1.4 Philology**

Many scholars—especially recently—have discovered the need of appealing to book cultures when studying medieval languages. Jucker's (1995) edited collection of articles titled *Historical Pragmatics: Pragmatic Developments in the History of English* applies this principal to historical linguistics, relabelling synchronic historical pragmatics as 'pragmaphilology'. Meurman-Solin (2001a: 18) takes the next logical step by applying historical pragmatics to the process of corpus building, stressing 'the importance of authentic texts, and the need to digitize them faithfully and to study their textual histories carefully'; she calls this 'philological computing'. J. Smith

(2013: 39) applies the term 'historical pragmatics' to the Scottish historical epics *Bruce* (c. 1375) and *Wallace* (c. 1478-88), thus uniting literary, linguistic, and material study. Most recently, Peikola et al. (2017) have compiled a collection of articles emphasising the importance of textual form as a contributor to meaning in medieval and early modern texts.

As these examples show, this practice of appealing to book culture and design when studying medieval texts has relevance to both linguistic and literary study. At the heart of this approach is the precept that 'all aspects of books, including their visual and physical elements, are just as expressive as the text is' (Wakelin 2011: 37). However, more than that, these material aspects interact with their linguistic content to present an overall message that is greater than the linguistic content alone (see Varila et al. 2017: 1; Moore 2017: 23). Consequently, they must be studied in tandem.

Of course, it must be acknowledged there is a difference between looking at printed books and manuscripts; they are the result of different practices and values. For example, the timespan of a manuscript's production in comparison to a printed book's is longer (Wakelin 2011: 35) and produces more variation (58). Moreover, because 'the circulation of medieval manuscripts was a fortuitous and patchy affair' (H.S. Bennett 1952: 1), authorship was never really a commercial activity until the advent of printing. However, while there are some differences between manuscript and print, there are also many similarities. The printed book inherits its physical form from manuscripts, as well as its 'strict separation of formats, genres and uses' (Chartier 2014: 2). As a result, the studies of manuscript and print possess different terminology but many of the same principles (Varila et al. 2017: 2).

Even the differences listed above are not so binary. While the use of time in the production of manuscripts and printed books is intrinsically different, resulting in different

qualities of reproduction across copies, it is not as though print ensured the immediate, perfect reproduction of texts. Early printed books also took a long time to produce due to the compiling, editing, and typesetting processes. Moreover, ‘there are inconsistencies in the processes of reproducing text in print’ (Wakelin 2011: 56), which ‘can be even more dramatic’ (57) than those in manuscript, such as print errors.

Similarly, the change in the commercial prospects of book producers, which H.S. Bennett (1952) describes, cannot have occurred overnight. Boffey’s (2012) work illustrates that the transition from manuscript to print was anything but linear, and that print and manuscript coexisted for a time and adopted different functions and values respective to one another. While Boffey writes specifically about London, the same can be said of Scotland. Wingfield (2010: 322) finds a ‘dynamic and symbiotic relationship between manuscript and print in sixteenth-century Scotland’. Likewise, Verweij (2016: 4) discovers that Scottish authors engaged with either print or manuscript depending on their ‘publication aims’ but were comfortable navigating both worlds. Most relevantly, Mapstone (2018) observes that some of the most prominent Scottish Makars—including Douglas—have substantial interactions with both print and manuscript. Consequently, any inquiry involving the material study of texts in Scotland must account for differences between manuscript and print.

The aspects of books as material objects that deserve study and attention include, but are not limited to, the material written on, the size of the page and how the pages are folded into quires, the layout of the book (or *mise-en-page*), the ordering of the text (or *ordinatio*), the style of handwriting, the images and decorations within it, and the book’s binding. These are generally divided into ‘higher-level elements (like *mise-en-page* or layout) and lower-level elements (like scripts and typography)’ (Varila et al. 2017: 5). While this is a somewhat artificial



division, as 'these two levels are intricately intertwined', Varila et al. (2017: 5) argue that 'a focus on one or the other may bring to the fore different aspects of written communication'.

'Higher-level' aspects are indicative of information design. Partridge (2011: 100) explains how scribes often construct their layouts to draw attention to what they (or their patrons) are most interested in; or to provide clarification; or simply to reflect where there were 'clear markers of distinctions within a text'. Based on this, Armstrong (2015: 83) argues that 'The *mise-en-page* of the historic book can ... be used as a way of accessing editorial intentions about how the books are intended to be used'. Moreover, traditions of organising texts in different ways according to text type 'teaches us about hermeneutic or interpretational shifts' (Moore 2017: 25) and are 'indicators of the contemporary literacy practices' (Mackay 2017: 47). In this way, organisational aspects of books provide evidence of how the reading experience was conceptualised by book producers, giving insight into literary cultures and what a text even was for past communities.

However, lower-level aspects of book design can correlate with the creation of meaning on a sentential level. For example, punctuation's 'primary function'—according to Parkes (1992: 1)—'is to resolve structural uncertainties in a text, and to signal nuances of semantic significance which might otherwise not be conveyed at all'. Likewise, Varila et al. (2017: 14) explains how 'choices made in layout or script/typography render particular verbal parts of the whole more visible ... , which prompts the reader to understand the text in the intended manner'. However, this can go even further. Like layout, punctuation and script/typography are often codified by conventions, and again can reflect 'traditional attitudes to discourse' (Parkes 1992: 3-4). In this way, a great deal can be gleaned from the material aspects of texts.

## 1.5 Evaluation of Methodology

To summarise: the method proposed here combines three subjects—descriptive translation studies (DTS), corpus linguistics, and philology—to study Douglas’s translation of the *Aeneid*. It uses DTS and philology to inform the design of a series of digital files containing Douglas’s translation and his source text. The digital files track such features as equivalency (or alignment) between the source and translation, as well as features of layout and page design. They enable quantitative and qualitative analysis, using statistics to study the general development of the text, coupled with literary analysis of specific passages selected using this statistical analysis. The result is a study that is grounded in the specifics of the text, but also enhanced by an awareness of its context.

This methodology is unique in that it offers three different perspectives, understanding the *Eneados* as a translation, a Scottish text, and a book. These views are intrinsically connected, as the function of language and the mechanics of reading are both heavily involved in the process of translation. For example, several studies have linked the advent of print culture in Scotland with the process of language standardisation and anglicisation (Kniezsa 1997: 44; Meurman-Solin 1997: 15). Moreover, both print and manuscript culture have a link with spoken language: texts were designed to be read silently and aloud (Chartier 2014: 7), and scribes often transformed texts into their own dialects when they copied them (Horobin 2011: 62; Wakelin 2011: 51). This latter process is in effect a form of translation, involving not only the spoken elements of the scribe’s language, but also ‘the visual elements of copying’ (52).

At the heart of the intersection of these three concepts—language, translation, and layout—there is a simple idea that *how* we say things—our language and its visual aspects—is just as indicative of meaning as *what* we say. This idea is much indebted to

the work of Leeds (2010: 1), which considers subjectivity in syntax and how that might relate to ideas of historical agency. He claims that differences between the expression of agency in neo-Latin and Scots (17) communicates a shift in thought from a view that history is a 'generative matrix of mediated subjectivities' (71) to a more nominalist, egocentric view of the world (24). Simply put, Latin and Scots, as different languages, inherently communicate different world views. The various mechanics of their expression represent differences in their conceptual biases, which are borne from context.

Similarly, this inquiry assumes that, purely by virtue of being written in Scots, Douglas's translation differs from the *Aeneid*, and from every other translation written in a language other than Scots. However, this methodology goes one step further than Leeds (2010). Leeds's work is highly theoretical and not tied to enough evidence to justify some of his conclusions. His evidence is drawn from a few texts from the Scottish chronicle tradition, picking out examples only when he consciously observes them. While his analysis is detailed and his catalogue of examples extensive, his work still lacks the completeness that a corpus analysis can provide. By contrast, Meurman-Solin's work on the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots* provides a more substantial database of examples, drawing from a variety of text types, including acts of parliament, burgh records, educational documents, trials, sermons, and correspondence. Such a diverse and large dataset allows Meurman-Solin (1991, 1993a, 1993b, 2000, 2001b) to characterise aspects of Scots more effectively.

This study combines the best features of both approaches by covering the entirety of the *Aeneid* and *Eneados* using computer-assisted analysis. This is an important contribution, as the *Eneados* is such a large text that previous studies have generally been very selective, as Section 2.3 explains further. While many of these selection processes are

intelligently justified, it is an undisputed fact that the *Aeneid* (and consequently the *Eneados*) is a varied work, and thus it is hard to have a complete sense of Douglas's method of translation if only one part is analysed. Corpus linguistics, then, fills a gap in the current criticism by providing a single unified analysis of the *entirety* of the *Eneados*. While this is not the first work to use the *Eneados* within a corpus—see the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue Corpus* (Aitken et al. 1984) and the *Aberdeen Corpus of Older Scots* (see Discry 2012)—it is the first to use a corpus linguistic method to analyse Douglas's translation practices. This again is an area that has been largely neglected, with researchers preferring to focus on more abstract aspects of his method, rather than its *minutiae*.

The approach taken here is essentially a 'formalist' or 'bottom-up' one, comparing translations at their most basic, linguistic level, and then working up to the 'bigger picture' issues. While this is not fully sanctioned by DTS (see Sections 1.1 and 1.3), Baker (1992: 6) concedes that this approach can be more valuable than a top-down one, because 'meaning is realised through form and without understanding the meanings of individual forms one cannot interpret the meaning of the text as a whole'. In other words, a bottom-up approach is effective in providing the detail needed to realise a top-down approach in the first place. The detailed analysis provided by corpus linguistics allows the implementation of other fields like sociolinguistics and discourse analysis, which are more interested in connecting linguistic phenomena to contextual factors. In this way, both the theory-heavy approach evident in Leeds (2010) and the descriptive-based approach in Meurman-Solin (1993a, 1993b, 2001b, 2005) have their uses in that the one provides context while the other provides support. However, both must be balanced and used together.

This may at first seem like a tall order and somewhat contradictory, especially with methodological terms like ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ which sound as if translation methodology is a see-saw, by its very nature weighted to one side or another. The key is to make use of both quantitative and qualitative methods to ensure an understanding of both detail and greater context. It is this kind of methodology that researchers like Ellenberger (1977), Jumpertz-Schwab (1998), and Gardela (2014) use to describe aureation in the work of contemporaries of Douglas (Robert Henryson, *fl.* 1460-1500; and William Dunbar, *c.* 1460 – *c.* 1513; Ellenberger 1977), the importation of loanwords in Scottish translations from Latin (focussing mainly on John Bellenden, *fl.* 1533 – *c.* 1587; Jumpertz-Schwab 1998), and different participle forms in Northern Middle English and Older Scots (Gardela 2014), respectively.

However, in each of these studies the qualitative work could have gone further. Ellenberger (1977) does very detailed quantitative work and provides an index of loanwords that are a very useful reference; however, he presents this information with very little contextualisation and does not characterise the authors under review beyond basic summaries of their practice. Likewise, while Jumpertz-Schwab (1998) conducts an interesting discussion on the phonological and morphological integration of loanwords, she does not interpret the significance of this and her work suffers from a lack of nuance that could be supplied by a more literary approach to the material. Moreover, Gardela (2014) finds that Scots has a different trajectory in the adopting of the *-ing* participle form than Middle English but makes no attempt to unite his results with their cultural situation.

Meurman-Solin (1991), Corbett (2001), and Mackay (2017) are more successful in following through on their qualitative analysis. Meurman-Solin uses quantitative evidence to question and redefine genre categories used by Devitt (1989) in her analysis

of standardisation and anglicisation in Scots. Corbett provides a way to measure the literary and linguistic perceptions that Norton-Smith (1980: 153) claims Ellenberger's (1977) study lacks. Mackay analyses punctuation systems and *mise-en-page* in different versions of the same text providing evidence of reading practices across Scotland.

The method used here follows Meurman-Solin (1991), Corbett (2001), and Mackay (2017) in that it uses quantitative and qualitative tools but uses the former predominantly as a means for exploration. As previously discussed, corpus linguistic data can be highly skewed by corpus design. In the case of this study, the 'corpus' used here is too small and its range too limited (259,347; see Section 3.1) to make any kind of universal claim concerning language. For that reason, quantitative methods are used mainly as a means of exploring the corpus, of isolating certain elements of Douglas's translation and tracking them across the text. This data essentially produces a 'map' of the *Eneados* in terms of various features that can be used as a more selective means of analysing a very large work. This in turn produces more reliable, systematic qualitative evidence and a more balanced, reasonable analysis of the *Eneados*, with the potential vagaries of qualitative analysis sharpened and solidified by quantitative groundwork.

...

The next chapter provides background on Douglas and his cultural context, providing the necessary framework for an analysis of his translation choices. The structure of Douglas's text is outlined also, along with its transmission history and its relationship to its source. Douglas's translation method is shown to be seemingly contradictory and elusive, with humanism identified as the best framework for conceptualising the challenges Douglas's method poses.

## CHAPTER 2:

### AN INTRODUCTION TO GAVIN DOUGLAS AND THE *ENEADOS*

Gavin Douglas (c. 1475-1522) was a poet, translator, and politician caught up in a period of immense change. He lived on the cusp of the Middle Ages and the emerging Renaissance in Scotland, witnessing both the pinnacle of a Scottish 'golden age' under the rule of James IV and its demise (and James's) in the disastrous Battle of Flodden (1513). Consequently, it is not surprising that Douglas and his work should defy easy categorisation. His *Eneados* (1513) is simultaneously a faithful translation and full of original interpolations, a pedagogical work and an allegory. Douglas himself both is and is not a humanist; he is both a nationalist and an English sympathiser.

The following provides important background information on Douglas and the *Eneados*. It first considers Douglas's biography and place in the Scottish canon, and then discusses the contents, structure, source, and transmission history of the *Eneados*. With this basic framework established, this chapter then reviews the major strands of criticism regarding Douglas and his work. This chapter suggests that better insight into aspects of Douglas's character and context might be found with more consideration of his translation method, which is a relatively neglected subject. It concludes with an analysis of Prologue I, Douglas's preface to the entire translation that provides some commentary on his method. This is used as a baseline for understanding Douglas's translation and is compared in Chapter 8 to the discoveries made in this work to assess how Douglas conceives of his translation and what he means.

## 2.1 Gavin Douglas

### 2.1.1 A Brief Biography

Gavin Douglas was born in approximately 1475 into a very wealthy and prestigious family (Bawcutt 1976: 3). The Douglasses were one of Scotland's most powerful and controversial clans, with a history that ran the gamut from extreme patriotism to regicide (2-3; Royan 2012: 195-97). As the youngest son, Douglas was immediately destined for the Church (Bawcutt 1976: 5). He studied Arts at the University of St Andrews but perhaps also Law and may have even studied abroad in Paris (4-5). By his own admission, he also spent time in England and Rome (24). He excelled at gaining benefices and preferment, gaining his first major appointment as Provost of St Giles's in Edinburgh (c. 1503; 8), which he may have achieved thanks to his dream vision poem the *Palice of Honour* (c. 1501; 49). Twelve years later, Douglas wrote the *Eneados*, claiming in one of his postscripts that he composed the *Eneados* in eighteen months (1957-64: Time 12). He dedicated it to his then patron, Henry, lord Sinclair (d. 1513).

Not long afterwards, tensions between Scotland and England, which were always strained, erupted, resulting in the Battle of Flodden—a crushing defeat for Scotland and the last battle to date in which a British king died. The death of James IV left a power vacuum in Scottish politics, and Douglas and his nephew, Archibald Douglas, the new Earl of Angus, eagerly exploited it (Bawcutt 1976: 10). Archibald married the widowed Queen Margaret, gaining Gavin Douglas access to her beneficial patronage—and through her the patronage of her brother, King Henry VIII (10-11). This marriage was not without its downsides; in marrying Archibald, many argued that Margaret ceded her right to the regency of Scotland (11), resulting in a long struggle between Margaret and the regent-apparent John Stewart, Duke of Albany. Douglas was often caught in this struggle as 'the Queen's man', resulting in his trial and imprisonment when he



was appointed the Bishop of Dunkeld in 1515 (12-13). Eventually he was released and was able to assume his post in 1516 (though not without difficulty; 14-17), and a period of uneasy, and by no means uneventful, rapprochement with Albany was reached (17).

However, Douglas's political fortunes eventually soured again. His nephew's marriage to the Queen broke down (due largely to bad behaviour on Archibald's part during the Queen's absence) and Douglas subsequently lost her favour (Bawcutt 1976: 17-18). Instead, the Queen allied herself with Albany and the balance of power shifted (20). Douglas tried to counteract this with a myriad of schemes, but ultimately was exiled to England in 1521 (20). He died there not long after from the plague in 1522 (21).

### *2.1.2 The Place of Douglas and the 'Eneados' in the Scottish Canon*

Douglas is considered one of the Scottish Makars—a group of Scottish poets from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the most prominent of which include James I (1394-1437), Robert Henryson (*fl.* 1460-1500), and William Dunbar (*c.* 1460 – *c.* 1513). These poets traditionally have been referred to as 'Scottish Chaucerians' on account of the numerous references to Chaucer (*c.* 1340-1400) in their works. However, this term is no longer deemed appropriate for numerous reasons. Fox (1966: 167-68)—one of the earliest commentators on the subject—observes how it overemphasises Chaucer's influence, when these poets were influenced by Lydgate also, especially in their use of aureate diction (170; see Nichols 1932). This term also implies that there was no Scottish tradition for these poets to draw on, which is patently untrue (see Gray 1990: 81). Gray (2008: 444) identifies a strong European—predominantly French—influence on these poets, and Lewis (1954: 68-75) acknowledges the rich and varied Scottish poetic tradition. Finally, Kratzmann (1980: 21) critiques the term 'Scottish Chaucerian' on the basis that it ignores differences between

how various Makars respond to Chaucer. In fact, each author alludes to Chaucer in a different fashion and often 'for profoundly un-Chaucerian purposes' (Fox 1966: 199).

Features of the Scottish Makars' poetry include the diverse use of several different poetic traditions. Scottish Makars are noted for their extreme use of aureate diction, as intimated above, and their use of rhyme royal, as made popular by Chaucer. However, they also take advantage of the acoustic properties of Scots and use alliterative verse, which was not as popular in England by this point. According to Lewis (1954: 76, 79), this usage is stylistically conditioned, and it is this play with language that makes these poets distinct from Chaucer. In addition, these poets make heavy use of intertextuality to create a poetic genealogy for their vernacular (Fradenburg 1998: 167-68).

In many ways Douglas is typical of this tradition. His *Palice of Honour* is a masterwork in the aureate style and dream vision genre. The passage below uses vocabulary of Latin and French origin such as 'emerant', 'vapours', 'dulce', 'flewour', 'fragrant', 'distillant', 'verdour', 'alars', and 'reflectant' that is designed to gild the poem's diction. Likewise, Douglas matches this gilded vocabulary with ornamental imagery. Flowers become jewels ('ruby, topas, perle and emerant'), dew becomes 'silver droppis', mist becomes incense ('sence'). Moreover, just as Douglas's lexical choices are redolent of a classical tradition, his references are too, as he frequently alludes to mythological or legendary figures, such as 'Flora', the Roman goddess of plants. The stanza form is also markedly intricate, featuring nine lines with two rhymes in an AAB AAB BAB pattern. This is a stanza form inherited from Chaucer, especially from his complaints in *Anelida and Arcite* (211-55) and *The Complaint of Mars* (155-298; Parkinson 2018: 36). Moreover, Douglas introduces variations on this stanza form over the course of the *Palice of Honour*

(36). The overall effect is the creation of an incredibly rich literary style that is evocative of Classical sources but still rooted in a Scottish idiom. We see similar examples of this style in Dunbar's *Goldyn Targe* (pre-1508) and Douglas's Prologue XII in the *Eneados*.

So craftely dame Flora had over fret  
Hir hevinly bed, powderit with mony a set  
Of ruby, topas, perle and emerant,  
With balmy dewe bathit and kyndly wet,  
Quhil vapours hote, right fresche and wele ybet,  
Dulce of odour, of flewour most fragrant,  
The silver droppis on dayseis distillant,  
Quhilk verdour branches over the alars yet,  
With smoky sence the mystis reflectant. (2018: Prol. II. 10-18)

Douglas is also comfortable using Scottish diction and alliteration, as in the passage below from Book I describing the Trojans lost in a storm. The diction here is rooted in words of Germanic origin rather than Latinate (see 'blastrand', 'dyng', 'brast') with a clear interest in these words' acoustic properties (like 'bub' which is onomatopoeic). There is alliteration throughout this passage, but it is not consistent. Sometimes the alliteration is dropped suddenly and other times it switches to emphasising a different sound. This inconsistency creates a sense of cacophony—each sequence of alliteration is like a wave that builds and then smashes against the ship, only to recede and then attack from elsewhere, tossing the Trojans (and the readers) violently. The result is an incredibly evocative description of a ship in a storm that is made all the vivid by its use of a Scottish idiom. This use of alliteration to characterise violence and/or bad weather is typical of Douglas (see *Ene.* V.8.1-120 and Prologue VII). However, he also makes more sustained use of it in Prologue VIII, where he uses an alliterative rhyming stanza like that seen in the Scottish romance the *Taill of Rauf Coilyear* (c. 1450-1500; 1903).

A blastrand bub out from the north brayng  
 Gan our the forschip in the baksail dyng,  
 And to the sternys vp the flude gan cast.  
 The aris, hechis and the takillis brast,  
 The schippis stevin frawart hyr went gan wryth,  
 And turnyt hir braid syde to the wallis swyth.  
 Heich as a hill the iaw of watir brak  
 And in ane hepe cam on thame with a swak. (1957-64: l.3.15-22).

Douglas's use of both an aureate and alliterative style makes him a typical Scots Makar. However, he is also unique in some ways, especially regarding the *Eneados*. He was the first in the Scottish or English tradition to translate the entirety of the *Aeneid* (19 BC)—arguably the most important secular Latin text in Western literature—directly from Latin. Moreover, his translation is ground-breaking in its thoroughness. In many ways it feels almost contemporary, both in its approach to translation and in how it presents itself—as Griffiths (2009: 185) notes, it 'is almost an anachronism, closer to what we imagine now what a "book" should be than it is to other manuscripts of its own period'. This text is also one of the first to claim to be written in Scots—as opposed to English—and is of great linguistic interest given he imports or coins 426 words (941 if new senses of existing words are counted; see *OED*).

Consequently, Douglas and the *Eneados* occupies a unique and important position in the Scottish canon, as illustrated by Johnson & Petrina (2018) introducing their book of articles on Scottish Latinity, *The Impact of Latin Culture on Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing*, with a consideration of the *Eneados*. Similarly, Royan (2018a: 254) ends this collection by arguing that Douglas provides a model of Scottish interaction with Latin that 'may have purchase in considering other writers and texts'. However, neither of these works explicitly locates Douglas's practice within the canon, and there is a gap in the coverage of Johnson & Petrina's (2018) volume regarding early sixteenth-century vernacular approaches to Latinity. This thesis fills this gap by closely analysing Douglas's

translation method to understand better how the *Eneados* fits within its cultural context. To that end, the following provides some basic descriptive information concerning the *Eneados*. Afterwards, an overview of scholarship on the *Eneados* is provided.

## **2.2 The *Eneados***

### *2.2.1 Contents and Structure*

The *Eneados* is comprised of the twelve books of the *Aeneid* as well as a thirteenth book—the *Supplement* (1428), a Latin poem by Italian poet Maffeo Vegio (1407-1458) that is written in homage to Virgil. These books follow the established divisions that are still followed by modern editions of the *Aeneid*, except for Books II, VI, VII, and VIII, which start ‘late’ (see Section 5.4.4). Douglas also divides each book into chapters headed by a couplet that summarises the chapter’s content—a ‘chapter rubric’.

In addition to these structural changes, Douglas also adds an extensive paratext. He prefaces each book with an original prologue which acts as an *accessus* to the books that follow (see Section 5.4.2). The first six Prologues carry out this function quite straightforwardly. Prologue I is a general preface while the other five are short preludes that introduce a ‘muse’ figure (Melpomene in Prol. II, Diana in III, Venus in IV, Bacchus in V, and Pluto in VI) that is thematically connected with the subject matter of the book that follows (tragedy in Book II, strange places and monsters in III, love in IV, revelry in V, death in VI). The later seven Prologues are more discursive, lengthy pieces, that are harder to immediately identify with their books’ subject matter. They include descriptions of nature (Prol. VII and XII), dream visions (Prol. VIII and XIII), to theoretical disputations (Prol. IX, X and XI). Because of this variety of style, subject, and tone, there is debate whether the Prologues should be read as a cohesive whole. While Bawcutt (1970: 403) acknowledges

that some of the prologues are ‘clearly linked with their respective books’, she suspects that others were ‘poems that Douglas had already written’ and perhaps should be conceived as independent works. However, this work follows Ebin (1980, 1988), who argues that the Prologues and translation are a unified work (see Section 2.3.2).

In addition to these Prologues, Douglas provides a short commentary—the ‘Comment’—that covers Prologue I and some of Book I (up to chapter 8), though it is unclear if it was Douglas’s intention to restrict his commentary or if he originally intended to extend it to the whole work (see Section 5.4.3). He also includes thirteen couplets before Book I that summarise each book (‘Book Rubrics’), and a series of postscripts, including a ‘Conclusion’, a ‘Direction’ to his patron, an ‘Exclamation’ against critics, the ‘Time, Space, and Date’ of his translation, a translation of Virgil’s ‘Epitaph’, a ‘Mention’ of Douglas’s previous works, and an acrostic poem revealing the ‘Name of the Translator’ that was likely written by Douglas’s secretary, Matthew Geddes (*fl.* 1495-1522; see Bawcutt 2020: 10 for evidence for these dates). These postscripts are referred by the titles in quotations in the rest of this work (see Note on the Edition of the *Eneados* Used in the Work).

### 2.2.2 Douglas’s Source Text

Apart from these alterations and additions, Douglas pursues an extraordinarily faithful translation of his printed source text—Ascensius’s (1501) Paris edition of the complete works of Virgil (Ink. 4. D 7672, UB Freiburg; see Bawcutt 1973: 221). Jodocus Badius Ascensius (1462-1535) was a Flemish commentator and printer who was based in Paris (White 2013: 1-2) and frequently printed the work of Scottish authors (Mapstone 2018: 54-55). He popularised his own ‘familiar’ style of commentary, which was ‘chiefly linguistic’ (White 2013: 73-74), aimed at those inexperienced in Latin discourse, and ‘concern[ed] with

the ethical reading of texts' (67). He includes such a commentary in his 1501 edition, along with excerpts from Donatus and Beroaldo and Servius's complete commentary (221). He also carves Virgil's text into smaller, semi-independent sections to enable meticulous grammatical study. Douglas probably was drawn to Ascensius's works because of this style of commentary that emulated his own desire to make classical texts more accessible (Bawcutt 1973: 231; 1976: 111), which he communicates in the *Direction* (1957-64: 41-43).

Douglas's oddities and specific readings match variations in this edition (Bawcutt 1973: 221, 223, 228), revealing just 'how literal a translator Douglas often is' and how much attention he pays to his source text (221). Likewise, Douglas often uses Ascensius's glosses as the basis for supplementary material that he inserts throughout his translation (see Kratzmann 1980: 170-71), which makes it twice longer than the original (9,867 vs. 21,047 lines, excluding Book XIII and paratext; see Section 3.1). He also draws from Ascensius's commentary 'the organizing principles of his translation text, and his general conception of what the *Aeneid* was about' (White 2013: 11; see Gray 2000: 99). Griffiths (2014: 83-84) even goes so far to say that Ascensius's edition influences Douglas's decision to include the Prologues and Comment—a point this work further explores (see Section 5.4). In this way, Ascensius is the most important influence on Douglas's translation—though not the only one (Bawcutt 1976: 111).

### *2.2.3 The Transmission of the 'Eneados' via Manuscript and Print*

A curious feature of Douglas's text is that it is a manuscript that utilised a printed source, and itself existed in both manuscript and print in the sixteenth century. There are five extant manuscripts of the *Eneados*: the Trinity College MS (O.3.12, Trinity College, University of Cambridge, c. 1515-25), the Elphinstoun MS (Dk.7.49, University of Edinburgh, c. 1527), the Ruthven MS (Dc.1.43, University of Edinburgh, c. post-1522), the Lambeth MS

(117, Lambeth Palace Library, 1545/6) and the Bath MS (252A, Longleat, 1547). Based on variant readings, both J.A.W. Bennett (1946: 84) and Coldwell (1957-64: I.105-06) claim that there were also several (now lost) 'intermediate texts' (see Bawcutt 1976: 192; 2020: I.23), which is supported by three existing fragments from Book I of another complete manuscript (Laing II.655, Edinburgh University Library, c. 1530; see Bawcutt 2020: I.20).

In addition to these manuscripts, there is one notable early printed edition of the *Eneados*—the Black Letter edition (1553) produced in London by William Copland (*d.* 1569). There is some uncertainty regarding the source of this edition. Coldwell (1957-64: I.106) and J.A.W. Bennett (1946: 84) claim that it uses a manuscript related to the Ruthven MS as its exemplar. However, Bawcutt (2020: I.20-21) tentatively raises the possibility that it uses a lost Scottish print, based on how Copland's edition of another of Douglas's texts—the *Palice of Honour* (c. 1553)—is closely related to a Scottish edition (c. 1530-40) printed by Thomas Davidson (*fl.* 1532-42; see Beattie 1951). However, the evidence for this remains limited. The earliest extant Scottish printed edition of the *Eneados* did not appear until 1710 and was published by Thomas Ruddiman (1674-1757).

This inquiry focuses on the Trinity College MS and uses Coldwell's (1957-64) edition of the *Eneados*, which draws mainly from this manuscript, as the basis for its analysis (see Section 3.1.1). The Trinity MS is selected because it is the closest to Douglas's exemplar. Not only was it copied by Matthew Geddes, but a colophon at the end of the 'Conclusion' proclaims the manuscript to be 'the first correk copy nixt efter the translation' (see Bawcutt 2020: I.9-10). While there is some debate as to when this manuscript was produced, with Coldwell (1957-64: I.106) arguing no later than 1515 and Bawcutt (2020: I.8-9) suggesting the early 1520s, there is nevertheless agreement that this manuscript is the 'pre-eminen[t]' witness (I.38).



The Trinity College MS is also considered the most accurate in translation and most complete (Watt 1920: 134). The Elphinstoun MS is the closest to the Trinity, but differs in spelling, does not have Geddes's colophon, and is missing part of the Book Rubrics (136, 137). The Ruthven MS is even more distant, featuring omissions from both the Trinity and Elphinstoun MSS (138, 139), 'mangl[ing]' names and places in Douglas's text (Bawcutt 1976: 112), and altering archaic words that presumably the scribe did not recognise (154). The Lambeth and Bath MSS both fail to follow Douglas's unusual book divisions (Watt 1920: 144).

Copland's (1553) edition is not used since it is related to the Ruthven MS and shares many of the same errors (J.A.W. Bennett 1946: 84). Moreover, it adopts an 'anti-Popish ... bias' and rewrites various aspects of Douglas's text (Watt 1920: 141; see Bawcutt 1976: 196-97). It also adds and removes lines and does not preserve Douglas's unusual book divisions (2020: l.21-23). However, its most notable alteration are the unique annotations that cover the entire text. These include pithy glosses and descriptions of content that help readers navigate the text, as opposed to Douglas's discursive considerations of sources in the Comment. However, despite these differences, four glosses in the Trinity College MS have been copied from this edition (Douglas 1553: nn. 6, 8, 10, 14; Douglas 1957-65: Comment nn. 4, 5, 7, 8). The inclusion of these glosses from a printed book within a manuscript is an example of experimentation with textual forms that is in keeping with the production of the *Eneados*, given it uses a printed book as its source. Such interaction, however, is not unusual for Scottish texts of this period, as Mapstone (2018) identifies similar occurrences in the works of Henryson and Dunbar.

### **2.3 A Brief Overview of Scholarship on the *Eneados***

There are five modern works that provide a comprehensive introduction to Douglas and the *Eneados*—Douglas's '*Aeneid*' by Watt (1920), volume I of Coldwell's (1957-64) edition of the

*Eneados, Gavin Douglas* by Bawcutt (1976), Gray's (2006) article in *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*, and volume I of Bawcutt's (2020) edition of the *Eneados*. Of these works, Bawcutt (1976) has contributed the most to the study of Douglas and is the resource preferred here. Bawcutt's approach is thorough, detailed, and considered. While the same could be said of Bawcutt (2020), and indeed there is much shared content between the two works, this is a less discursive introduction to Douglas and is mostly a commentary on the *Eneados*. Bawcutt also has contributed greatly by identifying the source of the *Eneados* (1973; see Section 2.2.2). No study on Douglas can proceed without considering her scholarship.

That is not to say that Watt (1920), Coldwell (1957-64), and Gray (2006) do not contribute. Watt (1920) records criticisms and comments on Douglas's work made by a variety of notable figures in history, which is a useful means of gauging Douglas's influence and popularity over time. Coldwell (1957-64), aside from providing the preferred scholarly edition of the *Eneados* for the past fifty years (now superseded by Bawcutt 2020; see Section 3.1.1), offers a comparison between Douglas's translation and early printed editions of the *Aeneid*, laying some groundwork for Bawcutt's (1973) discovery of Douglas's source text. Both Watt (1920: 124-48) and Coldwell (1957-64: 1.96-106) also provide some of the best available descriptions of the five extant manuscripts of the *Eneados*, which Bawcutt (1976: 192-202) summarises and Bawcutt (2020) builds on. Gray (2006) provides a succinct yet nuanced introduction to Douglas and his works that is essential reading for those first approaching the subject.

Aside from these five sources, there are two other major works on Douglas. There is a doctoral thesis from Harvard University—*Knychtlyke Stile* by Blyth (1987)—though this work is restricted in scope, focusing primarily on Books II and IV and the Prologues. There

is also volume I of Small's (1874) edition of the complete works of Douglas, though this material is updated by Watt (1920), Coldwell (1957-64), and Bawcutt (1976; 2020). Because of their limited scope and age (respectively), these works are not used heavily in this thesis.

In addition to these works, there are a multitude of articles and book chapters concerning Douglas and the *Eneados*. These tend to engage with four topics of discussion: Douglas's place in the medieval or Renaissance canon, his use of allegory within his translation, the quality of his nationalism, and the nature of his humanism. These arguments are briefly summarised here, with the major critics identified and evaluated, and the most influential critics for this thesis acknowledged. A more thorough overview is provided in the following sections.

Lewis (1954), Dearing (1952), and Brewer Hall (1960) are arguably the originators of the medieval vs. Renaissance debate. Lewis and Brewer Hall argue this based on the quality of Douglas's translation, whereas Dearing considers this in terms of the nature of the allegory Douglas uses to frame the *Eneados*, which he argues is explicitly political. This itself spawns a 'sub-debate' about whether Douglas pursues allegory at all and what kind, and whether this is a hallmark of the Middle Ages (see Blyth 1987, Gray 2001) or Renaissance (Dearing 1952). This discussion dominates criticism on the *Eneados* for a time and focuses on Douglas's Prologues rather than his translation.

This focus on allegory feeds into discussions about Douglas's nationalism, which is complicated by his support of Queen Margaret and his exile to England. Dearing (1952), Canitz (1996), and Corbett (c. 1999) find Douglas to be openly nationalistic. However, these analyses fail to account for the subtleties of Douglas's personal history. For this reason, this work prefers the criticism of Kratzmann (1980), who nuances the relationship between the English and Scottish literary traditions; McClure (1981), who further probes

the history of 'Scots' as a linguistic label; Royan (2012), who considers Douglas's nationalism in terms of his family history; and Wingfield (2014), who considers Scottish traditions of using the Trojan Legend to forge a national identity. Moreover, this work follows Gray (2006: 162-63) in shying away from extratextual allegories that see the *Eneados* solely as a 'mirror for princes' or moral allegory, preferring to subscribe to the intertextual allegory presented by Ebin's (1980) analysis of the Prologues.

This intertextual allegory makes the *Eneados* primarily concerned with the act of translation, necessitating that critical attention focus on Douglas's translation practice again—as the periodisation debate originally did. This work follows Gray (1989), who reinterprets the periodisation debate in terms of humanism. 'Old' humanism refers to adaptative types of translation, whereas 'new' humanism is philological. While this work disagrees with the designation of 'old' and 'new', because the evolution of ideas of *imitatio* was not so neat (see McLaughlin 1996), this distinction does capture a contradiction in Douglas's method between extreme accuracy and extreme interpolation—a point that Petrina (2013) notes in her analysis of Book XIII and the Prologues. Humanism better captures the nuances of this 'paradox' in Douglas's method, because humanism is not an arbitrary designation like periods, but an actual movement and community of practice. However, it also muddies the waters in some regards, given that its status in Scotland during the early sixteenth century was complicated (see Durkan 1962), which adds an extra layer of nuance to Douglas's activities. To clarify this, this project adopts a method like Royan's (2015), which closely examines his textual activity as the foundation for speculation about his humanist credentials.

### 2.3.1 *The Medieval vs. Renaissance Debate*

The debate about Douglas's place in either the medieval or Renaissance canon is one of the oldest and most dominant topics in the study of the *Eneados*. It originates with Brewer Hall (1960) in his article *An Aspect of the Renaissance in Gavin Douglas's 'Eneados'*. This article responds to comments made by Lewis (1954: 86) that ascribe a 'medieval blindness' to Douglas's adaptation of particularly Roman details within his translation. For example, Douglas equates the Bacchantes and the Sibyl with nuns (Watt 1920: 81), interprets the underworld as Christian hell, and presents the Aegis as a coat (Lewis 1954: 86). However, Brewer Hall (1960: 184) challenges the notion that Douglas is as medieval as Lewis claims on the basis that his translation is otherwise extremely modern in its accuracy.

Many scholars have rehashed this discussion and approached it from many angles, including allegory (see Dearing 1952, Fox 1966, Canitz 1996, Medcalf 2005), humanism (see Rossi 1965, Gray 1989), and vernacularity (see E. Morgan 1977). However, there is no consensus on whether these align with a medieval or Renaissance outlook, largely because this was an ambiguous time. Durkan (1962), Mason (2000), MacDonald (2014), and Royan (2018b) have all commented on the difficulty of labelling the early sixteenth century in Scotland as a specific period in general, citing the Reformation, the political situation, the multilingual environment, and the back-projection of nationalist values (see Keller et al. 2014) as complicating factors, implying that distinguishing between these periods at this point in time is a matter of splitting hairs.

Consequently, rather than describe Douglas's method using period labels, this work instead follows Petrina (2013: 25), who explicitly links the periodisation debate with how critics perceive Douglas's translation method. Behind the arguments of Lewis (1954), Dearing (1952),

and Brewer Hall (1960) is the worry that Douglas's efforts to make his translation more acceptable to his audience through medievalisation of setting, allegory, and large original additions to the text, are at odds with his otherwise careful translation practice. The next three sections evaluate arguments about these 'looser' aspects of Douglas's translation and determines if they are significant obstacles to the accuracy of his translation, ultimately arguing that it is Douglas's additions that pose the greatest challenge in classifying his translation, and that humanism provides the most informative framework for describing this difficulty.

### *2.3.2 Adaptation and Allegory in the Prologues*

Allegory is one of three traditions of interpreting the *Aeneid* in the Middle Ages, according to Baswell (1995: 9)—the other two being pedagogy and romance. All three approaches are concerned with the differences between Virgil's context and a medieval one, and each pose a different solution with a different level of respect towards the source. Pedagogical approaches try to preserve this difference but explain it by means of glosses and notes; allegorical approaches try to reinterpret these differences to make them less off-putting; romance approaches neutralise these differences and present the *Aeneid* as a medieval romance.

All three methods are evident to a certain extent in the *Eneados*, though pedagogical and allegorical approaches are more prevalent (see Watt 1920: 67 and Lewis 1954: 86 for evidence of adaptation of Roman concepts within the *Eneados* more typical of romance approaches; see Section 2.3.4 for discussion of pedagogical approaches). Douglas's use of allegory is especially present in his paratext. Prologues I and IV frame the *Eneados* as a political allegory, defending Aeneas from accusations that he was cruel to Dido to maintain his authority as a political model (see Dearing 1952: 853; Ross 1986: 395). Douglas (1957-65: Comment n. 68) also claims in his Comment that 'the principall entent of Virgill was to

extoll the Romanys', which Dearing (1952: 855) argues is why Douglas selected this text to perform a similar function for the Scots. Moreover, there is a Christian allegory present in the early Prologues, which euhemeristically transform pagan gods into themes, and Prologues IX and X, which are notably pious (see Ross 1986: 401).

Such allegories have been used as evidence to characterise Douglas as especially nationalistic (see Dearing 1952; Ross 1981: 374-79; Baswell 1995; Canitz 1996) or especially religious (see Simpson 1998). However, there are several reasons why they are not convincing. As Corbett (c. 1999: 31), Gray (2001: 20), and Bawcutt (1976: 71-72) explain, concerns about the political and Christian significance of the *Aeneid* were conventional postures ingrained in the Virgilian tradition. That Douglas would include them is to be expected, rather than remarkable—especially given his position as a Catholic cleric and Scotland's strong 'advice for princes' literary tradition (see Mapstone 1986).

Moreover, many arguments supporting these external allegories rely on the contention that Douglas was writing for the aristocracy (see Baswell 1995: 276). However, while he does address himself to 'gentill redaris' (1957-64: I.Prol.263), E. Morgan (1977: 195) identifies 'strong indications that [Douglas] hoped he might have eventually a wide audience'. These include his professed desire to make his language 'braid and plane' (Douglas 1957-64: I.Prol.110) and the variety in his language that belies a homogenous audience (E. Morgan 1977: 195-96). His practice of dividing the Books into chapters and his vivid language might also indicate that he designed the *Eneados* to be read aloud.

Finally, these allegories are mostly rooted in analyses of single or scattered Prologues and do not form a unified interpretation of the entire work. Considering the Prologues as a group and intrinsically bound to the books they preface provides a stronger allegory. While

the later Prologues may seem unconnected to the Books they preface, they mirror the events in the translation (see Ebin 1980). Prologue VII's meditation on winter and Douglas's renewed commitment to translating is analogous to Aeneas's journey through the Underworld and return to life. Prologue VIII's consideration of craft prefaces the appearance of the Shield of Aeneas whose craftsmanship Aeneas admires, though he fails to understand its prophecy. Prologue IX reflects on style as a replacement for Aeneas, who is absent in Book IX, making them analogous. Prologue X muses on the nature of the Christian god before the tragic death of Pallas. Prologue XI's discussion on the topic of righteous war justifies Camilla's death. Prologue XII's celebration of spring also celebrates the completion of the *Aeneid* and Douglas's lexical abundance achieved within his translation. Prologue XIII concerns negotiating authority and the validity of adding material to the *Aeneid*, acting as a justification for Book XIII. However, it also performs a kind of apotheosis where Douglas is transported to a dream world and communes with other famous poets—Vergil directly, but Henryson indirectly in his clear homage to the Prologue to 'The Lion and the Mouse' (c. 1480). In this way, Douglas and Aeneas's journeys reflect each other, 'Aeneas's representing both the struggle to build a new nation and the quest of the good man, while [Douglas] ... seeks to extend the limits of his native medium and ... defend the value of his art' (Ebin 1980: 363).

This metatextual connection holds for every Prologue, making a more convincing allegory. However, that is not to say that figuring Aeneas as a political or moral model has no place here either. The power of Aeneas as a representation of a proper translation is that he is also a symbol of political and moral authority. However, in this intertextual allegory, this authority is not being projected outwards towards another person, place, or thing as propaganda. Rather it is directed inward to illuminate Douglas's translation as a symbol of political and moral authority in its own right.



### 2.3.3 Douglas's Nationalism and Choice of Language

While the previous section argued that a political allegory does not play as significant a role in Douglas's poem as many scholars have claimed, one aspect of Douglas's politics has featured heavily in discussion of the *Eneados* and its significance—namely, his nationalism. As discussed previously (see Section 2.1.2), Douglas sets an important precedent by translating the *Aeneid* into Scots. According to Johnson & Petrina (2018), national identity at this time was 'redefined ... by the development of a range of ideas of nationhood accompanying and shaping ... attitudes to the production and consumption of texts' (xi), which was further complicated by Scotland's multilingual situation (i.e. its use of Scots, Gaelic, and Latin; xii). Douglas's *Eneados* seems to be one of these moments of definition that explicitly addresses Scotland's multilingualism using a text with extreme linguistic and political prestige.

For this reason, many scholars have attributed a nationalist agenda to Douglas's decision to translate this text (see Canitz 1996; Corbett c. 1999). However, as his rather tumultuous biography suggests, Douglas's nationalism is somewhat fraught. While he declares that he writes in Scots and later professes a fondness for the Gaythelos and Scota myth—a myth postulating an alternative origin of Scotland in opposition to English historiography (see Wingfield 2014: 10)—his political sympathies are at times expediently pro-English (see McClure 1981: 61). However, neither of these postures—English sympathiser or staunch Scottish nationalist—are as straightforward as they initially appear.

Douglas's seemingly contradicting allegiances to Scotland and England are characteristic of the 'discrepancy between the family myth of the Douglasses as the great defenders of Scots freedom and their pragmatic existence as magnates with their own kin to care for and promote' (Royan 2012: 197). The Douglas clan cultivated a reputation for

patriotism based on the heroism of their ancestor, James Douglas (c. 1286-1330), in the First Scottish War of Independence (1296-1328). However, the Douglasses also often provoked the ire of the Scottish King and other clans due to their immense power and influence; they also cultivated good relations with England to protect their holdings on the fluctuating border between England and Scotland (see Royan 2012: 196).

Douglas's dealings with Queen Margaret and exile to England are thus in keeping with his family's tradition, and not especially indicative of his own ideology. His elevation in power and access to profitable benefices were made possible by his good relationship with Margaret, and through her Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey (see Watt 1920: 3). Likewise, his exile to England has more to do with the amount of power he accrued for his clan rather than any seditious intentions on his part. Moreover, such relations with the English were not unique to Douglas but were a common feature of the time. As Royan (2012: 203) notes, 'although relations with England were probably always tense, James IV did not pursue a consistent policy of aggression', and Kratzmann (1980: 228) identifies a great deal of cultural exchange between Scotland and England because of their contiguity.

In this way, Douglas's English relations are not necessarily at odds with Scottish nationalism. However, his nationalism is also not as strongly figured as is often argued. The strongest evidence for Douglas's nationalism is his claim that Scots and English are different languages, which he was 'among the first to make' (Bawcutt 1976: 37). While Canitz (1996: 27) and Corbett (c. 1999: 30) both identify this distinction as exclusively nationalist, the linguistic significance of this is more obscure. Before the term 'Scottis' came into being, Scots and English were considered the same language and called 'Ingliš' (Bawcutt 1976: 37-38, 59-60). Even the most patriotic authors in Scotland—such as John

Barbour (c. 1320-1395) and Blind Hary (c. 1440-1492), who wrote about the Scottish Wars of Independence—used this common terminology (McClure 1981: 59). This belies the intrinsic nationalism of the term ‘Scottis’, for if obviously nationalist writers did not use it, it is strange that Douglas, whose patriotism is not assured, should.

Instead of indicating aggressive nationalism, the term ‘Scottis’ could indicate a change in linguistic perception. McClure (1981: 58) suggests that English and Scots were apperceptual languages—languages that are similar but considered different by their speakers—and that Douglas detected these differences from being in contact with English speakers. However, this seems doubtful, given that the type of language that Douglas designates as ‘Scottis’ is hardly pure Scots, but rather ‘a strange mixture of Scots dialect, Chaucerian English, and French and Latin derivatives no longer in use, compounded by archaic spellings and letters and grammar’ (Gordon 1970: 54; see Bawcutt 1976: 160).

Likewise, Douglas’s professed interest in the Gaythelos and Scota myth is not as strong evidence for his nationalism as often figured. While this myth, which traces Scotland’s origins to Greece and Egypt, was inherently nationalist in that it opposed the Brutus myth, which England used ‘to justify their ... incursions into Scotland’ (Simpson 1998: 398), Douglas does not make any attempt to invoke this myth in his translation (Cummings 1995: 143), despite how the *Aeneid* and the Scottish myth share the same premise of exile and nation building (Simpson 1998: 399). In fact, Douglas almost does the exact opposite and adopts a critical attitude to the Rutulians and their ‘furious passion’, even though, like the Scots in the Scottish Wars of Independence, they are fighting off an invading force (Caughey 2009: 275). Even the act of a Scotsman translating the *Aeneid* is strangely anti-nationalist, considering England had already laid claim to Trojan ancestry through the Brutus myth (Wingfield 2014: 6).

Royan (2012: 207) resolves this contradiction by arguing that Douglas understood the Gaythelos and Scota myth as ‘a means for understanding and stating what [he] saw as the correct relationship between Scotland and England’, which she claims Douglas equated to the endeavour of ‘translating Virgil precisely’. Wingfield (2014: 150-51) also argues that Douglas viewed nationhood textually, claiming that Douglas ‘used the Trojan legend’—and its various incarnations—‘to reflect on some of the particular difficulties of authorship facing him, such as writing in the vernacular or constructing a coherent narrative out of a seemingly contradictory literary tradition’. In other words, Douglas sees the myth as emblematic of the conflicting literary sources that must be synthesised to produce a proper translation. However, crucially, Douglas’s attachment to this myth indicates an abiding belief that whatever the overlap between the English and Scottish literary traditions, the Scottish tradition should be viewed as independently authoritative.

In this way, Douglas’s nationalism is not as obvious or indisputable as some have claimed. While the act of defining something as Scottish is intrinsically nationalistic, Douglas was not aggressively patriotic. Rather, many scholars argue that he considered nationhood through a literary and linguistic lens (Royan 2012: 197, 204; Wingfield 2014: 150-66). ‘Scottis’ in this context then may well describe the quality of Douglas’s translation more than his actual language.

#### *2.3.4 Douglas’s Humanism and Pedagogical Method*

The final concern about Douglas’s translation quality is his use of a pedagogical approach to the *Aeneid*, where he provides synonyms and internal glosses for many words in his translation. For example, he turns the half line below into four full lines, translating ‘addit’

and 'additque' three times as 'eikis', 'gaif', and 'suppleyt' and 'duces' ('leaders, guides') four times as 'pylotis and lodismen' and 'rowaris and maryneris'.

Addit equos: additque duces. (Virgil 1501: III.470)

'... Tharto alsso he eikis and gaif ws then  
Gentill horssis, pylotis and lodismen;  
He ws suppleyt with rowaris and maryneris,  
And armour plente atany for al our feris'. (Douglas 1957-64: III.6.223-26)

Bawcutt (1976) refers to this practice as 'double translation' (116), which 'is closely related to the technique of multiple glossing', 'a familiar pedagogic [method]' (118). While this makes the *Eneados* scrupulous in its translation, it also makes it significantly longer than the original, and engenders Douglas's extreme variety of diction. These qualities, plus the context of early sixteenth-century Scotland, complicate Douglas's standing as a humanist and capture the difficulty of Douglas's translation method.

In his work *Humanism, Reading, and English Literature 1430*, Wakelin (2007: 7) defines humanism as 'the study and imitation of classical antiquity'. Douglas's activities certainly apply to the first part of this definition—the *study* of classical antiquity. As Jack (1972: 21) argues, 'the very fact of translating Virgil's epic indicates an interest in the humanist ideals'. Johnson & Petrina (2018: x) essentially repeat this argument when they state that the purpose of the *Eneados* was 'to discover the continuity between Latin culture and its Scottish counterpart'.

However, Douglas's tendency to expand on the original text and insert his own original poetry does not match the second part of Wakelin's definition—the '*imitation* of classical antiquity'. Throughout the thirteenth century and into the beginning of the fourteenth, there were a series of Italian humanist debates about the value of *imitatio* with arguments over who to imitate (several models vs. a single model, usually Cicero), what to imitate (genre, content,

or style), and what quality authors should strive for (variety vs. consistency) (see McLaughlin 1996). However, by the time Douglas was composing the *Eneados* this argument was settled (c. 1512) by Bembo (1470-1547) in favour of single-model imitation valuing the replication of Cicero's style that prioritised consistency (see 262-74). It is immediately apparent that Douglas does not subscribe to Bembo's position. His extreme programme of additions—not only in the paratext but in the translation itself—means that Douglas does not replicate Virgil's style. He does not recreate dactylic hexameters nor (usually) capture Virgil's eloquent terseness. Douglas's voice dominates his translation with his frequent authorial asides and original diction that greatly inflate the size of his text beyond the proportions of his original.

However, despite these differences, Gray (2000, 2001, 2006) argues that Douglas's style is sometimes emblematic of Virgil's 'subjective style'—i.e. his tendency to present multiple viewpoints sympathetically (see Horsfall 1995: 193-94; D. Fowler 1997b: 266-67; P. Hardie 1997: 314; Conte 2007: 24-29). He claims that Douglas's expansions enhance Virgil's subjectivity by creating a sense of multiplicity (Gray 2000: 98; 2006: 160). Moreover, he argues that Douglas expands more upon moments of pathos (2000: 98, 107), which throws Virgil's contrast between 'a public voice celebrating destiny and heroic values and a private voice expressing sympathy and sorrow for the suffering individual' into sharp relief (2001: 25; see Feeney 1983: 217-18). In this way, Douglas's unique style is not completely inappropriate for rendering Virgil's.

However, this variety of language—even if it does capture Virgil's bivocalism, which is not universally accepted (cf. Ridley 1983: 113; Canitz 1991: 91)—has other points of contention with humanism. While it resembles the eclecticism of humanists like Valla (c. 1407-57), Landino (1424-98), Poliziano (1454-94), and Pico (1469-1533), who all

embraced a diverse vocabulary (see McLaughlin 1996: 145, 181, 203, 258), its variety is probably too extreme for these figures to defend, as each had gradually stricter rules about what linguistic sources could be used together (see 132-33, 207).

Moreover, several aspects of this practice are rooted in scholasticism, ‘the dominant philosophical approach in Europe from perhaps the eleventh until the sixteenth century’ (*Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy: scholasticism*) that was developed from Aristotelian dialectic (see Hope 1936: 451), and was heavily criticised by humanists (Leeds 2010: 71), including Douglas (Bawcutt 1977: 109-10). Douglas’s pedagogic method relies heavily on Ascensius’s commentary (1976: 119-20), whose design is rooted in scholasticism (see Parkes 1976). Likewise, his accumulation of synonyms, which arguably introduces an aspect of ambiguity in his translation by multiplying possible meanings (see Griffiths 2009: 190-91; Kallendorf 2015: 68-69), indicates an interest in scholasticism’s concern with ‘the relation between words and the concepts of things they signify’ (Leeds 2010: 156). Some entries in Douglas’s Comment are similarly concerned with ‘the relation between more and less inclusive categories’ (154-55)—specifically, ‘animal’ and ‘homo’ (Douglas 1957-64: Comment n. 10) and ‘genus’, ‘species’, and ‘sexus’ (n. 11).

However, these scholastic notes are complicated by the context of Douglas’s statements in Prologue I, which cast aspersions on people’s ability to properly understand Latin terminology (370) and lament that there are no equivalent words in Scots (363-65), emphasising not only the difficulty of translation, but perhaps the unsuitability of using Aristotelian concepts of language for a language so far removed from Greek and Latin (377-79). However, his notes in the Comment prove that he knows what these words mean and is fully capable of communicating within a scholastic framework, though he is

perhaps not wholly convinced of its suitability. In this way Douglas proves to be sceptical of scholasticism but still shaped by its influence (see Morse 1990: 107), making his practice suspect from a humanist perspective.

Douglas's humanist status is further complicated by Scotland's own uncertain humanism during Douglas's lifetime. Printing, a key engine of humanist activity, started late in Scotland and was initially sporadic, with Chepman and Myllar's press operating only briefly from 1507-10 (see Dickson 1885: 9-10, 62, 72; Dickson & Edmond 1890: 7, 87, 99). However, despite this, or perhaps because of it, Scotland had strong links with the Continental book trade, which, M.L. Ford (1999: 221) argues, indicate strong Scottish interest and 'participation in pressing debates of the time'—predominantly religious ones, but ostensibly humanist too. Likewise, while Greek influence—a hallmark of humanism—appears very limited in Douglas's time (see MacQueen 1990: 10), Jack (1972) observes a strong Latin and Italian humanist influence on Scottish authors and libraries. Indeed, Douglas himself is highly engaged in Italian humanist authors, referencing them numerous times in the *Palice of Honour*, Prologues, and Comment (Bawcutt 1977: 117-18).

As a result of this rather mixed humanist profile, where Douglas's activities and context do not perfectly align with humanist sensibilities, many scholars have been hesitant to classify Douglas as a humanist outrightly. Rather, his humanism has been qualified with such labels as 'vernacular' (Bawcutt 1976: 36), 'medieval' or 'old' (Gray 1989, 2001), 'Christian' (2012), and 'Romantic' (A. Fowler 2005). This is probably the most productive way to view Douglas's translation method, as it best captures what this thesis believes to be the crux of its difficulty—how to define Douglas's translation method in such a way to reconcile his ubiquitous expansions within his translation with his acclaimed



accuracy. Or to put it another way, where to place Douglas's *Eneados* on the 'word for word' vs. 'sense for sense' scale of translation (see Section 1.2).

## **2.4 'Word for Word' or 'Sense for Sense': Douglas's Comments in Prologue I**

As the previous analyses indicate, much of the critical debate concerning Douglas depends on how his method of translation is understood, with critics caught between Douglas's extreme accuracy in translation and his addition of content. As a result, there is a general repudiation that Douglas translated his text so closely as to translate it 'word for word' (see Watt 1920: 69; Brewer Hall 1960: 190; Bawcutt 1976: 110). Only Medcalf (2005: 383) claims that Douglas 'followed the principle of word-for-word translation', but even he backtracks quickly, suggesting that Douglas 'tried to transcend the distinction between it and sense-for-sense, by including in the meaning of each word not only its immediate sense but all that is implied in it'.

Such hedging indicates the seeming contradiction between Douglas's extreme fidelity to Virgil's text and the pursuit of a 'sense for sense' translation. For, as Chapter 1 explained, the latter is more commonly associated with the idea of paraphrase or adaptation, as opposed to Douglas's meticulously faithful translation. As such, scholars have attempted a series of fraught gymnastics to reconcile these ideas, suggesting that 'sense' to Douglas is lexical rather than textual. Why they should feel the need to do so is because Douglas himself repudiates the idea of 'word for word' translation in Prologue I.

Prologue I, as previously observed (see Section 2.2.1) acts as a general introduction to the poem and provides Douglas's most direct comment on his translation. There are four main sections. First, in lines 1-104, Douglas sings Virgil's praises and mourns the inevitable distance between Virgil's poem and Douglas's translation. However, he justifies this foolhardy project by explaining that it was produced at the behest of Henry, Lord Sinclair. Second, in lines 105-

282, Douglas offers a defence of his language and a critique of Caxton's *Eneydos* (1490) as a foil to the *Eneados*. Third, in lines 283-338, Douglas discusses his translation method. Fourth, in lines 339-511, he critiques Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* (c. 1386) and *House of Fame* (c. 1374-85), which both reference the *Aeneid*, but are not translations. Throughout this meditation, Douglas discusses his translation using three sets of terminology, which overlap: *sentence* vs. *eloquence*, 'word for word' vs. 'sense for sense', and 'Scottis' vs. 'Inglish'.

*Sentence* and *eloquence* are the main terms Douglas uses to characterise his translation method and he employs them throughout the Prologue. He frequently mourns how he must sacrifice *eloquence* to properly render Virgil's *sentence*, saying things like: 'My studyus brayn to comprehend his [Virgil's] sentens / Leit me nevir taist hys flude of eloquens' (1957-64: l.Prol.309-10) and 'The bewte of his [Virgil's] ornate eloquens / May nocht al tyme be kept with the sentens' (l. 393-94). However, what Douglas means here is somewhat obscure. Lewis (1967: 138-45) considers the evolution of the words *sententia*, *sensus*, and *sentence* from the Latin verb *sentire*, and concludes that they can 'signify meaning as opposed to words, content as opposed to form' (139). This has been the conventional understanding of what Douglas means by *sentence*, and *eloquence* in turn has been interpreted as 'form', 'style', or 'rhetoric'—the trappings of meaning, but not meaning itself (see Blyth 1987: 123-24; Ebin 1988: 26, 28-29).

However, there is another way to understand these terms. *Sentence* and its various inflections can also indicate a grammatical unit—'the minimum unit of speech or writing which has a complete meaning' (Lewis 1967: 139). In this way *sentence* can impinge upon concepts of *eloquence*—especially that conceived by Blyth (1987: 123-24), who interprets *eloquence* as Latin's grammatical structure. Bawcutt (1976: 86) also suggests that *eloquence* is not just 'the choice and arrangement of words' but also the larger 'structure and

proportions' of the text. She bases this on Douglas's disapproving comments on how Caxton altered the proportions of Virgil's text, devoting 24 out of 65 chapters to the Dido story (81; see Douglas 1957-64: I.Prol. 163-72). The distinction here then is not necessarily between style and meaning but between what types of structure carry meaning and require imitation.

There is a similar ambiguity in Douglas's reference to the maxims 'word for word' and 'sense for sense', which represent different styles of translation (see Section 1.2). Douglas largely confines this terminology to his critique of Chaucer. His one mention of it beyond this critique is a simple request that his work be noted 'nocht at euery word' (1957-64: I.Prol.126)—i.e., compared to Virgil's text meticulously. That could imply that he did not embark on a 'word for word' translation, or that he did but feels his translation would appear lacking in comparison to its source. However, later, in the Direction, he contradicts this request by boasting 'For quha lyst note my versys, one by one, / Sall fynd tharin [Virgil's] sentens euery deill, / And al maste word by word, that wait I weill' (44-46). So, the message here is very mixed, suggesting that Douglas's rejection of literal translation in Prologue I is a conventional pose of humility.

Moreover, Douglas's use of this terminology in his critique of Chaucer's handling of the *Aeneid* is not in good faith. He criticises Chaucer for thinking he 'couth follow word by word Virgill' (1957-64: I.Prol.345). However, as Canitz (1991: 83) and Desmond (1994: 164) point out, Chaucer never claims to do this. In fact, as Blyth (1987: 82) shows, Chaucer himself mocks the notion of 'word for word' translation in his farcical translation of the opening lines of the *Aeneid* in the *Hous of Fame* (1894a: I.143-48). Moreover, his 'translation' of the Dido episode in the *Legend of Good Women* (1894b: III.924-1367) is a very loose adaptation. Douglas's critique then is not a valid complaint but rather serves to distance Douglas's work from Chaucer's. As Section 1.2 illustrated, 'word for word'

approaches were frequently criticised and by attributing it to Chaucer, Douglas discredits his work and implies that the *Eneados* does not follow its example.

Douglas probably does this because of the romance tradition—a tradition of reception of the *Aeneid*, alongside pedagogy and allegory (see Section 2.3.2), that was popular in the Middle Ages and characterised by loose adaptations of the *Aeneid* that largely focused on Book IV (Baswell 1995: 11, 137, 185). It is heavily influenced by conflicting accounts of the *Aeneid* provided by other sources, such as the historical tradition of Dido where she is a capable, chaste leader (Desmond 1994: 24-33), Ovid's plaintive Dido (33-45), and the accounts of Dares and Dictys, which portray Aeneas in a negative light (Simpson 1998: 406).

Douglas finds the accommodation of these counter narratives unacceptable—as demonstrated by his criticism in the Comment (1957-64: n. 56) of Guido delle Colonne, who wrote *Historia destructionis Troiae* (1287), which draws heavily on this alternative tradition. He dislikes how such accounts portray Aeneas in a bad light. According to Brammall (2015: 60), 'To challenge Aeneas's actions ... is ... to undercut an entire model for reading the poem'—a model of reading, which, thanks to his intertextual allegory in the Prologues, Douglas's translation fully embodies. Likewise, such criticism of Aeneas challenges the validity of the founding of Rome, and the validity of institutions based on Rome's legacy—such as the political structures of Western Europe and the Catholic Church (see Hamilton 2000: 115). For a catholic cleric from a politically important family, this would be objectionable. By attacking Caxton and Chaucer, two prominent contributors to this tradition, Douglas makes it clear that his translation is not of this ilk (Torti 2005: 72).

However, Douglas not only criticises Caxton and Chaucer because of their translation method, but also because of their language, which, in Caxton's case, he describes as 'Inglysh

gross' (1957-64: I.Prol.139). Many have interpreted this as a 'dig' against English in favour of Scots (see Johnson & Petrina 2018: x-xi), with Douglas's dual criticism of Caxton's and Chaucer's methods and language implying that there is something in 'Scottis' that enables it to produce a better translation than 'Ingliis' can (Ebin 1988: 98). However, again, this dichotomy between English and Scots is not so clearly expressed (see Section 2.3.3). The main linguistic dichotomy in Prologue I is not between English and Scots, but rather between the vernacular and Latin, with Douglas making statements about the impossibility of representing Virgil's Latin like:

'Quhy suld I than ...

...

With bad, harsk spech and lewit barbour tong

Presume to write quhar thy sweit bell is rung

Or contyrfate sa precyus wordys deir? (1957-64: I.Prol.19-23)

Douglas also does not criticise Chaucer's language, but characterises his eloquence as 'balmy, cundyt and dyall' (341), and surreptitiously refers to it as 'our langage' (359) in a meditation on how the vernacular cannot translate Latin 'word for word'.

In this way, Douglas's description of his method in Prologue I is full of contradictions, inaccuracies, and ambiguities. There are many ways to interpret what Douglas means here. *Sentence* and *eloquence* have many meanings, some of which overlap. Likewise, Douglas's comments about 'word for word' translation are not entirely trustworthy, given that they form a bad faith criticism of Chaucer, and contradict Douglas's later statement in the Direction. His declaration that he writes in 'Scots' is also ambiguous, with Douglas using it to make a distinction between himself and Caxton, but then blurring it when discussing Chaucer. To fully understand what Douglas means in Prologue I, it is necessary to consider his translation directly.

...

Within this discussion, several salient points have come to light. Douglas's contradictory translation method is the root of most critical discussions on the *Eneados*. The periodisation debate is predicated on whether Douglas pursues a loose or strict translation. Disputes about the type of allegory Douglas pursues are resolved most effectively by an intertextual allegory that revolves around Douglas's translation. Douglas's use of the term 'Scots' is probably more in reference to his mode of translation than his actual language use. Difficulties in characterising Douglas's humanism are rooted in his pedagogical translation practice. However, despite being preoccupied with Douglas's translation method, most of these discussions do not effectively capture its difficulty, and all these discussions are hampered by a general neglect of Douglas's translation method in favour of his Prologues.

While several of Douglas's Books and Prologues have been the subject of effective criticism, there is an absence of unified, detailed analysis of his entire work. Previous studies tend to be very selective, focusing on only one or two books (see Blyth 1987; Rossi 1965, Ross 1981, Pinti 1993, Cummings 1995, Ghosh 1995, and Wilson-Okamura 2010); or on the Prologue(s) (see Ebin 1980; Archibald 1980; Nitecki 1981); or on certain types of passage within the *Eneados* (see Ridley 1983; Macafee 2013). Even those works that do address the entirety of Douglas's translation (see Watt 1920; Coldwell 1957-54; Bawcutt 1976; 2020) do not address the text's composite nature and tend to treat it as a monolith, thus not recognising some of the subtleties of Douglas's translation.

To remedy this, this thesis embarks on a study based on both literary and linguistic methods as described in the previous chapter. A linguistic approach like this can analyse the entirety of the *Eneados* in greater detail than Watt (1920), Coldwell (1957-64), and

Bawcutt (1976) do. However, by combining it with a literary approach, the results may be contextualised and interpreted with the nuance that linguistic studies at times lack.

The next chapter describes the design of the digital files used in this study and their many features. These include the process of alignment that identifies equivalent segments within both texts and the units used to measure this equivalency; the system of annotation, which demarcates both layout and discourse features; and the linguistic tagging system that increases searchability. The tools, procedures, and methods of statistical analysis used within this work are explained also to make the analysis accessible to those unfamiliar with corpus linguistic methods.

## CHAPTER 3:

### A MANUAL FOR THE CORPUS-BASED APPARATUS

Based on the previous discussions of translation theory, corpus linguistic methodology, and codicology (see Chapter 1), this thesis implements a ‘corpus-based method’—where a corpus is used to test existing theories supplied by translation theory and codicology. This method’s goal is to present a thorough and balanced account of Gavin Douglas’s (c. 1475-1522) translation practices in the *Eneados* (1513). The following describes the corpus-based apparatus used here and the principles behind its design, as well as the tools and procedures used to build and analyse it.

#### 3.1 The Corpus-Based Apparatus

The dataset built for this project is not strictly a corpus, as it is built around one text—the *Eneados* and its source material—rather than several. Rather, it is a ‘corpus-based apparatus’—a set of digital files assembled using corpus linguistic methods, but not technically a corpus itself. This apparatus contains all thirteen Books and Prologues of the *Eneados*, along with the twelve books of the *Aeneid* (19 BC) and the *Supplement* (1428). It does not contain any of the commentary included in Ascensius’s (1501) edition, as the transcription and digitisation of this massive work was beyond this project’s scope, though the commentary is often referred to in the analysis presented here. The corpus-based apparatus comprises 39 base files that cover three authors (Virgil, Maffeo Vegio, and Gavin Douglas), three texts (the *Aeneid*, *Supplement*, and *Eneados*), and two languages (Latin and Scots), consisting of 259,391 words total. See Table 2 for a list of the digital files and their word counts.



Table 2: Breakdown of the base files of the ‘corpus-based apparatus’. Word counts are based on plain files—no line numbers, titles, annotation, or tagging has been counted.

|            |             | Language  | Latin         |                   | Scots          |         |         |
|------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|-------------------|----------------|---------|---------|
|            |             | Author    | Virgil        | Maffeo Vegio      | Gavin Douglas  |         |         |
|            |             | Text      | <i>Aeneid</i> | <i>Supplement</i> | <i>Eneados</i> |         |         |
|            |             | File Type | Book          | Book              | Prologue       | Book    | Total   |
| Word Count | File Number | I         | 5,046         |                   | 3,892          | 10,351  |         |
|            |             | II        | 5,119         |                   | 146            | 11,215  |         |
|            |             | III       | 4,631         |                   | 353            | 10,789  |         |
|            |             | IV        | 4,587         |                   | 2,070          | 10,889  |         |
|            |             | V         | 5,689         |                   | 518            | 12,764  |         |
|            |             | VI        | 5,956         |                   | 1,299          | 14,838  |         |
|            |             | VII       | 5,176         |                   | 1,233          | 13,886  |         |
|            |             | VIII      | 4,530         |                   | 1,473          | 12,211  |         |
|            |             | IX        | 5,411         |                   | 740            | 14,272  |         |
|            |             | X         | 5,910         |                   | 1,351          | 16,837  |         |
|            |             | XI        | 5,925         |                   | 1,533          | 16,157  |         |
|            |             | XII       | 6,215         |                   | 2,196          | 17,773  |         |
|            |             | XIII      |               | 4,063             | 1,543          | 10,760  |         |
|            | Total       |           | 64,195        | 4,063             | 18,347         | 172,742 | 259,347 |

These base files have two versions: plain and coded, making 78 files total. The plain files represent the texts without any additional annotation. This is necessary to ensure the integrity of the files’ content, should any accidental alterations occur during their assembly. These files are also valuable for anyone who subscribes to the ‘purist’ notion that annotation decreases the reliability of the original data (Leech 2005: 17).

The coded files are more complex. They are enhanced with annotation describing the layout, narrative and speech boundaries, equivalent segments between the Latin and Scots, and lexical and grammatical information unique to each word. This last aspect of annotation is referred to here as ‘tagging’. Annotation and tagging are words that are used interchangeably in corpus linguistics. However, here their definitions are specified. Annotation refers to information that concerns larger structures within the text and not necessarily the words themselves. Tagging refers to information that describes lexical items

in the corpus. This information is often coded for the sake of brevity (see Section 3.1.7). Both Latin and Scots files are annotated, but tagging is only supplied for Scots files and not Latin files. This is because it is the Scottish translation that is the focus of this inquiry. Moreover, in a certain sense, part-of-speech tagging is already built into Latin, as its inflected morphology indicates a word's part-of-speech and grammatical function.

These digital files were originally designed for use with software from the *AntConc* family, specifically *AntConc* and *AntPConc*, a parallel concordancer (Anthony 2014a, 2014b). These programmes are easy to use and have open sources. However, there are some drawbacks, particularly with *AntPConc*, which is still in development and lacks some functionality. To remedy this, *AntPConc* was used primarily to build the files, and then the files were uploaded onto Oxford's *CQPweb* portal, which is an online platform for corpora with more sophisticated search abilities (A. Hardie 2012). An added benefit of *CQPweb* is that it makes the digital files available to other researchers.

It is important to acknowledge the concordance software used, as a large component in corpus construction is the quality of tools used in the corpus analysis. According to both Biber (1993: 243) and Sinclair (2005: 79) corpus design has two phases: creation and implementation—i.e. building the corpus and using it or other corpora as reference. The order of these steps, however, is disputed, with Sinclair arguing that the creation of the corpus must come first and Biber arguing that 'theoretical research should be prior in corpus design'. However, this distinction becomes moot, since both agree that these two steps are not discrete actions but rather are interrelated and proceed in cycles. A corpus's capabilities are partly shaped by the information it produces, which can only

be revealed through implementation. As a result, corpora tend to be produced in drafts, constantly being tested, updated, and tested again.

In the case of this apparatus, there were several stages in its creation, illustrated in Figure 1. This project took a digital version of the *Eneados* (I), transformed it into ASCII plain text (Ia), and then converted that into Unicode (II), so that special characters, like yogh (ȝ), which is prevalent in Older Scots, are properly represented. These form the plain text files. These files were then annotated with layout information including line numbers, and boundaries in the *ordinatio*—i.e. page, section, chapter, and book breaks (IIa). The Scottish and Latin files were then aligned with one another for use with *AntPConc* and made into separate files (III).

Meanwhile, the unaligned version of these files (IIa) was annotated with pragmatic information indicating the boundaries between narrative, speech, and reported speech, and sociolinguistic information regarding each speaker (IIb). These were then converted from Unicode into XML (IV) and tagged. First, the files were tokenised—meaning each word was analysed into <w> elements—and each lexical item was given normalised and (where necessary) modernised variants (IVa). Then, a normalised version of the files was generated (V) and run through the *USAS* tagger (Archer et al. 2003) for part-of-speech and semantic tagging (Va). These tagged normalised files were combined with the untagged, xml files (IVa) to form a version where the original orthography, the normalised/modernised forms, and part-of-speech and semantic tagging are all represented (VI).

The alignment information from the aligned Unicode files (III) was then combined with these XML files (VI) to create the final product: a set of digital files with layout, pragmatic, and alignment annotation, which have been normalised, while still retaining the original orthography for reference, and tagged for part-of-speech and semantic category (VII).

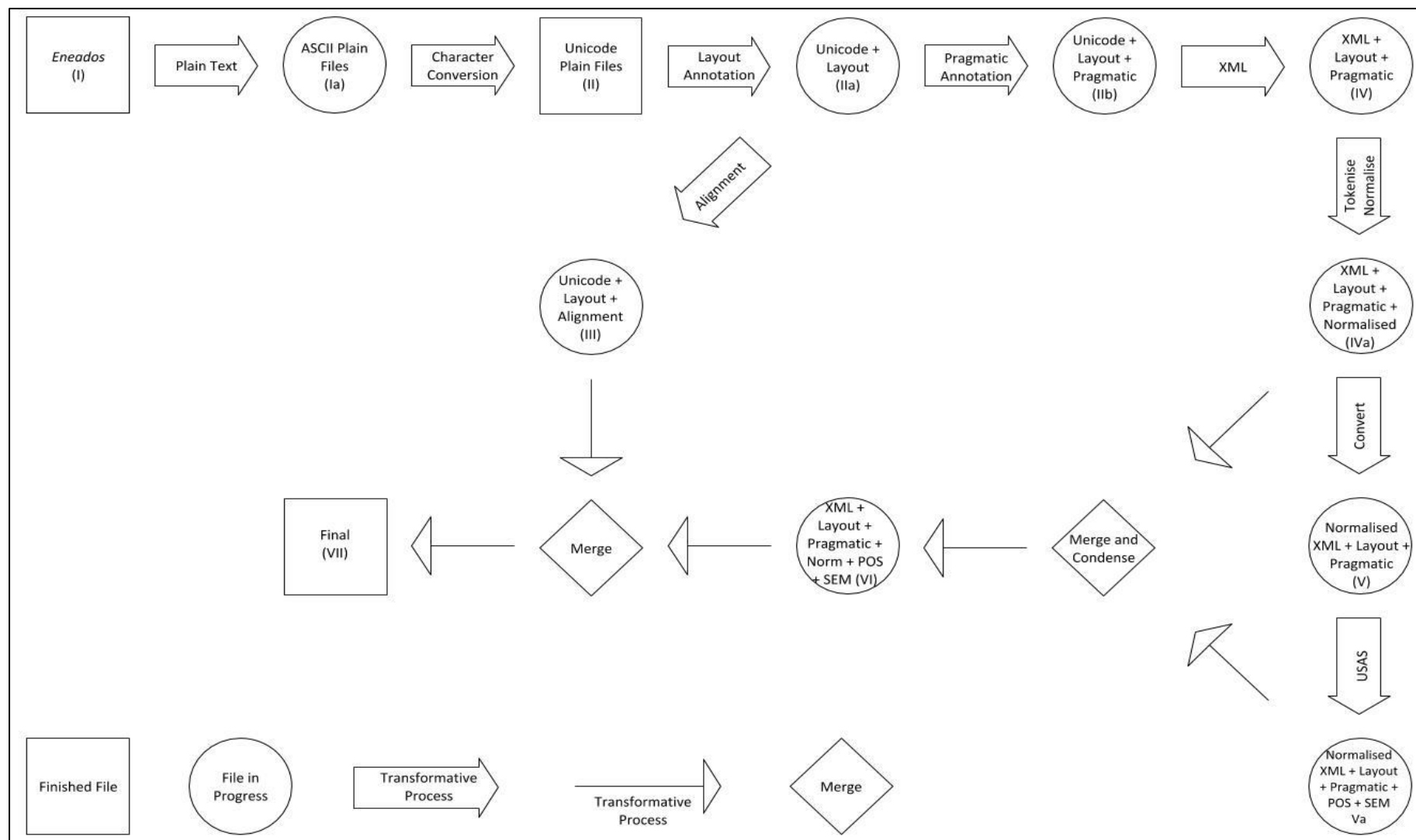


Figure 1: Diagram illustrating the workflow of the creation of the corpus-based apparatus. Key to symbols and their meanings is in the bottom left corner.

The following sections describe these processes in more detail, explaining where the text for these files was sourced from, how the files are structured, and what the various annotation and tagging systems that were implemented entail.

### 3.1.1 Source Texts

The sources for the digital files created for this project include Coldwell's (1957-64) edition of the *Eneados* (accessed via *Literature Online*), Greenough & Kettridge's (1897-1902) edition of the *Aeneid* (accessed via *Perseus Digital Library*), and Brinton's (1930) edition of the *Supplement* (accessed via *Virgil.org*). These editions were selected primarily because they are all already digitised. However, there are other factors.

In the case of the *Eneados*, while there are several available editions, few of these are based on the Trinity College MS (O.3.12, Trinity College, University of Cambridge, 1513)—previously established as the best manuscript witness (see Section 2.2.3). The oldest editions—Copland's (1553) and Ruddiman's (1710)—are based on the Ruthven MS (Dc.1.43, University of Edinburgh, post-1522) or a manuscript related to it (Watt 1920: 138; J.A.W. Bennett 1946: 84) and Small's (1874; 4 vols) edition is derived from the Elphinstoun MS (Dk.7.49, University of Edinburgh, 1527; see Watt 1920: 136; Bawcutt 2020: 34). Both manuscripts are widely considered less authoritative than the Trinity MS, given that they are further removed from Douglas's exemplar, omit material, and, in the Ruthven MS's case, drastically alter Douglas's lexical choices on occasion (see Watt 1920: 135-39; Coldwell 1957-64: 97-98; Bawcutt 2020: 13-16).

This also discounts many modern editions that build on Small's (1874) work, such as Kendal's (2011; 2 vols) edition or Law & Macafee's (2012; 2 vols), even though they are relatively recent contributions (see Kendal 2011: I.xxxix; Bawcutt 2020: 35-36). However,

these would not be appropriate editions for this project, regardless, because of how they handle Douglas's text. Kendal's (2011) edition is particularly unsuited, because Kendal alters Douglas's lexis, inserting Scottish features where they do not exist (I.xl) and erasing them where they do (I.xli). He also claims to 'apply "checks and balances" in the choice of word-forms, to reflect the distinctive "mongrel" quality of the *Eneados* as a whole' (I.xlii), which Bawcutt (2020: 35) claims he 'exaggerates and falsifies'. As a result, this edition is unfit for the study of linguistic features. Law & Macafee's (2012) edition is also not suitable because it updates all the orthography to match that of Modern Scots. This obscures important information useful to the study of translation—specifically the effect a source text might have on the spellings of cognates within a translation.

This narrows the field of choice to three editions that use the Trinity College MS as the foundation for their text: those edited by Dundas (1839), Coldwell (1957-64; 4 vols), and Bawcutt (2020; more volumes forthcoming). Dundas's (1839) text is discounted due to its age and lack of textual apparatus; it is a bare transcription of the text (see Coldwell 1957-64: I.104; Bawcutt 2020: 34). On the other hand, Bawcutt's (2020) edition unfortunately cannot be used here because it only just began to be released when this project was at its end. This leaves Coldwell's (1957-64) text, which has been the main edition for scholarly study of the *Eneados* for the past fifty years.

However, that is not to say that Coldwell's (1957-64) edition is without fault. While it is a 'conservative' edition that does its best to reproduce the Trinity College MS accurately (I.107), it does make some interventions in the text. Most of these are harmless and the introduction of punctuation is very helpful (see Section 3.1.4). However, Coldwell also expands abbreviations, includes corrections, and on the rare occasion adds a word he believes to be

omitted (l.107). These are done judiciously, and all changes are recorded. However, they can lead to alterations in Douglas's spellings, and interjections of material not original to him.

More seriously, Bawcutt (2020: 38) observes that there are several mistranscriptions of the Trinity College MS in Coldwell's (1957-64) edition, as well as many misquotations of the Latin in his commentary (39; see Austin 1966: 161). In addition, she notes that Coldwell references the wrong edition of the *Aeneid* as Douglas's source. These misquotations and references to the wrong edition are not a major impediment to this project, given that this thesis creates its own digital version of Ascensius's (1501) edition (see below) and does not rely on Coldwell's commentary. While the mistranscriptions are a greater obstacle, Coldwell's edition is still the best available text for this project at the time of its inception, and a choice sanctioned by the Older Scots scholarly community.

An added benefit of using Coldwell's (1957-64) edition is that it is freely available online and did not require transcription. The version of the text available via *Literature Online* is the basis for the digital files used here. This version is virtually identical to the printed one, except for how chapters are numbered in Books VII and XII, which start with chapter 2 rather than chapter 1 (see Note on the Edition Used in this Work). This is because this version identifies certain lines in Prologues VII and XII that are set apart from the text by space breaks as chapter rubrics. These count as chapter 1 for Books VII and XII, even though they occur within prologues instead of books. The digital files used here follow this numbering practice as do quotations from the *Eneados* within this work.

Likewise, Greenough & Kettridge's (1897-1902) edition of the *Aeneid* and Brinton's (1930) version of the *Supplement* were selected primarily because both texts are freely available online via *Perseus Digital Library* (Crane c. 1987-2021) and *Virgil.org* (Wilson-Okamura 2014),

respectively, and require no transcription. However, since these editions are both older texts, there are again issues with their quality. Conte's (2016) latest comments on the *Aeneid* prove that the minutiae of the text are still under dispute, as he argues for the excise of certain lines (28-32), the alteration of certain words (33-35), and new grammatical interpretations of certain passages (36-58). Brinton's (1930) edition has been criticised for misprints (Mustard 1930), modernised spelling (Sandbach 1931), and using an early printed witness rather than a manuscript (Ullman 1931: 118-19). Indeed, Kallendorf (1987: 95) goes so far to say that Schneider's (c. 1985) update of the text drawn from manuscript sources, which is also used as the basis for Putnam's (2004) edition, is 'like reading a completely different poem'.

These errors normally would be an obstacle for corpus linguistic analysis. However, this project adapted both these texts with reference to Ascensius's (1501) edition—Douglas's source text (see Section 2.2.2)—so that the content, layout, lexis, orthography, and punctuation all reflect those seen in Ascensius's text, which, unlike the Trinity College MS, is fully punctuated. It is important that these are represented faithfully, as they each have a potential effect on Douglas's translation. Layout can control how a text is read, and consequently how it is translated (see Section 1.4). Lexis, of course, impacts a translator's word choices. As Bawcutt (1973: 215-21) discovers, many of Douglas's assumed translation errors are in fact faithful translations of variants in his source text. Orthography has a similar effect, as translators are sometimes influenced by how a word is spelled when selecting cognates. Douglas sometimes even goes so far as to translate a word with one that resembles it phonologically, even though it means something different. For example, he sometimes translates 'fas' ('law, duty, obligation') as 'faith', 'factis' ('deeds') as 'fates', and 'facta' ('deeds') as 'fatal deeds' (see examples below; equivalent material is underlined).



Fas omne abrumpit: ... (Virgil 1501: III.55)

Al faith and frendschip brak he than in hy, ... (Douglas 1957-64: III.1.101)

Vade age: et ingentem factis fer ad aethera troiam. (Virgil 1501: III.462)

Adew, pass on, and by thi fatis large

The fame of mekil Troy bair vp to hevyn! (Douglas 1957-64: III.6.206-07)

... vtcumque ferent ea facta minores. (Virgil 1501: VI.822)

‘... Quhou sa evir the pepil hys fatel dedis

In tyme tocum sal blason, quha thame redis; ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: VI.14.37-38)

Finally, punctuation is important because of the way it defines sense units (see Parkes 1992: 306; J. Smith 2013: 41-42), which often influences how Douglas understands grammar and how he organises his translation. In this way, while these digital files may not present the ideal version of the *Aeneid*, they present its text as Douglas encountered it.

### 3.1.2 XML Structure

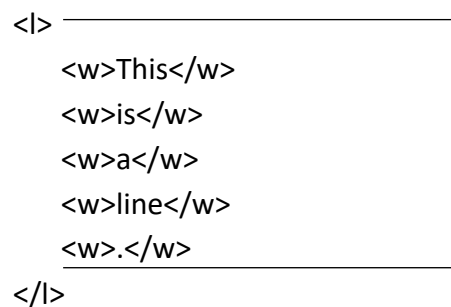
All the coded files are formatted in XML—or Extensible Markup Language. This is a ‘markup language’ like HTML that provides a format for annotation which can be inserted into a document but kept distinct from the actual content. An XML document is ‘self-describing’—meaning it does not have set commands like those in programming languages like Java and Python. Instead, the user creates their own labels, or ‘elements’ (designated here by angle brackets <>), which is what make corpus linguistics so adaptable. For example, the <w> element demarcates every word and punctuation in these files. Every element can also carry a series of ‘attributes’ describing the nature of that element (designated here by an at-sign @). <w> elements here carry @pos and @sem attributes which describe each word’s part-of-speech and semantic category. This looks like this:

```
<w pos="NN1" sem="Q3">Word</w>
```

(NN1 is the CLAWS7 tag for a singular noun; Q3 is the USAS code for the semantic category ‘language, speech and grammar’. See Section 3.1.7.)

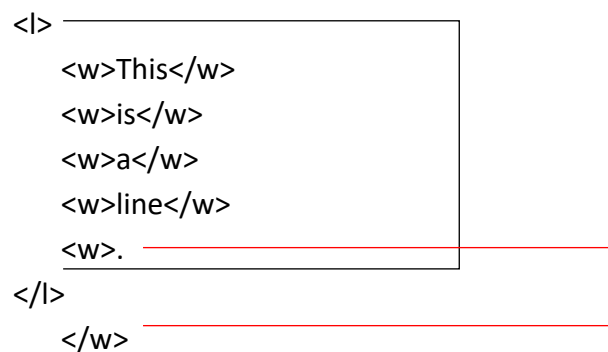
While XML does not have a specific vocabulary, it does have a set syntax in that it is a ‘nested language’, which means that all elements must have a beginning and end tag, creating a ‘nest’. Moreover, while elements can contain other elements, one element cannot begin inside another element’s nest and then end outside of it. For example, the *Eneados* tagged files have <l> elements that indicate lines and contain <w> elements. The following would be correct, because all <w> elements are located inside the <l> nest:

```
<l>
  <w>This</w>
  <w>is</w>
  <w>a</w>
  <w>line</w>
  <w>.</w>
</l>
```



However, the example below is incorrect, because a <w> element attempts to create a nest that crosses the boundaries of the <l> nest:

```
<l>
  <w>This</w>
  <w>is</w>
  <w>a</w>
  <w>line</w>
  <w>.</w>
</l>
</w>
```



Of course, maintaining a nested structure is usually not a problem for lines and words. This is more of an issue when representing larger, conflicting aspects of layout, such as Douglas’s chapter structure and Ascensius’s section structure, which do not always fit into one another neatly (see Section 3.1.3).

To be valid, XML files need to be ‘well-formed’—meaning the nested structure is intact—and associated with a ‘schema’. A ‘schema’ is a protocol that describes the structure of

an XML document and imposes more rules upon its syntax than XML does naturally. This gives a document context that makes its structure more informative for the user. The schema used here is based on the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) guidelines, a standard for metadata usage in digital texts, produced by an eponymous community of practice (TEI Consortium 2007). It has been customised using *Roma* (Mittelbach & Rahtz 2019)—a free online tool—to allow for attributes created for these digital files (@orig, @norm, @mod, @sem, @speaker, @gender, @mortality, @nation). However, only attributes have been modified; all the elements used in these files are listed in the TEI and otherwise comply with its rules of practice. In addition, every file has a TEI header, which contains important bibliographic information. The structure of each type of digital file (plain or coded, Scots or Latin, Book or Prologue) differs in detail, but generally conforms to the same pattern (see Appendix, Table 17).

### 3.1.3 Layout Annotation

The first level of annotation in the XML files describes layout. As Section 1.4 explains, there is a great deal of overlap between layout and language and translation. However, traditionally this sort of annotation has not been included in corpus files and is only now starting to be incorporated into corpus analysis (see Peikola et al. 2017). As such this is a new area of research for corpus linguistics, and the system of layout annotation used here has been designed entirely from scratch.

Three types of layout are represented: Douglas’s *ordinatio* (how he breaks up his text into chapters and books), Ascensius’s *ordinatio* (how he breaks up his text into sections and books), and page divisions in Ascensius’s edition. These are represented by the elements <div type=“chapter”>, <div type=“section”>, and <pb/>, respectively, and were implemented manually. Often there is overlap between these various layers of *ordinatio*.

Page breaks often frame Ascensius's sections, which, in turn, often neatly fit into Douglas's chapters. This is captured nicely by XML's nested structure and attests to the interest both Ascensius and Douglas had in layout as an indicator of meaning (see Chapter 5).

However, there are also many cases where this nested structure falls apart, when Ascensius exceeds page boundaries, and Douglas exceeds section boundaries. To handle page structure, these files use the element `<pb/>` as a 'milestone' element that never contains content but indicates page boundaries. This element can occur anywhere in the structure of the XML document, as it is an empty element that simultaneously begins and ends. The only place it does not occur is within lines, as the unity of lines is always preserved by Ascensius's page layout.

The solution for the sections is more complicated. A section whose unity is not respected by Douglas's chapter layout is split into two artificial sections at the chapter boundary. However, the two sections are given the same numeric identifier (`@n`) to indicate their status as one complete section whose unity has been ignored by Douglas. The same solution is used to reconcile pragmatic and alignment annotation that is split by XML's nested structure. For a full breakdown of the number of chapters and sections for each book see Appendix, Table 18.

The page breaks in the Trinity College MS are not represented, because, while the number of lines on each page in Ascensius's (1501) edition differs wildly over the course of the text, it is relatively consistent in the Trinity MS (see Section 5.2). Moreover, Ascensius's section divisions tend to coincide with page breaks, making them analogous. However, page breaks in the Trinity MS carry no such weight. Chapters, Prologues, Books, and other paratextual material usually do not begin on fresh pages, except by coincidence (see Section

5.2). Of course, there are a few exceptions: The Book Rubrics, Prologue VI, and Prologue XII all begin on new pages even though there is no practical need. However, such interactions between Douglas's *ordinatio* and page layout are otherwise uncommon. Moreover, page layout in the Trinity MS was probably at the discretion of Matthew Geddes (*fl.* 1513-22), rather than Douglas. Ascensius's page layout, on the other hand, is original to him, as he was the compiler of his edition and printed it in partnership with Thielman Kerver (*fl.* 1497-1522) and Jean Petit (*fl.* 1493-1530).

#### 3.1.4 Pragmatic Annotation

The second level of annotation is referred to as 'pragmatic annotation'—'pragmatics' being the linguistic term for language within context, usually an interactional one. This is, of course, a broad remit that can be interpreted as genre, medium, design, etc. Here 'pragmatics' is understood within a 'spoken' (or represented as spoken) context. Pragmatic annotation, then, identifies different forms of discourse within the *Eneados*—i.e. passages of narrative, speech, and reported speech.

These terms are frequently understood by their basic literary function—narrative is exposition, speech is quoted dialogue. However, 'The distinction between direct speech and narrative is not indeed an absolutely clear or simple one' (Griffin 1986: 36)—especially in the context of Homeric epics or the *Aeneid*, which is heavily influenced by Homeric epics. This is partly because characters in these poems also narrate large portions of the story (see *Aen.* II and III), and because speech in these poems is not always explicitly marked. For this reason, Hightet (1972: 15) defines speech as material that directly conveys the feelings of the speaker 'framed together on one single occasion'. This could apply to unspoken text representing the speaker's thoughts as well.

Narrative and speech also possess more abstract definitions. Labov & Waletzky's (1967) and Labov's (1972a) works on narrative analysis offer two definitions: 'minimal narrative', which defines narrative syntactically as having 'temporally ordered' clauses, where the semantic structure changes when the clauses are rearranged; and narrative in general, which might be better termed 'story' (see Johnstone 2016: 547). Similarly, 'speech' can specifically refer to the recounted speech of characters within a narrative or can refer to an instance of spoken rhetorically crafted language—which itself can constitute a story. In this way, the general definitions of narrative and speech can encompass each other's more specific meanings: A general narrative often includes characters who speak their own minds. Similarly, rhetorical speeches can include narrative in their structure.

For the purposes of this study, 'narrative' and 'speech' are understood here by their literary definitions—though some allowance for the fact that narrative can include speech is made in the structure of the digital files, where the element <said> can only occur within the element <seg type="narrative">. Likewise, reported speech (<said direct="false"> is always nested inside of speech (<said direct="true">), since it is reported by another speaker. The boundaries between narrative and speech in the *Eneados* are determined by punctuation in Coldwell's (1957-64) edition and contained by whole lines (see Appendix, Tables 19 and 20 for a breakdown of the number of lines per pragmatic type). While quotation marks are one of Coldwell's additions, and not sourced from the Trinity College MS (see section 3.1.1), there has never been dispute about Coldwell's identification of speech in the *Eneados*, largely because Douglas indicates speech with quotative verbs, making identification straightforward.

While there is punctuation in Ascensius's (1501) edition of the *Aeneid*, this does not include quotation marks. Consequently, speech in the *Aeneid* is determined by reference to equivalent segments in the *Eneados*. However, since speech in the *Eneados* is always contained by whole lines, this does not always map neatly onto the *Aeneid*. Consequently, it is normal for pragmatic annotation in *Aeneid* files to occur in the middle of lines. When this happens, the same procedure is employed as for when sections cross chapter boundaries (see Section 3.1.3). The lines are broken up into separate XML 'nests' to maintain 'well-formedness' (see Section 3.1.2) and labelled with the same identifier (@xml:id). Though since the attribute @xml:id must always have a unique value, these identifiers are further specified by a lowercase letter to designate the order of the line fragments. This thesis does not attempt to measure the length of a broken line based on metre or the number of words on each side of the break. Rather, it takes a simpler, and more easily reproducible, approach of assuming an equal division based on the number of times the line is broken. A line broken once is automatically assumed to be divided into equal halves, even if most of the line is on one side of the break. A line broken twice is assumed to be divided into equal thirds, etc.

One of the benefits of pragmatic annotation is that it enables sociolinguistic analysis. Sociolinguistics is the study of language in relation to social factors, pioneered by Labov's (1972b) survey on the pronunciation of /r/ in New York City department stores and investigation of speech on Martha's Vineyard. In these studies, Labov finds that gender, social status, and community identity can impact language use, as language is often a key part of performing certain identities. Consequently, segments of speech and reported speech have additional annotation indicating who the speaker is, and identifying their gender, status (reinterpreted as 'mortality', see Section 7.5), and nationality. Again,

this was implemented manually. For a full break down of the characters, the number of their spoken lines, and their sociolinguistic tagging, see Appendix, Tables 21-28.

Labovian sociolinguistics was initially designed for analysing spoken language within a social context, not written language in a literary context. However, many scholars have adapted sociolinguistics for studying texts. Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (1996) have investigated the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (Nevalainen et al. 1993-98) for socially conditioned linguistic variables, and Meurman-Solin (2001b, 2005) has done the same using the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots* (Meurman-Solin 1985-93) and the *Corpus of Scottish Correspondence* (2000-07). Their success has depended largely on the ‘uniformitarian principle’, which contends that ‘the linguistic forces which operate today and are observable around us are not unlike those which have operated in the past’ (Romaine 1982: 122-23) and that ‘Spoken and written language are instances of the same language embodied in different media’ (14-15).

Nevertheless, there are some technical issues with applying sociolinguistics to the *Eneados*. First of these is the gap between modern linguistic tools and principles and medieval linguistic evidence—which is discussed further in Section 3.1.6). The second issue is the difference between spoken and written language. For, while both types of language are still likely to share certain general behaviours, these behaviours are inflected by their medium. Consequently, the text as a material object must be accounted for in any analysis of written language, as argued in Section 1.4.

### 3.1.5 Alignment

The third level of annotation is alignment information. Alignment refers to the process of matching a source text to its translation. This was achieved here through the implementation of translation units. A translation unit contains whole lines (barring



interference from layout) of the source and translation that correspond to one another so that the source is completely translated, and the translation is completely accounted for, and that cannot be broken down into smaller units of complete translation that also are contained within whole lines (barring interference from layout). Translation units afford a way to quantitatively assess Douglas's translation across the entirety of the *Eneados* by means of line ratios—the number of Scots lines used to translate a single Latin line per translation unit in the *Eneados*. These are the cornerstone of the analysis used here.

Translation units were identified manually and tagged with <ab> elements within these digital files. Each translation unit was also given a unique number (@n) so that equivalent Latin and Scots lines can be easily identified, where each half of the translation unit has the same number. A breakdown of the number of translation units in each book and the average line ratio per book is available in the Appendix (Table 29). A full catalogue of the translation units and their line ratios is available in Dataset 1.

The texts were aligned by line since they are both poems and their lines are distinct units of expression. It could be more effective to match translations by periods—the 'utterance or complete rhetorical structure which expresses a single idea' (Parkes 1992: 306)—which can be measured by punctuation (J. Smith 2013: 41-42). However, it is difficult to measure the *Eneados* and the *Aeneid* this way. Aside from the fact that all punctuation in the *Eneados* is original to Coldwell (1957-64), the length of sentential units varies, which can conceal Douglas's additions. The following example is annotated with brackets to indicate sentential units, as defined by Coldwell's punctuation.

[Tum decuit cum scaeptra dabas]: [en dextra fidesque] (Virgil 1501: IV.597)

‘[Sa til haue done than had bene mair ganand  
Quhen thou hym gave the ceptour of thi land].

[Ha! now behald hys gret prowes’, quod sche,  
‘Hys reuthful piete and faith! Is not 3on he].’ (Douglas 1957-64: IV.11.23-26)

If translation units are counted by periods, the ratio between units for this example would be 1:1, even though Douglas’s translation is longer than Virgil’s original. By contrast, if translation units are measured by lines, the ratio between units is 4:1, which better reflects Douglas’s addition of material within his translation. Measuring translation units by line is more descriptively powerful.

Another way to measure equivalency would be by words, which in the following example would lead a ratio of 35:8 (or 4.375:1). While this yields a similar result to the line ratio, it assumes a level of equivalency that—as previously established in Sections 1.1 and 1.2—does not exist between languages. For example, in Latin a single word can convey a complicated idea that can only be conveyed by a phrase in Scots—like ‘decuit’ in the previous example, which equates to ‘had bene mair ganand’ in the Scots. Consequently, a word is not a good standard measurement. This leaves lines. While it is true that the lines in the *Aeneid* and *Eneados* are of different lengths, with the Latin hexameter longer than the Scottish pentameter (see Macafee 2013: 231), at least they have a functional equivalency between the two poems, are of stable lengths, and are established components within poetry. This makes them the best units of measurement.

### 3.1.6 Normalisation and Modernisation

The fourth level of annotation is at the word-level, describing each word’s normalised form and modernised equivalent when necessary, and their part-of-speech and semantic

category. This section focuses on the process of normalisation and modernisation specifically, while the next section explains the grammatical tagging processes.

‘Normalisation’ is the process of standardising irregular spellings. This was semi-automated. A word list containing every word in the body of the *Eneados* was generated. Then each word was given a normalised form (manually) with reference to the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* and *Dictionary of the Scots Language (DSL)*. Using sed—a UNIX stream editor that can transform texts—each word element (<w>) in the *Eneados* XML files was matched with its normalised form according to the word list. The original and normalised forms were then inserted into the <w> element as attributes (@orig and @norm), as in the following example:

```
<w orig="sey" norm="sea">sey</w>
```

This sed code was written by my supervisor Martin Wynne and implemented by me. The normalisation then was checked and revised manually.

Normalisation serves two purposes: First, it acts as a form of lemmatisation, a ‘lemma’ being a canonical representation of a word that can access all forms of that word in a corpus search. Similarly, the normalisation here bridges differences in spelling across the normalised files. For example, if anyone searches for the normalised word ‘sea’, they will find words that represent the word *sea*, no matter their spelling (‘se’, ‘see’, ‘sey’). However, this is not true lemmatisation, as the normalisation does not bridge differences in grammatical forms. The search for *sea* would not return the plural form *seas* or possessive form *sea’s*. However, with the use of wildcards—which are special placeholder characters that can replace letters or words—the search criteria can be expanded so that multiple forms of the word *sea* can be searched for.

The second purpose normalisation serves is to enable part-of-speech and semantic tagging. As explained more fully in the next section, the files were tagged automatically with the use of a modern English tagger. Consequently, each word needed a form that this tagger could identify. This meant not only normalising each word, but also at times supplying a modern equivalent for words that a modern tagger would fail to recognise. These equivalents were usually synonyms taken directly from definitions listed in the *DSL* and *OED*. They were again implemented using the sed code described above and made into an attribute (@mod), as in the following example. Additional modernised forms were added afterwards through the process of revision.

```
<w orig="albeyt" norm="albeit" mod="although">albeyt</w>
```

Aside from sometimes providing modern alternatives, the normalisation process sometimes redefined word boundaries also. There are many instances where compound words that are represented as a single word in modern English are expressed by two words in the *Eneados* ('all thocht' = *although*, 'a dovn' = *adown, down*, and 'al thyng' = *all thing, everything*). In these cases, the two words in the *Eneados* would be combined to form just one <w> element (<w orig="all thocht" norm="although">all thocht</w>). The reverse was also a common occurrence, where concepts or phrases we express in several words, are expressed as one word in the *Eneados* ('tobe' = *to be*, 'samony' = *so many*, and 'salbe' = *shall be*).

```
<w orig="tobe" norm="to be" pos="TO/VBI" sem="Z5/A3+">tobe</w>
```

(TO and VBI are CLAWS7 tags for an infinitive marker and the infinitive form of 'be', respectively; Z5 and A3+ are the USAS codes for 'grammatical words' and 'being'. See Section 3.1.7.)

To make the digital files more compact, normalised tagging was conflated. Every word was normalised, but where the original spelling matched the normalised form, the @norm value was eliminated. This was achieved using XSLT (Extensible Stylesheet Language Transformations), which is the coding language for formatting XML files and transforming them into other types of documents. Additional XSLT codes can be used to produce different plain text versions of the text from the XML corpus—such as normalised, modernised, or the original text.

### *3.1.7 Part-of-Speech and Semantic Tagging*

As indicated above, the digital files were normalised and modernised partly to allow for the automatic tagging of part-of-speech and semantic categories. This tagging was implemented using the *UCREL (University Centre for Computer Corpus Research on Language) Semantic Analysis System (USAS)* from the University of Lancaster (Archer et al. 2003). First, a normalised/modernised version of the digital files was put through *USAS* on the pseudo-XML setting. This tags every word for part-of-speech and semantic category and expresses those tags as attributes (@pos and @sem). The part-of-speech tag comes from the CLAWS 7 tag set (see <<http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/claws7tags.html>>) and is used to help identify each word's semantic tag. The semantic tagset 'is arranged in a hierarchy with 21 major discourse fields expanding into 232 category labels' that each have a specific code (Archer et al 2003: 23). For the purposes of this analysis, some of the discourse fields have been relabelled to appear more immediately relevant to the study of the *Eneados* (see Appendix, Table 30 for modified tag set). After each file was tagged, another XSLT code combined both the *USAS*-tagged and untagged versions of

each file to create a file that contained @orig, @norm, @mod, @pos, and @sem values.

The resulting element looks like this:

```
<w orig="sey" norm="sea" pos="NN1" sem="W3/M4">sey</w>.
```

(NN1 is the CLAWS7 tag for a singular noun; W3/M4 are the *USAS* codes for 'transport by water' and 'geographical terms'. See Appendix, Table 30.)

The *USAS* tagger was used because it is freely available online, is well documented, and very user-friendly, making it the most convenient tool. However, it is not designed for older varieties of English like Older Scots. In fact, there is no automatic tagger for Middle English—let alone Older Scots—that is publicly available. As mentioned above, it is for this reason that some words were provided with modern variants. Nevertheless, there was still further alteration that needed to be done. Some words were so specific that no modern alternative could be found. In those cases, the words had to be tagged manually. Also, some words had multiple meanings dependant on context. For example, 'but' in the *Eneados* could mean *but*, but it could also mean *without* as in 'segyt but refuge', *except* as in 'nane bot thame', and *only* as in 'heir is na paramouris fund, bot all haitrent'. The correct tagging of these words had to be determined on a case by case basis. More insidious were those cases where the *USAS* tagger recognised an Older Scots word without need for a modern variant but failed to recognise the appropriate meaning because the word has a more current one. For example, Douglas frequently uses the word *debate* in the sense of 'fight', 'battle', or 'contest', but the *USAS* tagger only recognises *debate* as a speech act. Due to these challenges, the semantic tagging in these files is not perfect. However, a review of the tagging in Prologue II indicates that 98% of the tagging is correct.

### **3.2 Corpus-Based Data**

As explained previously (see Section 3.1), a significant component in the cycle of corpus construction is the quality of tools used in the corpus analysis. Anthony (2013: 141) notes that what corpus linguistics can achieve is largely determined by ‘the functionality offered by software’ and that different studies can produce different results based solely on the tools that they use (151). In other words, because corpora are created by a cycle of simultaneous development and use, and since the results a corpus produces depend on the functionality and quality of software used, the tools used in corpus linguistics must be carefully considered. The following sections describe the tools and procedures used to produce the data in this thesis as well as a basic explanation of the statistical functions used to analyse this data.

#### *3.2.1 Tools and Procedures*

Three main types of computational analysis have been performed here. The first of these is quantitative and is performed on numerical data to determine if it has a pattern related to contextual factors that can be reliably predicted. This is used here to evaluate trends in Douglas’s line ratios and how they interact with variables within his translation.

The second type of computational analysis is qualitative and is performed on non-numerical data that requires categorisation. Sometimes the assignment of category values is self-evident, but other times it is subjective, which can undermine the validity of the data. This subjectivity can be mitigated by strict, transparent procedures for assigning certain labels. Like quantitative analysis, qualitative analysis aims to find a correlation between certain parameters and results, so that data behaviour can be accurately predicted, described, and explained.

Alongside these two broad categories, tools like *AntConc* (Anthony 2014a) and *CQPweb* (A. Hardie 2012) also offer corpus tools that perform language-specific analyses. These include tools to find collocates, n-grams, word lists, and keywords. Collocates are words that tend to co-occur due to a strong lexical, grammatical, or semantic association; n-grams are words that co-occur so often that they have become lexicalised as a single unit of meaning. Both help identify set patterns in the *Eneados* translation so that Douglas's translation choices might be better understood. Word lists contain every word that occurs in a corpus along with their frequency of occurrence, providing a means to identify which words are used the most and how that compares to other corpora (Wynne 2008-09: 1.728). Keywords are produced by comparing the word lists of two separate texts (or corpora), and statistically identifying which words are unique and statistically significant to each text (or corpus). These help identify possible differences between various parts of the *Eneados* to better characterise Douglas's translation method.

### 3.2.2 A Brief Guide to Statistics

When dealing with these three data types (quantitative, qualitative, linguistic), statistical testing is necessary. Statistics determine whether a result is 'significant'—i.e. whether a result is of actual substance. For example, if there was a data set of three points (though such a small data set should be avoided), and two of these points were categorised as Type A and one as Type B, 67% of the data would be Type A and 33% Type B, which is a seemingly large difference. However, in terms of the raw data, this is a difference of only one datapoint. A statistical test would reveal that this difference is insignificant. However, if the data set included 3,000 data points, and 2,000 of these were categorised as Type A (67%), and 1,000 as Type B (33%), this difference would be significant because



the difference consists of 1,000 datapoints. In this way statistical tests nuance numerical results. However, insignificant results do not necessarily mean that data is invalid or that an effect does not exist. Rather, significance is a means of comparing data sets, and is useful information for interpreting data.

The chief measurement of significance used here is a  $p$ -value. This is a measurement of the probability that the 'null hypothesis' is correct. The 'null hypothesis' is that all distribution in a data set is random and not conditioned by any parameter. A low  $p$ -value indicates a low probability of randomness and indicates stronger results. Traditionally the threshold for significance is 0.05, indicating a 5% chance that results are random. Ideally,  $p$ -values should be lower than this. A  $p$ -value higher than this suggests that the data is insignificant.

Several tests have been used here to determine significance and assign  $p$ -values. For quantitative data, a linear regression was performed. A linear regression is a statistical model that predicts the value of a dependent variable based on an independent variable. To test the validity of this model, a statistical software known as *R* (R Core Team: 2018) runs a test known as an Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) which compares the variance between the groups being tested to the variance within each group (Brezina 2018: 192). The simplest ANOVA is a one-way ANOVA, which tests linear regressions that consider only one independent variable. Multivariate linear regressions involve multiple independent variables and are tested using a two-way ANOVA, which examines the effect of two independent variables on one dependent variable and determines if the two independent variables also affect one another (Brezina 2018: 197). An ANOVA only reveals that there is a difference between groups;

it does not reveal which groups are different. For that a post-hoc Tukey test is used (194; see Glen 2016). This compares each of the means the ANOVA tested individually to locate the differences the ANOVA identified.

T-tests are also used here to verify trends in data. A t-test, like an ANOVA, compares the means of data populations to determine if they are significantly different. However, while an ANOVA can compare multiple populations (more than two), a t-test can compare two at most. In this work, one-sample t-tests are used to determine if a trend in a single dataset is significant using 'a theoretical expectation of what the mean should be under the null hypothesis' as a point of comparison (McDonald 2014: 122). Two-sample t-tests are used to compare the trends in two datasets to determine if they are significantly different from each other; if two data populations are deemed to be related, a paired t-test can also be used. Trends are often characterised here by slope—an indication of how much a line increases or decreases, represented by  $m$ . Slope is also sometimes measured by  $R^2$ —the coefficient of determination, which indicates how much variance there is in a data set when fitting a trend line. Its value ranges from 0 to 1, with a higher value indicating less variation in the data and a more descriptive trend line (192). All t-tests are performed using the *GraphPad QuickCalc Free Web Calculator* (GraphPad Software Inc. [n.d.]), while  $m$  and  $R^2$  are calculated using graphing tools in *Microsoft Excel*.

For qualitative data, a chi-squared test is the traditional statistical test. This test compares the actual, 'observed' data results with the theoretical, 'expected' results, if the data was distributed randomly (see Brezina 2018: 113). This is done by manually generating a table of expected data values based on the observed data points (see

Appendix, Equation 1). Then tables of the observed and expected values are compared in Excel using the CHITEST function, which generates the  $p$ -value (see Appendix, Equation 2).

While the chi-squared test is a popular test, it is very sensitive to sample size (McDonald 2014: 86-89). For small data sets where expected values are less than five the chi-squared test is more likely to find results insignificant. In these cases, Fisher's exact test is used instead, which compares the results to other, more extreme distributions of the data that are less likely to occur, adding their  $p$ -values together to create a grand total (77-85). Fisher's exact test is usually used for 2 x 2 data tables. For larger tables, the Monte Carlo simulation is also implemented along with Fisher's exact test. This posits alternative data configurations 'with the same dimensions and column and row margins as the observed table' and 'repeatedly samples [them] ... to obtain an unbiased estimate of the true  $p$  value' (Mehta & Patel 1996/2011: 3-4). *R* is used to perform both these tests.

For large data sets, the chi-squared test is more likely to find results significant. This is because the data set is so large that it guarantees that there is enough evidence that a relationship between variables exists. However, that evidence may not be very strong, and the chi-squared test provides no way of evaluating this. In such cases, a Cramér's  $V$  test is used, which measures the strength of the association between two variables (see Brezina 2018: 114; van den Berg 2016). This value, denoted as  $\varphi_c$ , is a value between zero and one, with higher values indicating a stronger association. This test is calculated manually (see Appendix, Equation 3, for the formula).

The chi-squared test is used for data that has two nominal variables. For data that has one nominal variable, the pairwise proportion test is used instead. This test compares pairs of proportions to determine which ones are significantly different from

each other (see C. Ford 2016). This is performed in *R* using the Holm adjustment method (also called the Holm-Bonferroni method). This compensates for performing numerous comparisons on a set of data, which increase the likelihood that results will be found significant in error. The Holm method lowers  $p$ -value thresholds for each comparison using a mathematical formula based on the conditions of each comparison, and then adjusts the resulting  $p$ -values accordingly so that they can still be interpreted using the standard 0.05 threshold (see Spiegelhalter 2019: 280).

Just as *AntConc* (Anthony 2014a) and *CQPweb* (A. Hardie 2012) have their own corpus tools, they also have their own inbuilt methods of statistically analysing the results from these tools. Keyword results are determined by a log likelihood test, which picks out differences based on relative frequency (see Brezina 2018: 72 for the formula). Any value above 3.85 is equivalent to  $p < 0.05$  (see Rayson 1993-2014). However, this will only pick out words that have the most evidence, not necessarily words that are the most salient. For this, Hardie's Log Ratio is used, which measures effect by taking the logarithm of the ratio of the relative frequencies of the same word in the two different text blocks being compared (A. Hardie 2014). This indicates how much more often a word appears in one block of text compared to another, but the logarithm calls attention to larger differences. A result of 0 indicates the same relative frequency, while a result of 1 indicates that one block has a relative frequency twice as large as the other. Every increase of 1 indicates an exponential increase; a result of 2 means four times as large a difference between relative frequency ( $2^2$ ), a result of 3 means eight times as large a difference ( $2^3$ ), and so on.

Effects are often presented in this work as boxplots, which are a type of graph that illustrates a range of values as a bar with four quartiles (see Figure 2). The first quartile

extends from the minimum value in a dataset (1), excluding outliers, to the median of the bottom half of the dataset (5.25). The second quartile extends from the median of the bottom half of the dataset (5.25) to the median of the total dataset (10.5). The third quartile extends from the median of the total dataset (10.5) to the median of the upper half of the dataset (15.75). The fourth quartile extends from the median of the upper half of the dataset (15.75) to the maximum value in the dataset (20), excluding outliers. The 'x' in the middle of the boxplot represents the average of the total dataset (10.5). Boxplots are useful for comparing ranges across datasets, which, in the case of effects, helpfully illustrates what set or type of keywords are more significant. This is most often used to compare the language of different speakers in the *Eneados* and to determine where differences between them lie—in lexis, in grammar, or in content (see section 7.3).

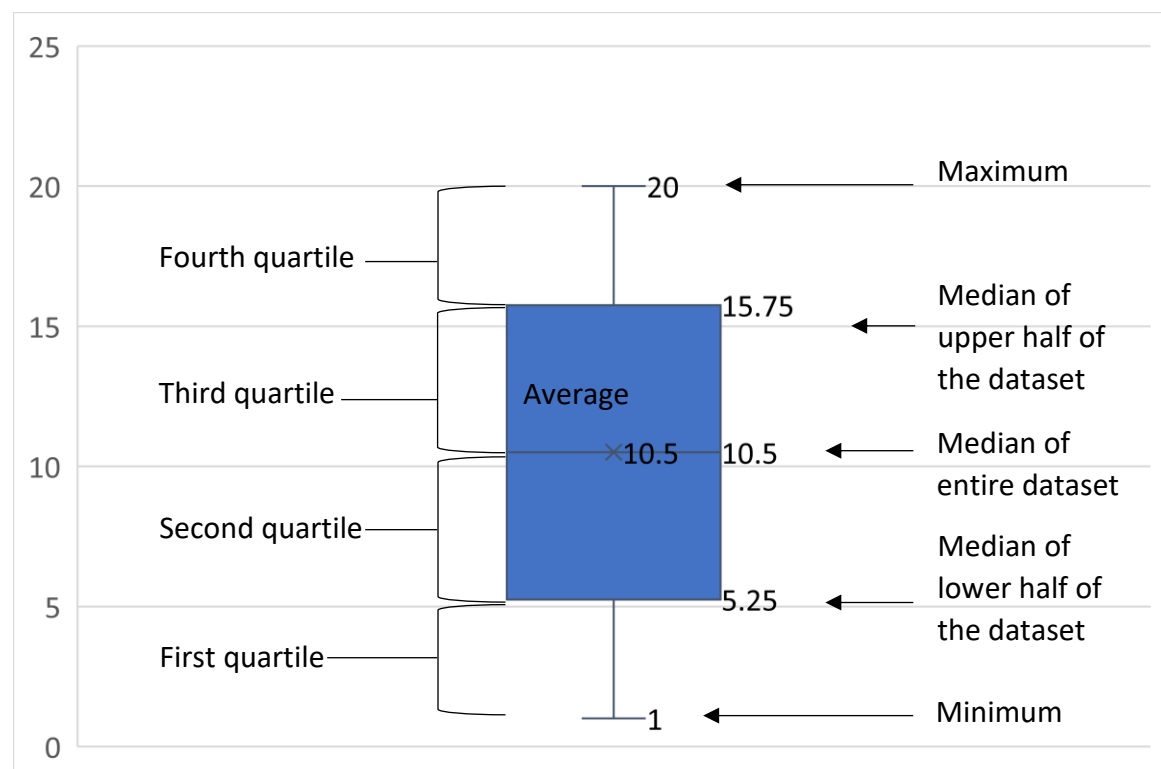


Figure 2: Example boxplot for a dataset consisting of 20 values (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20). Quartiles and values are labelled to indicate how to read a boxplot.

...

Using this corpus-based apparatus, this thesis embarks upon several studies involving the *Eneados* to describe the mechanics of Douglas's translation and to understand his concept of translational equivalency better.

Chapter 4 interrogates Douglas's comments concerning 'word for word' and 'sense for sense' equivalency by considering Douglas's line ratios. Structural, temporal, and semantic conditions for these translation decisions are all considered, using data derived from corpus linguistic tagging and annotation. This information reveals not only the evolution of Douglas's translation method and the fact that he translated the *Aeneid* in its textual order, but also his conscious preference towards literal and lengthy translation that belies his comments against 'word for word' translation.

Chapter 5 considers equivalency in terms of the visual layout of the page. It uses the layout annotation in the corpus-based apparatus to examine the structure of Ascensius's (1501) edition and its influence on Douglas's translation practice. It is argued that this influence is related to how Douglas uses Ascensius's commentary within his process of translation, and an extreme fidelity to form is discovered, suggesting that Douglas is more of a humanist than many allow. However, Douglas's own layout situates his work very much to the vernacular's benefit and aims at a lay audience.

Chapter 6 further probes Douglas's fidelity to form by considering his preservation of repeated lines in the *Aeneid* within his translation. This chapter discovers that Douglas is remarkably sensitive to reiterated lines, indicating several facets of his reading practices: 1) that he is an extremely attentive reader of the *Aeneid*, 2) that he was extremely familiar with the *Aeneid* prior to translating it, and 3) that he read cyclically,

using previously translated books to help translate later ones. This signifies an interest in stylistic and structural unity and the desire for the work to be read as a narrative whole.

Chapter 7 examines Douglas's interest in the narrative unity of the *Aeneid* by considering how Douglas translates narrative and speech and how he interprets various speakers and aspects of their identity. Specific attention is paid to how closely Douglas adheres to the original Latin of each speaker, and how he modulates his translation method depending on the speaker. Using this data, this chapter reflects on Douglas's views on gender roles, the place of pagan literature in a Christian context, and national identity, discovering that his concern about religion has the largest effect on his translation practice, with gender second, and nationality last.

**CHAPTER 4:**  
**NAVIGATING WORDS AND SENSE:**  
**AN INVESTIGATION OF DOUGLAS’S LINE RATIOS**

As explained in Section 2.2.2, Douglas’s *Eneados* (1513) is celebrated for being extremely faithful to the *Aeneid* (19 BC). However, at the same time, Douglas alters the shape of the *Aeneid* with his Prologues, extensive expansions, and alterations of book boundaries—which complicates our understanding of his translation practice (see Section 2.2.1). Even Douglas’s own explanation of his method is not straightforward, being at times contradictory and ambiguous (see Section 2.4). Fortunately, the process of aligning digital files of the *Aeneid* and *Eneados* has created a means of measuring the distance between the original text and translation via line ratios—the measure of how many lines Douglas uses to translate one line of Latin (see Section 3.1.5). This chapter analyses line ratios in the *Eneados* and through this analysis establishes what Douglas’s translation method entails and how it relates to the ‘word for word’ and ‘sense for sense’ maxims that dominated conceptions of translation in his day (see Section 1.2).

This chapter first evaluates what line ratios measure within translation. The implicit assumption behind line ratios is that a one-to-one ratio indicates complete equivalency and fidelity, while a higher ratio indicates original interpolation and a lower ratio indicates omission. However, the only thing that line ratios measure explicitly is how succinct or expansive Douglas’s translation is, not fidelity per se. This chapter first establishes basic principles for how line ratios should be interpreted, as well as definitions of other qualities of fidelity in translation.

The chapter then considers Douglas’s line ratios and attempts to characterise his ‘standard’ practice. There are two significant findings: first, that Douglas is a more literal



translator than his comments in Prologue I indicate, and second, that his translation method evolves over the course of the *Eneados*. This chapter goes on to investigate how Douglas's translation method interacts with his content and finds that his translation is at times thematically conditioned.

#### 4.1 The Qualities of Fidelity in Translation

As explained in Section 3.1.5, line ratios describe the number of lines Douglas uses to translate one line of Latin, effectively measuring how closely Douglas mimics surface level structures in the original Latin text—specifically, the length of clauses. In this way, line ratios can indicate how well Douglas represents Virgil's style, which is one of the qualities critics have used to measure Douglas's humanism (see Section 2.3.4). Translation units with higher line ratios tend to be less imitative of Virgil. This is because Douglas's frequent embellishments to the text result in him failing to translate Virgil's own 'brief, succinct, or allusive' style (Bawcutt 1976: 115). These embellishments, instead, draw 'attention to themselves in a way that the corresponding non-definitional source-language expressions do not' (Ivir 1987: 40), because of their 'unwieldiness'. As a result, they signal that the text is a translation.

The following expansive translation (line ratio = 4), for example, is such a long digression on the reasons why Juno hates the Trojans that it slows down the pace of narrative, weakening the impact of her vitriol.

( ... Et genus inuisum: et rapti ganymedis honores.) (Virgil 1501: I.28)

( ... Als Troiane blude till hir was odyus,

**For Iupiter engenderit Dardanus**

**Fra quham the Troianys cam in adultery,**

And Ganymedes revist abuf the sky,

**Maid him his butler, quhilk was hir douchteris office), ... (Douglas 1957-64: I.1.47-51)**

The added material (in bold) refers to other mythic examples of Jupiter's marital indiscretion which have caused Juno outrage—the 'seduction' of Electra and the abduction of Ganymede. However, these references do not strengthen our sense of the ferocity of Juno's ire; rather Douglas alleviates the severity of Jove's crimes. While he admits that the Trojans descend from Jupiter through adultery, nowhere is Electra mentioned, and the grammatical construction distances Jupiter from the crime. Similarly, while the violence towards Ganymede is indicated to some extent in the word 'revist' ('ravished'), this word can also more innocently indicate the action of being lifted above the clouds—as in 'raised' (*DSL: revist* ppl. adj., a, b). This ambiguity of phrasing is then eclipsed by the longer line explaining how Ganymede became cupbearer to the gods, implicitly glossing over Jove's misconduct by suggesting that the recompense Ganymede received was far greater than any injury suffered. The result is that the expansions here do not enhance the force of Juno's resentment, but slow it down and burden it with sophistry.

Evidently then, there is a stylistic benefit to keeping things brief. For example, Bawcutt (1974: 67) argues that Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey (c. 1517-1547), who translated Books II and IV of the *Aeneid* (1557 and 1554, respectively), 'rivals Virgil in terseness and ... elegance of phrasing' due to his brevity. This emulation of Virgil's conciseness coincides with Surrey's imitation of 'Virgilian half-lines', and 'Virgil's verse paragraphs' and 'syntax and rhetorical patterns' (Bawcutt 1974: 57). In so doing, 'Surrey mirrors in his own work the polished surface of Virgil' (67). Douglas can achieve this kind of imitation as well, where one line of Latin equates to one line of Scots (line ratio = 1), and when he does Surrey often borrows these exact translations from the *Eneados* (Kratzmann 1980: 176). For example, Surrey lifts the following line straight from the *Eneados* (see Bawcutt 1974: 57).

Exoritur clamorque virum: clangorque tubarum. (Virgil 1501: II.313)

'... Vpsprang the cry of men and trumpys blist; ...' (Douglas 1957-64: II.6.31)

'... Upsprang the crye of men and trompettes blast. ...' (Surrey 1928: II.399)

In this way, line ratios can indicate where Douglas's translation mimics Virgil's brevity and line structure and where it does not. The former is any moment where Douglas translates one line of Latin with one line of Scots (a line ratio of 1). Anything above that indicates a more expansive translation that is less adherent to the poem's form, and anything below that indicates a more succinct translation that also ignores Virgil's line structure. However, there are too many examples of translation units with a line ratio above 1 to handle in a qualitative study (6,038). Consequently, the selection is limited to those units with the lowest or highest rates of translation with a low enough frequency make their analysis feasible while still being significant—in effect, these are the most 'marked' moments of succinct and expansive translation. Consequently, the threshold for the lowest line ratios is set at 1 and below (248 instances), and the threshold for the highest line ratios is at 4 and above (194 instances).

Aside from stylistic imitation, line ratios can also indicate how Douglas conceives of his translation. Line ratios identify a gap between the original and translation, and expansions fill this gap and testify as to its nature. Douglas uses four different types of expansion: additions (in red), references (in green), elaborations (in purple), and double translations (in blue). Often, like in the example below, where Turnus rallies his troops, an expansive unit of translation uses several different strategies to embellish the text, making it difficult to assign only one category to a unit. In cases such as these, the category is determined by which expansion type dominates in the unit—in this case, reference.

Coniuge praerepta: nec solos tangit atridas  
Iste dolor: solisque licet capere arma mycenis. (Virgil 1501: IX.138-39)

‘... For **my deir** spouss, quham byreft me thai have:  
Nor this ennoy alanerly twichis nocht  
The twa Atrydes, **that Troy to rewyne brocht**  
(**I meyn the principal chiftanys, breder twa,**  
**That is to know, Agamennon and Menelay**);  
Nor **3it** allane **this causs** to armys steris  
The pepill of Myce **to move batale and weris**;  
**Bot princpaly this querrell myne I know.** ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: IX.3.144-51)

As the example above illustrates, additions are added content that have no origin in the source text. They include material added for the sake of metre or rhyme, but more often comprise authorial asides or observations on the plot. For example, here the addition emphasises how Turnus’s main concern is how the Trojans have stolen Lavinia from him, even though the main subject of his speech is how the Trojans stole Helen from the Greeks and have the audacity to commit a similar crime again. Lavinia is not directly referred to in this speech, so Douglas’s addition assures the reader that Turnus’s main quarrel with the Trojans concerns her. References are like additions in that they are large expansions that are not sourced from the main text (though they may be sourced from commentary). However, they are more specialised, usually acting as interior glosses that give extra information. For example, the reference above explains who the Atreides are and what their connection is to the Trojans. Such glosses serve a pedagogical purpose in providing information that helps the reader understand material that is far removed in time and place (see Sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.4).

In this way, additions and references both identify a gap in the text that can be redressed by the inclusion of extra content. For references, this content is specifically informative and indicates that the gap between the original text and translation is spatial, temporal, and cultural. By contrast, the extra content that additions supply can be motivated

by a wide variety of perceived deficiencies in the text. Plot clarifications indicate an information gap between the two texts, metrical additions are caused by differences in metre and format (i.e. dactylic hexameter in the *Aeneid* vs. heroic couplets in iambic pentameter in the *Eneados*; see Section 3.1.5), authorial asides reveal differences in stylistic convention between the two authors, where Virgil strives for the appearance of objectivity in his narrative, whereas Douglas's narrator is much more intrusive (see Booth 1991: 3, 6, 8; while Booth refers to Homer, specifically, there is a similar effect in Virgil's works, see Section 7.2.2).

In contrast to references and additions, elaborations and double translations are added content that has an origin in the text. They are more integrated into the translation and manifest as smaller expansions. Elaborations include words that do not have significant semantic content but impart tone, like 'zit', or adjectives and adverbs that embellish content, like 'my deir spouss' for 'coniuge' ('spouse'). They can also make the grammar more explicit, like the insertion of 'this causs' as a subject for the verb 'steris' in the example discussed on the previous page. In the Latin this subject is implied but not overtly given ('capere'), so the elaboration makes the Latin construction more concrete. Double translations are when multiple synonyms are used to translate just one word in the source (see Bawcutt 1974: 64; 1976: 116-117). For example, here Douglas translates 'capere arma' ('to take up arms') twice as 'to armys steris' and 'to move batale and weris' to capture the complete meaning of a word. It not only indicates the literal meaning of furnishing oneself with weapons, but also the more abstract one where 'arms' is a metonym for warfare.

In this way, elaborations and double translations indicate a gap between the source and translation that is both stylistic and linguistic. Both serve to make the translation more vivid, so that what Douglas's translation loses in elegant conciseness, he gains in descriptive intensity.

Elaborations also compensate for the fact that Latin grammar often elides subjects, objects, pronouns, articles, and even certain verbs. Double translations also serve to make the text more explicit, although how they do this is disputed. According to Ridley (1983: 113), expansions of this type ‘nail ... words down, [and] make them convey a single, specific concept and so lose the possibility of multiple connotations’. However, Griffiths (2009: 190-91; 2014: 90) and Kallendorf (2015: 68-69) in their explorations of gloss and layout have argued the opposite: that additions and commentary provide ambiguity by multiplying possible meanings. For instance, in the previous example, the double translation makes it unclear whether ‘arma’ refers to specifically to weapons or more abstractly to battle, and the semantic range of ‘capere’ extends beyond the simple denotation ‘take’ to include ‘steer’ and ‘move’ as well. The build-up of synonyms creates multiplicity rather than specificity. However, this build-up also makes the semantic density of Virgil’s Latin tangible (Jumpertz-Schwab 1998: 16). In this way, double translations are a concretising force, but with a slightly different purpose. Rather than try to achieve a one-to-one equivalency between the Latin and Scots, Douglas instead represents the semantic range of Latin lexis. His aim here is not explicitness but completeness.

While line ratios are extremely informative as to the shape of Douglas’s translation and where he is adding material, it cannot explicitly indicate the quality of Douglas’s translation. Aside from fidelity to the line structure of the text, fidelity to syntax and to lexis are also important aspects of Douglas’s translation method to consider. The former is often described in terms of whether a translation is ‘literal’ or ‘paraphrased’, and the latter in terms of whether a translation is ‘complete’. These aspects of translation must be determined on a case by case basis, as line ratios explicitly measure length and nothing else—not grammatical fidelity or lexical completeness. The following definitions of literal, paraphrased, complete, and incomplete translation are used to classify examples within this work:

Literal translation is understood here as a translation that follows the original syntax as best it can, bearing in mind that Latin word order is more versatile than Scots. For example, the following line occurs when Aeneas threatens to return to battle, since his father Anchises will not flee from the Greeks:

Arma viri ferre arma: vocat lux vltima victos. (Virgil 1501: II.668)

Harness, seruandis, harnes bryng **hydder sone!**

The latty end, thus venquyst **and ondone,**

Callys ws **agane to batale and assay;**

**Adone, cum on, this is our lattir day.** (Douglas 1957-64: II.10.191-94)

The translation is remarkably close to the original, mimicking the repetition and even the sound of ‘arma’ with the repetition of ‘harness’. While much original content is added, the original grammar and syntax are intact, with ‘lux vltima’—a nominative—interpreted appropriately as a subject (‘the latty end’), ‘vocat’—a present third person verb—translated as ‘callys’, and ‘victos’—a passive participle—understood as a participial phrase (‘thus venquyst and ondone’).

Paraphrased translation (in italics), on the other hand, is looser in its interpretation of grammar and syntax. For example, the following would strictly be translated as ‘She falls and, at last, after a long time, with difficulty, speaks’. However, Douglas translates ‘vix’ (‘with difficulty’) as ‘or ony speche or word scho mycht furth bring’, which is a very different interpretation. By translating this phrase more circuitously, Douglas stresses Andromache’s shock and her inability to speak. The greater time it takes for him to convey the idea mimics the time it takes for Andromache to become collected. In this way, paraphrased translation can be less faithful to the syntax of the text, but more faithful to the meaning.

Labitur. et longo vix tandem tempore *fatur*. (Virgil 1501: III.309)

**Q**u~~h~~il to the grond half mangit fel scho down,  
And **l**ay a lang tyme in a **d**edly swown  
Or ony speche **or word** scho mycht furth bring,  
**3**it **thus**, at last, sayd **eftir hir dwawmyng**: (Douglas 1957-64: III.5.52-55)

A complete translation honours all the material in the source, while an incomplete translation omits items. The two previous examples, for instance, are complete translations, as every single word is represented in the translation. However, the example below describing Cacus's hiding place is incomplete (omissions are crossed out).

*Hanc vt prona iugo ~~laeuum~~ incumbibat ad amnem ...* (Virgil 1501: VIII.236)  
'... The craggis all about this rolk war worn,  
**With wedderis blast to holkyt and to torn:**  
And as it stud **on schor** sweyand **that tyde**,  
**Down with the bank** towart the watir syde, ...' (Douglas 1957-64: VIII.4.115-18)

Douglas's translation omits the word 'laeuum' ('left') in its description of a crumbling precipice. This is a significant elision, given how the next line describes how Hercules strikes the precipice on its *right* side to send the peak toppling and to drag Cacus out from his lair ('Dexter in aduersum nitens concussit', Virgil 1501: VIII.237). 'Laeuum' thus sets up the next event, preparing the reader for a reference to 'dexter'. Moreover, the fact that Douglas does translate 'dexter' ('Hercules it smytis with a mychty towk / Apon the rycht half', 1957-64: VIII.4.119-20) makes his elision of 'laeuum' even more of an oversight.

There are some exceptions between these categories: Words that are not explicitly translated but do not contain any content (words like *et*, *etiam*, *vero*, and so on) do not count against a translation being 'complete'. Similarly, translations that follow the syntax of the original closely, but not to the letter (i.e. if there are some switches between active and passive voice and various cases) are not considered truly paraphrased. For instance, the word 'et'



(‘and’) is not translated in the following example describing denizens of the underworld, but since ‘et’ is not semantically substantial, its elision does not make the translation incomplete.

Pulsatusue parens: ~~et~~ fraus innexa clienti. (Virgil 1501: VI.609)

And **tha quhom by, throu thar deray and stryfe**,  
Thar faderis warryn chasyt in exile;  
All tha that ony falset, **slyght or gyle**  
Aganys thar seruandis **or famyliaris** wrocht; ... (Douglas 1957-64: VI.9.164-67).

Moreover, while Douglas’s translation does not perfectly match the grammar of the Latin, his translation does indicate perfect understanding of Latin idioms. The line above is part of a dative of possession construction that refers to the adverb and dative relative pronoun ‘hic quibus’ in *Aen.* VI.608. The line literally reads, ‘here are those men, for whom ... there is a parent wronged, and deceit wrought against servants’. This construction indicates possession or attribution of actions, and thus is more naturally translated as something akin to an ablative of personal agent, like ‘here are those men who wronged a parent and wrought deceit against servants’. This is how Douglas interprets the construction, though it is notable that he initially preserves the dative/ablative sense of ‘quibus’ in ‘quhom by’, and the passive participle ‘pulsatus parens’ in ‘Thar faderis warryn chasyt’, before adopting a more natural translation of the second half of the line. Consequently, this is not considered a paraphrase because it is the natural translation of a Latin idiom.

Using these three measures of translation method—fidelity to format, grammar, and lexis—the following sections consider how Douglas’s translation balances these qualities. These three qualities are not necessarily congruent. Translations that try to match the length of the original often must contend with differences in grammar between the source and receiving languages which necessitates paraphrase (see Baker 1992: 37-40). Similarly, varying economies of syntax between languages may demand the omission or inclusion of content (40-42).

Consequently, fidelity to formal aspects of the text might sacrifice fidelity to syntax or lexis by its very nature and vice versa and it is up to the translator to decide which to prioritise. Moreover, how these three qualities are calibrated relative to one another is unique in every case, depending on the languages involved, the assumed readership of the translation, and how the translator conceives of their own role (see Baker 1992: 253-54). The next section considers the value of brevity in translation as opposed to length in the case of Douglas's *Eneados* and how these various qualities, strategies, and processes work together.

#### **4.2 Douglas's Regular Mode of Translation**

Douglas proves to pursue literal and complete translation that expands upon the original. Out of the 6,311 translation units in the *Eneados*, 54% have a line ratio with the value of 2 ( $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 31 for raw data), with usually 1 line of Latin being translated with 2 lines of Scots (70%,  $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 32 for raw data). This confirms Bawcutt's (1974: 57) claim that, for Douglas, 'the couplet often corresponds to a single hexameter' and suggests that Douglas translated line by line.

Such practice is conducive for literal translation, as it forces the translator to maintain the order of content in the poem and encourages the preservation of the original grammar, whereas larger translation units enable a less meticulous approach to translation. For example, the following translation unit features a line ratio of 1.86 (13:7), which does not indicate an especially expansive translation. However, the unit itself is very large, indicating that rather than translate this instance line by line, Douglas decided to translate the entire simile comparing Dido in love to a wounded deer as a block. This practice enables Douglas to rearrange the syntax of the passage. For

example, 'Quid delubra iuuant?' is translated first as 'Quhat helpis to vyssy tempillis in luffis rage?' while the second half of the line ('est mollis flammās medullas / Interea'; cf. *Ene.* IV.2.37-38) is not translated until after the material about Dido's secret wound ('et tacitum viuit sub pectore vulnus / Vritur infoelix Dido', cf. *Ene.* IV.2.34-36), even though that occurs later in the Latin.

*Quid delubra iuuant? est mollis flammās medullas*  
 Interea: et tacitum *viuit* sub pectore vulnus  
 Vritur infoelix dido: totaque vagatur  
 Vrbe furens: qualis coniecta cerua sagitta:  
 Quem procul *incautam* nemora inter cressia fixit  
 Pastor agens telis: liquitque *volatile ferrum*  
*Nescius*: illa fuga syluas *saltusque peragrat* ... (Virgil 1501: IV.66-72)

*Quhat helpis to vyssy tempillis in luffis rage?*  
**Behald** onhappy Dido **of Cartage**  
 In this meyn session *byrnyng hait as gleyd*:  
 The secrete wound deip in hir mynd *gan spreyd*,  
**And of hoyt amouris the subtell quent fyre**  
**Waistis and consumys merch, banys and lyre.**  
 Our all the cite enragyt scho **heir and thar**  
 Wandris, as ane strykkyn hynd, quhom the stalkar,  
*Or scho persave*, from far betis with hys flane  
 Amyd the woddis of Creyt, and lattis remane  
 The *braid hed*, onknaw **the beste wass hyt**;  
 Scho *skyping furth*, as to eschew **the byt**,  
 Gan throu the forest fast and gravys **glyde**, ... (Douglas 1957-64: IV.2.33-45)

Douglas also rearranges specific words, resulting in paraphrase. A strict translation of *Aen.* IV.66-68 would read: 'In the meantime, there is a flame in her soft marrow, and unhappy Dido burns with a secret wound in her breast'. Douglas, however, translates 'uritur' ('burn') twice, both in ways that are not in the original grammar. He makes 'tacitum vulnus' (an accusative object) into the subject of 'uritur' and paraphrases it as 'byrnyng ... / The secrete wound ... gan spreyd'. He also translates 'uritur' with 'flammās'

as ‘the subtell quent fyre waistis and consumys merch, banys and lyre’, even though these words are in separate clauses. In effect, Douglas takes a case of *dicolon abundans*—a rhetorical trope where Virgil repeats the same idea in a different manner (see Dainotti 2015: 35)—and translates it as one image using vocabulary from both iterations. He is enabled to do so by translating a larger section of Latin at one time, as this gives him more options—he can decide what content should go with what and how the grammar should be interpreted. As result, he renders Virgil’s syntax loosely.

By contrast, a smaller translation unit produces a more exact translation. The following example, featuring the Sibyl’s instructions to the Trojans, has a high line ratio of 4 (4:1), but the unit itself is small, indicating that Douglas translated this content by line. While this unit features many additions that serve to clarify Sibyl’s orders, the bare bones of the syntax are still represented faithfully in the translation and the imperative verbs ‘duc’ (‘bring’) and ‘sunto’ (‘let be’) are translated accurately.

Duc nigras pecudes: ea prima piacula sunt: ... (Virgil 1501: VI.153)

**Til his funeral entyre, or sacrifyss,  
Do bring the blak bestis, as is the gyss;  
Lat tha be 3our first expiationys,  
And clenging graith, eftir 3our serymonys.** (Douglas 1957-64: VI.2.151-54)

Such translation proves to be the norm for Douglas, as demonstrated by a qualitative analysis of Douglas’s most expansive and succinct and translation units. Figure 3 reveals that Douglas has prefers translation that is expansive, literal, and complete. More expansive translation proves to favour this one mode, whereas smaller line ratios prefer elision or paraphrase. This indicates that Douglas’s pursuit of lengthier translation enables him to represent Virgil’s meaning and grammar better, even though such

translation is not faithful to the shape and size of the text. Succinct translation, by contrast, often necessitates the sacrifice or condensation of content.

To achieve literal, complete translation, Douglas tends to use his various expansion strategies equally (Figures 4 and 5). However, he does prefer to use elaborations in paraphrased translation rather than literal (45% vs. 27%,  $p < 0.05$ , pairwise proportion test), and favours double translations in literal translation rather than paraphrased (29% vs. 7%,  $p < 0.01$ , pairwise proportion test). While there is a similar tendency for elaboration to prefer incomplete translation and double translations to prefer complete translation, the results here are not significant because incomplete translation is disfavoured in general.

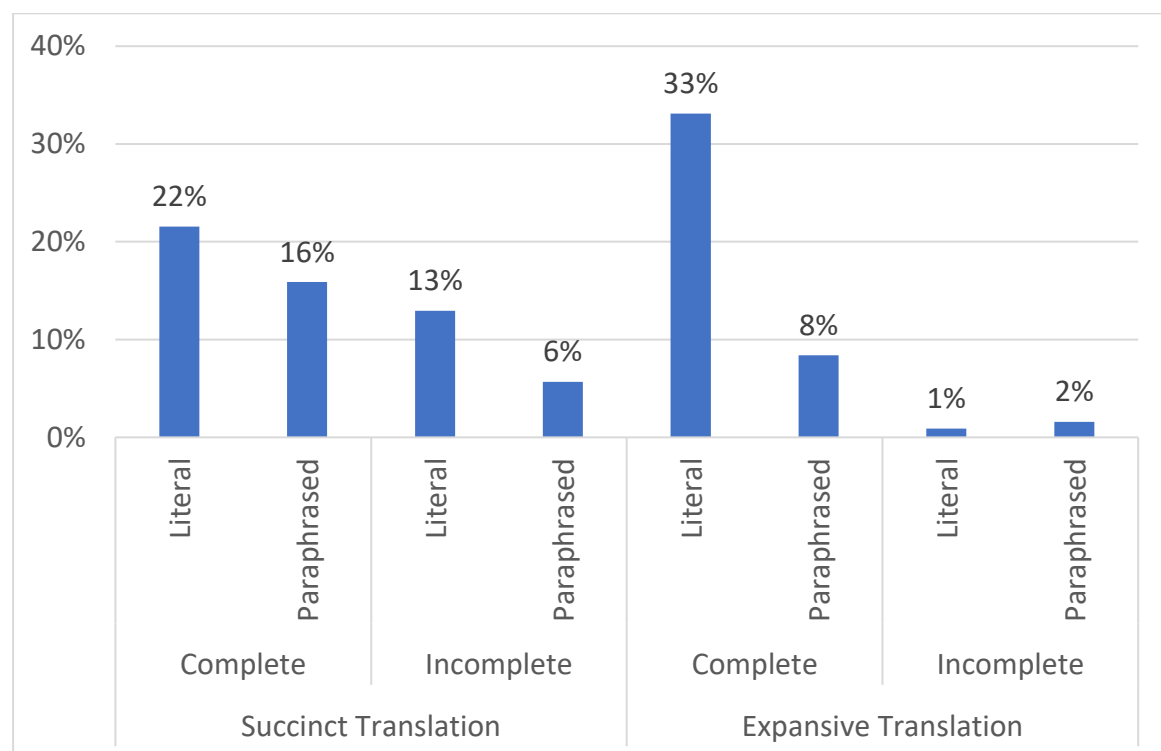


Figure 3: Distribution of eight different translation types—the various permutations of succinct, expansive, literal, paraphrased, complete, and incomplete translation—within the most succinct and expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’. See Dataset 2 for full data.

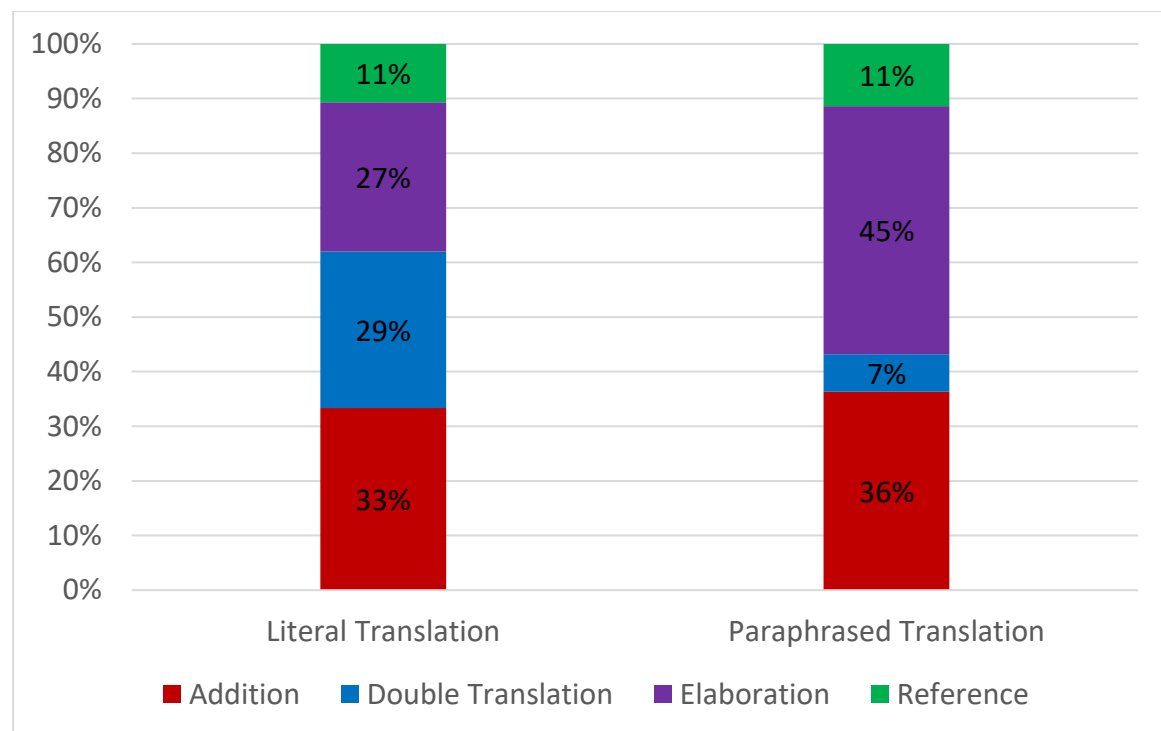


Figure 4: Distribution of expansion types in literal and paraphrased translation within the most expansive translation units in the 'Eneados'. Results are significant ( $p < 0.001$ ) according to a Fisher's exact test. See Appendix, Table 34 for raw data.

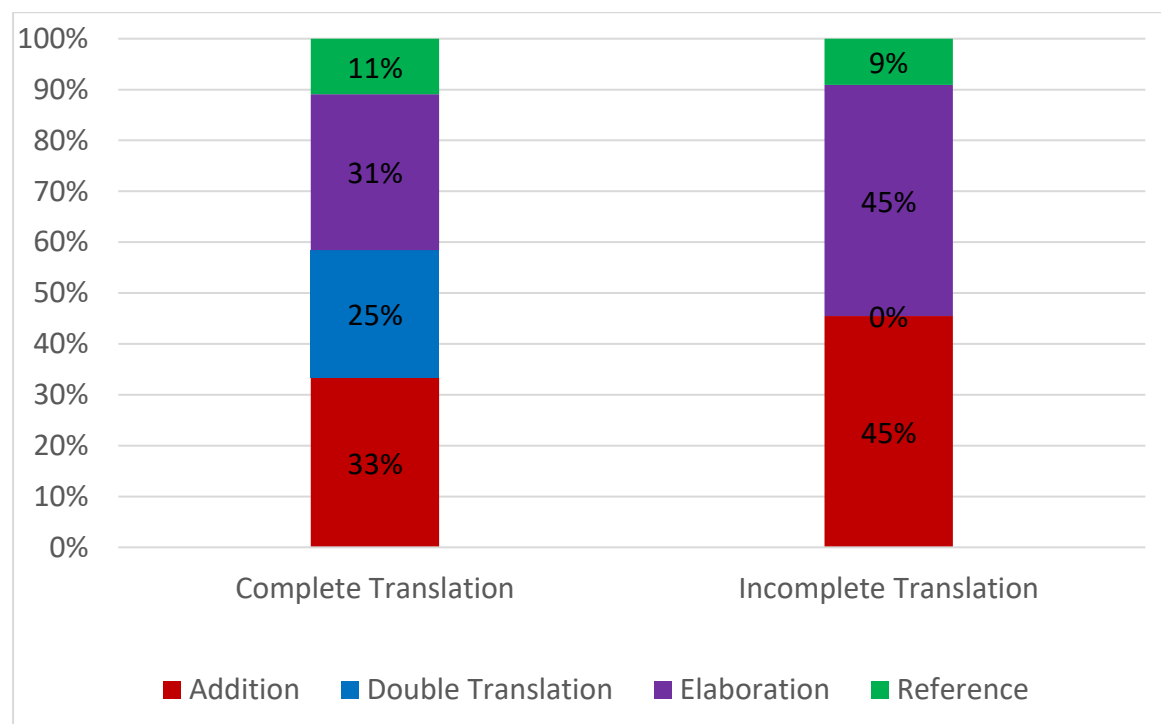


Figure 5: Distribution of expansion types in complete and incomplete translation within the most expansive translation units in the 'Eneados'. Results are not significant ( $p = 0.19$ ) according to a Fisher's exact test. See Appendix, Table 35 for raw data.

This again reflects the different purposes behind each expansion strategy (see Section 4.1). Just as elaborations help adapt Latin grammar to Scots in more literal translation, they also serve to smooth over paraphrased translations. Likewise, double translation's ability to translate things in two ways simultaneously is naturally conducive to literal translation. It allows Douglas to 'render in his own words both the *litera* and its *sententia*, the literal sense of a word or phrase as well as its "sentence"' (Bawcutt 1976: 116). In this way, double translation provides a range of translation that almost always includes a literal rendering of the source.

This programme of expansion confirms claims that Douglas utilises pedagogical interpretations of the *Aeneid*, which necessitate the inclusion of extra material that explains concepts that would have been common knowledge to Ancient Romans but are esoteric to medieval Scottish readers (see Sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.4). However, it is surprising that out of all expansion types, Douglas tends to use references, which resolve cultural differences between the source text and readership, and are thus the most suited to pedagogical translation, the least (11%,  $p < 0.01$ , pairwise proportion test; see Figure 6). By contrast, he uses additions, elaborations, and double translations equally (i.e. with no significant preference between them). This suggests that Douglas's reliance on pedagogical methods is not entirely straightforward.

However, these results are somewhat crude, given how expansive translation units tend to evince more than one type of expansion and are categorised by whatever type dominates in the unit (see Section 4.1). References may be far more common than Figure 6 indicates, but manifest themselves in smaller, less dramatic expansions, while other expansions 'hog' the space. For example, in the following translation, the reference

‘that depast pyt of hell’ (a gloss of ‘Acheron’) takes up less space than the fragmented elaborations that litter the rest of the translation.

Flectere si nequeo superos acheronta mouebo. (Virgil 1501: VII.312)

‘... Gif I may nocht the hevinly goddis inclyne

To my purpuss, I sal seik forthir syne

To thame that far down into Achiron dwell,

And sal commove that depast pyt of hell. ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: VII.6.69-72)<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, even this ‘shrinkage’ of references indicates less reliance on a pedagogical mode of translation than might be expected—though to be clear, such material is still prevalent throughout the *Eneados*. Perhaps Douglas felt the need to be sparing with pedagogical references as they can make the text cumbersome and impede efforts to imitate Virgil’s style (see Sections 4.1 and 2.3.4). Alternatively, he believed that the differences between Latin and Scots and the need to insert his own authorial voice were more pressing concerns.

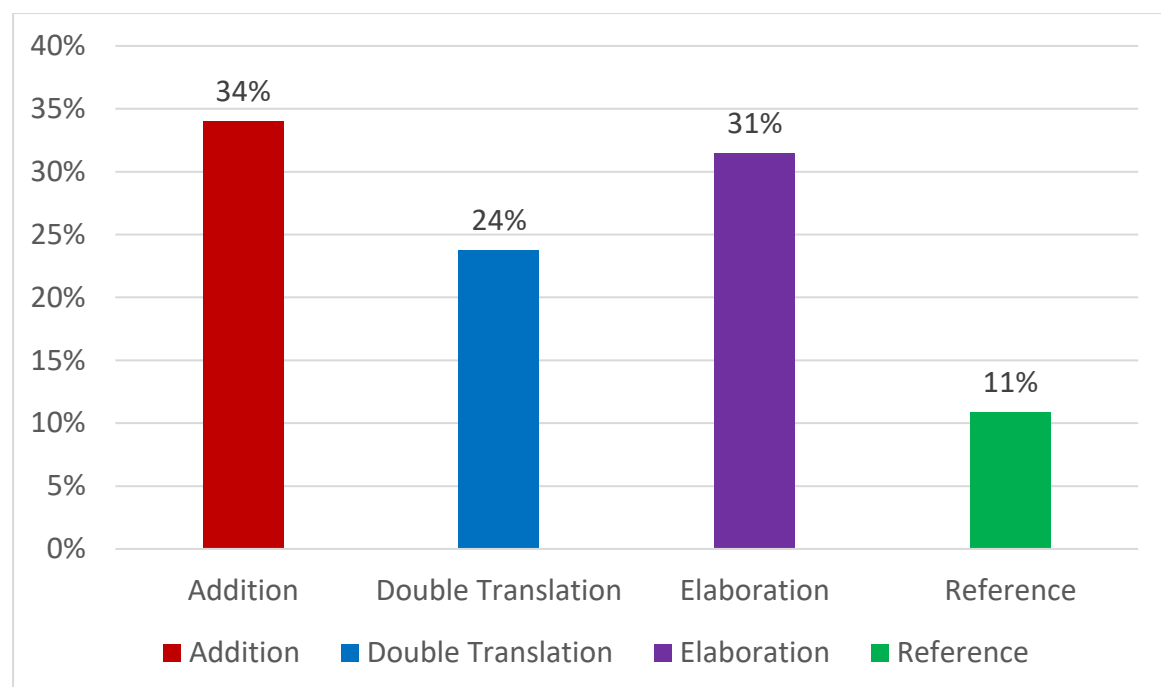


Figure 6: Distribution of expansion types in the most expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’. Results are not significant ( $p = 1$ ) according to a two-tailed t-test with a hypothetical mean of 48.5. See Appendix, Table 36 for raw data.

<sup>1</sup> See VII.5.69-72 in the printed version of Coldwell (1957-64).



In this way, Douglas proves himself aware of the stylistic sacrifices that accompany a translation that does not honour the format of the source text. Moreover, he even at times proves himself capable of pursuing translation that is more stylistically imitative of Virgil, achieving one-to-one line ratios 4% of the time ( $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 31). However, he actively chooses not to pursue this kind of a translation as a rule. Bawcutt (1974: 67) argues that it is this practice that distinguishes Douglas's work from Surrey's; for, while Douglas's expansions make his translation more cumbersome than Surrey's at times, they also make his work 'far more responsive than Surrey['s] to Virgil's linguistic subtlety' and able to '[penetrate] beneath the surface and [convey] something of Virgil's mysterious latencies of feeling'. In other words, while Douglas *can* be as concise and faithful to aspects of format as Surrey, he chooses not to be, because he is less interested in representing Virgil's style or 'verbal texture' (Kratzmann 1980: 178) and more interested in representing his meaning. Such an interpretation would suggest that Douglas pursues a 'sense for sense' translation, even though his actual practice proves to be very literal. This in turn, puts his declaration in Prologue I that he translates 'sense for sense' in a new light, suggesting that he is attempting to make a distinction between 'word for word' and literal translation heretofore not seen.

### 4.3 Changing Line Ratios in the *Eneados*

While expansive, literal, and complete translation characterises Douglas's method much of the time, there are inconsistencies. He tends to use a wide variety of translation methods, especially in the early books where paraphrased and incomplete translation is more common. For instance, the following example, where Hector appears in a dream to warn Aeneas of imminent danger, features both paraphrase and omission.

Compellare virum: et *moestas expromere* voces. (Virgil 1501: II.280)

‘... **Rycht reuerently begouth** to clepe **this** man,  
And with *sik dolorus wordis* **thus began**: ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: II.5.57-58)

Douglas paraphrases ‘*moestas expromere voces*’ (‘to speak sad words’) so that the accusative ‘*moestas voces*’ becomes an ablative (‘with *dolorus wordis*’). Meanwhile, ‘*expromere*’ is not translated at all, but elided with its synonym ‘*compellare*’ as ‘begouth to clepe’. Arguably, ‘*expromere*’ is tacitly translated in the second line by ‘thus began’, which implies the infinitive ‘to speak’. However, it is not translated explicitly. Such differentiation belies the dominance of the ‘standard’.

Likewise, the implementation of ‘standard’ line ratios and units (where 2 lines of Scots translate 1 line of Latin) proves to be irregular throughout the *Eneados*. As Figure 7 shows, the 2:1 mode of translation dominates only in the first half of the poem—especially in Books III and VI. However, from Book VII onwards, other modes of translation hold sway. A closer look at the line ratios reveals a general increase in Douglas’s length of translation over the course of the *Eneados* (Figure 8). While the books in the *Aeneid* also grow longer, the change is less dramatic (Figure 9). The *Eneados* adds about 88 extra lines per book, while the *Aeneid* adds only 16—making Douglas almost six times more prolific than Virgil.

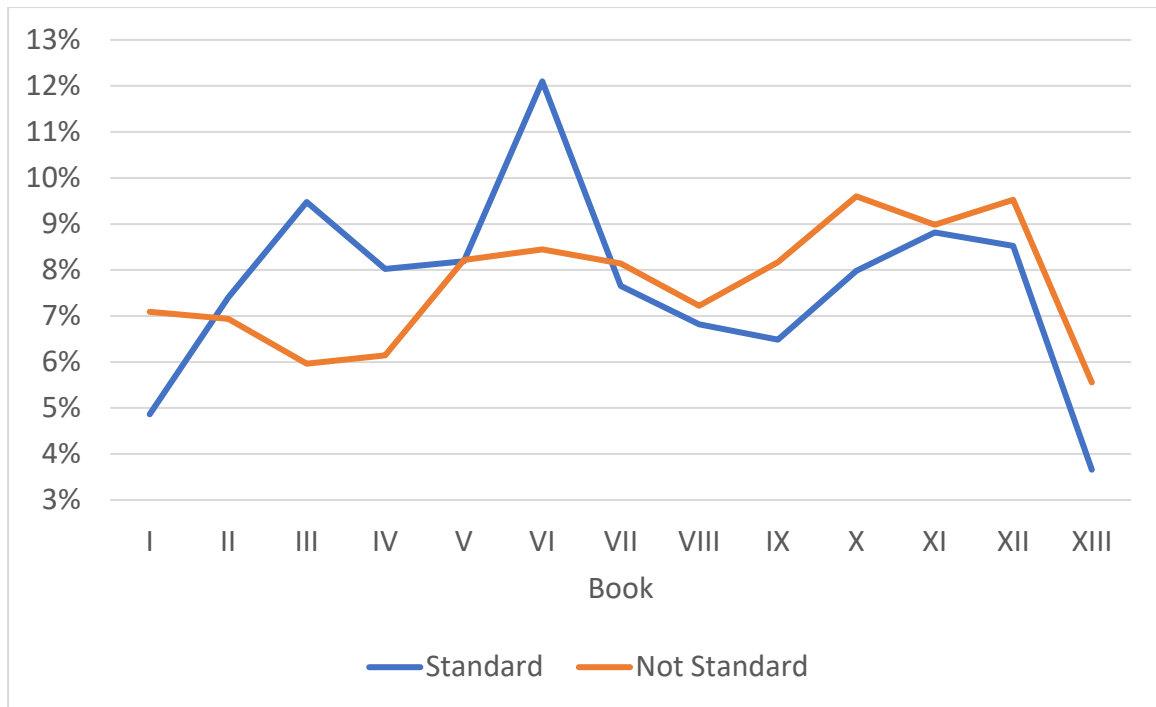


Figure 7: Distribution of translation units exhibiting 'standard' and 'non-standard' translation modes across the 'Eneados'. 'Standard' translation is where one line of Latin is translated with two of Scots. Results are significant ( $p < 0.001$ ) according to a chi-squared test. See Appendix, Table 37 for the raw data.

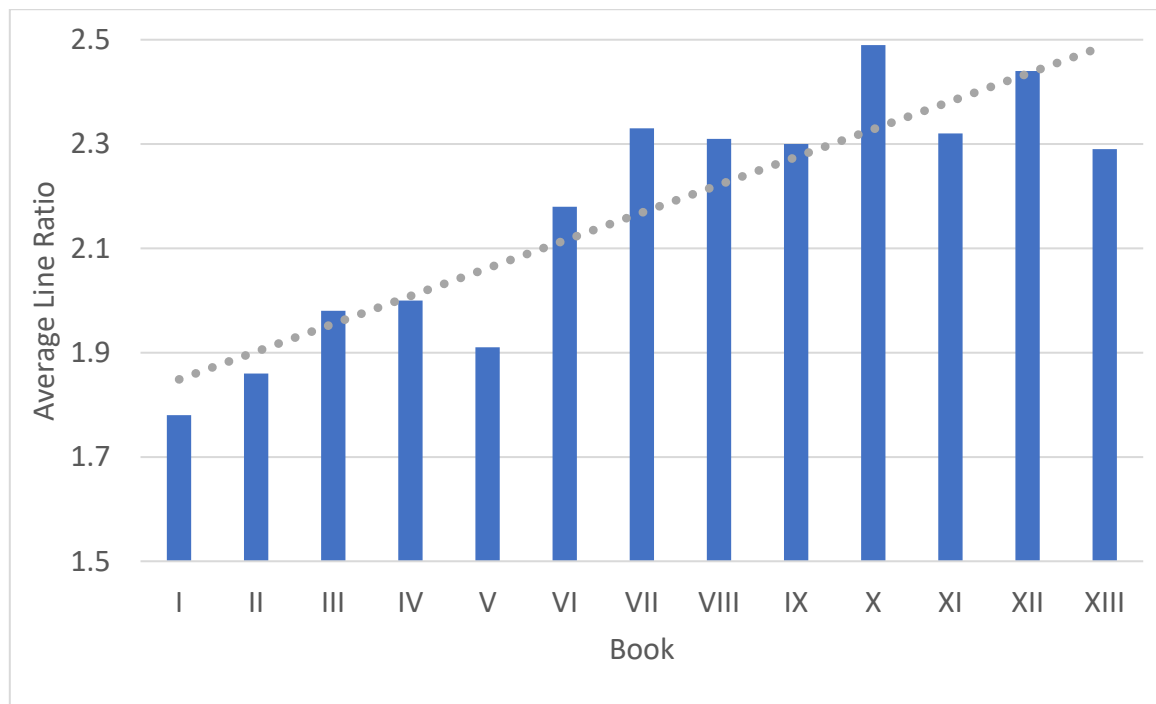


Figure 8: Average line ratios across the thirteen books of the 'Eneados' with a descriptive trend line. Results are significant ( $p < 0.001$ ) according to a linear regression performed in R that was tested with an ANOVA. See Appendix, Table 29 for raw data.

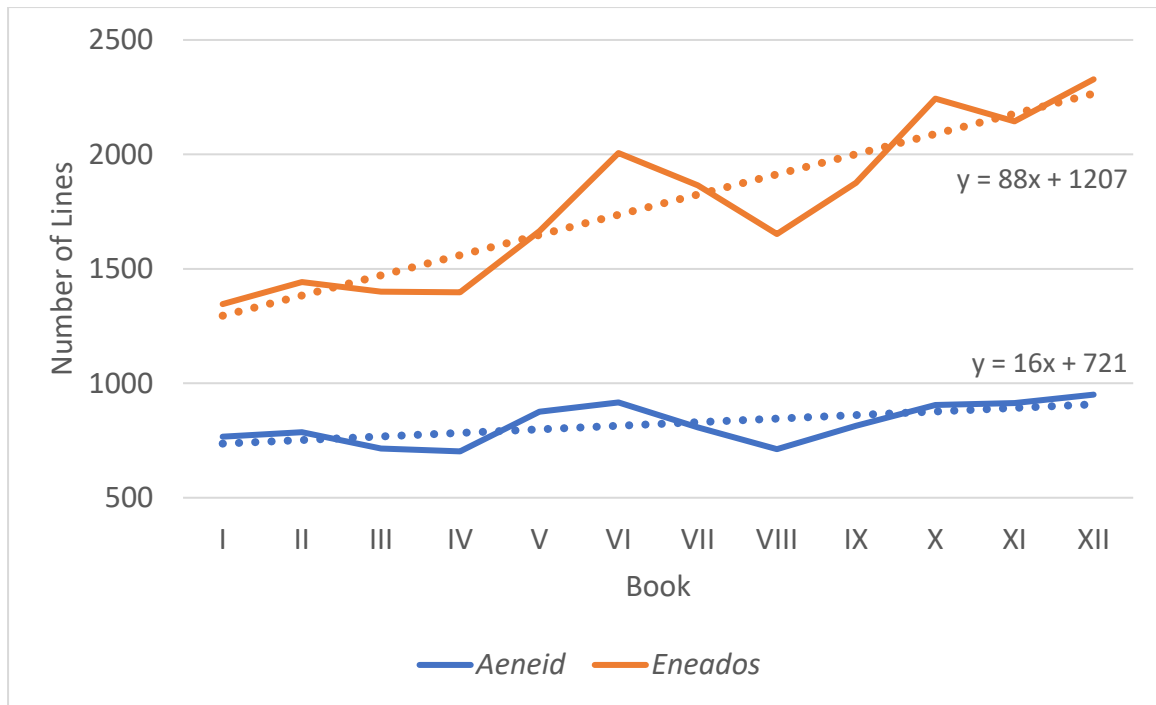


Figure 9: Number of lines in each book of the 'Aeneid' and 'Eneados' with linear trend lines and equations. The behaviour in the 'Aeneid' and 'Eneados' is significantly different ( $p < 0.001$ ) according to a paired t-test. For raw data see the Appendix, Table 38.

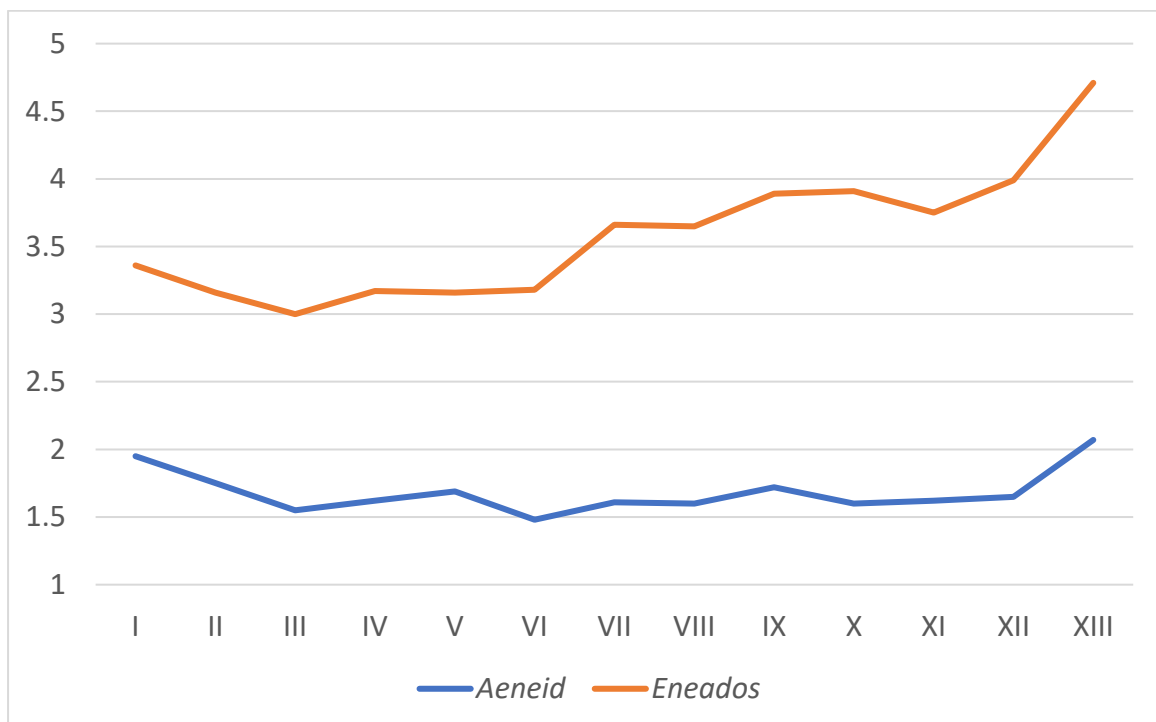


Figure 10: Average number of Latin and Scots lines in each translation unit in every book of the 'Eneados'. Results are significant for both Latin and Scots data ( $p < 0.001$ ) according to a linear regression performed in R that was tested with an ANOVA. See Appendix, Table 39 for raw data.

Not only do Douglas's line ratios change over the course of the *Eneados*, but the number of Latin and Scots lines per translation unit changes too (Figure 10). Generally, the number of Latin lines in each translation unit remains constant around 1.5—meaning that each unit contains one or two lines of Latin, indicating that Douglas generally translates line by line. However, in Book I and Book XIII the number spikes to 2, which could indicate an increase in paraphrased translation (see Section 4.2). This similarity is surprising, given that Book I and Book XIII draw on different sources and that Douglas's respect for Vegio's *Supplement*, the source of Book XIII, is significantly less than that for the *Aeneid*. Not only is his handling of Vegio's character within Prologue XIII very humorous, but the poet-narrator—ostensibly Douglas—also opines that Vegio's work 'ekit but ony necessite' (1957-64: XIII.Prol.116). As Ghosh (1995: 7) puts it, 'there is a significant textual irreverence' in Douglas's approach to Vegio's work. Nevertheless, Books I and XIII have similar modes of translation and differ distinctly from the other books.

The following sections consider examples from Book I and Book XIII to demonstrate the similarity between their translation methods. These examples are then compared to one from Book VII (the mid-point of the *Eneados*) to indicate how they are otherwise outliers in Douglas's translation practice.

#### 4.3.1 An Example from Book I

The following passage from Book I compares Dido to the goddess Diana and has a comparatively low line ratio (1.8) but is a large unit (9:5). This enables Douglas to pursue a looser translation than normal, like the example from Book IV in Section 4.2.

Qualis in eurotae ripis: aut per iuga cinthi  
 Exercet diana choros: quam mille secutae  
 Hinc atque hinc glomerantur oreades: illa pharetram  
 Fert humero: *gradiensque deas supereminet* omnes  
*Latonae tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus.* (Virgil 1501: l.498-502)

Lyke **to the goddes Dian with hir rowt**  
**Endlang the flude** of Eurot on the bra,  
 Or vndir the **toppis of hir** hill Cynthia  
 Ledand ryng dansys, quham followis **our alquhar**  
 A thousand nymphis flokkyng heir and thair;  
 On **hir** schulder the arrow cace baris sche,  
 And *quhar scho walkis abufe* the laif **on hie**  
**May weil be seyn; to Latone hir moder this**  
*Gevis reiosyng and secrete hartis blyss:* ... (Douglas 1957-64: l.8.8-16)

Douglas alters the syntax of the source, translating content from l.499—‘qualis ... diana choros’, ‘lyke to the goddess Dian with hir rowt’—before l.498 (see *Ene.* l.8.9-10). He also heavily paraphrases the source content. The participle ‘Gradiensque’ (‘walking’) and finite verb ‘supereminet’ (‘she rises above’) are combined to create the phrase ‘quhar scho walkis abufe the laif’ as opposed to the more literal translation ‘walking, she towers over all’. Douglas also translates ‘pertentant’ (alternatively spelled ‘pertemptant’ in other editions; cf. Virgil 1897-1902: l.502) as ‘gevis’ instead of the more standard ‘seize’—potentially due to some confusion with ‘pertendant’, which can mean ‘to reach’ (see *Oxford Latin Dictionary: pertendo*, 2.b). This results in the complete rearrangement of the clause ‘Latonae tacitum pertentat gaudia pectus’ (‘joys secretly seize Leto’s heart’): The subject ‘gaudia’ becomes an object (‘blyss’), the object ‘pectus’ becomes a possessive (‘hartis’), the possessive ‘Latonae’ becomes an indirect object (‘to Latone’), and the adverb ‘tacitum’ becomes an adjective (‘secrete’).

#### 4.3.2 An Example from Book XIII

The example from Book I shares many features with a translation unit from Book XIII where Aeneas celebrates his victory over the Italians. Here the line ratio is higher (2.33) and the size of the translation is larger still (14:6), again producing a looser translation.

Ecce inuenta quies: ecce ~~h~~ extrema malorum  
*Erumnis* factura *modum* acceptissima semper  
Atque optata dies: quam dura in bella vocatus  
Saepe tibi diis auspicibus meminisse futuram  
~~h~~ memini: nunc te cum primum aurora rubebit  
Crastina sublimen rutulorum ad moenia mittam. (Vegio 1501: 77-82)

Lo, **now our rest and quyet fund for ay!**  
Lo, **now** the last and maist desyrit day,  
To mak end of our harmys **and distres!**  
**Our paynfull laubour passit is express:**  
Lo, the acceptabill **day** for euermor,  
Quhilk I **full** oft haue schawin the **befor**  
Quhen ontill hard bargan callit was I,  
This was tocum **and betyd by and by**  
Be dispositioun of the goddys **abufe.**  
**And now, my derrest child,** for thy **behufe,**  
To morn, soyn as Aurora walxis red,  
To the cite of Lawrent, **that ryall sted,**  
I sall the send, **as victor** with ovirhand,  
**Tobe mastir and to maynteym this land.** (Douglas 1957-64: XIII.2.49-62)

Like the Book I example, the syntax is not followed: 'Extrema' and 'optata', which occur two lines apart, are translated together as 'the last and maist desyrit'. While there is less paraphrasis, there is still the notable example of 'erumnis' ('distressing') and 'modum' ('manner') being taken together as 'paynfull labour', even though they have different cases (ablative plural and accusative singular, respectively). In fairness to Douglas, this may be the result of necessity rather than carelessness on his part, as Vegio exploits Latin's flexible syntax much more than Virgil does, with the result that words that form a grammatical unit are often

separated by several lines (as with 'extrema' and 'optata'). Moreover, Vegio's clauses (represented by Ascensius's punctuation in the 1501 edition) tend to be much longer than Virgil's and rarely coincide with the end of a line. Consequently, Douglas struggles to follow the syntax of his source or to turn his source's clauses into full lines. This necessitates him to be more grammatically inventive in his translation and to use larger translation units.

However, by the same token, this also gives Douglas the opportunity to flex his 'poetic muscles'. For example, Douglas elaborates on Vegio's repetition of 'ecce', translating it as 'lo' on each occasion, and adding a third one for good measure. Not only does this enhance the drama of Aeneas's speech, announcing the near end of the *Eneados* with fanfare, but it also is a subtle nod to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (c. 1381-86) and Lydgate's *Troy Book* (1412). Chaucer, at the end of *Troilus*, likewise employs a series of 'lo's that sum up the poem's 'moral', each 'lo' beseeching the reader to behold what comes of paganism and romantic love and to ruminate on the limitations of 'olde clerkes speche'.

Lo here, of Payens corsed olde rytes,  
 Lo here, what alle hir goddes may availle;  
 Lo here, these wrecched worldes appetytes;  
 Lo here, the fyn and guerdon for travaille  
 Of love, Appollo, of Mars, of swich rasaille!  
 Lo here, the forme of olde clerkes speche  
 In poetrye, if ye hir bokes seche. (Chaucer 1894c: V.1849-55)

'Lo' also appears several times in Lydgate's *Troy Book*. Lydgate uses it when foreshadowing the tragic fate of Jason and Medea (1906-35: l.3614-17), when summarising Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (III.4224-230), when describing Achilles's wish for vengeance on Troilus (IV.2668-70), and when praising Aeneas's banishment of the traitor Anthenor (IV.5486-90). The last of these is the most relevant here:



... Lo! how þe riȝtful kynge,  
þat al may sene in his prouidence,  
Ful iustly can maken recompence  
Of doubilnes and simulacioun,  
And of al swiche contrived fals tresoun: ... (IV.5486-90)

Douglas probably alludes to these two works because both are part of the diverse textual tradition inspired by the *Aeneid* and story of Troy. However, given Douglas's censorious comments towards Chaucer and Caxton in Prologue I, it is interesting that he invokes this canon here in his translation of Vegio's text and in Prologue XIII, which Bawcutt (1970: 415) observes is distinctly Chaucerian in its style. This suggests that Douglas handled Vegio's text with more freedom than the rest of his translation (417).

In addition to being part of the Matter of Troy's diverse textual tradition, these texts also consider the theme of deception. Troilus and Pandarus deceive Criseyde to engineer a romance, and Criseyde eventually betrays Troilus in Chaucer's text (see Farnham 1967). Likewise, the story of Troilus is repeated in Lydgate's text, with the addition of how Achilles dishonourably kills Troilus, along with the story of Jason and Medea, who betray each other, and the story of how Anthenor betrays Troy. In invoking such episodes when translating Aeneas's speech celebrating the end of the Trojans' trials and tribulations, Douglas undercuts the apparent happy ending, suggesting that all is not as it seems. Indeed, as the Shield of Aeneas intimates, there is more to come—the adventures of Romulus and Remus, Brutus and the creation of the Republic, Augustus and the creation of the Empire. The Trojans' 'rest and quyet' is *not* 'fund for ay'. At the same time, the allusion serves to celebrate Aeneas as 'þe riȝtful kynge', who has the power to 'maken recompence / Of doubilnes and simulacioun' (see quote above). It subtly challenges Vegio's invented ending, while at the same time justifying

its inclusion by alluding to Aeneas's ability to resolve contradiction between sources, which is reminiscent of Douglas's fondness for the Gaythelos and Scots myth (see Section 2.3.3).

Likewise, Chaucer's dichotomy between divine and earthly love and his critique of paganism may have struck a chord with Douglas when translating a Christian addition to a pagan poem. The debate between divine and earthly love is reminiscent of Douglas's own weighing of divine and earthly art in Prologue VIII, and he makes it clear in Prologue XIII that he doubts that Vegio's work makes the grade. Moreover, Douglas's euhemerism in his Prologues indicates an anxiety about the propriety of a Catholic cleric (and later bishop) translating a pagan work (see Section 2.3.2). By invoking *Troilus and Criseyde* here, Douglas exhorts his reader to consider the questions that Chaucer raises regarding love, art, and paganism, and apply them to Virgil's and Vegio's works.

#### 4.3.3 An Example from Book VII

The examples from Book I and XIII reveal how Douglas pursues a looser, more varied translation in these books. This is very different from the example from Book VII describing Lavinia's suitors. Here the line ratio is again 2.33, but the translation unit is smaller (7:3) and the grammar is followed very closely.

Multi illam magno e latio totaque petebant  
Ausonia: petit ante alios pulcherrimus omnes  
Turnus *auis atausque* potens: quem regia coniunx ... (Virgil 1501: VII.54-56)

**Full** mony **nobillis** into Latium  
Axit hir **to wyf**, throu Itale all **and sum**:  
Turnus **hir** axis, **cummyn of hie parage**,  
Abuf all other maste gudly **personage**,  
**And tharto rich of frendis**, and myghty  
Of *eldris* **gret and riall anchestry**,  
Quham Kyng **Latinus** spowss, **Queyn Amata**, ... (Douglas 1957-64: VII.2.65-71)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> See VII.1.65-71 in the printed version of Coldwell (1957-64).

While there is some paraphrase, the most notable instance is merely the simplification of the noun phrase ‘auis atausque’ (‘grandfathers and great-grandfathers’) into the more concise ‘eldris’. There is also some paraphrase in the added material, with ‘cummyn of hie parage’ and ‘riall anchetry’ being paraphrases of ‘auis atausque potens’ (‘powerful in respect to grandfathers and great-grandfathers’). However, otherwise all material is translated literally at least once and there are no significant deviations from or expansions on the text.

#### 4.3.4 *The Evolution in Douglas’s Translation Practice*

In this way, Books I and XIII prove to pursue much less painstaking translation. This might be expected for Book XIII; however, it is surprising that Douglas should adopt a similar approach in Book I, when he praises Virgil so highly in Prologue I (unlike Vegio, whom Douglas disparages in Prologue XIII). This suggests that Douglas begins translating the *Aeneid* in one fashion, but then turns away from this model of translation and pursues a more grammatically exacting one for the rest of the poem. He resurrects this more flexible model only in Book XIII—either because he has less respect for Vegio as a poet or because Vegio’s labyrinthine syntax necessitates it. This indicates a general push towards literal and complete translation over the course of the *Eneados*.

While it is possible that Book I was revised during the drafting of the Comment to resemble Book XIII, rather than the other way around, this seems unlikely, given that there are some significant differences between Books I and XIII. Book I features more concise translation and little to no poetic licence of the sort that feature in Book XIII (see Section 4.3.2). If Book I was revised after all the other books were written, a more expansive kind of translation would be expected to fit the escalating trend in the other books, but this does not manifest—indeed, the next chapter theorises that this is precisely why the

Comment is only provided to Book I, to fill this gap in paratextual material (see Section 5.4.3). Moreover, the revision of Book I to resemble Book XIII would suggest that translating Vegio's *Supplement* radically changed Douglas's outlook on the process of translation, motivating him to revise his translation of previous books in response. Given Douglas's comments on the *Supplement*, it is doubtful that he would attribute enough value to Vegio's text to allow it to influence his ideas on translation to such an extent.

Figure 11 attests to the trend for Douglas to pursue more literal and complete translation over the course of the *Eneados* within the restricted data set that includes units with the lowest and highest line ratios. There is a general increase in literal translation from Books I and II until Books XII and XIII, where paraphrased translation increases again. While this trend is irregular, with spikes of paraphrased translation in Books V and IX, these might be explained by the absence of Aeneas in the narrative in these two books. Admittedly, Aeneas is not technically absent in Book V, but he is not the focus of the action, as he is not a competitor in the funeral games. In which case, it is possible that Douglas—who has a vested interest in Aeneas's character as a symbol for his own development as a poet-translator (see Section 2.3.2)—is less invested in the translation of these books and more willing to paraphrase their texts. Figure 12 shows a similar trend in complete translation, though this is far less gradual, changing sharply after Book V.

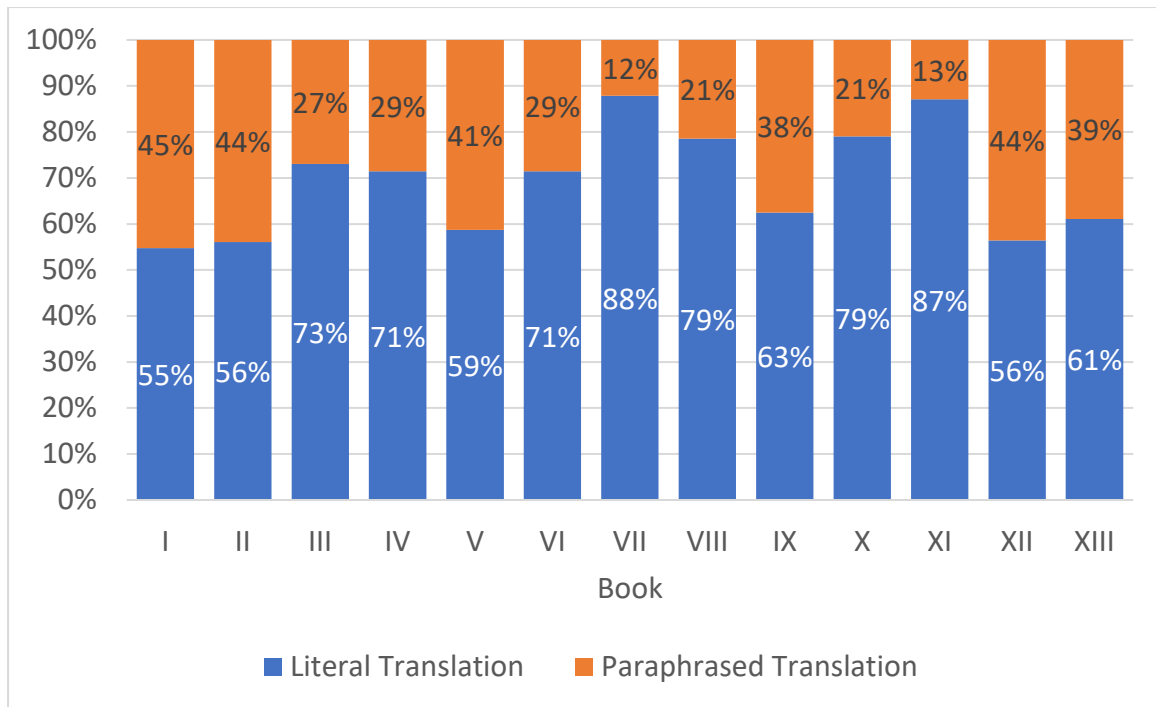


Figure 11: Distribution of literal and paraphrased translation in the briefest and most verbose translation units in each book of the 'Eneados'. Results are significant according to a chi-square test ( $p < 0.01$ ). See Appendix, Table 40 for raw data.

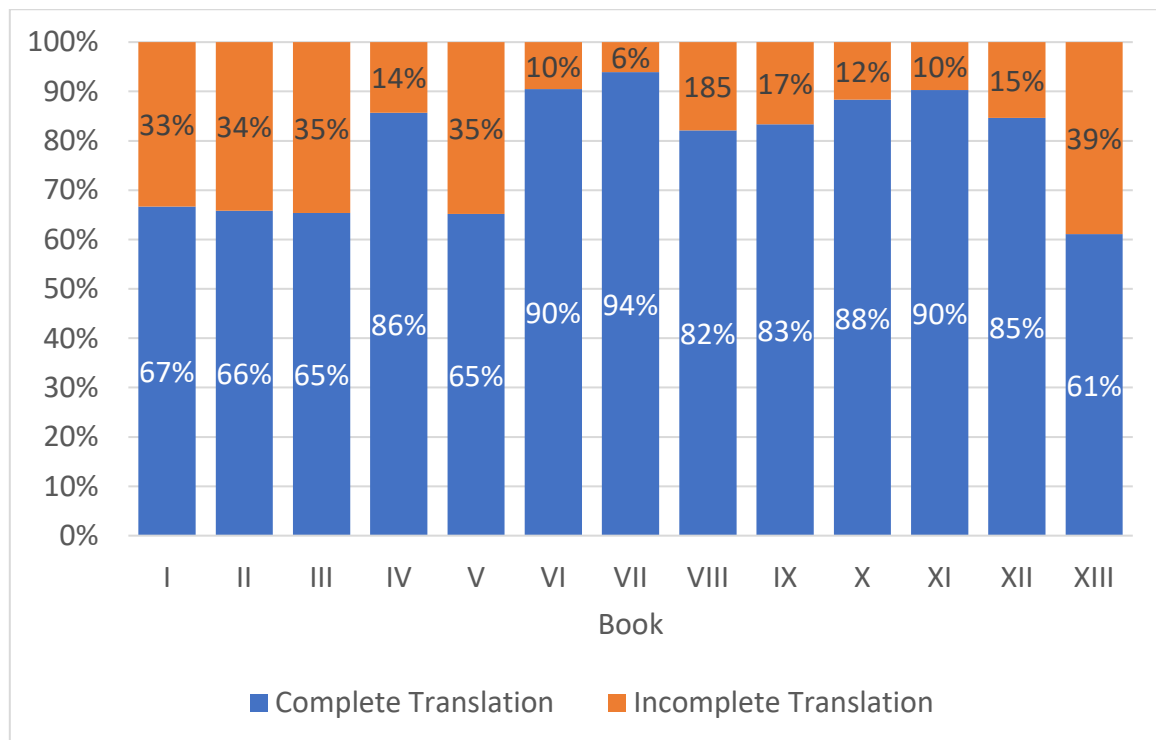


Figure 12: Distribution of complete and incomplete translation in the most succinct and expansive translation units in every book of the 'Eneados'. Results are significant according to a chi-square test ( $p < 0.001$ ) and confirmed by a Fisher's Exact Test using the Monte Carlo simulation with 10,000 repetitions. See Appendix, Table 41 for raw data.

Had Douglas continued the trend he set in the first three books and Book V, then his translation probably would have been shorter, but less syntactically and lexically accurate. Instead, he adopts the paradigm from Book IV with the result that fidelity to line format, which seemed to be uppermost in his mind at the beginning of his translation, becomes less important to him. The implication is that Douglas began writing the *Eneados* with a certain conception of what the project was going to be and how he was going to translate, and then that idea changed.

This implies that Douglas translated the *Aeneid* linearly—a point confirmed by the results of a Tukey test analysing the number of Latin lines per translation unit per book (Figure 13). Book I is significantly different from all the other books, except Books II and XIII. The link between Books I and II, and the links between adjacent books in general, attests to the idea that the books were translated in chronological order. The one exception is the gap between Books V and VI, as these books prove to be significantly different in the number of Latin lines in each of their translation units, probably as a side-effect of traditional approaches to the *Aeneid* that divided the first six books from the last six (see Section 5.3.1).

The link between Books I and XIII mirrors what is seen in Figure 10, and again suggests that Douglas may have intended a less careful translation initially. However, his translation practice moves away from this idea; his translation units becoming smaller as he becomes a more precise translator, while his rendition in Scots becomes longer as he pursues complete translation. Books II-V appear to be in a state of transition, with Douglas embracing his new method from Book VI onward. Book XIII reverts to the pattern established by Book I.

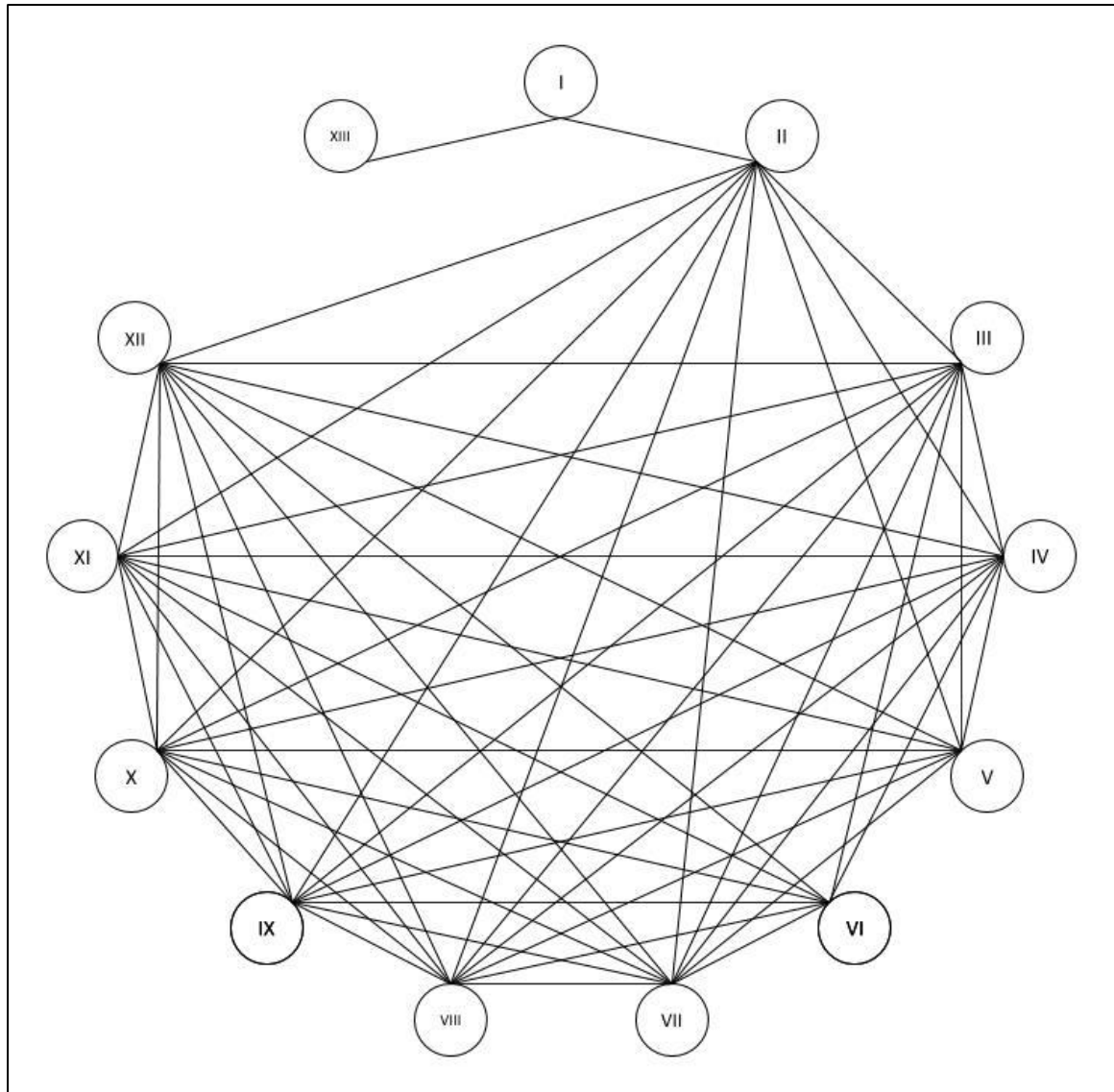


Figure 13: Visual representation of results from a Tukey test comparing the number of Latin lines in each translation unit in every book of the 'Eneados' to one another. Each circle with a Roman numeral inside represents a book. Black lines between books indicate that they are not significantly different from each other; an absence of black lines indicates that the books are significantly different from each other. See Appendix, Table 26 for the Tukey values.

In this way, Douglas's translation practice evolves, indicating that translation is not a uniform action even when performed by a single translator for a single text. The evolution of Douglas's method is conditioned by the *Aeneid's* book structure, proving that he translates the *Aeneid* in its textual order. However, the same does not necessarily hold for the Prologues. Douglas almost certainly did not write Prologue I first, given that its critique of Caxton and Chaucer contradicts his own less-painstaking practice in Book I. The fact that this practice is only resurrected when handling the *Supplement*, which Douglas feels is an inferior text, brands it as a less authoritative method. Consequently, Douglas's disavowal of 'word for word' translation in Prologue I is probably not a product of his different initial translation method, but instead is an attempt to make literal translation acceptable for literary purposes and to forge a new distinction between close and abstract translation.

#### **4.4 The Effect of Time on Douglas's Translation Method**

The picture painted thus far is that Douglas set out to translate the *Aeneid* in a mode that was faithful to the format of the *Aeneid* (i.e. its line structure) at all costs, and then began to shift away from this paradigm after the first few books. The question is whether that shift was the subject of time and experience or conditioned by the text. The variable of consecutiveness can test this by gauging whether Douglas translates contiguous translation units in the same way—which would be the case if time was the main factor in this change—or whether he translates them differently—which would suggest that there are other influences.

An analysis of Douglas's lowest and highest line ratios indicates that his decision to translate a unit a certain way is not dependent on his state of mind during a specific time, but probably conditioned by some other factor. Both compendious and lengthy translation tend not to occur consecutively, with non-consecutive units dominating in both types (see



Figure 14). Moreover, even when consecutive units do translate form in the same way (i.e. succinctly or expansively), they often do not translate syntax (i.e. literal or paraphrased) or lexis (i.e. complete or incomplete) in the same way (see Figure 15). Consequently, time is probably not the sole determiner of the change in Douglas’s method.

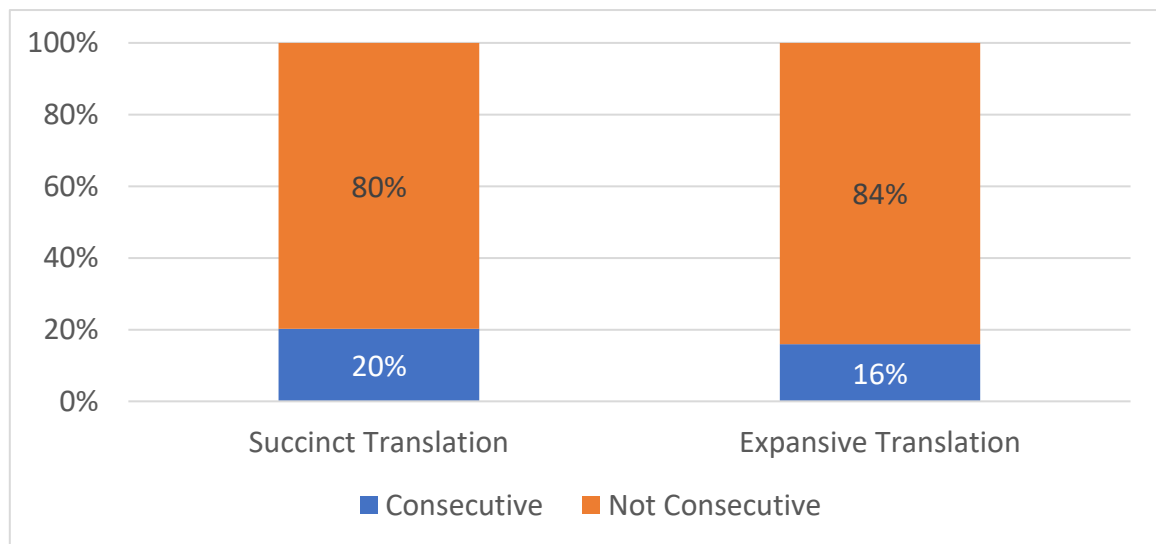


Figure 14: Distribution of consecutive and non-consecutive units in the most succinct and expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’. Results across translation categories are not significant according to a chi-square test ( $p = 0.25$ ). However, results within translation categories are significant according to a pairwise proportion test ( $p < 0.001$  for both succinct and expansive translation. See Appendix, Table 43 for raw data.

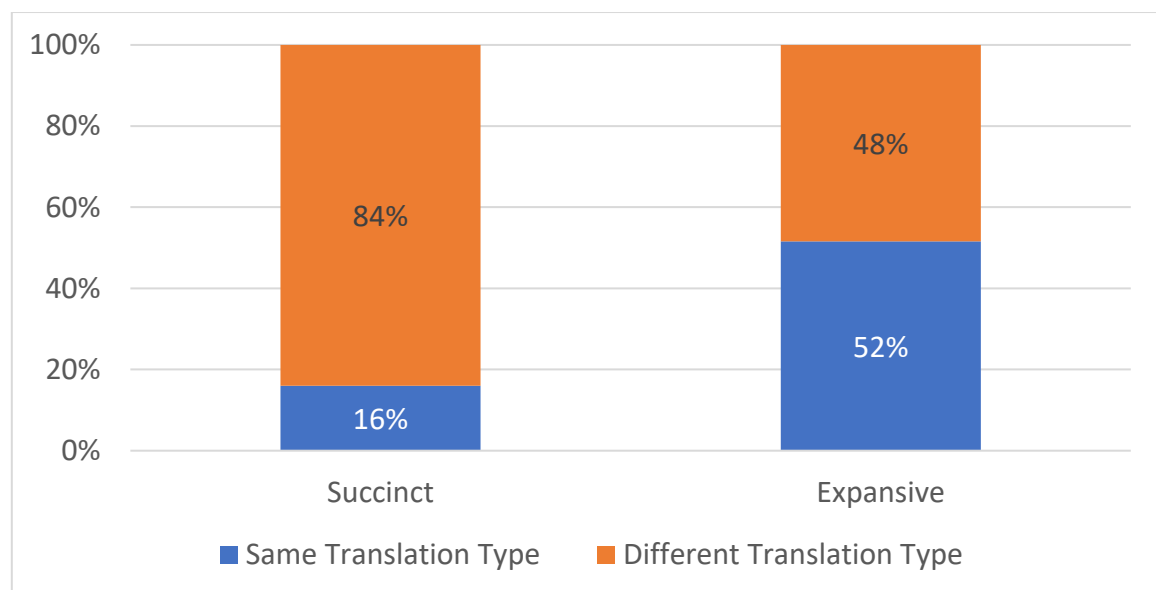


Figure 15: Distribution of consecutive units with the same and different translation type in the most succinct and expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’. Results are significant according to a chi-squared test ( $p < 0.001$ ). See Appendix, Table 44 for raw data.

#### 4.5 The Effect of Context and Content on Douglas's Translation Method

One possible variable in the evolution of Douglas's method is the content of the material he was translating. To investigate this, translation units with the highest and lowest line ratios have been categorised according to their context and content.

Context is determined by section divisions in Ascensius's (1501) edition, as these tend to break the *Aeneid* up into self-contained episodes, like the storm scene in Book I (*Aen.* I.102-123/*Ene.* I.3.14-51) or the description of Daedalus's carving in Cumae in Book VI (*Aen.* VI.14-39/*Ene.* VI.1.10-72). A section that is split between chapters in Douglas's translation is treated as two sections in this instance, the rationale being that if Douglas observed a difference in context that was strong enough to warrant a chapter break, he probably altered his translation practice in response to this difference as well. Each section in the *Aeneid* has been categorised by their general content into 12 groups: 'authority and punishment', 'catalogue and description', 'competition and prizes', 'death and destruction', 'disguise and deceit', 'ekphrasis and storytelling', 'nature and travel', 'peace and union', 'pietas and family', 'strong emotion', 'war and violence', and 'warning and prophecy'. Sections are as evenly distributed as possible so that results will indicate general preferences and not biases in the data. For a full list of which sections are categorised as which context type see the Appendix (Table 45). Each unit's content is also described using these same 12 categories to corroborate the context results.

These categories are, admittedly, blunt instruments, given that they are broad, and content is difficult to categorise objectively. However, they do serve to cross reference Douglas's translation methods with subject themes in the *Aeneid* on a large scale, making it easy to isolate specific passages for more detailed literary analysis. What they fail to offer in detail, they make up for in breadth of coverage. However, as advised

in Section 1.3, the statistical analysis of these categories here is supplemented with measured literary analysis to ensure a balanced account of Douglas's practice.

#### 4.5.1 Context and Content

Context proves to have a significant effect on line ratios in the *Eneados* (see Figure 16). Each translation type (succinct or expansive) prefers its own contexts. The most marked moments of reduced translation prefer contexts like 'Warning and Prophecy' and 'Competition and Prizes'. The most extreme instances of extended translation prefer contexts like 'War and Violence', 'Authority and Punishment', 'Catalogue and Description', 'Ekphrasis and Storytelling', 'Peace and Union', and 'Strong Emotion'.

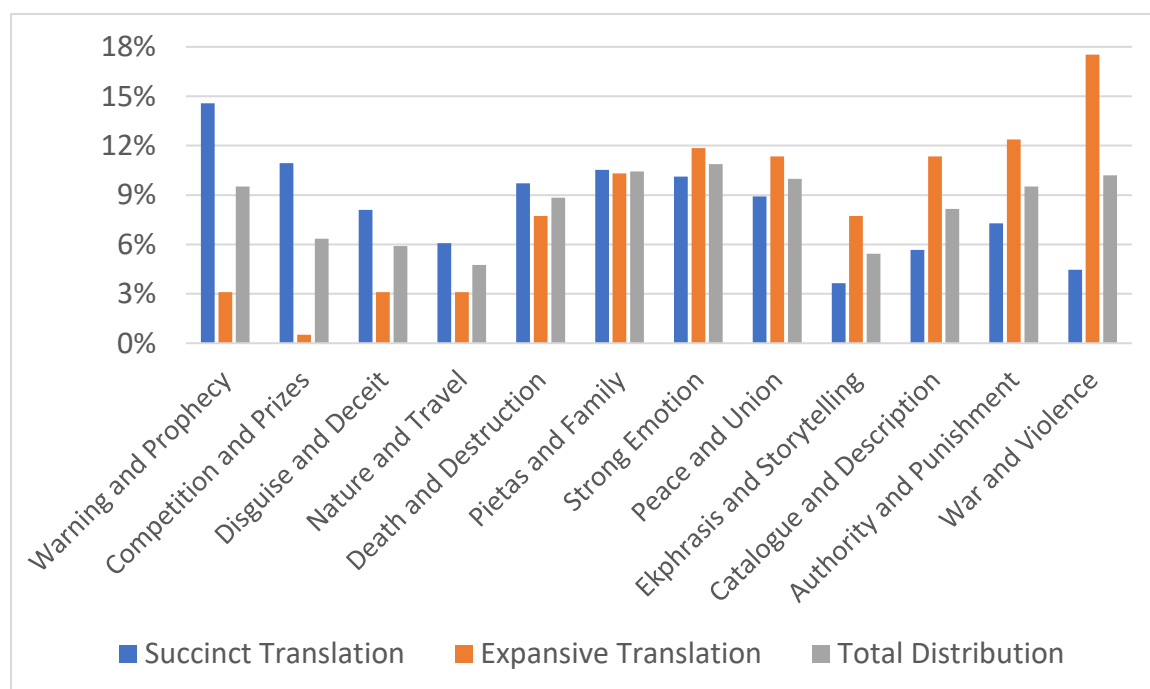


Figure 16: Distribution of context categories across the most succinct and expansive translation units in the *Eneados*. Succinct and expansive results are significant according to a chi-squared test ( $p < 0.001$ ). The general distribution of context categories is not significant ( $p = 0.93$ ) according to one-sample two-tailed  $t$ -test, where 37 (the approximate average if 441 sections were evenly distributed across 12 categories) is used as the hypothetical mean. See Appendix, Table 46 for raw data.

These results suggest that Douglas is more interested in exploring episodes concerning warfare, authority, description, peace, and emotion—as opposed to episodes concerning prophecy or competition. This is not surprising. The cost of peace and consequences of warfare are some of the foremost themes of the *Aeneid*, and it would be expected for Douglas to explore them at length. Similarly, it is not unnatural for him to have an interest in aspects of authority, given the popularity of the ‘advice for princes’ in medieval Scottish literature (Royan 2015: 121; see Mapstone 1986). However, it is odd that Douglas does not expand upon episodes of ‘competition and prizes’, considering that games are often rehearsals for battle and prizes and gifts are often given to strengthen fealty and emphasise hierarchical relationships, making them intrinsically related to warfare and authority. Similarly, while Douglas loves to elaborate on episodes concerning violence his handling of the related topic of death is more ambiguous, with no significant difference between its appearance in succinct and expansive translation.

Potentially Douglas is trying to make an abstract distinction in treating these contexts differently, but this is doubtful. Instead, this data is probably a reflection of where these episodes appear in the overall narrative of the *Aeneid* (see Figure 17). For example, contexts concerning competition are localised largely to Book V where line ratios are lower. Likewise, contexts containing instances of prophecy (like Jupiter’s prophecy in Book I, Helenus’s prophecy in Book III, the snake omen in Book V) are weighted towards the first half of the poem, where Douglas is more succinct. By contrast, contexts concerning warfare, peace, descriptive catalogues, and authority dominate in the later half, where higher line ratios are more common. This model, then, is only a reflection of how Douglas’s translation method evolves over the course of the *Eneados* (see Figure 8), as contexts are defined by where they occur in Douglas’s source.

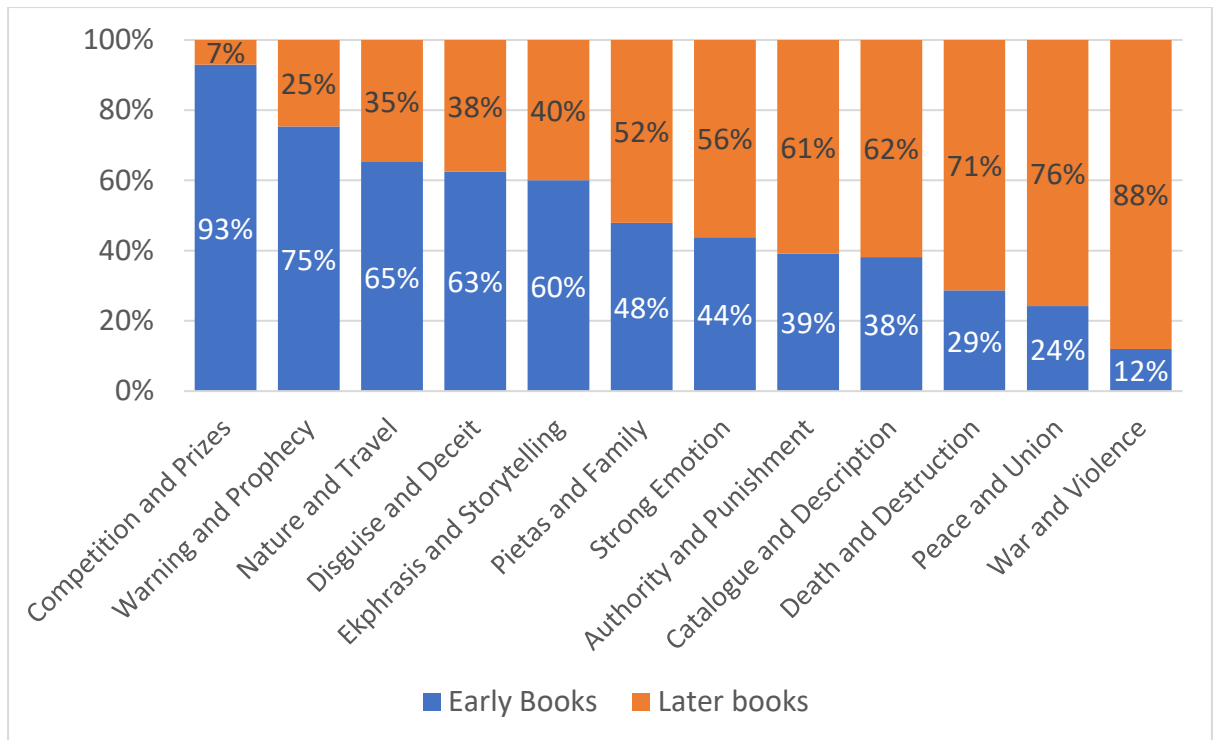


Figure 17: Distribution of context categories in each half (Books I-VI and Books VII-XIII) of the 'Eneados'. Results are significant ( $p < 0.001$ ) according to a chi-squared test. See Appendix, Table 47 for raw data.

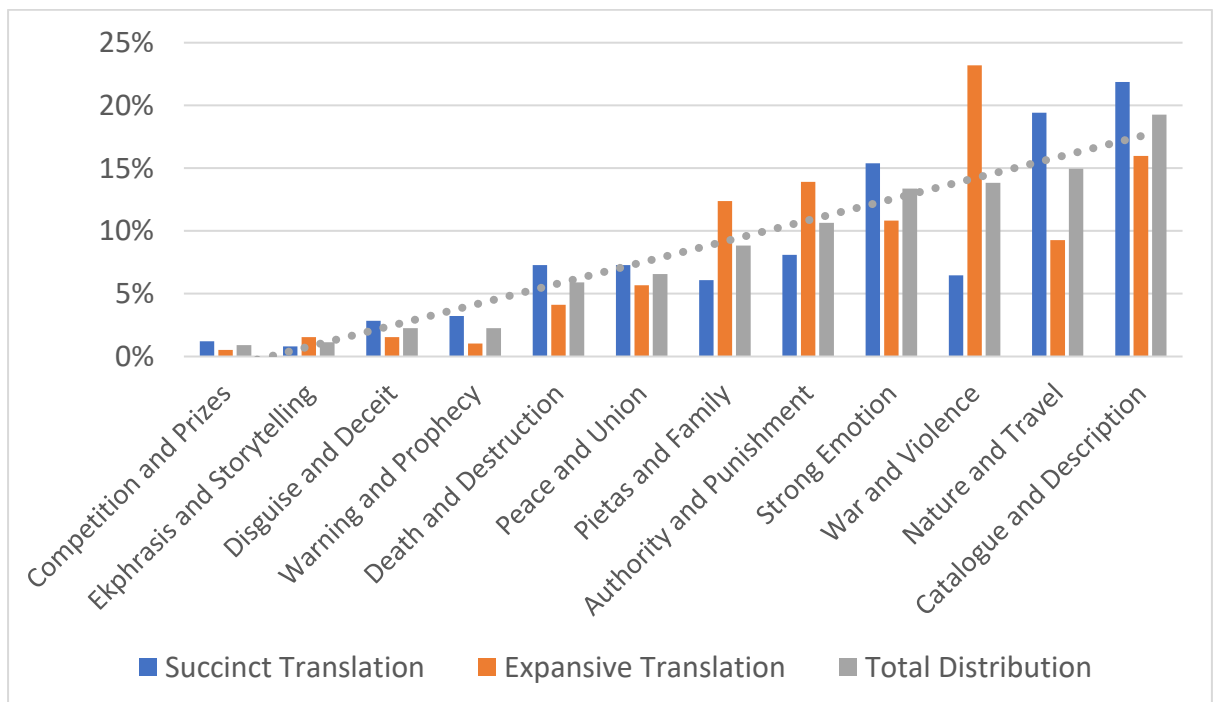


Figure 18: Distribution of content categories in the most succinct and expansive translation units in the 'Eneados'. A linear trend line is provided based on the total distribution of content categories within this restricted data set ( $R^2 = 0.97$ ). Results are significant according to a chi-squared test ( $p < 0.001$ ) and confirmed by a Fisher's Exact Test using the Monte Carlo simulation with 10,000 repetitions. See Appendix, Table 48 for raw data.

However, a few anomalies suggest that this might not be entirely the case. Longer translation favours ekphrasis even though it is distributed evenly between the first and second half of the poem. Similarly, brief translation favours the translation of death scenes even though it is weighted more towards the second half of the *Eneados*. These then are truly marked preferences of succinct and expansive translation, since they go against the overall trend of the poem. Again, such a distribution is not necessarily surprising. Descriptive moments like ekphrasis would naturally attract poetic embellishment. What is more surprising is that death should attract more restrained translation, as it is a moment of high drama and a seemingly ideal subject to expand upon. This indicates that Douglas finds something in concise translation that is more conducive for conveying this subject.

However, these correlations are for translation units that occur near certain *contexts* and not necessarily for the *content* of translation units themselves. To test these associations, these context categories are applied to the *content* of every translation unit in a qualitative study of translation units with the highest and lowest line ratios. Again, the results are significant (Figure 18); however, both compact and extensive translation behave the same and are not especially differentiated, reflecting the overall distribution of the data rather than any variable's preference ( $\phi_c = 0.32$ , Cramér's V test).

Nevertheless, as in the context data, some categories outperform their projected distributions (i.e. the trend line in Figure 18). Ignoring the first four categories, which all have percentages under 5% and thus are not strong preferences, these include 'Death and Destruction', 'Strong Emotion', 'Nature and Travel', and 'Catalogue and Description' for compendious translation, and 'Pietas and Family', 'Authority and Punishment', and 'War and Violence' for expanded translation. A pairwise proportion test comparing the

percentages of brief and expansive translation inside each of these categories confirms these preferences for the most part, with only ‘Pietas and Family’ and ‘Authority and Punishment’ not achieving a significant  $p$ -value ( $p = 0.07$ , and  $0.22$ , respectively).

Table 3 provides a full summary of the results found here. The next two sections discuss the results that contradict one another—first, succinct translation’s preference for ‘Death and Destruction’ and expansive translation’s preference for the related category ‘War and Violence’; then expansive translation’s prevalence in *contexts* referring to ‘Catalogue and Description’ despite the tendency for such *contents* to be translated succinctly. The results for ‘Pietas and Family’ and ‘Strong Emotion’ are not discussed here because they are not especially strong. However, the connection between ‘Strong Emotion’ and expansive translation is discussed later in Section 7.2.3 in reference to pragmatic type.

*Table 3: Summary of the analysis of context and content categories and their preferences for succinct or expansive translation. Results are ordered by their strength: those at the top of the list in each cell have the most marked indication of usage, those at the bottom have the least marked. Results that reflect the overall distribution of the data and are less notable are italicised. Results that contradict one another are crossed out. Results that verify one another are underlined.*

| Translation Type | Context                                                                                                                                                                                                              | Content                                                                                                                             |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Succinct</b>  | <del>Warning &amp; Prophecy</del><br><del>Competition &amp; Prizes</del><br><del>Disguise &amp; Deceit</del><br><u>Nature &amp; Travel</u><br><u>Death &amp; Destruction</u><br><del>Pietas &amp; Family</del>       | <del>Catalogue &amp; Description</del><br><u>Nature &amp; Travel</u><br><del>Strong Emotion</del><br><u>Death &amp; Destruction</u> |
| <b>Expansive</b> | <u>Warfare &amp; Violence</u><br><u>Authority &amp; Punishment</u><br><del>Catalogue &amp; Description</del><br><del>Ekphrasis &amp; Storytelling</del><br><del>Peace &amp; Union</del><br><del>Strong Emotion</del> | <u>Warfare &amp; Violence</u><br><u>Authority &amp; Punishment</u><br><del>Pietas &amp; Family</del>                                |

#### 4.5.2 'War and Violence' vs. 'Death and Destruction'

As the previous table shows, Douglas alters his translation practice in response to certain subject matter. He adds more material to his translation in response to content especially concerning warfare, and, to a lesser extent, authority, pietas, and craft. The most pronounced example of this (with a line ratio of 8) is the description of the wrestling match between Dares and Entellus (*Aen.* V.424-84/*Ene.* V.8.1-120). Most expansions in this example are original additions that serve to heighten the drama of the match. They slow down the pace of the narrative and choreograph each move of the fight. This indicates that Douglas was interested in this altercation and used it as a place to flaunt his poetic skill. For example, he makes extensive use of alliteration throughout the passage, as in phrases 'Now bendis he vp his burdon', 'charris hym with a chak', and 'smytis in all hys mycht', which probably is inspired by Virgil's own use of alliteration 'immiscentque manus manibus'.

Immiscentque manus manibus: pugnamque lacesunt: (Virgil 1501: V.429)

**Now**, hand to hand, **the dynt lychtis with a swak;**  
**Now bendis he vp hys burdon with a mynt,**  
**On syde he bradis fortill eschew the dynt;**  
**He etlys zondir hys advantage to tak,**  
**He metis hym thar, and charris hym with a chak;**  
**He watis to spy, and smytis in al hys mycht,**  
**The tother keppys hym on hys burdon wycht;**

Thai foyne **at othir**, and eggis to bargane. (Douglas 1957-64: V.8.10-17)

This is an exceptional example; usually Douglas's additions are not so lengthy or so obvious. However, the fact that he should choose an episode of violence to insert such a large addition is striking. The only other time Douglas inserts an addition of this length is at the end of Book X after the death of Mezentius (see *Aen.* X.908/*Ene.* X.14.191-98). This passage, though, is extended for different reasons (discussed below, p. 149). Douglas



seems to be attracted to this fight between Dares and Entellus because it is an exciting altercation with no dire consequences. It is structured violence that is contained, unlike the chaotic battles in the later books. It is itself a demonstration of craft.

By contrast, Douglas becomes briefer when violence has consequences—specifically when handling death scenes. The following is a typical example, where Douglas paraphrases content to fit his translation into one line:

*Spiramenta animae laetali vulnere rupit.* (Virgil 1501: IX.580)

Be dedly wound *the lyfe thus hes he lost.* (Douglas 1957-64: IX.9.122)

A more exact translation would be along the lines of ‘He tore holes (“spiramenta”) for his spirit with a lethal wound’—the implication being that the life leaked out of Privernus’s body via these holes. However, Douglas paraphrases this poetic (though admittedly unusual) notion and makes it the far more concrete ‘the lyfe thus hes he lost’. Such simplification is typical of how Douglas handles translation of this subject matter.

When lengthy translation handles death, it usually adds material that puts emphasis on matters aside from death. For instance, in the following description of what happens to the soul after death, all the added material concerns the state of the soul and its dichotomy with the body, and not the moment of death itself:

*Seminibus: quantum non noxia corpora tardant:* (Virgil 1501: VI.731)

‘... **Beyn** in thar sedis **quhilk we saulys call**,  
Sa far as that thir noysum bodeis **cald**  
Nocht tareis thame **tharfra, nor doith withhald**,  
**Nor withdrawis from souerane hevinly kynd:** ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: VI.12.18-21)

Another example describes the future destruction of Argos and Mycenae. Here, Douglas supplies material explaining who will perform this feat and how it will benefit the future

Romans, but does not dwell overmuch on the destruction itself, supplying only one double translation ('bet down and distroy') for 'eruet'.

Eruet ille argos: agamemnoniasque mycenae: ... (Virgil 1501: VI.838)

'... And he **zon other, Quintus Metellus,**  
**Ful gret honour sal conquest onto ws,**  
For he sal bet down **and distroy al clene**  
Baith Arge and Agamenonys **realm** Mycene; ...' (Douglas 1957-64: VI.14.77-80)

Moreover, when Aeneas executes Mezentius the translation of the actual Latin line is relatively short (two lines of Scots for one of Latin). The rest of the translation is an original addition summarising the situation at the end of Book X and is separate from the original Latin line. The link between short translation and content specifically concerning death is so strong that it is utilised even within extended translation.

Vndantique animam diffundit in arma cruore. (Virgil 1501: X.908)

Within hys armour, **schortly to conclude,**  
Furth bruscht the sawle with gret stremys of blude.  
**Be this the son declynyt was almost,**  
**So that the Latynys and Rutilian ost,**  
**Quhat for the absens of thar duke Turnus,**  
**And new slauchter of bald Mezentius,**  
**Withdrew thame to thar raset in affray,**  
**And Troianys went onto thar rest quhil day.** (Douglas 1957-64: X.14.191-98)

It is interesting that Douglas felt the need to normalise the end of this book in this way and not just end with the death of Mezentius as Virgil intended. It indicates a reluctance on his part to end a book with Aeneas committing an act of violence. Something similar occurs in Books XII and XIII. Douglas arguably includes Book XIII because Book XII ends jarringly with Aeneas murdering Turnus, despite Turnus's pleas for clemency. This act not only tarnishes Aeneas's piety but jeopardises the validity of the founding of Rome. The entire journey to Rome is predicated on loss—loss of Troy, loss of Creusa and Anchises, loss of Dido, loss of

Pallas, loss of Turnus, and countless Trojan and Italian soldiers. However, Virgil never confirms to the reader that the loss is worthwhile, resulting in both nationalistic and pessimistic traditions of reading the *Aeneid* (see Horsfall 1995). Book XIII resolves this ambiguity by working 'to justify and de-problematize [Ae]neas's one uncharacteristic moment of Turnus-like excess in battle' (Caughey 2009: 277) and by offering a moral end of the hero ('una retribuzione morale finale per il suo eroe'; Rossi 1965: 522). The fact that Douglas avoided ending Book X directly with Mezentius's execution suggests he saw it in a similar light.

That is not to say that expansive translation never enhances the moment of death itself. In the following example, the death of Phegeas is made more violent with the addition 'doun brytnys' or 'hacked to pieces'. However, this is uncommon. Usually, brief translation covers the moment of death itself, while expansive translation describes violence, with death unspecified.

Addit alym comitem: et confixa phegea parma. (Virgil 1501: IX.765)

Syne ane Hales **onto the corpsis ded**

In cumpany he ekyt **in that sted**;

And Phegeas **doun brytnys in the feld**,

Spetit throw owt **the body and** hys scheld; ... (Douglas 1957-64: IX.12.87-90)

#### 4.5.3 'Catalogue and Description' and References

The results for context and content tend to corroborate one another; however, there is one large contradiction (see Table 3). While extended translation favours *contexts* concerning 'catalogue and description', reduced translation prefers these *contents*. This is because different types of description appeal to each type of translation. Shorter translation prefers description of appearance, clothing, position, speech, and narrative time, as in the examples below.

*Appearance:*

Nec magis incepto vultum sermone mouetur. (Virgil 1501: VI.470)

Moving na mair hir curage, face nor bre, ... (Douglas 1957-64: VI.7.96)

*Clothing:*

Purpureoque alte suras vincire cothurno. (Virgil 1501: I.337)

‘... With rede botynys on thar schankis hie. ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: I.6.57)

*Position:*

Aeneae stetit aute pedes: nec plura moratus ... (Virgil 1501: V.381)

Beforn Eneas feyt stad but delay, ... (Douglas 1957-64: V.7.33)

*Speech:*

Vix ea fatus erat: defixique ora tenebant ... (Virgil 1501: VIII.520)

Skant this was said, quhen castyng down his eyn, ... (Douglas 1957-64: VIII.8.150)

*Time:*

Postera iamque dies primo surgebat eoo: ... (Virgil 1501: III.588)

‘The secund day be this sprang fra the est, ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: III.9.1)

This is essentially ‘stage direction’ content—content that refers to who is moving, who is speaking, what they are wearing, when and where they are acting and for how long—which is similar to the category ‘Nature and Travel’ (example below), which is firmly favoured by succinct translation. In this way, brief translation’s high result for ‘Catalogue and Description’ is just an extension of its preference for ‘Nature and Travel’.

Cum pedes incedit medii per maxima nereii: ... (Virgil 1501: X.764)

Quhen he on fut woyd throu the mekill see, ... (Douglas 1957-64: X.13.23)

By contrast, expansive translation leans more towards the description of people, places, and objects—i.e. concepts that Douglas translates using references. In one example, Douglas feels the need to spell out Turnus’s connection to Aeneas’s Greek enemies more explicitly:

Inachus achrisiusque patres: mediaeque mycenae. (Virgil 1501: VII.372)

‘... Inachus and Achrysius, but weir,  
**Twa kyngis of Grece**, his forfaderis wer;  
**Thus is he Greik, to compt his greis a pece,**  
And **cum** of Myce the myddil **realm of Grece**.’ (Douglas 1957-64: VII.7.73-76)<sup>3</sup>

In another example, Douglas glosses the name Carina, a quarter in the city of Rome, and explains the origin of its name:

Romanoque foro: et lautis mugire carinis. (Virgil 1501: VIII.361)

**Quhar now** in Rome is the cheif merkat platis,  
**Baith** squeil **and low** in **thai ilk plentuus gatis**  
**Quhilk sum tyme hecht** Caryne, **fair and large,**  
**Quhar the howsis war like a** turnyt barge. (Douglas 1957-64: VIII.6.111-14)

In yet another example, he glosses the word ‘aklys’—a javelin thrown by a strap:

Oscorumque manus: teretes sunt aclides illis  
Tela: *sed haec lento mos est aptare flagello*. (Virgil 1501: VII.730-31)

**Togiddir eik with** the **haill** multitude  
Of Oscores, **that pepill stern and rude**.  
Thyr bair **in feild**, of wapynnys **in the stedis**,  
**Round casting dartis, or macis with pikit hedis,**  
**Quhilk in thar leid is clepit** ane ‘aclyd’;  
*And, so it mycht the mair suyrly abyde,*  
**Onto thar armis** is knyt with a tewch stryng,  
**Quharwith thai do it at thar fays slyng**. (Douglas 1957-64: VII.13.59-66)<sup>4</sup>

These are all concepts specific to Ancient Rome that a medieval reader might struggle with. By contrast, the stage direction content does not need this level of explanation. A person moving, speaking, and the process of time are all universal concepts. While costume is more subject to the vicissitudes of time, Douglas seems less interested in capturing those differences, preferring instead to adapt those aspects into concepts that

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<sup>3</sup> See VII.6.73-76 in the printed version of Coldwell (1957-64).

<sup>4</sup> See VII.12.59-66 in the printed version of Coldwell (1957-64).

medieval readers can understand (see Lewis 1954: 86). For instance, in the previous 'clothing' example (p. 151), Douglas translates 'cothurno' ('cothurnus') as 'botynys' ('boots'), even though a *cothurnus* is technically a cross between a boot and sandal and were specifically worn by actors in Athenian tragedies (*OED: cothurnus*, a).

In this way, Douglas prefers to use a pedagogical approach in the translation of people, places, and things, but does not use references in the description of appearance, movement, and speech. This preference for certain types of description arguably reflects Douglas's interest in depicting warfare: The deaths of so many characters are meaningless if there is not some form of characterisation supplied. While many might argue that it is exactly this depersonalisation that Virgil is trying to create as a statement regarding the futility of war (see Horsfall 1995: 178, 180), Douglas appears uncomfortable with this message, going out of his way to distinguish characters or at least identify them by nation (see Section 7.6 for a more detailed discussion). He would not be alone in his discomfort, as many other translators and authors of the period found Virgil's ambivalence towards the achievement of Rome unsettling (see Burrow 1997: 83; Rossi 1965: 522).

...

This chapter has outlined Douglas's translation method and strategies, finding that he generally pursues expansive translation that is both literal and complete and closely follows the text of the *Aeneid*. However, this is not his initial intention. Rather, over the course of the *Eneados*, his translation practice evolves, becoming more literal and expansive. This has several implications: First, translation is not a uniform action even when performed by a single translator for a single text. Second, Douglas translates the *Aeneid* in its textual order. This naturally begs a multitude of questions, such as what conditions this evolution in

Douglas's method, what does this indicate about his ideas about translation, and what are their implications. This chapter has made the first steps to elucidate these questions.

An analysis of consecutive translation units in compendious and extended examples indicates that translation modes are not a product of time alone. Rather, Douglas's choice of translation length is deliberate and probably conditioned by a variety of external factors. One of these factors is content—both of larger units of text (specifically sections) and translation units. While a lot of content's effect is just a reflection of the overall distribution of content categories and short translation's preference for the early books and long translation's preference for the later ones, there are some exceptions. Categories like 'Death and Destruction' and 'Authority and Punishment' outperform their distributions in the books of the *Eneados*. Such differences indicate an ideological difference in the use of concise and expansive translation. The former, in being attached to distressing contexts like 'Death and Destruction', is implied to be an injurious form of translation, while the latter, in being utilised in more reputable contexts like 'Authority and Punishment', is given more legitimacy. While it is true that lengthy translation often characterises content concerning 'War and Violence', which would contradict this interpretation, closer examination reveals a division of use between short and long translation in their treatment of distressing content, where the former handles material concerning loss specifically, while the latter often focuses on material surrounding loss, but does not address loss itself.

This indicates a censorious attitude towards brief translation—also understood as translation that is extremely faithful to format, which might be considered akin to 'word for word' translation. Douglas's frequent use of this method in translating moments of 'Death and Destruction' suggests that he equated this method to loss—the loss of original

meaning and the loss of a translation's integrity reflected in the loss of a character's life. That Douglas frequently saw the events in the *Aeneid* as an allegory for his own poetic efforts has already been established (see Section 2.3.2).

However, this link between brevity and loss is more a complaint against omission and paraphrasis than an outcry against literalness. Literal translation is prevalent in brief and expansive translation, but especially dominates in the latter, while the former has more instances of paraphrased and incomplete translation. In other words, when Douglas criticises 'word for word' translation, it is not in the sense of grammatically imitative translation, but in the sense that one word should be translated exactly with one word, with one lexical item equating to another.

It is this sort of translation that Douglas evolves away from in the *Eneados*. He begins with a concept of translation that is more attached to imitating format—hence his greater use of brief translation in the early books. However, after Book I, Douglas moves away from this type of translation and begins translating more expansively and more literally. This is not an immediate transition. Extended translation begins as a marked form of translation that is very specific in its appearances, while succinct translation has a greater spread across more types of content. Brief translation also prefers 'stage direction' material describing position and movement and dress and ornamentation, while lengthy translation's content tends to focus on more semantically weighty topics like power, piety, and law.

In this way, short translation and long translation do not initially behave like opposites—rather, the former performs as a more general mode of translation, whereas the latter is more specialised. Over the course of the *Eneados* expansive translation becomes so prevalent that it becomes the new general mode of translation and brief translation becomes



the marked case. This is seen in numerous aspects of the *Eneados*: Expansive translation has more consecutive units that share translation types. Concise translation also decreases in literalness over the course of the *Eneados*, as lengthy translation takes up more of the slack.

In this way Douglas creates a new mode of translation for his poem—one that is not concerned with preserving lexical or metrical boundaries. That is not to say, however, that Douglas's translation is not conscious of these aspects of the text and does not value them. The transition in his translation method suggests that he *was* very interested in imitating these features initially and experimented with how he might best represent them. The issue for Douglas is what levels of format can be preserved without disrupting the fidelity of the translation—this is the question that will be pursued in the next chapter.

It is in this respect that Douglas differs from his predecessors in how he conceptualises translation. When Cicero compares translation to measuring coins by weight instead of number, Douglas takes him very literally and stands against the idea that one word can be equivalent to another. It is in this sense that he is against 'word for word' translation—not because he is against grammatical imitation as Cicero was. Rather, Douglas's translation is often grammatically faithful to the original, and major paraphrases are rare. In this way, Douglas is clearly different from Jerome and Chaucer as someone who does not separate meaning from language and more akin to Boethius in locating the power of interpretation in language itself—making Douglas not fully a 'sense for sense' advocate either.

Thus, Brewer Hall (1960: 190) and Medcalf (2005: 383) have it right when they argue that Douglas muddies the distinction between *littera and sententia* and 'word for word and 'sense for sense' translation 'by including in the meaning of each word not only its immediate sense but all that is implied in it'. My one revision would be that rather than mixing 'word for

word’ and ‘sense for sense’ methods, Douglas moves their opposition from the broader dialectic of grammar and rhetoric (see Copeland 1991) to a narrower purview of denotation and connotation. He makes translation primarily a linguistic concern. That is not to say that he has no interest in writing well—his comments in Prologue I suggest the opposite. But he grants that quality in translation is different than that in original composition—which is no doubt partly why he includes the Prologues, to showcase his ability in both. Indeed, the Prologues’ content and stylistic variation is perhaps motivated by Douglas’s changing ideas of what a translation entails, and what role artistic invention plays within it.

Such a shift in ideology has implications for the importance Douglas attaches to Latin itself. Wilson-Okamura (2010: 188) in his book on Renaissance receptions of Virgil interprets the ‘word for word’ and ‘sense for sense’ debate in terms of Latin’s contemporary relevance. Douglas’s strict linguistic approach to translating Virgil indicates that Douglas believed Latin to be relevant and understandable during his time. Indeed, it seems that Douglas’s desire to embark on this project in the first place was partly fuelled by his frustration towards alternative accounts of the *Aeneid* that did not accurately depict the work (see Section 2.4)—suggesting that in his mind there was an authoritative, ‘correct’ reading of the work that could be recovered.

The fact that he ventures that his work might be used in ‘grammar sculys’ (Douglas 1957-64: Direction 44-48) and is so exhaustive in his translation of Latin vocabulary also indicates that Douglas did not wish for his work to replace the Latin original. Moreover, certain aspects of Douglas’s style—like his succinct translation of moments of death—can only be recognised when read in tandem with the Latin. His translation relies to some extent on knowledge of the original, and is used to access Latin, not surpass it. Indeed, this is how

the early linguist Franciscus Junius uses Douglas's translation one hundred years later, only the other way around, using the Latin text to elucidate the Scots one (Stanley 1998: 167). It is because Douglas finds Latin so significant that he translates the *Aeneid* in the first place, hoping to distil the power of that work and its language into the verbal coffers of Scots.

## CHAPTER 5:

### TRANSLATING THROUGH ASCENSIVS:

#### HOW DOUGLAS'S PROCESS OF READING REINVENTS THE *AENEID*

The previous chapter established that Douglas's method of translation evolves over the course of the *Eneados* and that this evolution is motivated in part by context and content. However, given that context categories are defined by how Douglas's source text is segmented (see Section 4.5), context's impact may also be indicative of layout's potential effect on the *Eneados*. To that end, this chapter considers the evolution in Douglas's translation practice in terms of his source text—Ascensius's (1501) edition of Virgil's works (see Section 2.2.2). Such an approach is influenced by Mak's (2011) *How the Page Matters*, and Coldiron's (2014) *Printers Without Borders: Translation and Textuality in the Renaissance*, which argue that the visual presentation of the text 'is more than a simple vehicle or container for the transmission of ideas; it is a part of those ideas, entangled in the story itself' (Mak 2011: 9) and in this regard the physical realisation of the text is 'another, parallel sort of translation' where foreign 'verbal and physical structures' are transformed into native ones (Coldiron 2014: 3-4).

This chapter first describes Ascensius's (1501) layout and compares to it that of other contemporary printed editions of Virgil's works. The focus then shifts to how Douglas adheres to certain structural elements of Ascensius's edition, and how they condition the transformation of Douglas's line ratios, proving Armstrong's (2015: 83) adage that 'the book-form itself can be a driver of translation activity'. The discussion then turns to how Douglas modifies the presentation of his own text and what that indicates about the selection of Ascensius's edition as his source, and the type of text he creates. The finding is that Douglas and Ascensius have very similar approaches to the *Aeneid*—which is probably why Douglas

uses Ascensius's edition. Moreover, it reveals that Douglas has a greater concern for textual integrity than many admit, which is indicative of humanist activity. However, this humanism is not quite the same quality as Ascensius's, being decidedly vernacular in its character.

### 5.1 The Layout of Ascensius's (1501) Edition

As explained in Section 2.2.2, Bawcutt (1973) has established that Ascensius's (1501) edition is Douglas's source. The following describes Ascensius's page layout and compares it to that of six other contemporary printed editions of Virgil's works that also contain multiple commentaries (ones by Servius, *fl.* 400, Donatus, *fl.* 430, and Landino, 1424-98) as well as Vegio's *Supplement* (1428). These editions, which will be referred to primarily by their shelfmarks, are from the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford but were originally published elsewhere (see Table 4). By comparing them to Ascensius's edition, this section illustrates how Ascensius innovates in the creation of his page layout, laying the foundation for a comparison between his text and Douglas's.

*Table 4: List of printed editions of Virgil's works examined here and their details. All editions are from Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford. ID numbers and publication details are sourced from Coates et al. (2005).*

| Shelfmark        | ID Number | Place of Publication | Printer                                        | Date           |
|------------------|-----------|----------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Auct. O 1.18a    | V-099     | Lyons                | Antonius Lambillion for Franciscus Girardengus | 5 Nov. 1492    |
| Auct. O 1.18b    | V-105     | Lyons                | Jacobus Sacon                                  | 9 Dec. 1499    |
| Auct. P 2.15     | V-095     | Florence             | Printer of Vergilius (C 6061)                  | 18 Mar. 1487/8 |
| Auct. P 2.18     | V-101     | Venice               | Liga Boaria                                    | 23 May (1492?) |
| Auct. Q 4.19     | V-100     | Nuremberg            | Anton Koberger                                 | 1492           |
| Auct. Q inf. 2.4 | V-097     | Venice               | Philippus Pincius                              | 1491-92        |

The layout of Ascensius's text is complex (see Figure 19). Ascensius divides the *Aeneid* into sections, which are foregrounded on the page close to the gutter in a large font and are surrounded by two accompanying commentaries (one by Servius, one by Ascensius) in a smaller font and wide margins. Sometimes these commentaries are accompanied by printed headings in the margin. The commentary for a new excerpt is usually marked by printed paraps. Otherwise paraps are used sparingly, though space is provided for handwritten paraps and rubrication.

This is a typical layout for an early printed edition of Virgil's works: All six sampled editions contain segments of the *Aeneid* in a large font positioned towards the centre of the page, surrounded by accompanying commentaries in a smaller font and wide margins (see Figure 20 and Appendix, Figures 71-75). However, Ascensius's edition differs in how it handles its commentaries. Ascensius organises the two commentaries he uses into two separate columns: Servius's commentary appears underneath the excerpt of the *Aeneid* in a large column, while Ascensius's own commentary runs alongside in a narrower column (see Figure 19). By contrast, the other printed editions stack the three commentaries they use on top of one another in order of age—Servius's first, then Donatus's, then Landino's (see Figure 20 and Appendix, Figures 71-75).



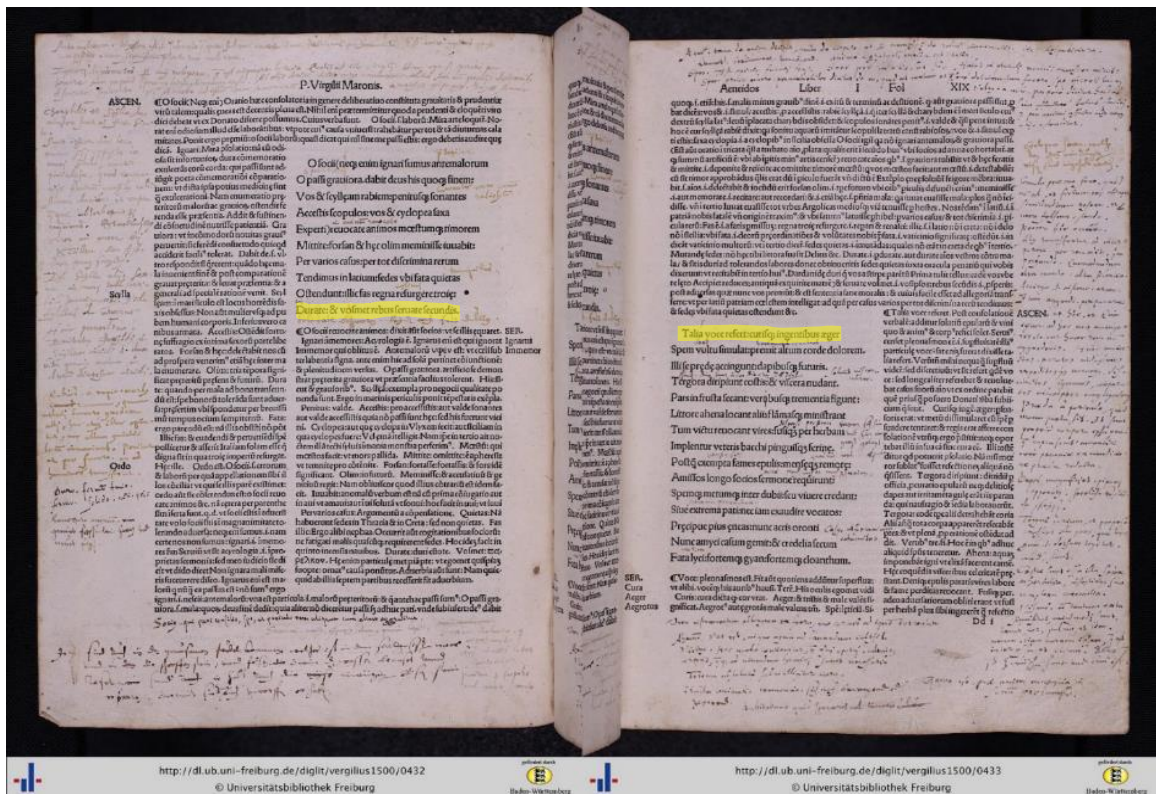


Figure 19: UB Freiburg, Ink. 4. D 7672 fols. 18<sup>v</sup>-19<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. I.198-222. This is the typical layout in the early books of Ascensius's (1501) edition. Aen. I.207-08 are highlighted (my edit) to illustrate an example on p. 174.

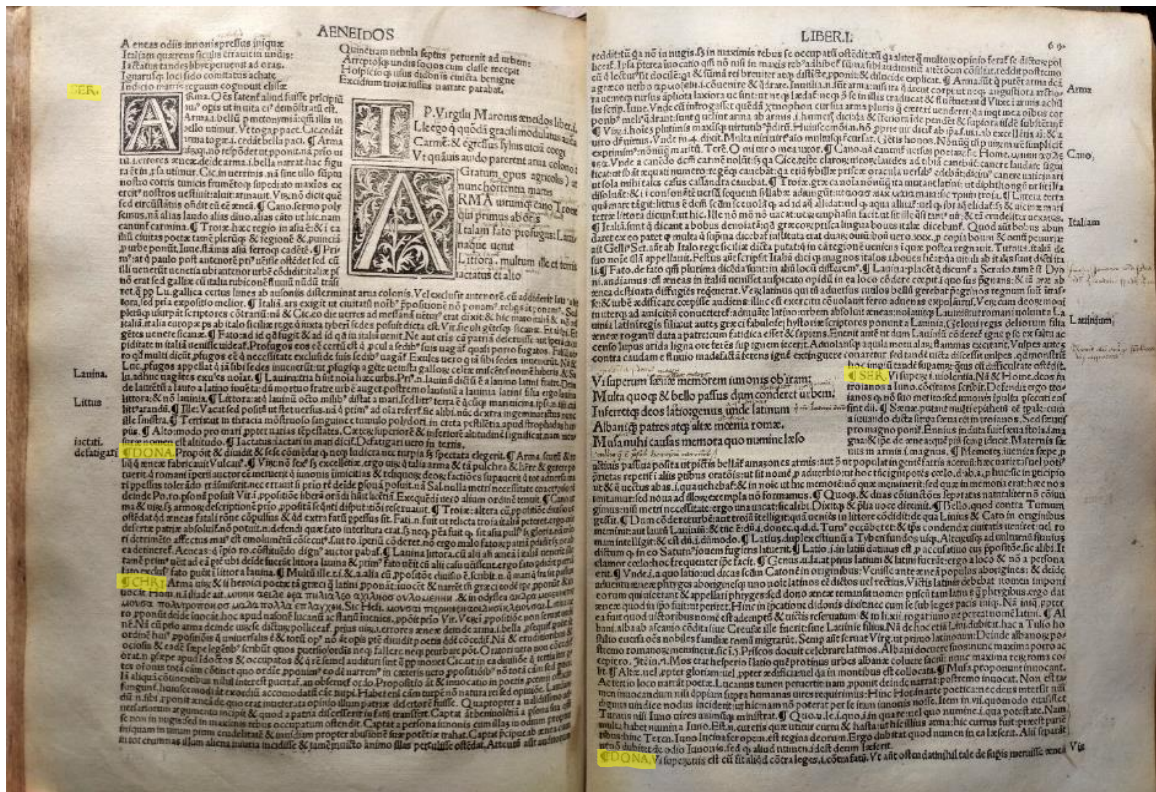


Figure 20: Bodl. Auct. O.1.18a, fols. 68<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. I.1-8. Note the headings inside the commentary indicating the different authors: 'SER' for 'Servius', 'DONA' for 'Donatus', and 'CHRI' for 'Cristoforo Landino'. These have been highlighted (my edit).

This creates a very different reading experience. In Ascensius's edition, the use of a side column enables Ascensius's commentary to be read simultaneously with the *Aeneid* and Servius's commentary—the ostensibly more important works. It also allows Ascensius to comment on both texts so that he may build on a point made by Servius or correct him. The stacked commentaries, however, do not interact with one another so easily. They must be read one at a time, and do not allow easy cross-referencing—especially if the commentary does not have paraps or rubrication (see Appendix, Figures 71-73). In this way, they create something like what Coldiron (2014: 180) calls a series of 'sustained serial-monolingual encounters'. While Coldiron is referring specifically to translations that present multiple languages, there is a similar effect in a mono-lingual work where several different voices interact. We might call these 'mono-vocal encounters', where each successive commentary is presented as an independent work, or as a chronological progression. By contrast, Ascensius's layout allows the reader to engage with three separate voices simultaneously: Virgil's, Servius's, and Ascensius's. There is a continuity and multi-vocalism that is not present in the other editions.

Ascensius's commentary layout also implies a different relationship between the various sources he draws on. Servius's commentary is always given precedence in the stacked commentaries, by virtue of appearing first, even though at the time it was widely considered flawed by humanist scholars (Wilson-Okamura 2010: 33; D. Fowler 1997a: 77-78). His commentary always controls the reading of the others, its age perhaps making it more authoritative than the newer, but highly respected commentary by Landino (Wilson-Okamura 2010: 36-37). By contrast, Ascensius's layout surreptitiously prioritises his own commentary. While Virgil's and Servius's texts are given greater prominence with larger font, larger column, and central placement, Ascensius's commentary frames the page, and



is so lengthy that it often hijacks the space entirely, demonstrating, according to White (2013: 63), its 'potential to outgrow [the main text] and stand alone'. Its useful gloss also ensures that it is constantly referenced while reading, forcing readers to engage with it (see Coldiron 2014: 181). In this way, Ascensius's layout gives superficial deference to Virgil's and Servius's texts, but ultimately promotes his own.

Ascensius's commentary is also more variegated than those featured in other printed editions. Whereas the other commentaries are short and comment on the *Aeneid* line by line, Ascensius's commentary is long and divided into three separate parts (not always clearly indicated) that perform three different functions. The first function is a general interpretation of the excerpt—'a paraphrase of the meaning' (White 2013: 79-80, 81). This is followed by quotations by Donatus and sometimes Filippo Beroaldo (1453-1505; White 2013: 221). The commentary ends with a 'word by word' dissection of the passage where Ascensius would '[rephrase] ... the word order' and offer 'expositions of the words' (79-80). This is introduced by the phrase 'ordo est' ('the order is').

While the stacked commentaries in other editions also feature brief summaries of content that preface their commentary, these usually appear only at the beginning of books. By contrast, Ascensius supplies these for every excerpt of the *Aeneid* (see Wilson-Okamura 2010: 207), indicating a greater concern that his text should be segmented into logical units that could be coherently summarised. This again sets him apart from the other printed editions, which do not segment the text with consideration to grammatical logic or narrative unity. For example, the first eight lines in Auct. O 1.18a are divided so that lines l.1-3 make one section and lines l.4-8 make another (see Figure 20). This uncomfortably

separates the description of Aeneas's troubles from the ablative of means ('vi superum', 'by the power of the gods') that instigated them (brackets indicate layout annotation):

... multum ille et terris iactatus et alto

[Section division here.]

Vi superum: ... (Virgil 1492a: l.3-4)

... many times that man [Aeneas] was thrown across lands and the deep sea

[Section division here.]

By the power of the gods ... (my translation)

By contrast, Ascensius more sensibly divides these lines between *Aen.* l.1-7 and 8-11, so that the summary of Aeneas's travails and their cause are not unnaturally separated, and the invocation to the muses—an established rhetorical trope—stands alone (see Figures 21 and 22).

While the segmentation of these other printed editions feels random, it is dictated by common divisions in the commentary. The other six printed editions share almost all segmentation in Books I, XII, and XIII ( $p < 0.001$ ; see Appendix, Table 49) and where there is no segmentation—as in some parts of Book XII and all of Book XIII—the segmentation in the commentary is always consistent across the other editions (see Figure 23 and Appendix, Figures 76-80). Ascensius's segments, however, which share only 11% similarity (on average) with that of other editions ( $p < 0.001$ ; see Appendix, Table 50), are dictated by Virgil's text, not the commentary. This means that when Ascensius created his edition, he actively recompiled the text, whereas the other printers did not. He was as much a compiler as an editor or printer, and his engagement with the text created an edition distinctly different from others that came before.

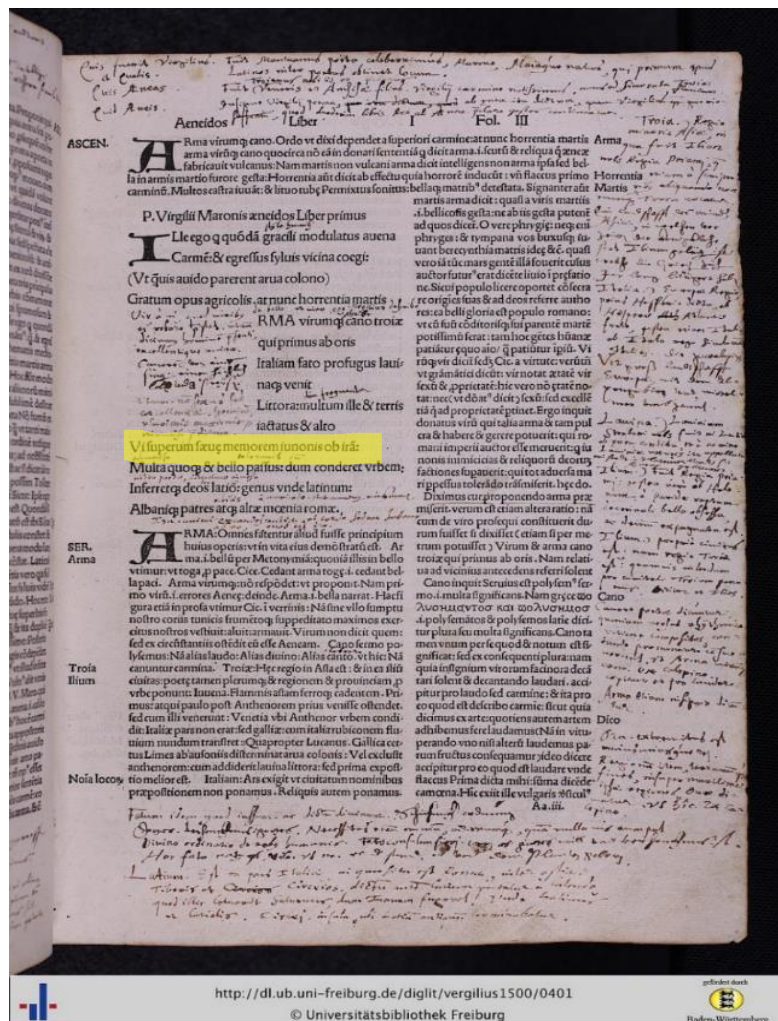


Figure 21: UB Freiburg, Ink. 4. D 7672 fol. 3<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. I.1-7. Aen. I.4 is highlighted (my edit) to illustrate an example on p. 193. Note also the extensive marginal notes that frame the page like Ascensius's commentary

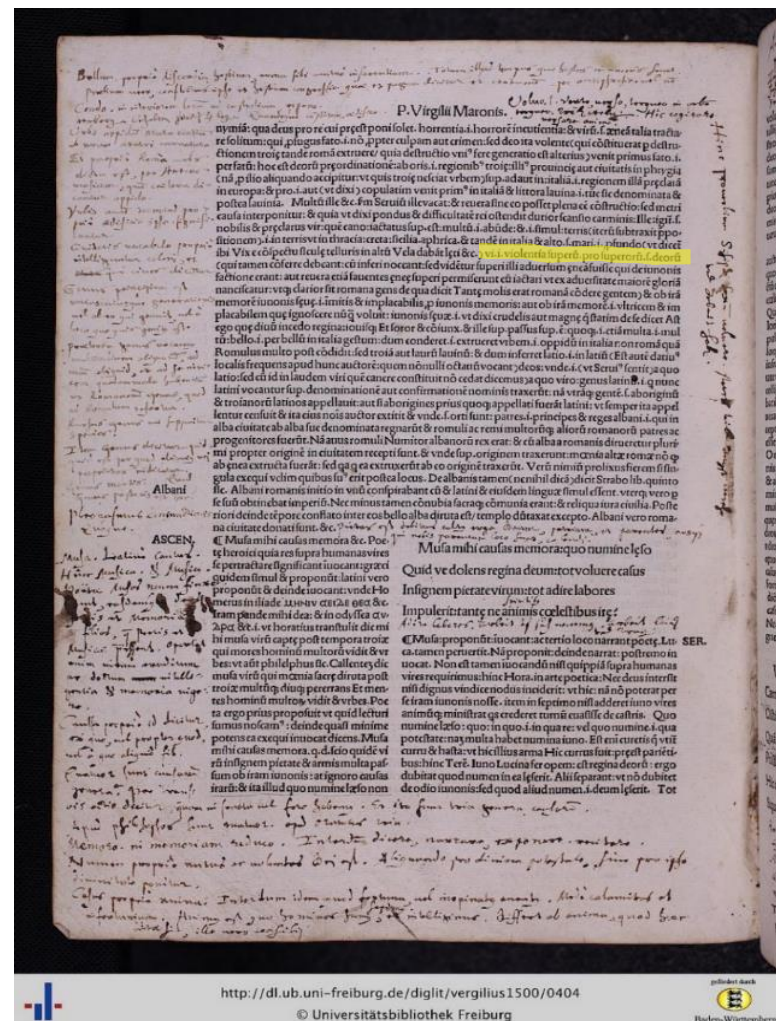


Figure 22: UB Freiburg, Ink. 4. D 7672 fol. 4<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. I.8-11. A segment of Ascensius's commentary is highlighted (my edit) to illustrate an example on p. 193. Note also the extensive marginal notes that frame the page like Ascensius's commentary.



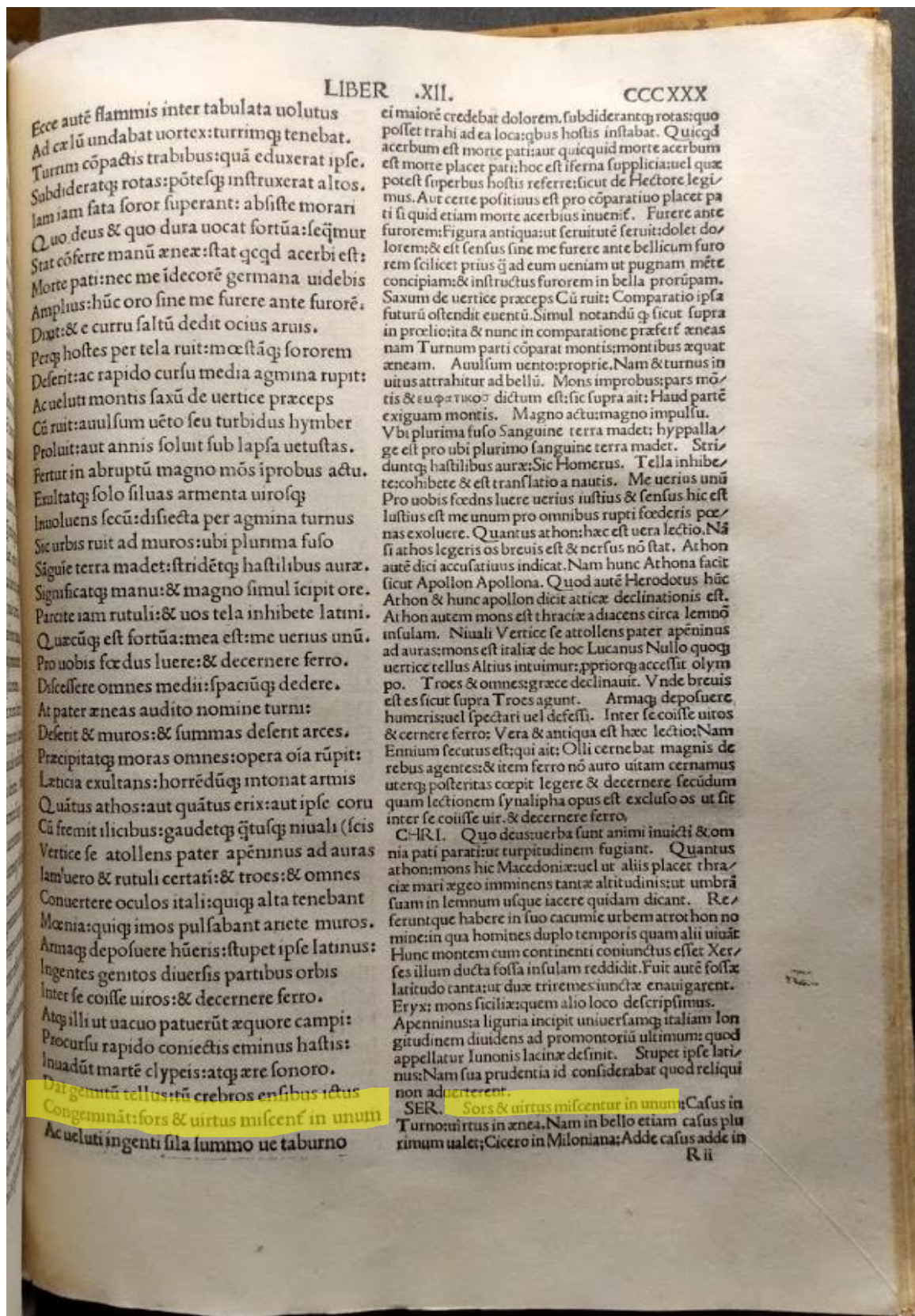


Figure 23: Bodl. Auct. O 1.18b fol. 330r, featuring Aen. XII.672-715. Note how there is no division in the text, but there is in the commentary. This break and the corresponding content in the text has been highlighted (my edit).

However, despite these his efforts, some of the same oddities of layout that are evident in the other printed editions of Virgil's works are apparent in Ascensius's (1501) edition also—namely the fluctuating length of sections. In the early books, excerpts from the *Aeneid* tend to be short and rarely cross page boundaries, while Servius's and Ascensius's commentaries are so lengthy they frequently spill over the page (see Figures 19, 21, and 22). In the later books of the *Aeneid*, the layout changes and the ratio of text to commentary reverses (see Figure 24). This is not a sudden change but happens gradually. Excerpts from the *Aeneid* become longer and often cross page boundaries; meanwhile, the commentary shrinks. This culminates in Book XIII, where the text completely takes over (see Figure 25). The text is no longer segmented but runs continuously, while the commentary becomes a running gloss.

This effect is caused by an imbalance of commentary between the early and later books of the *Aeneid*, caused by six-book readings—which are discussed in more detail later in this chapter (see Section 5.2.1). The earlier books tend to have more commentary, which precludes longer sections, otherwise the reader is overwhelmed by pages of commentary, which loses its value as a reference tool when it is presented at a distance from the text it comments on. Longer sections become more practical in the later books where there is less commentary. This feature is present in the other printed editions examined here. In fact, their transformation in layout is even more dramatic, which might be expected given that their design is dictated predominantly by the commentary. They devolve into running commentary intermittently in Book XII (see Figure 23, and Appendix, Figures 76, 79, and 80), and they present the *Supplement* in two columns without any commentary (see Figure 26 and Appendix, Figures 81-85).



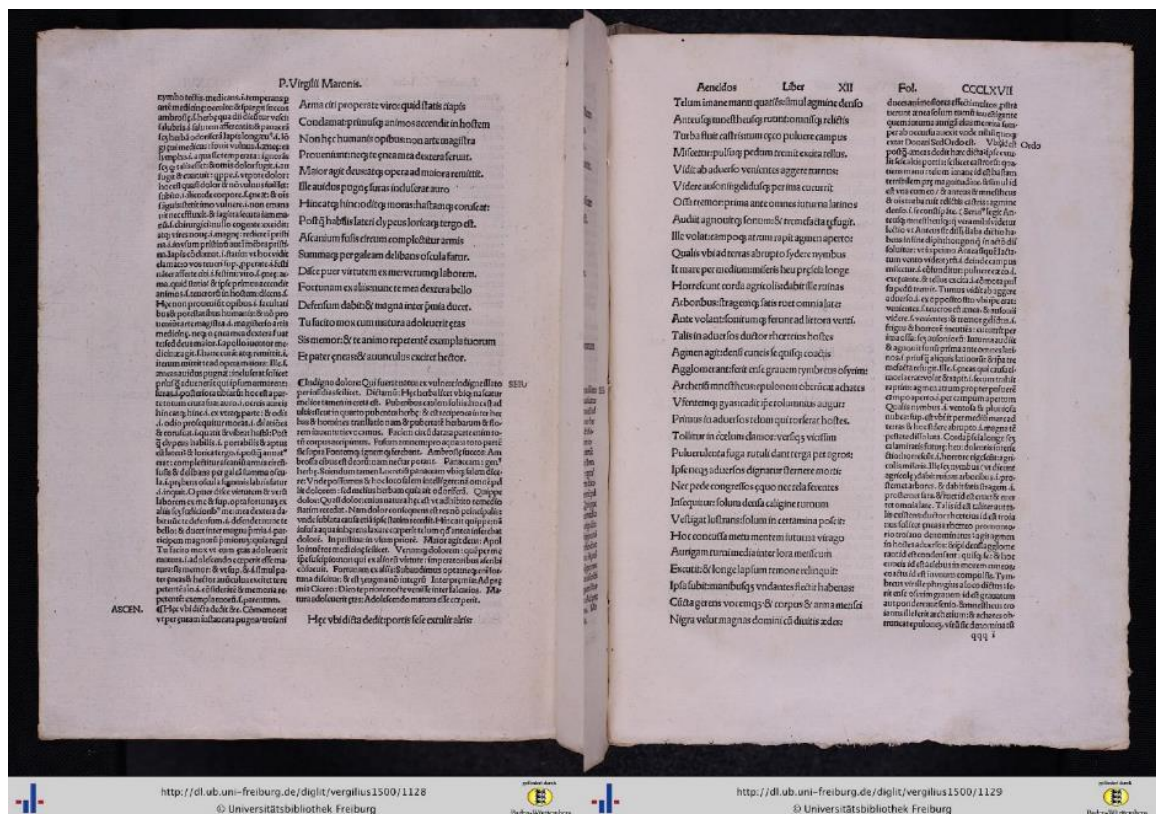


Figure 24: UB Freiburg, Ink. 4. D 7672 fols. 366<sup>v</sup>-367<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. XII.425-73. This is the typical layout for the later books in Ascensius's (1501) edition.

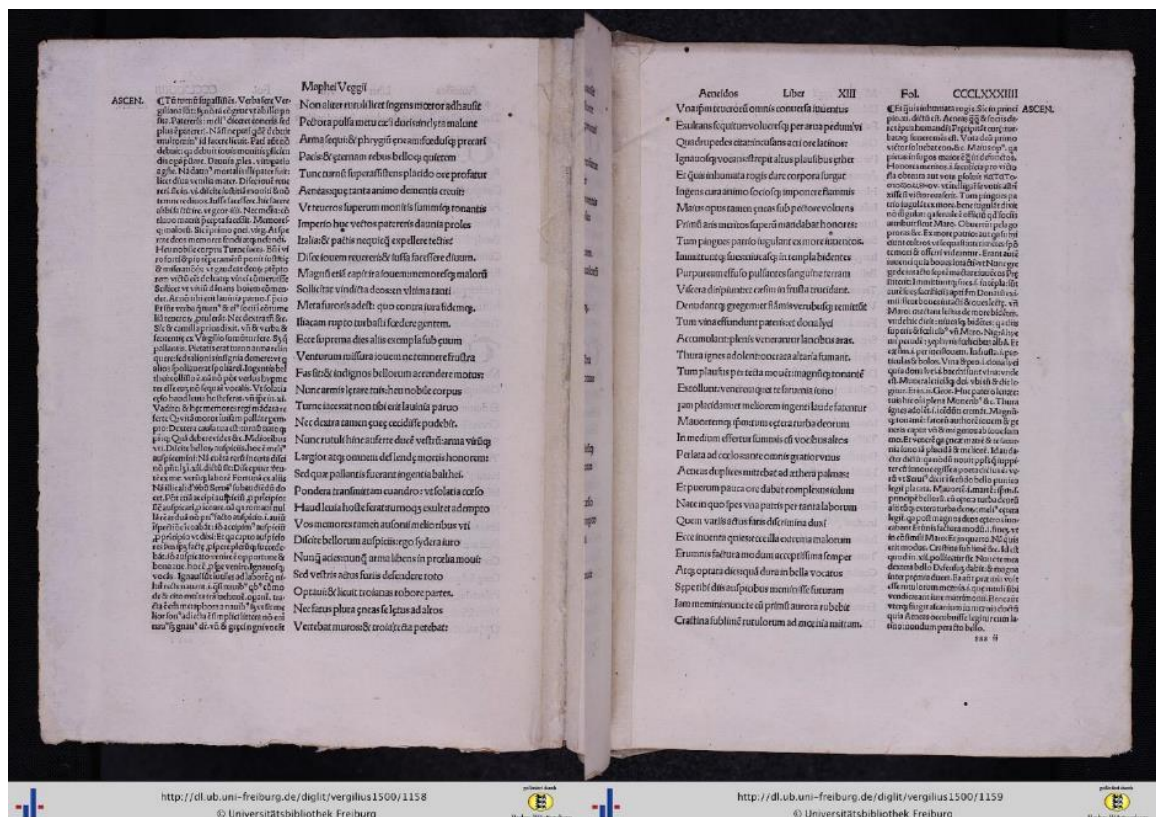


Figure 25: UB Freiburg, Ink. 4. D 7672 fols. 381<sup>v</sup>-382<sup>r</sup>, featuring Sup. 19-82. This is the typical layout for the 'Supplement' in Ascensius's (1501) edition.



Mappei Veggi Laudensis poeta Clarissimi  
Liber Terdecimus Additus Duodecim  
Aeneidos Libris.

**V**irius vt extremo vitā sub Marte pfudit  
Subdūt se rutuli aeneā troiana sequentes  
Agmina: debinc supis meriti reddunt honores  
Congaudet gnato ac sociis memor ante malos  
Actorum pater aeneas. turni inde latinus  
Morte dolet patriā miserā da incedia daunus  
Euerſa: & can deſlet pia funera gnati.  
Conubium inſtaurat gnata latolq; hymencos  
Rex ſocer aeneā gnero: gens vtrāq; pacto  
Foedere pacis ouat: tum homine coniugis vrbe  
Inſtruit: & tandē placida ſub pace regentē  
Tranſtulit aeneam venus aſtra in ſumma beatū.  
**V**irius vt extremo deuictus Marte pfudit  
Effugietem aiaz medioq; ſub agmie victor  
Magnanimus ſtetit aeneas mauorti? heros  
Obſupere omnes: gemitūq; dedere latini  
Ex durum ex alto reuomētes corde dolore  
Concuſſis cecidere animis: ceu frondib? ingens  
Silua dolet lapſis boriali impulſa tumultu.  
Tum tela inſidūt terræ: & mucronibus harentē  
Scutaq; deponūt humeris: & pralia damnāt:  
Infanumq; horrent optati martis amorem  
Nec frenum nec colla pati captiua reſuſant:  
Et veniā orare: & requiē finemq; malori:  
Sicut acerba duo quādo in certamina tauri  
Concurrūt largo miſcētes ſanguine pugnā.  
Cuiq; ſuum pecus inclināt: ſin ceſſerit vni  
Palma duci: mox quæ victo pecora aſ fauebant  
Nunc ſeſe imperio ſubdunt victoris: & vitro  
Qzq; animū dolor altus habet: parere fatentē  
Non aliter rutuli licet ingēs moeror adbaſit  
Pectora pulſa metu caſi ducis: indyta malūt  
Arma ſeq; & phrygiū aeneam: foedusq; precari  
Pacis: & aternā rebus belloq; quietem  
Tunc turnū ſuper aſſiſtens placido ore pſat  
Aeneas: quæ tantā animo dementia creuit:  
Vt teucros ſuperū monitis ſummiq; tonantis  
Imperio buc veſtos pateris daunia proles  
Italia: & pactis ne quicq; expellere tectis:  
Diſce iouem reuereri: & iuſſa faceſſere diuū.  
Magnū etiā capit ira iouē: meioresq; malori  
Sollicitat vindicta deos: en vltima tanti  
Meta furoris a deſti: quo contra iura fidemq;  
Iliacam rupto turbati ſedere gentem.  
Ecce ſuprema dies aliis exempla ſub axum  
Venturū miſſura iouem & temnere fruſtra  
Faſ ſit: & indignos bellorum accendere motus  
Nunc armis latere tuis: beu nobile corpus  
Tumeſces: at non tibi erit lauinia paruo  
Nec dextra tamē aeneā cecidiſſe pudebit.  
Nūc rutuli bincauſerte ducē vīm: arma virūq;  
Largior: atq; omnē deſcenda mortis bonorē.  
Sed quæ palantis fuerat ingentia balebei  
Pondora tranſmittā euandro: vt ſolatia exſo  
Haud ſeuia hoſte ferat: turnoq; exultet adēpto  
Vos memores tamē auſonii meliorib? vti  
Diſcite bellorum auſpiciis: ego ſydera iuro  
Nunq; acies: nunq; arma libens in plia moui:  
Sed veſtris actus furis defendere toto

Optauit: & licuit troianas robore partes.  
Nec ſatus plura aeneas ſe latus ad altos  
Vertebat muros: & troia tecta petebat.  
Vna ipſum teucroq; omnis conuerſa iuuetis  
Exultans ſequit: volucresq; pardua pedū vi:  
Quadrupes citat: inculans acri ore latinos:  
Ignauosq; vocās: ſtrepit altus plauſibus atber  
Et quīs inhumata rogis date corpora ſurgat  
Ingens cura animo ſociosq; imponere flamis.  
Maius opus tamē aeneas ſub pectore voluēs  
Primū aris meritos ſupos mandabat honores:  
Tū pingues patrios iugulāt ex morte iuuecos.  
Immittuntq; ſues: niuealq; in templa bidentes:  
Purpureā effuſo pulſantes ſanguine terram.  
Viſcera diripiūt: & caſim in fruſtra trucidant.  
Denudātq; gregē: & flamis verubusq; remittit  
Tum vina effundunt patheris: & dona lyei  
Accumulant: plenis venerant lancibus aras.  
Tbura ignes adolent: onerata altaria ſumant.  
Tū plauſus per tecta mouet: magnūq; tonantē  
Extollunt: veneremq; & te ſaturnia iuno  
Iam placidā: & meliorē ingenti laude fatentē  
Mauortēq; ipſum: tamē extera turba deorum  
In mediū eſſet ſummis cum vocibus altis  
Perlata ad coelos: ante omnis grator vnus  
Aeneas duplices mittebat ad athera palmas:  
Et puerum pauca ore dabat complexus inſum  
Nate in quo ſpes vna patris p tanta laborum  
Quem variis actus ſatis diſcrimina duxi  
Ecce inueta quies: ecce illa extrema malori  
Erumnis factura modū acceptiſſima ſemp  
Atq; optata dies: quā dura in bella vocatus  
Sæpe tibi diis auſpiciis me meminſſe futura  
Iam memini: nūc te q̄primū aurora rubebit  
Craſtina ſublimē rutulorū ad memia mittā:  
Debinc ſeſe ad gentē iliacam voluebat: & alto  
Pectore verba trahens blādo eſt ſic ore locutus  
O ſocii p dura ac denſa pericula veſtri  
Per tantos bellorū aſtus: duplicesq; furores  
Armorū: per totq; hvmes: p quicq; dacerbum  
Horrendū: graue: triſte: ingens: p q̄cqd iniquū  
Infaſtū: & crudele foret: couertice mente  
In melius: iam ſinis a deſti: hic meta malori  
Stabit: & optatam latia cum gente quietem  
Iungemus: dabit inde mihi lauinia coniunx  
Bello acri deſenſa italo cum ſanguine mixta  
Troianam tranſſerre aterna in ſæcula gentem.  
Vnum oro ſocii auſonios cōmuniter a quo  
Ferte aio: & voſmet ſocero obſeruare latino.  
Sæptū idē ſublime gerent: ſentētia mente  
Hæc habet: at bello vos: & praſtantibus armis  
Diſcite me: & pietate ſequi: quæ gloria nobis  
Ceſſerit in p̄mptu: ſed coeli & ſydera teſtor  
Qui vos tanto: eripui de clade malori:  
Idem ego ſub maiora potēs vos præmia ducā.  
Talibus orabat: variolq; in pectore caſus  
Præteritos voluens: partamq; labore quietem  
Haud paruo: nimis ardenti exundabat amore  
In teucros: grauib; tandem euaiſſe periclis  
Exultans: velut exiguis cum ex atbere gyrans  
Incubuit pullis: & magno turbine miluus  
Inſiliens anido ore ſurſ: ſtragēq; minat.  
Tum criſtata alos pulſo pectore mater

Figure 26: Bodl. Auct. Q 4.19 fol. 316<sup>r</sup>, featuring Sup. 1-110. Note how Vegio's text is presented in two columns and there is no commentary.

In this way, Ascensius proves to have a different approach to the *Aeneid* from many of his contemporaries, even though he firmly aligns himself with their practices through visual similarities. As White (2013: 37) argues, he arranges his work for readers less experienced in Latin, aiming for usability and thoroughness in his commentary design and readability in his segmentation of the text. That is not to say that these other editions are not interested in cultivating a less experienced audience, but that they do not expressly seek them out in the same way.

Ascensius also demonstrates a ‘concern with ethical reading of texts’ (White 2013: 67-68) that situates linguistic study within ‘the context of a wider moral education’ (91), where ‘word study is to be used as a tool to excavate meaning’ (81-82). This is illustrated by the variegation in Ascensius’s commentary, where linguistic glosses are first contextualised by narrative summaries. To teach this method, Ascensius demonstrates it himself. He presents his commentary as a frame around the main text, which resembles the marginal notes someone might make while reading (see Figures 21 and 22). This implies that his commentary is a product of the very method of reading that his edition encourages readers to engage in. Such self-referential behaviour has an air of self-promotion, given that, as previously noted, Ascensius’s layout also subtly prioritises his own commentary. Moreover, he probably provides a commentary for the *Supplement* not just for the sake of thoroughness, but also because it is a marginal space that has not yet been mined for authority (White 2013: 69). However, alongside this desire for self-promotion, there is an accompanying respect for his source texts. Ascensius was famously incensed by printers who copied his works and printed them at reduced prices (Renouard 1908: I.24) and advocated ‘textual integrity’ and proper source attribution (White 2013: 51, 52). This is reflected in his desire not just to accept the texts that previously exist, but to improve them through scholarly contribution and innovative presentation.



## 5.2 Douglas's Fidelity to Ascensius's Layout and *Ordinatio*

According to Partridge (2011: 82), when copying a text, 'the default procedure was for scribes and other artisans to reproduce their exemplars in details of layout'. It is possible that this holds true for translators as well, as there is some evidence that Douglas's process of translation is influenced by the layout in his source—specifically by how Ascensius segments Virgil's text. As Mak (2011) observes, 'The spaces between words, between lines, and around the text block can be understood as visual and cognitive breaks' (17) while 'headings and subdivisions ... punctuate important moments in the story and thereby affect in what manner the treatise will be read' (34).

Douglas certainly interprets Ascensius's (1501) section divisions this way, structuring his chapters around them 67% of the time ( $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 51). For example, the following chapter break imitates the section break in Figure 27; equivalent material between the Scots and Latin is underlined, layout descriptions are in brackets, chapter rubrics, being added material, are in bold.

... hunc claris dextera factis.

[Section break here.]

Dum turnus rutulos animis audacibus implet. (Virgil 1501: VII.474-75)

And sum war eik inducit to the weir  
For hie prowes knawin in ilke landis,  
And dedis wrocht maste knychtly with his handis.

[Chapter break here.]

**Ascanyus huntand hass a taym hart hurt,  
Quhilk was the first moving of strife and sturt.**

Quhill Turnus on this wyss, about all partis,  
In the Rutilyanys rasys hardy hartis. (Douglas 1957-64: VII.8.152-9.2)<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See VII.7.152-8.2 in the printed version of Coldwell (1957-64).

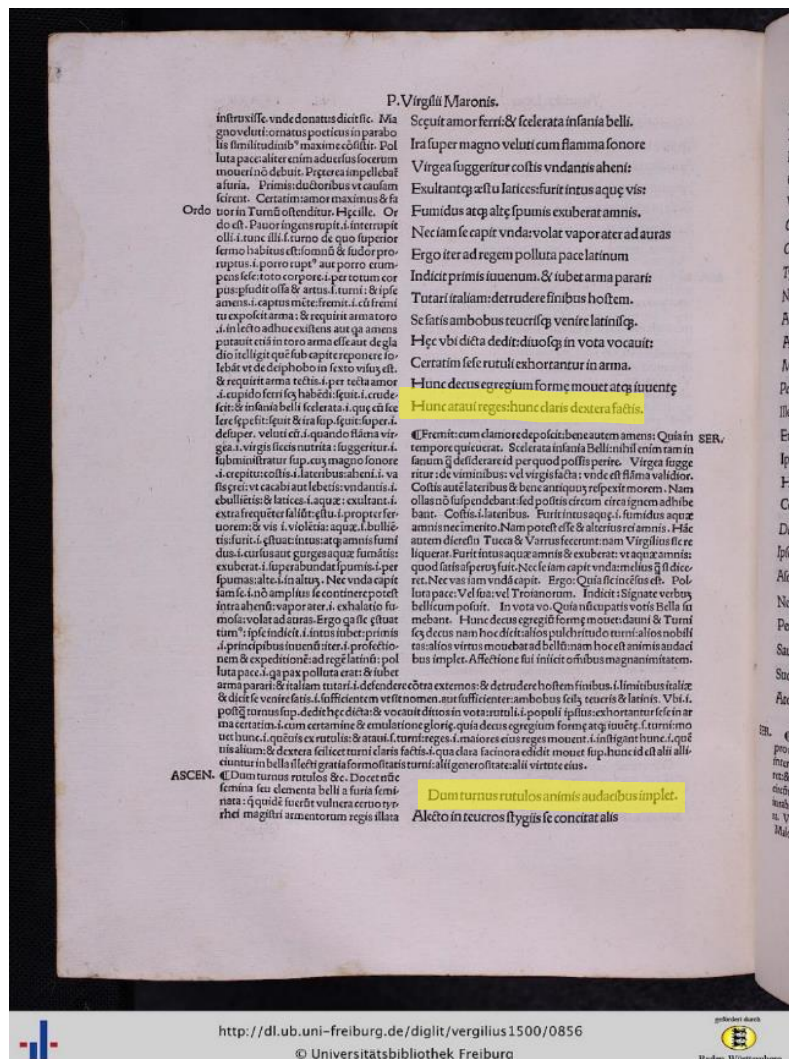


Figure 27: UB Freiburg Ink. 4. D 7672 fol. 230<sup>v</sup>, featuring Aen. VII.461-76. Aen. VII.474-75 are highlighted (my edit) to illustrate examples on pp. 172 and 184-85.

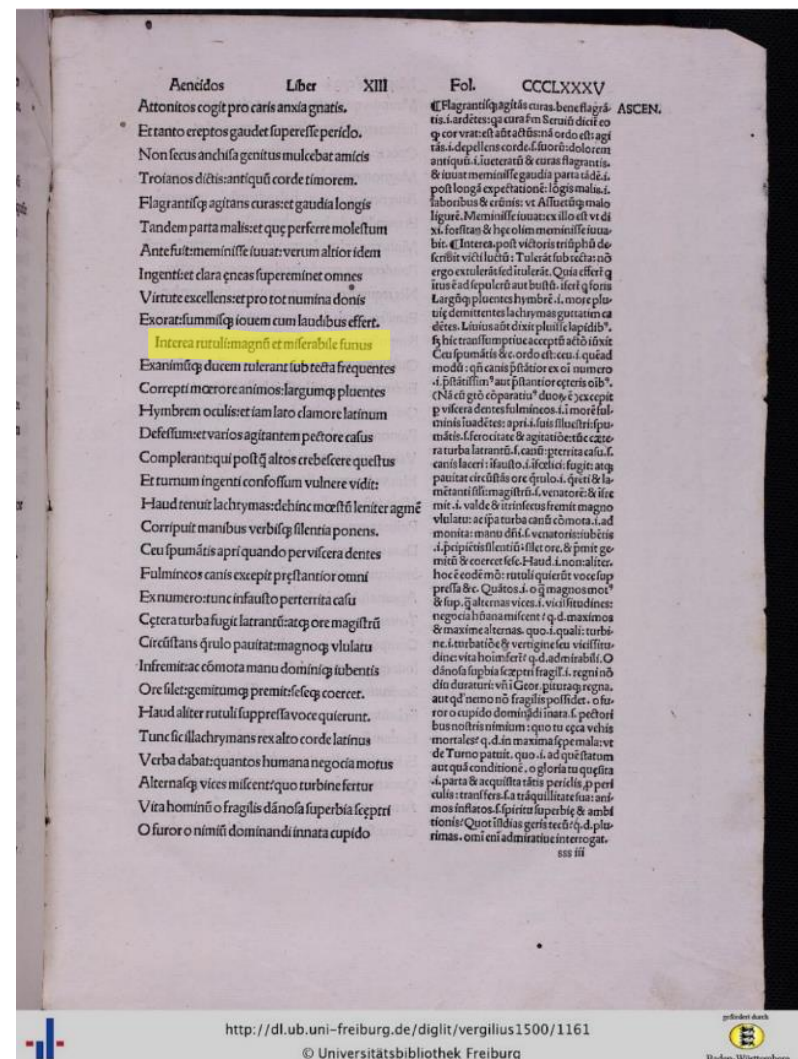


Figure 28: UB Freiburg Ink. 4. D 7672, fol. 383<sup>r</sup> (labelled 385<sup>r</sup>), featuring Sup. 115-46. Sup. 125 is highlighted (my edit) to illustrate the example on p. 174.

Even in Book XIII, where the traditional section layout dissolves, Douglas still takes his cue from indentations in the text and paraps in the commentary (see Figure 28).

... et pro tot numina donis  
 Exorat: summisque iouem cum laudibus effert.  
 [Indentation here.] Interea rutuli: magnum et miserabile funus. (Vegio 1501: 123-25)

And for sa feill dangeris and mony affray  
 The goddis power and mychty maieste  
 With gyftis gret and offerand wirschippis he,  
 Eyk Iupiter, the fader of goddis and kyng,  
 Gan to extoll with maist souerane lovyng.

[Chapter break here.]  
**Quhou Turnus folkis for hym maid sair regrait,  
 And Kyng Latyn contempnys his wrachit estait.**

In the meyn tyme the Rutilianys ichone  
 The gret ded corps reuthfull and woebegone. (Douglas 1957-64: XIII.2.154-3.2)

Similarly, 99.5% of the time ( $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 51), Douglas honours these sections within his translation units. For example, the following translation units (labelled with large brackets) preserve the section break seen in Figure 19:

|       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Unit: | <p><u>Durate</u>: et vosmet rebus seruare secundis. (Virgil 1501: I.207)</p> <p><u>Beis stowt</u> on prosper forton to remane. (Douglas 1957-64: I.4.84)</p> <p>[Section break here.]</p>                                  |
| Unit: | <p><u>Talia voce refert</u>: curisque ingentibus aeger. (Virgil 1501: I.208)</p> <p><u>Syk plesand wordis carpand he has furth brocht,</u><br/>         Set his mynd trublit mony grewouss thocht. (Douglas I.4.85-86)</p> |

It is doubtful that Douglas was influenced by other editions in this matter, as even editions with a similar layout to Ascensius's edition feature different segmentation (see Section 5.1). At times, this reliance on Ascensius's layout borders on hypersensitivity, with

Douglas occasionally attributing significance to relatively arbitrary features, such as page breaks. 61% of the time Douglas groups his translation units so that they honour page breaks ( $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 52). This practice sometimes leads to unexpected—and illogical—decisions for Douglas’s *ordinatio*. For example, in Book I Douglas begins chapter 4 not just in the middle of a section in Ascensius’s text, but also in the middle of a line (see Figures 29 and 30). This break is not motivated by context, as it awkwardly separates Neptune from his previous action of saving the Trojans from a storm and involves him in an episode that he has no relation to (i.e. the Trojans arriving in Carthage). Rather, the division seems to be motivated by the page break that occurs in the line above that unifies Neptune’s departure and the Trojan’s arrival within a page, and is reinforced by a paraph at the top left corner of the page.

Ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet:

[Page break here.]

Sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor: aequora postquam

Prospiciens genitor ... (Virgil 1501: l.153-55)

He wyth his wordis gan slaik thar mynd and swage.

On the sammyn wyss fell all the seys rage.

[Chapter break here.]

**Quhou Eneas in Affrik dyd arryve,**

**And thar with schote slew sevin hartis belyve.**

Eftyr that the fader of the fludys Neptune

Had on sik wyss behaldyn the seys abone, ... (Douglas 1957-64: l.3.99-4.2)





Such a phenomenon can also occur without a paraph, as Figure 31 demonstrates. Here, Douglas splits a discussion concerning the Strofades—a pair of small Greek islands—across a chapter division, separating ‘the costis of Strophe’ (‘strophadum ... littora’) from the alternative name ‘Strophades’ (‘strophades’).

Seruatum ex vndis strophadum me littora primum

Excipiunt: strophades graio stant nomine dictae:

[Page break here.]

Insulae ionio in magno: ... (Virgil 1501: III.209-11)

‘... Salve from the wallis at the costis of Strophe

With al our navy first arryvit we.’

[Chapter break here.]

**Quhou till Ene the harpyes dyd gret wo,**

**And of the drery prophete Celeno.**

‘Strophades in Grew leid ar nemmyt so,

In the gret sey standing ilis two, ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: III.3.115-4.2)

This break is not only illogical in terms of narrative, but also style. One of Virgil’s most famous stylistic quirks is his penchant for word order to act out content, like the chiasmus of grammatical cases in IV.165, ‘Speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem’, which mimics Dido and Aeneas huddled together in a cave. Consequently, it would be more faithful to keep the references to the Strofades together to mimic the proximity of these islands. Moreover, the page break that motivates this chapter division occurs across facing pages, so it is easy to observe that there is not a section break. Consequently, unlike the previous example, which may just be the product of misunderstanding the layout, this instance indicates a conscious desire to respect Ascensius’s page limits that exceeds his respect for Virgil’s narrative or style.



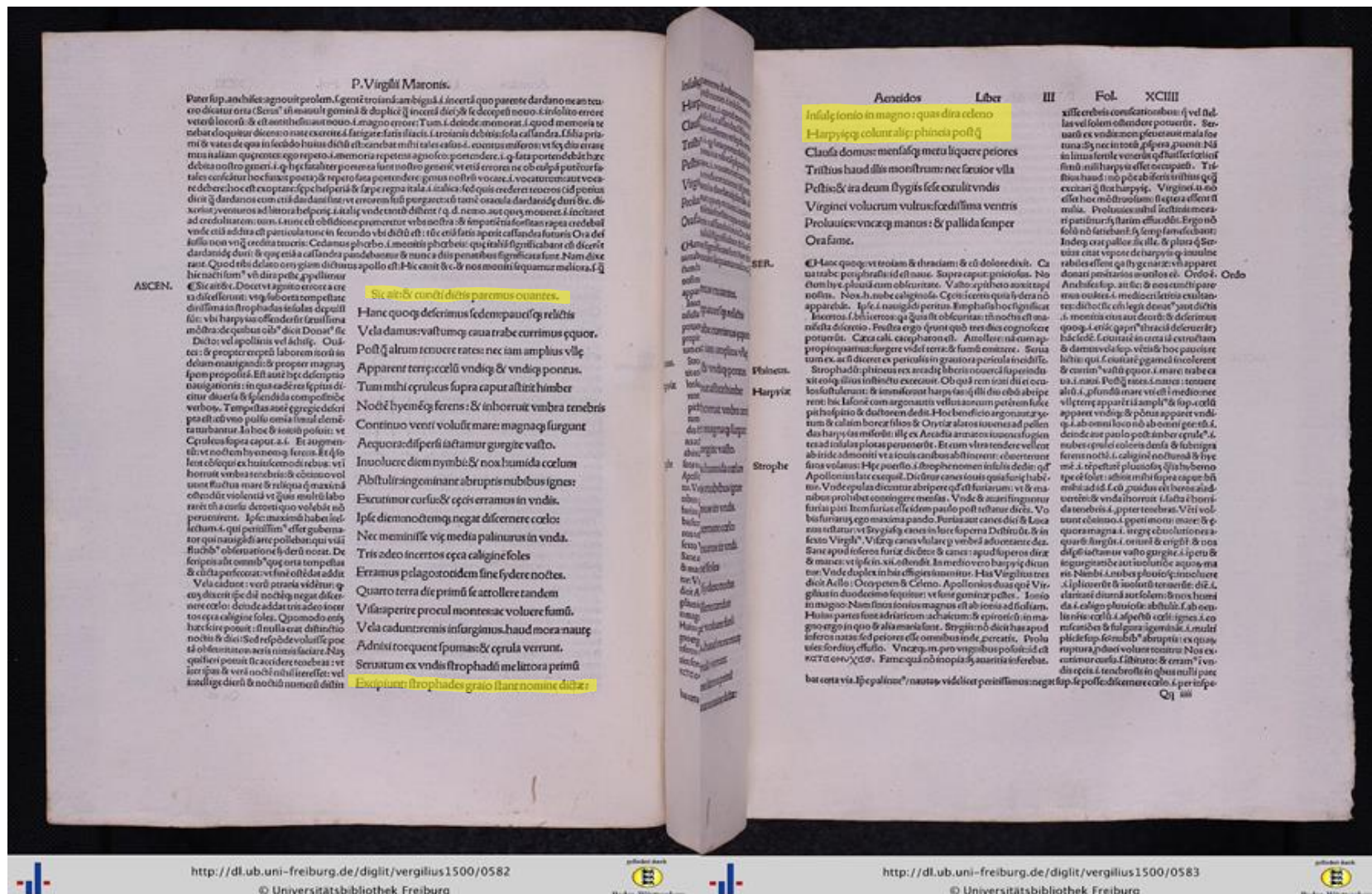


Figure 31: UB Freiburg Ink. 4. D 7672 fols. 93<sup>v</sup>-94<sup>r</sup>, featuring Aen. III.189-218. Aen. III.189, 209-11 are highlighted (my edit) to illustrate examples on pp. 177 and 183.

Sometimes the layout of the Trinity College MS (O.3.12, Trinity College, University of Cambridge, c. 1515-25) also imitates aspects of Ascensius's (1501) layout. For instance, in the previous example where a page break in Ascensius's text dictates the chapter division between chapters 3 and 4 in *Ene. I* (pp. 175-76), the page break in the source is also represented by a page break in the Trinity MS so that the new page starts with a new chapter (see Figure 32). However, it is debateable how intentional this is. As far as we know, Matthew Geddes (*fl.* 1495-1522) designed this layout, not Douglas (see Section 2.2.3). While Douglas may have had some input in its design and may have even instigated its production, it is still doubtful that Geddes would have interacted with Ascensius's edition when copying Douglas's exemplar. Rather, it is more likely that this page break is implemented here to mark the chapter break in Douglas's text. A general analysis of the page breaks in the Trinity College MS supports this: only 5% ( $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; Appendix, Table 53) of page breaks in Ascensius's edition are represented by page breaks in the Trinity MS—the other previously investigated example of a chapter division in the *Eneados* determined by a page break (pp. 177-78; see Appendix, Figure 86) is not imitated. By contrast, Geddes is more likely to represent Douglas's *ordinatio*—i.e. breaks between books, prologues, postscripts, chapters, and stanzas (see Figure 33).



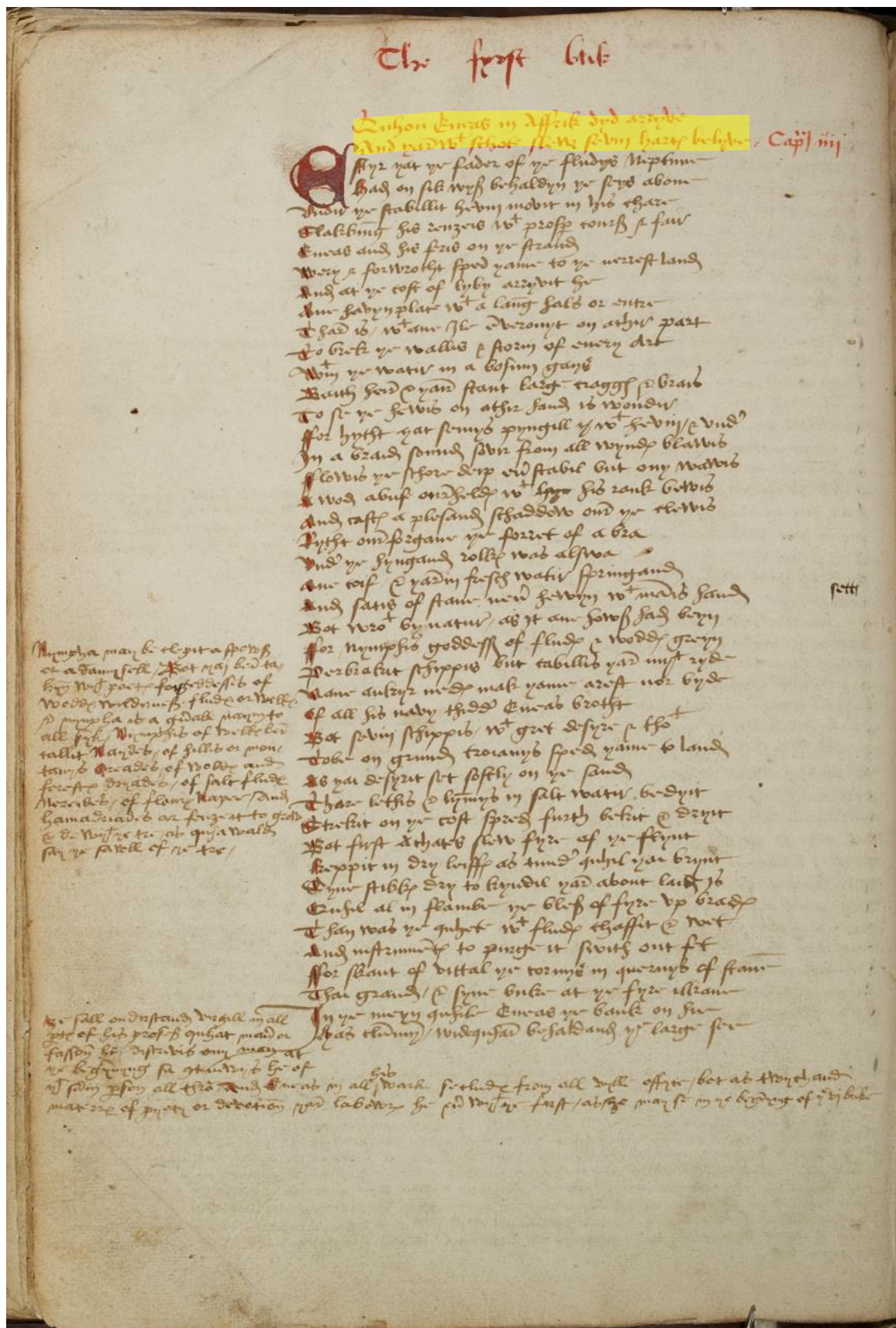


Figure 32: Cambridge Trinity College MS O.3.12 fol. 12<sup>v</sup>, featuring Ene. I.4.a-42. Note how the chapter starts at the top of the verso (chapter rubric highlighted, my edit), as in Appendix, Figure 87. This practice stops after this folio (see Appendix, Figure 86).

However, except for an initial attempt in the early pages of Book I to design his page layout around chapters so that chapters I.1, I.2, and I.4 begin on versos and are encapsulated by facing pages (see Figures 32 and 43 and Appendix, Figure 87), Geddes does not organise his text with reference to either Ascensius’s or Douglas’s *ordinatio*. 88% ( $p < 0.001$ ) of the page boundaries in the Trinity College MS do not correspond with any logical break in Ascensius’s edition or the *Eneados* itself (see Appendix, Table 55). The initial chapter layout is abandoned probably because Douglas’s chapter lengths vary so widely (ranging from 24 to 234 lines) that it is impossible to design a stable layout around them (see Figure 34). Such stability appears to be Geddes’s aim, given that the number of lines per page in his manuscript does not vary considerably but settles around 38 (see Figure 35). Consequently, Geddes proves to not share the same fascination for *ordinatio* that Douglas possesses, prioritising instead an efficient and easy-to-read manuscript.

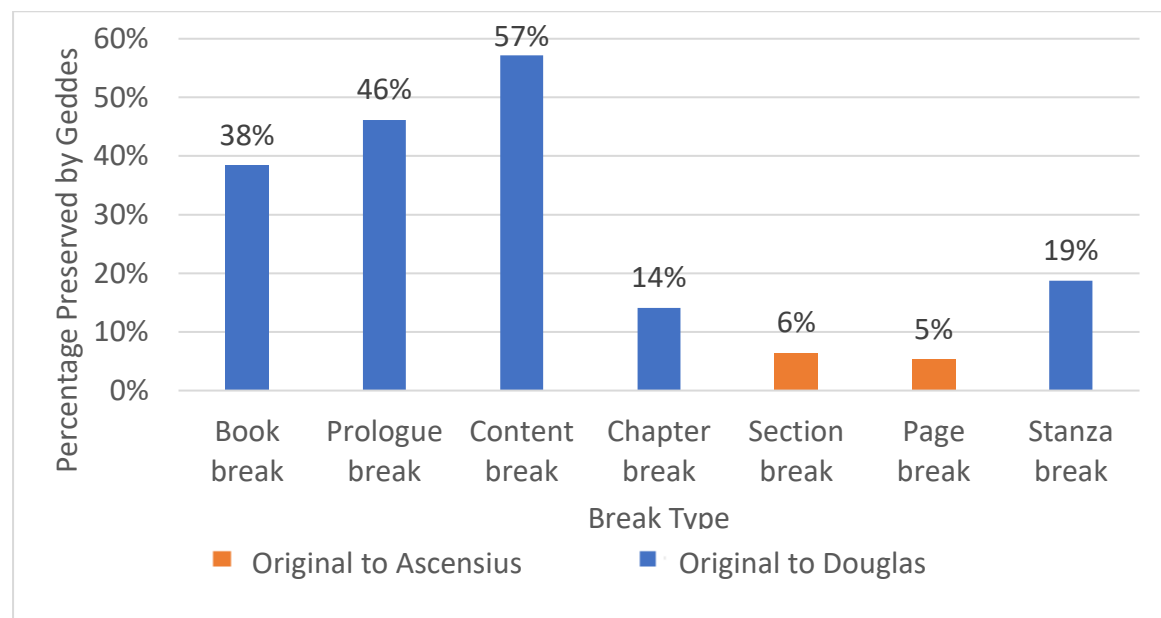


Figure 33: Percentages of each type of ‘ordinatio’ break that are acknowledged in the Trinity College MS out of all the existing breaks of each type in Ascensius’s edition of the ‘Aeneid’ and the ‘Eneados’. Results are ordered by how substantial the break is, from most substantial—a book break—to relatively minor—a stanza break. See Appendix, Table 53, for raw data. Percentages for breaks dictated by Douglas’s *ordinatio* are significantly different to for breaks dictated by Ascensius’s *ordinatio* according to a series of pairwise proportion tests (see Appendix, Table 54).

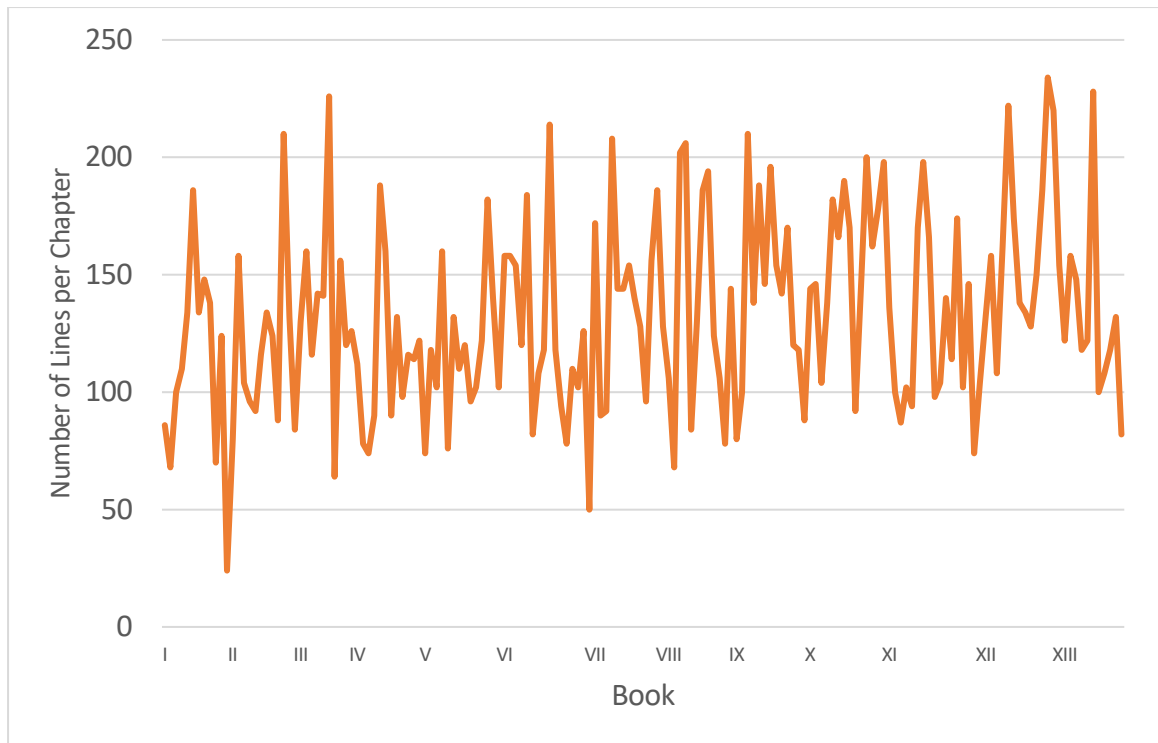


Figure 34: Number of Scots lines per chapter over the course of the 'Eneados'. Note the irregular line. The trend here is significantly different from that in Figure 35 ( $p < 0.001$ ) according to a t-test. See Dataset 4 for full data.

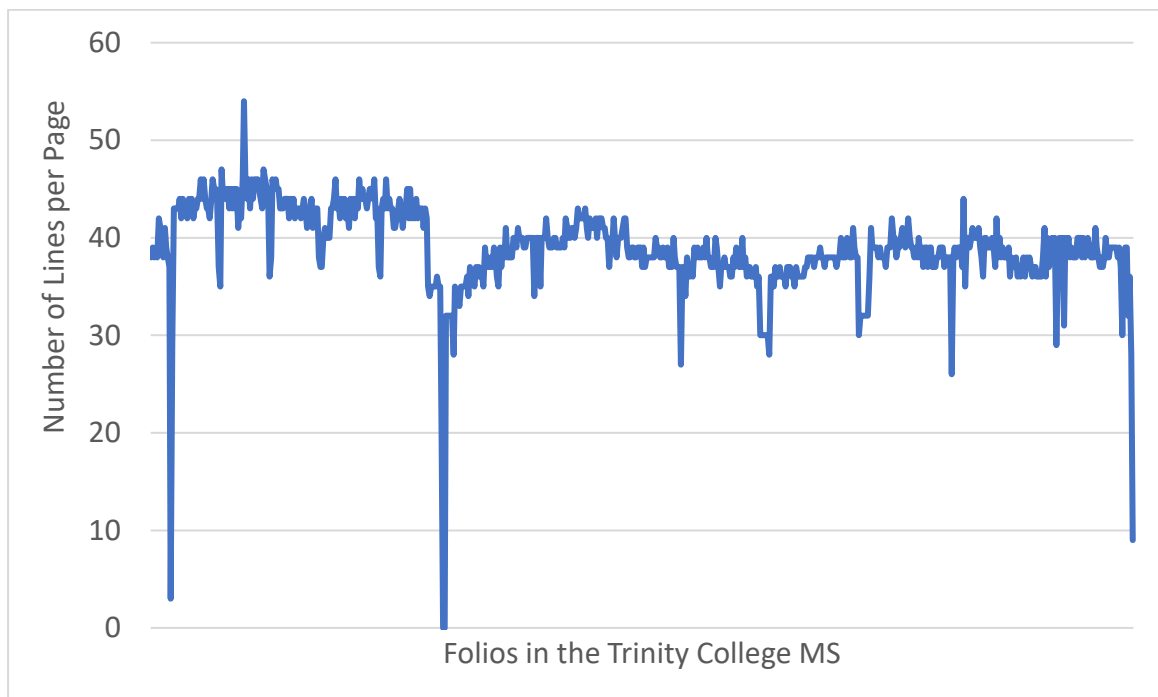


Figure 35: Number of lines per page over the course of the Trinity College MS. Lines counted do not include headings at the top of the page describing the general content of the page (i.e. 'The fyrst buk' in Figure 32). Note how the line remains stable around 40. The trend here is significantly different from that in Figure 34 ( $p < 0.001$ ) according to a t-test. See Dataset 7 for full data.

### 5.3 The Effect of Ascensius's Layout on Douglas's Translation Method

If Ascensius's layout is a major factor in determining how Douglas divides his text, then it probably also influences how Douglas translates his text. For, as Mak (2011: 16) argues, segmentation is 'employed by designers and readers to moderate the pace of engagement with the page'. Again, there is evidence of this in the *Eneados*, as Douglas's line ratios prove to be conditioned by where translation units occur within a section of the Ascensius's edition. Succinct translation prefers beginning segments more than expansive translation does (17% vs. 5%,  $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test), while expansive translation prefers end segments more than succinct translation does (13% vs. 5%,  $p < 0.01$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 56 for both comparisons). However, both translation types tend to occur most often in the middle of sections.

Brief translation's preference for beginnings could be reflective of content, as the lines at the beginning of sections tend to be what Section 4.5.3 referred to as 'stage direction' content—lines indicating position, speech, or movement that Douglas tends to translate briefly (see Figure 31):

Sic ait: et cuncti dictis paremus ouantes. (Virgil 1501: III.189)

'... Thus said he, and we glaid al hym obeys. ...' (Douglas 1957-64: III.3.78)

By contrast, longer translations at the end of pages tend to cover more complicated topics, such as authority, which Douglas tends to expand upon (see Figure 27):

Hunc atai reges: hunc claris dextera factis. (Virgil 1501: VII.474)

Sum is movit throw hys ryall blude,  
For hys progenitouris noble kyngis wer;  
And sum war eik inducit to the weir  
For hie prowes knawin in ilke landis,  
And dedis wrocht maste knyghtly with his handis. (Douglas 1957-64:  
VII.8.150-54)<sup>6</sup>

Not only does this corroborate that Douglas's translation is often conditioned by content (see Section 4.5.1) but it also provides a sense of how Ascensius divided the *Aeneid*. Each segment is defined by a large event or important concept that is weighted towards the end of the excerpt. This method of organisation tends to create 'tableaux', single-event episodes that inhibit the flow of the narrative and, as seen in Section 6.2.3 and p. 266, obstruct a more unified view of the text.

Douglas frequently interprets this structure by translating more expansively over the course of a single section. For instance, the previous example comes at the end of a section (*Aen.* VII.458-74). These lines start with Turnus waking up from a dream where Alecto incites him to violence: 'Olli somnum ingens rumpit pauor' (VII.458) or 'a huge panic breaks the sleep of that man'. This is a 'stage direction' opening that describes the initial context of the scene. However, the energy mounts as the fury of Turnus's dream becomes his reality, ultimately ending in the physical manifestation of his rage in the form of warriors—who, strikingly, are not inspired by this same wrath, but rather out of respect for Turnus's ancestry ('ataui reges'), fame ('claris factis'), and beauty ('decus'), indicating that power is more aligned with qualities related to *pietas* than passion. Douglas reacts to this crescendo by steadily increasing the line ratio in his translations throughout this

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<sup>6</sup> See VII.7.150-54 in the printed version of Coldwell (1957-64).

passage (see Figure 36). Note the large leap at line 466, ‘Nec iam se capit vnda: volat vapor ater ad auras’ (‘Nor indeed does the wave collapse on itself: black smoke flies through the air’)—a metaphor comparing Turnus’s rage to a pan of water boiling over—which is then eclipsed by the ending segment about the non-wrathful motivations of the Rutulians. In this way, Douglas emphasises Virgil’s point about where true power lies.

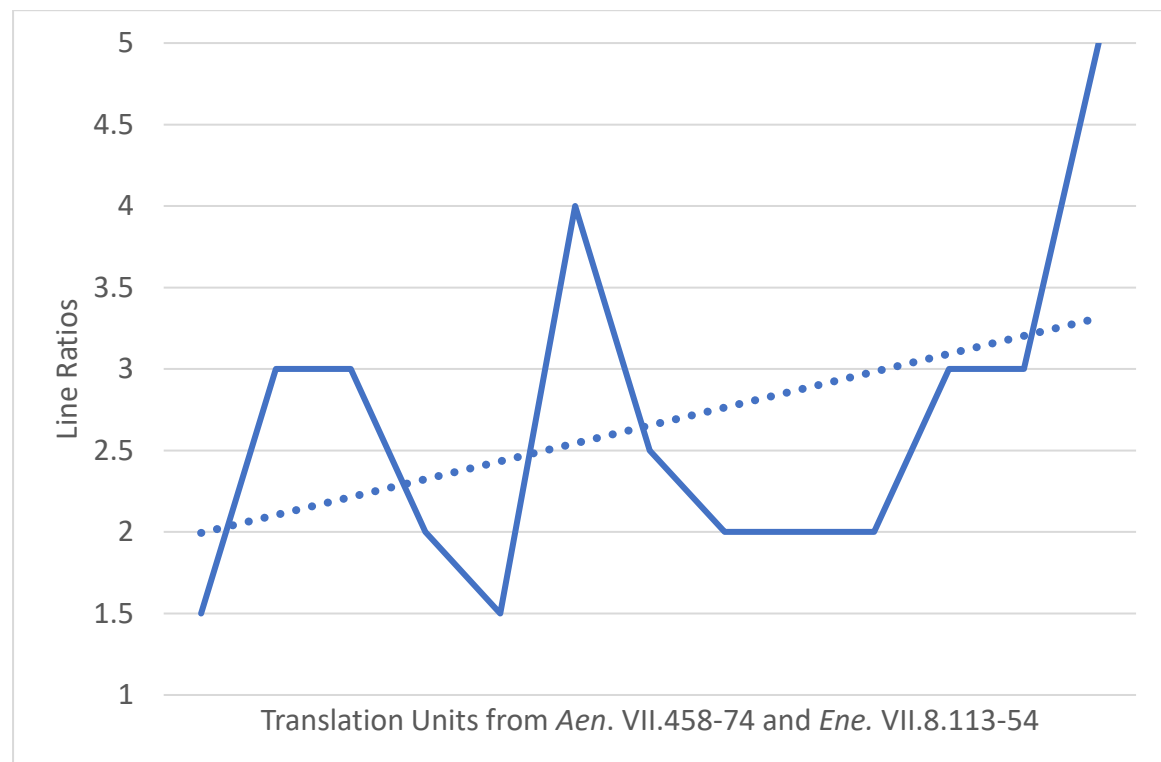


Figure 36: Representation of Douglas’s line ratios for *Aen.* VII.458-74 and *Ene.* VII.8.113-54. See Appendix, Table 57 for raw data.

### 5.3.1 Six-Book vs. Twelve-Book Readers

If such a transformation is happening on the level of the page, what happens when the page layout changes, as it does in Ascensius 1501 edition? As previously discussed in Section 5.1, there is an imbalance of commentary between the first and second halves of the *Aeneid* that results in a transformation in the layout of many early printed editions of the *Aeneid*. This imbalance can be attributed to the division between the first and last six books of the *Aeneid*



which has become codified in Virgilian reception. The first six books are usually described as books that use the *Odyssey* as a model, while the latter are considered more like the *Iliad*.

Of course, this division can be overstated. Farrell (1997: 229-30) has argued in the *Cambridge Companion to Virgil* that 'the *Aeneid* does not divide so easily into Iliadic and Odyssean halves' based on how Book II draws on material from the *Iliad*, Book IV is sourced from another author entirely (Apollonius), and the entire sequence of events of the first six books is not in the order dictated by the *Odyssey*. D. Fowler (1997b: 262), within the same anthology, also observes how the *Odyssey* provides the general structure of the entirety of the *Aeneid*: 'with a heterogeneous first half succeeded by a second half in which time and place get increasingly concentrated'. He also suggests that different divisions are possible like 'three sets of four books' (265), the first four books revolving around Dido, the second four books concerning Aeneas's travels, and the last four focusing on battle.

Be that as it may, the six-six division of the books has remained a fixture in Virgilian commentary, where 'Interpretation of Books I through VI followed the outlines established by ancient commentaries on Homer's *Odyssey*', and tended to be more weighty, whereas 'Commentary on the second half of the *Aeneid* was less focused', and more sparse (Wilson-Okamura 2010: 191). Such imbalance indicates that the first six books have received greater attention than the later six. Based on this, Wilson-Okamura (2010: 217), in his examination of Virgilian reception in the Renaissance, has suggested there are two different types of readers of the *Aeneid*: Those who are twelve-book readers—who read the entirety of the *Aeneid* as a cohesive text—and those who are six-book readers—who either focus solely on the first six books, or who read the work as a bifurcation.

In this interpretation, the uneven distribution of commentary in the early printed editions of the *Aeneid* examined previously is due to them being produced by six-book readers. Ascensius, of course, is the exception, in that he does attempt to rectify the imbalance of commentary by re-segmenting the text and writing a commentary for the entirety of the *Aeneid* and the *Supplement*, which are the actions of a twelve-book reader. Nevertheless, this imbalance persists even in Ascensius's edition, indicating that it was a fixture in the study of the *Aeneid* at the time, resulting in more resources being available for Books I-VI than for Books VII-XIII.

The same can be said of Douglas. Like Ascensius, he presents the entirety of the *Aeneid*, including Book XIII, which indicates he is a twelve-book reader. However, remnants of a six-book reading are evident in his translation method. For example, as seen in Section 4.3, there is a large shift in translation mode between Books I-VI and Books VII-XIII, with the line ratios rapidly changing in the first six books, and then plateauing into a new 'norm' in the last seven (see Figure 8). Figure 7 confirms that this change hinges on Book VI, where Douglas's use of the 'standard' translation mode (a 2:1 line ratio) peaks. Moreover, Tukey tests comparing the number of Scots lines (Figure 37) and the line ratios (Figure 38) in each translation unit in every book indicate a sharp split between the first six and last six books, with only a few exceptions. Book I in Figure 37 traverses the six-book divide and sets the paradigm for how Douglas uses Scots in translation units in the rest of the *Eneados*. Book VI in Figure 38 is grouped with the later books, indicating that this book is where Douglas starts seriously implementing higher line ratios, as in Figure 7. This mountain of evidence suggests that while Douglas has a twelve-book vision of the *Aeneid*, he inherits a six-book approach that he cannot wholly escape.



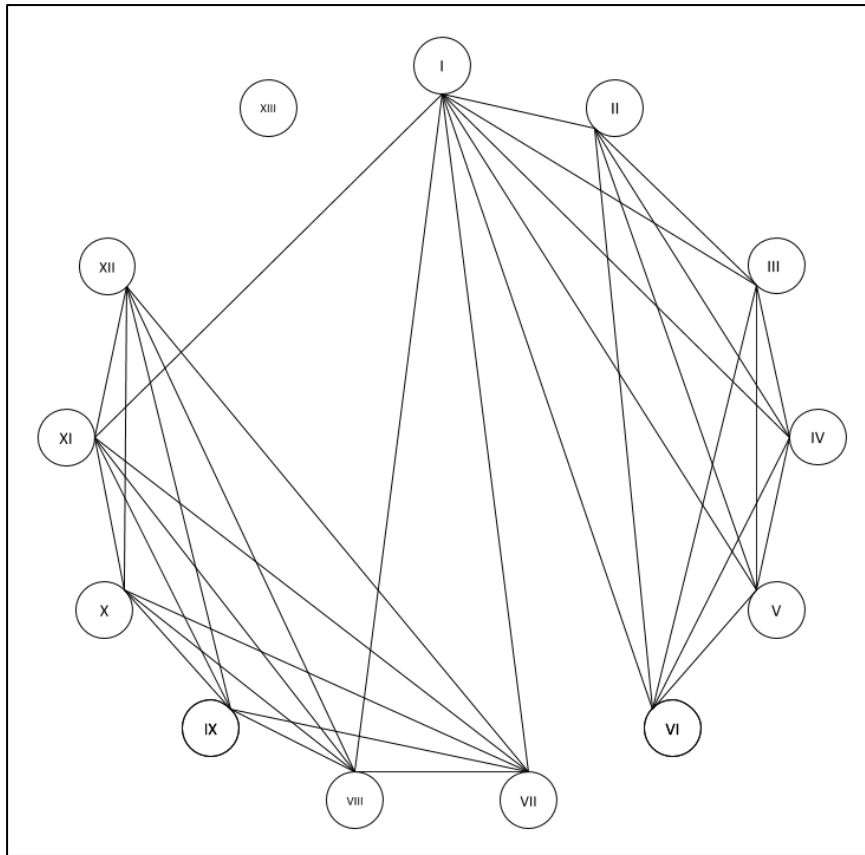


Figure 37: Visual representation of results from a Tukey test comparing the number of Scots lines in each translation unit in every book of the 'Eneados'. Each circle with a Roman numeral inside represents a book. Black lines between books indicate that they are not significantly different from each other; an absence of black lines indicates that the books are significantly different from each other. See Appendix, Table 58 for Tukey values.

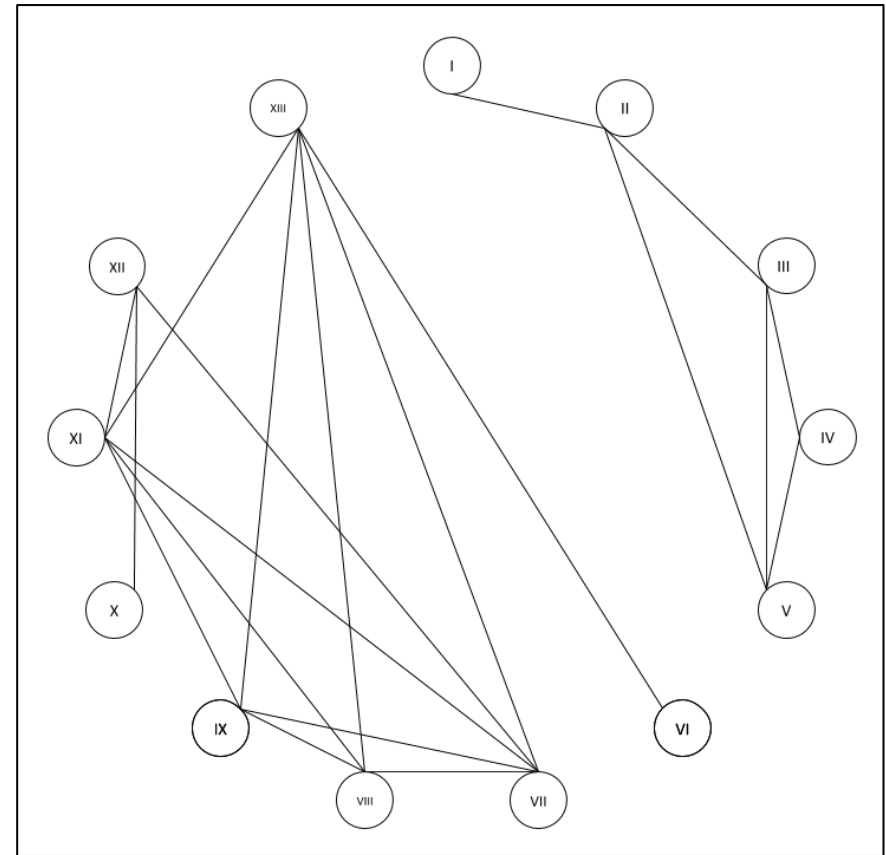


Figure 38: Visual representation of results from a Tukey test comparing the line ratios in each translation unit in every book of the 'Eneados'. Each circle with a Roman numeral inside represents a book. Black lines between books indicate that they are not significantly different from each other; an absence of black lines indicates that the books are significantly different from each other. See Appendix, Table 59 for Tukey values.

### 5.3.2 Interaction Between Layout, Commentary, and Douglas's Expansions

This begs the question: why should a six-book reading of the *Aeneid* be so entrenched in Douglas's approach to the *Aeneid*, even when he is pursuing a twelve-book reading? The answer lies in how he interacts with the commentary through Ascensius's layout. As Bawcutt (1973: 222) notes, Douglas's interpolations in the text are regularly sourced from Ascensius's commentary (86%,  $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 45)—specifically the 'ordo est' portion of his commentary, although he makes use of Ascensius's summaries as well, as is discussed later (see Section 5.4.2). Figure 39 shows how all types of expansion in the *Eneados*—even tonal interpolations like additions—are usually sourced from the commentary.

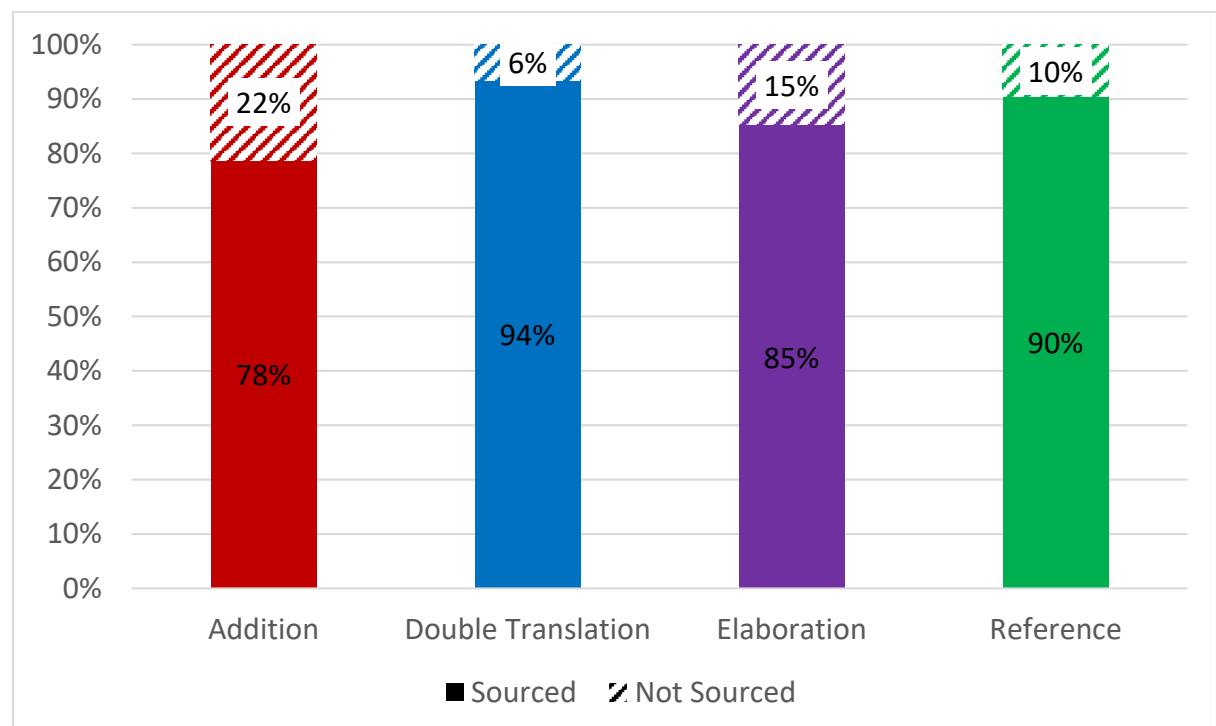


Figure 39: Distribution of expansions in the 'Eneados' that are (partially) sourced or not sourced from the commentary in Ascensius's (1501) edition of the 'Aeneid' across expansion types. Results are not significant according to a Fisher's Exact Test using the Monte Carlo simulation with 10,000 repetitions ( $p = 0.16$ ). See Appendix, Table 60 for raw data.

For example, Douglas uses both Ascensius's and Servius's commentaries when translating Virgil's brief reference to Castor and Pollux:

Si fratrem pollux *alterna morte* redemit. (Virgil 1501: VI.121)

'... Or gif Pollux redemyt his broder **Castor**,  
**As he that was immortal get and boyr**,  
**Partying with him his immortalite**,  
*Athir for other sufferand forto de*,  
**That ych of thame, by coursis alternate**,  
**Sa oft gais and returnys that gait; ...'** (Douglas 1957-64: VI.2.87-92)

The expansion 'immortal get and boyr' is probably from Servius's note 'Helena et pollux de ioue nati immortales fuerunt' (Servius 1501: 176') or 'Helen and Pollux were the immortal children of Jupiter'. Likewise, Douglas's loose translation of 'alterna morte' as 'athir for other sufferand forto de' is probably from Ascensius's note 'morte alterna id est quam alternatim pro illo obit vt ille vicissim pro polluce' (1501: 176') or 'reciprocated death, that is, how by turns Pollux dies for the other [Castor] so that, in exchange, the other may do the same for him'. While Douglas could have sourced these expansions from Chaucer's *House of Fame* (c. 1374-85) and Lydgate's *Troy Book* (1420), this is doubtful, as they do not discuss Castor and Pollux's shared immortality:

'... Castor, Pollux, or Delphyn,  
Or Atlantes doughtres sevene,  
How alle these arn set in hevene. ...' (Chaucer 1894a: II.1006-08)

In which Pollux and Castor eke also,  
þe worþi kynges, þe myȝti breþer two,  
Wern, as I fynde, þat tyme gouernours,  
And bare her crowne liche noble werryours. (Lydgate 1906-35: I.3803-06)

Similarly, Douglas mines Ascensius's and Servius's commentaries to find synonyms for certain words. For instance, in his translation of 'Et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo' (Virgil 1501: VIII.302) ('come to both us and your sacred things by good speed'), Douglas (1957-64: VIII.5.59) translates 'secundo' both as 'happy' and 'prosper'—the latter

of which probably comes from Servius's (1501: fol. 254<sup>r</sup>) gloss 'prospero omine' or 'favourable omen'. In addition, Ascensius (1501: fol. 254<sup>v</sup>) glosses 'adi' ('approach'), as 'aggredere' ('approach', 'come here'), which matches up with Douglas's (1957-64: VIII.5.58) double translation 'wissy, at thou may cum heir'. In this way, Douglas uses Ascensius's text as a glossary and encyclopaedia and incorporates it into his translation.

This, coupled with the increase in expansions throughout the *Eneados*, suggests that as Douglas translates, he relies more and more on Ascensius. However, this is complicated by the fact that Douglas's use of reference and double translation—the two types of expansion most directly related to Ascensius's commentary—decreases over the course of the *Eneados* (see Figure 40). Granted, this trend is insignificant ( $p = 0.40$ , chi-squared test), and—as explained in Section 4.1—references may be more common than Figure 40 indicates, given that translation units can use more than one type of expansion. Nevertheless, such a decrease correlates with the 'shrinkage' of references found in Section 4.2, suggesting that Douglas's increasing line ratios are not caused by him mining material from the commentary alone.

In addition, while commentary is frequently the source of Douglas's expansiveness and literalness, the length of the commentary available does not guarantee that his interpolations get larger. Rather, it appears the opposite—the first six books, which have the lowest line ratios, have the most commentary, while the last six books, which more than double the length of the commensurate material in the *Aeneid*, have the least commentary (see Section 5.1). Rather than the amount of commentary available, it is layout that facilitates Douglas's expansions. As Ascensius's sections get longer and his commentary gets shorter, the commentary becomes easier to reference because the text and relevant commentary begin to appear on the same or facing page.

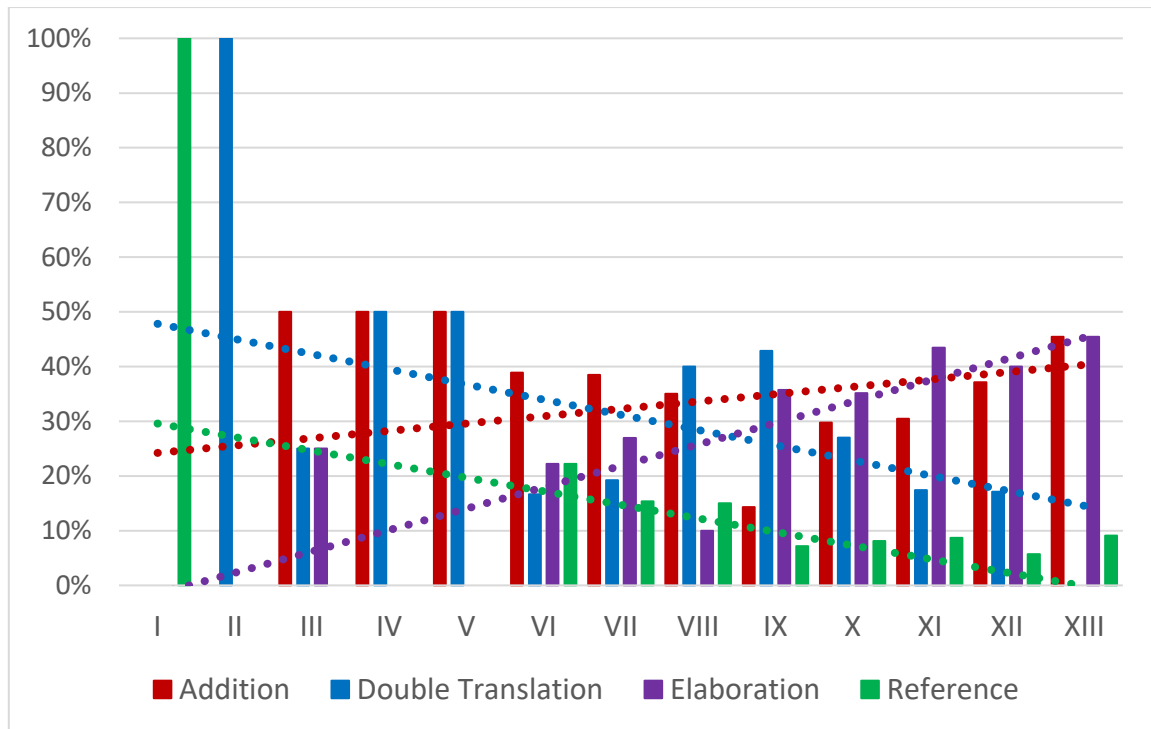


Figure 40: Distribution of expansion types within the most expansive translation units across the thirteen books of the 'Eneados'. The relationship between the books and expansion types is not significant ( $p = 0.40$ ) according to a Fisher's Exact Test using the Monte Carlo simulation with 10,000 repetitions. See Appendix, Table 61 for raw data.

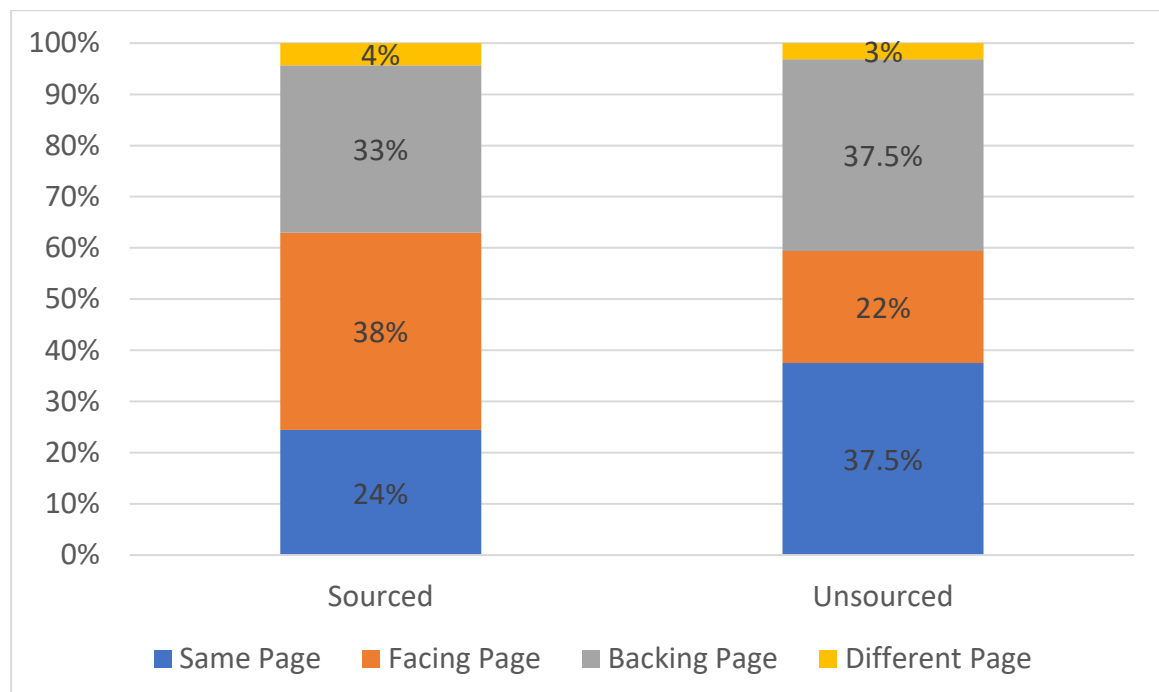


Figure 41: Percentages of glosses from the commentary that are used and not used in the most expansive translation units in the 'Eneados' and their position relative to the text they explain. Results are not significant ( $p = 0.30$ ) according to a Fisher's Exact Test using the Monte Carlo simulation with 10,000 repetitions. See Appendix, Table 62 for raw data.

For example, if a reader wanted to look up the lexical information for ‘Vi superum saeuae memorem iunonis ob iram’ (Virgil 1501: I.4), which is featured in fol. 3<sup>r</sup> in Ascensius’s edition (see Figure 21), they would have to turn to fols. 4<sup>r-v</sup> to access Ascensius’s gloss (see Figure 22)—which is cumbersome. Whereas, in Book VII (see Figure 27), the entirety of the ‘ordo est’ section of Ascensius’s commentary is confined to one page along with the text it comments on—meaning that the most relevant information is on the same page or only a page turn away. This is optimised in Book XIII (see Figures 25 and 28), where all information about a section of text is on the same page as that section, thanks to the running commentary.

Figure 41 illustrates this effect, indicating the number of sources Douglas uses in his most expansive translation units and the sources’ location in respect to the content they explain in the *Aeneid*. Results have been restricted to the sources that Douglas uses the most—Ascensius’s ‘ordo est’ section of commentary and Servius’s commentary. Commentary on the facing page of the text of the *Aeneid* tends to be referenced the most, with material that is on the same or backing page more commonly unrecognised. While these results are not significant, this preference is noteworthy considering how Ascensius’s ‘ordo est’ section and Servius’s commentary very rarely occur on the same page of the text they refer to, making the high results for same page commentary striking. That Douglas prefers to use material on the facing page is not surprising, given how facing pages ‘have an important contiguous relationship’, since they are presented as a simultaneous image (Mak 2011: 14). Moreover, material on a facing page is immediately easy to access, whereas material on the back of a folio is more difficult, as it is awkward to flip back and forth between content and reference.

In this way, Ascensius’s (1501) layout conditions Douglas’s increasing use of expansions in the *Eneados*, despite the decreasing amount of commentary available, as

the longer excerpts of the *Aeneid* and shorter commentary ensure that Virgil's texts and relevant glosses occur in closer proximity to one another. The result is that whatever commentary is available gets accessed more. The result is that Douglas effectively redresses the imbalance in Ascensius's commentary by weighing his translation more towards the final six books, but this in turn results in a six-book bias being introduced into his own translation, even if that was not his original intention.

While this reaction could just be an accident generated by the mechanics of reading, a similar effect is present in Douglas's Prologues, which get longer over the course of the *Eneados* (see Figure 42). This evolution could be simultaneous with the evolution in the Books, or it could have occurred out of order, which, given that the evolution is not especially smooth (see Prologue IV), and that Prologue I probably was written late, is more likely. Either way, since the Prologues are not based directly off a source text, Douglas's expansion here to match the expansion in his translation suggests that both are intentional, and not only a reaction to Ascensius's layout.

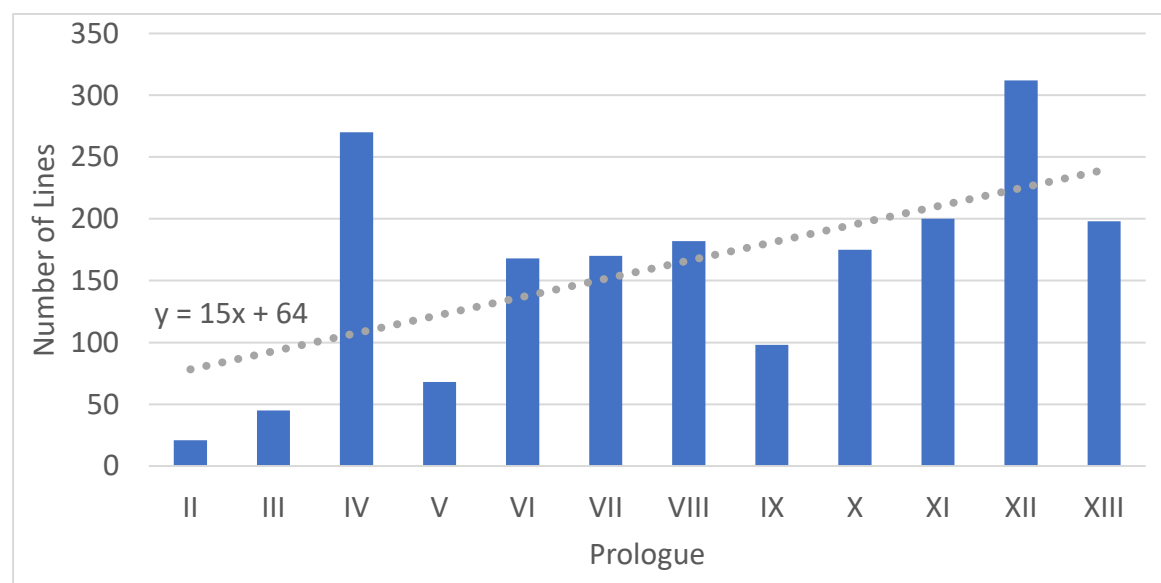


Figure 42: Total number of lines in each prologue of the 'Eneados' with linear trend line and equation. Prologue I is not included as it is an outlier. The trend shown here is significant ( $p < 0.01$ ) according to a single sample t-test using the y-intercept 64 as a hypothetical population mean. See Appendix, Table 63 for raw data.

#### 5.4 Douglas's Own Layout and *Ordinatio*

Considering the influence Ascensius's layout and *ordinatio* has on Douglas's process of translation, it is possible they also influenced how Douglas presents his own text. Such an enquiry is naturally speculative, given that the Trinity College MS was copied by Douglas's secretary Matthew Geddes (*fl.* 1513-22; see Section 2.2.3) and, as such, it is not certain what features of the text are original to Douglas. As previously discussed, the number of lines per page in manuscript is probably dictated by Geddes (see Section 5.2). However, the inclusion of Prologues, the Comment, and the book and chapter divisions are obviously attributable to Douglas. Moreover, it is possible that Douglas had some influence on the general features of the page design, especially if Geddes produced the manuscript at his request.

The page layout of the Trinity College MS is not as complicated as that of the printed editions of the *Aeneid* previously examined (see Figure 43). Each page is approximately 8 x 11.5 inches (Coldwell 1957-64: I.96), with a single column of written text and wide margins on either side. As described before, the number of lines on each page tends to vary, but 38 lines per page is the most common occurrence (see Section 5.2). The entire work is written in Scottish Secretary (Griffiths 2014: n. 52) with the first letter of each line capitalised and rubricated. The Comment in Prologue I and Book I is written in a smaller hand, with the first letter of each annotation rubricated, and is confined to the margins. Some notes in the Comment are decorated with red scrollwork. Each Prologue, Book, and chapter begins with a capital, though the chapters' capitals are smaller. Each chapter also has a rubric that sits atop the capital. The manuscript also features headings that stretch across facing pages and rubricated paraps (usually in red, sometimes other colours). For further description, consult Bawcutt (2020: 9-13; 1976: 196-97), Coldwell (1957-64: I.96-97), Watt (1920: 130-35), and James (1900-04: III.195, n. 1184).



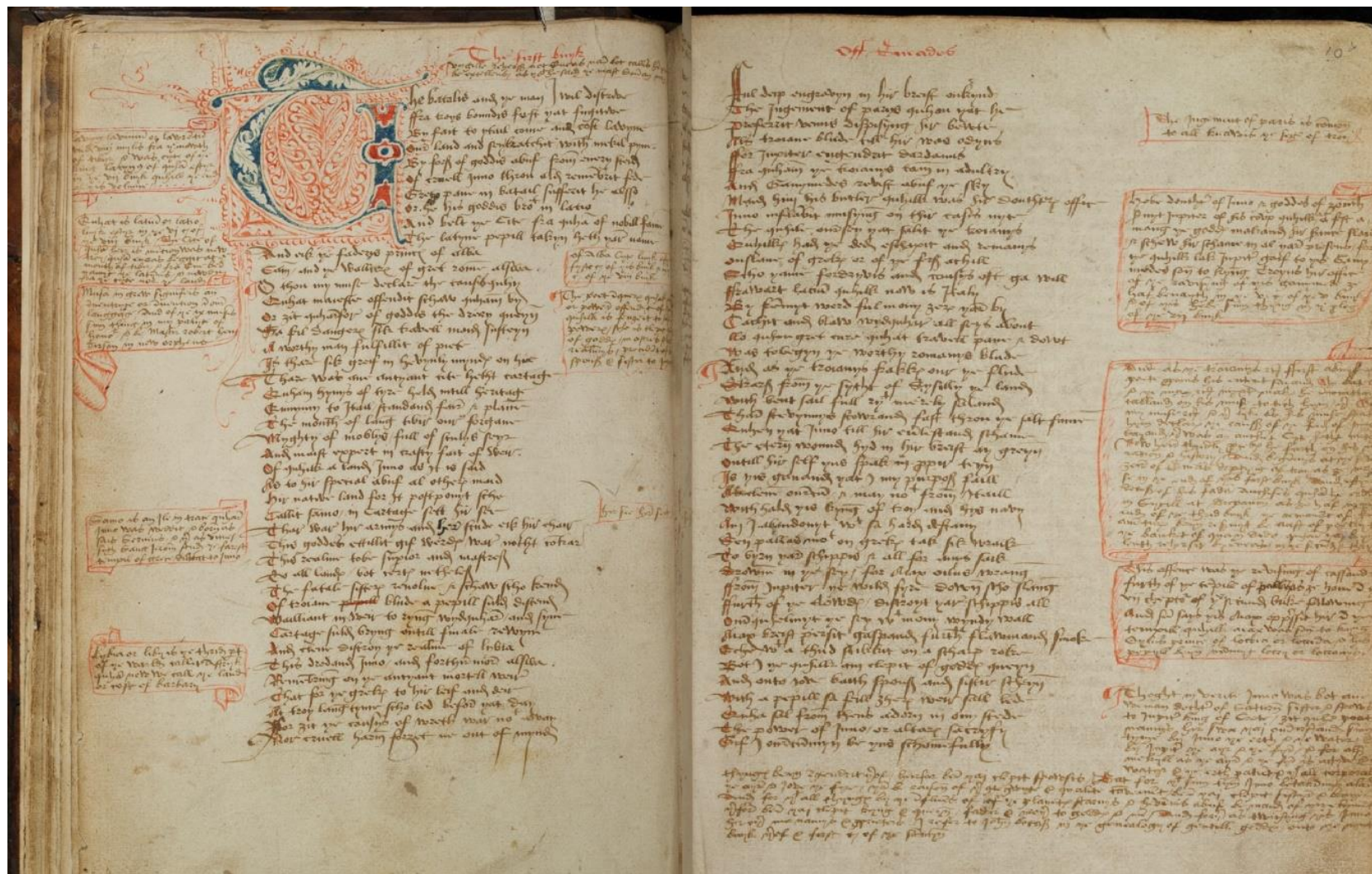


Figure 43: Cambridge Trinity College MS O.3.12 fols. 9<sup>v</sup>-10<sup>r</sup>, featuring Ene. I.1. Note how the chapter, marked by the large capital, begins at the top of the verso, as in Figure 32 and Appendix, Figure 87.

While the layout of this manuscript is simpler than that of the printed editions, some of it is clearly inspired by their example. Such a practice would not be uncommon, as both manuscripts and printed texts were often used for the provision of copy for both mediums of textual production (see Boffey 2014: 16)—especially in Scotland (see Fox 1977; Mapstone 2018). Moreover, Virgilian texts have such regular presentation (see Section 5.1) that any text dealing with the *Aeneid* might be expected to include similar features—even if the text is not printed (see Hellinga 1999: 86). For example, Douglas’s Book Rubrics (see Section 2.2.1) are translated directly from the ‘*monosticha argumenta*, a set of twelve one-line summaries of the individual books of the *Aeneid*, which were regularly included in contemporary editions, and usually placed in the same position as Douglas’s’ (Bawcutt 1976: 103). He also mimics the content at the end of printed editions as well. His numerous postscripts (i.e. the Conclusion, Direction, Exclamation, etc.) are reminiscent of the *Praeconia poetae et argumenta Aeneidos* (Ascensius 1501: fol. 391<sup>r</sup>), which are a series of afterwords consisting of praise and epitaphs for Virgil by other famous poets. While the only material that Douglas directly translates is Virgil’s own epitaph, the rest might be considered imitative in that they consist of a similarly ‘elaborate leavetaking’ (Gray 2006: 164).

In this way, Douglas and Geddes create a vernacular manuscript version of a humanist printed edition of the *Aeneid*. However, there are concerns that Douglas’s change of language and change of medium intrinsically alter the humanist nature of the text (see Section 2.3.4). This is especially true when it comes to Douglas’s textual interventions, such as the inclusion of the Prologues, Comment, his alteration of book boundaries, and his institution of chapters, which are ‘deviation[s] from the ideology of transparent mediation’ (Royan 2015: 125). However, this work maintains that many of these aspects are inspired by Ascensius’s own practice and are a form of visual translation

of Douglas's source. The one exception—Douglas's alteration of book boundaries—indicates an important difference in how Ascensius and Douglas approach Virgil's text.

#### 5.4.1 *Print vs. Manuscript*

The most obvious difference between Ascensius's text and Douglas's is that the former is a printed book, while the latter is a manuscript. Douglas transforms a printed text into a handwritten one—which runs counter to the general evolution from manuscript to print. However, as previously explained (Section 1.4), this is not necessarily atypical, but rather a natural consequence of Douglas's context and evidence of his text's transitional character. However, that still begs the question as to why Douglas never printed his work. As Boffey (2014: 26) explains, the decision to render a text in print or manuscript was 'shaped by individual combinations of factors relating to intended readership, circumstance, means and available technology'. It is this last point—the 'availability of technology'—that is probably the largest obstacle for Douglas.

Printing in Scotland at the time lagged behind printing in Europe and England (Durkan 1962: 274). Scottish printing only began in 1507 with Walter Chepman (*fl.* 1494) and Andro Myllar (*fl.* 1503), over thirty years after Caxton's debut in England in 1476, and it was a short-lived affair initially (see Dickson 1885: 9-10). Around 1510, Chepman and Myllar's press ceased activity, presumably because it was not a profitable venture (72). Consequently, by the time Douglas finished the *Eneados* there was not an available Scottish press to print his work and there would not be until Thomas Davidson (*fl.* 1528) in 1530, by which time Douglas was dead (72-75).

However, there was an alternative open for Douglas. For, while printing in Scotland was not widely available, there were strong Scottish links with continental printers. Not

only was there a robust trade in the importation of continental books sustained by ‘networks of Scots studying and travelling abroad’ (M.L. Ford 1999: 205-06), but ‘Many Scots authors preferred to print abroad’ (Durkan 1962: 276), such as Hector Boece (1465-1536), John Mair (1467-1550), and John Vaus (c. 1484-1539). Ascensius himself ‘worked closely with a range of Scottish authors, either based in Paris or visiting there’ (Mapstone 2018: 54).

Given that Douglas used Ascensius’s (1501) edition as his source text, we might have expected Douglas to have pursued publication with him. However, Douglas did not do this, probably because of Flodden (1513). As described in Section 2.1.1, Flodden was a disaster for Scotland, though also an opportunity for Douglas. The deaths of his two older brothers and his father catapulted him into a position of responsibility in his clan—though it was his nephew who inherited the title ‘Earl of Angus’ (Bawcutt 1976: 10). Likewise, the death of James IV presented an opportunity for the Douglasses to gain political leverage through the widowed Queen Margaret. In this way, Douglas was simultaneously dealing with the aftermath of Flodden and the rise of his own fortunes, and quite conceivably had no time to seek out publication for his work.

However, nowhere does Douglas appear to even conceive of his work as a printed book. There are two instances where he provides instruction to scribes as to how to present his text when copying. In Prologue VII, he advises that the text should ‘Of sabyll be thy lettyris illumynate’ (1957-64: VII.Prol.167), because it concerns such dark subject matter. Likewise, in Prologue XII, he advises that his Prologue be illuminated ‘al with gold, in syng of stait ryall’ (XII.Prol.309), to reflect its craft of composition. Of course, such instructions for illuminations could be applied to printed texts as well as manuscripts (see Appendix, Figures 4 and 5). However, these instructions also link the process of

production with the subject matter and quality of the text, indicating an interest in textual production that is congruent with Douglas's handling of Ascensius's layout.

Moreover, there are other occasions where Douglas specifically refers to his project as a handwritten one. For example, in Prologue VII he describes how he sees 'Virgill on a lettron stand' and 'To write onone [he] hynt[s] a pen in hand' (1957-64: VII.Prol.141-44; see Mapstone 2018: 39). Here he seems to be specifically describing his process of reading Ascensius's printed edition of the *Aeneid* and translating it by hand. The fact that he describes this after his very vivid and evocative depiction of Scottish winter situates his process of translation within an actual timeline (see Griffiths 2014: 84). Likewise, in Prologue XII, Douglas describes how he 'hynt a scriptour and [his] pen furth tuke' to finish the *Eneados* (1957-64: XII.Prol.305; see Mapstone 2018: 38).

Such activity highlights two fundamental differences between writing by hand and printing—namely, speed and quantity. Printing—the actual production of a text, not necessarily the preparation to produce it—takes less time than writing and produces many more copies; 'by contrast, every handwritten book is the product of its own distinct period of time' (Wakelin 2011: 34). Douglas may have found this aspect of manuscript production appealing because it situates the story of the *Aeneid* within the frame of his process of translation, again highlighting the intertextual allegory described in Section 2.3.2, where Douglas's journey as a translator is made analogous to Aeneas's adventures. Consequently, like Ascensius's (1501) commentary (see Section 5.1), these moments are highly self-referential and call attention to Douglas's method of textual production. They also, are self-promotional, as they assert Douglas's authorship—they actively record him creating the text.

### 5.4.2 Prologues

In addition to translating print into manuscript, Douglas also makes some large interventions in the text. The largest of these are the Prologues, which preface every book and do not differ in presentation from the body of the translation, except that some Prologues are written in stanzas. As previously discussed in Section 2.3.2, these Prologues often offer allegorical interpretations of the books that follow, providing an exegetical framework for the *Eneados*. However, while Royan (2015: 129) rightfully lauds the Prologues as ‘possibly [Douglas’s] most original poetry’, in many ways these Prologues resemble his source material. Both Bawcutt (1977: 117) and later Leahy (2016: 152) observe how Douglas draws on the *Georgics* in certain passages of the Prologues. However, he also makes regular use of Ascensius’s commentary—especially the general summaries that introduce each segment.

For example, in Prologue IV, Douglas warns of the dangers of love, saying:

Be nevir our set, myne author techis so,  
With lust of wyne nor warkis veneryane. (1957-64: IV.Prol.92-93)

This is probably a paraphrase of Ascensius’s comments at the beginning of Book IV—especially considering the similarity of the phrase ‘warkis veneryane’ and ‘venereis laqueis’ (‘Venerian snares’):

Id autem facit prudens et commodus poeta quo mortales animos ab amorum illecebris auertat / cum nemo sit a venereis laqueis tutus nisi qui omne obiectum procul habuerit et carnis luxum domuerit. (Ascensius 1501: fol. 114<sup>v</sup>)

Moreover, the prudent and decorous poet makes this work by which he may turn mortal souls away from the enticements of love, since no one might be safe from Venerian snares unless he, having been distanced from all things, holds himself far away, and has conquered indulgence in fleshly desire. (my translation)

Likewise, Prologue III's preoccupation with convincing the reader that the myths and monsters contained in Book III are not mistranslations could be inspired by Ascensius's own comments at the start of Book III. He says 'longam de erroribus recitationem auditores fastidirent: excitat eorum animos magnifica proponendo' (1501: fol. 85<sup>r</sup>) or 'listeners usually mock the long story concerning the travels [of the Trojans]; the elevated content provokes their disbelief when presented to them' (my translation). Perhaps it is because of this warning that Douglas adopts an immediately defensive tone in Prologue III, declaring:

Incayss thai bark, I compt it nevir a myte;  
 Quha kan not hald thar peice ar fre to flyte;  
 Chide quhil thar hedis ryfe and hals worth hayss—  
 Weyn thai to murdryss me with thar dispyte?  
 Or is it Virgill quham thame list bakbyte? (1957-64: III.Prol.19-23)

The relationship between the commentary and the later Prologues is less direct. Ascensius does not provide as much allegorical interpretation for these books, so it is only natural that Douglas takes it upon himself to create some. For example, while Prologue IX is a disputation on Augustinian concepts like the 'rule of faith'—where all things must correlate according to their quality (see Augustine 2010)—Ascensius's comments on Book IX are far more prosaic:

Nam sicut Homerus in gloriam achillis docet eo bellante graecos victores et cessante victos fuisse: vt constaret quanta esset eius vnus virtus: ita maro in gloriam aeneae trahitque non nisi eo absente esset turno expugnandi castrorum spes atque fiducia etiam iunone id exhortante: (1501: fol. 271<sup>r</sup>)

For just as Homer teaches the Greeks, through the glory of Achilles, how there is victory in fighting and defeat in delay, as his virtue was as great as the virtue of such a one should be; so Virgil depicts, through the glory of Aeneas, that were it not for Aeneas's absence, Turnus would not have had hope and faith when Juno exhorted him to assail the city. (my translation)

Nevertheless, there is perhaps some overlap in Ascensius use of the word ‘constare’ (‘to correspond’), which echoes Douglas’s sentiments in Book IX that all details of a work “Suld conform to that manis dignyte / Quhamto our wark we direct and endyte” (1957-64: IX.Prol.33-35). In this way, even Douglas’s later Prologues are responding to Ascensius’s commentary in some form or another.

However, while there are undoubtedly similarities between Douglas’s Prologues and Ascensius’s general commentary, there are also some important differences in their presentation. As previously explained, the influence of Ascensius’s commentary is masked by his layout (see Section 5.1). Douglas, similarly, must share authority with other texts and authors, but he does this differently. His layout does not represent the contribution of other authors, except for the Book I Comment which references outside sources but always through Douglas. There is no sustained presentation of raw sources. Moreover, Douglas’s Prologues precede his translation, thus baldly attributing greater importance to his own interpretations. However, this effect is complicated by the fact that Douglas’s Prologues are allusive and draw on a variety of textual traditions and sources (see Bawcutt 1977). Moreover, Douglas actively interacts and evaluates these sources, essentially presenting a curated reading list for those interested in the *Aeneid*.

For this reason it is not wholly convincing to say that Douglas is didactic or that he limits ‘the intertextual space the reader might want to explore’—as Desmond (1994: 193) argues in her examination of Prologue IV and Douglas’s treatment of Dido. Rather, this practice serves two purposes: The Prologues offer thematic guidance for the reader, but also present an example of how to read the *Eneados*. This is like Ascensius’s practice



within his own edition, where his commentary visually imitates marginal annotations; however, instead of using layout to achieve this, Douglas uses poetry.

#### 5.4.3 *Comment*

Douglas's other large paratextual insertion is of course the Comment—a commentary to Prologue I and half of Book I. It is written in the same ink and hand as the main text and was probably copied by Matthew Geddes (see Griffiths 2009: 186). Authorship of the Comment, however, has always been attributed to Douglas thanks in part to its 'hortatory tone' that resembles 'Douglas's more didactic Prologues' and propriety phrases that 'bear the mark of the author' (Bawcutt 1976: 108), as well as his allusions to the comment in the Direction (141-44) at the end of the *Eneados* (see Griffiths 2014: 82).

There are, however, a few annotations that are probably not original to Douglas. Section 2.2.3 has already discussed how four glosses from Copland's (1553) edition of the *Eneados*, or a related text, were copied over in the Trinity College MS. In addition, Bawcutt (1976: 108) and Griffiths (2014: 98) attribute two annotations to Geddes himself (Douglas 1957-64: nn. 12, 13)—though Bawcutt (2020: 11) later interprets them more generally as 'a reader's deeply engaged response to the text'. Finally, there is a series of brief, more lexically minded glosses that 'are clearly in a different hand and a different ink' (Griffiths 2009: 188). These extend past Book I to Book V (Douglas 1957-64: nn. 46, 50, 83-91). Griffiths (2009: 188) believes that these are 'authorial revisions'; likewise, Bawcutt (2020: 11) considers them evidence of 'Douglas in the process of composition'.

The Comment is imitative of commentary in the previously examined printed editions of the *Aeneid*—both visually and in terms of content (see Griffiths 2009: 186). Both commentaries surround the main text and act as a frame (see Figures 19 and 43 and Appendix,

Figures 71-75). Content-wise, Douglas quotes the same sources included in most printed editions of the *Aeneid*—namely Servius and Landino (see Bawcutt 1976: 108). Such citation ‘explicitly locates Douglas’s work within an established line of Virgilian reception’ (Griffiths 2009: 187). While Douglas also quotes Ascensius, he does not attribute the quotation, probably because, as Bawcutt (1976: 108) posits, ‘he ... did not regard his name as sufficiently authoritative’. Douglas also covers many of the same topics traditional commentaries on the *Aeneid* do, ‘explaining historical and geographical allusions’, pronunciation, and complex lexical items (108). In this way, ‘Douglas ... self-consciously incorporates the full medieval legacy of Virgil’s *Aeneid* into his vernacular translation’ (Wingfield 2013: 326).

One of the major questions relating to the Comment is why it is confined to only Prologue I and Book I. The most plausible answer is, like with the printing issue (see Section 5.4.1), that Douglas was stymied ‘by the succession of disasters accumulating in turn upon him, before his exile’ (Watt 1920: 133). However, perhaps another factor in the dwindling of the Comment is the unevenness of Douglas’s translation. As Section 4.3 discovered, Book I’s translation is briefer than translation in the other books, largely because Douglas does not translate Book I as carefully or include as many expansions—which are usually sourced from Ascensius’s commentary (see Section 5.3.2). As Bawcutt (1976: 110) observes, the *Eneados* ‘sometimes appears to be translation and running commentary, all in one’. Douglas’s Comment then could be a form of editing that makes up for this lack in Book I by supplying the sources that Douglas would have drawn on had he been using a more expansive translation mode.

Some of the glosses in the Trinity College MS are even analogous to Douglas’s process of double translation—especially the ones that Griffiths (2009: 188) finds to be evidence of ‘authorial revision’ (see Bawcutt 2020: 11). For example, ‘gydaris’ (Douglas

1957-64: n. 50) is suggested as an alternative or addition to ‘ledaris’ (I.4.55), which is itself a translation of ‘ductoresque’ (Virgil 1501: I.189). Douglas uses both terms within the *Eneados* to translate ‘dux’, a word related to ‘ductor’, making them natural double translations, although he never uses them as collocates (see Bawcutt 2020: 11-12 for more examples). In adding these glosses, Douglas—if it is he who adds them—creates a sense of lexical abundance which is achieved in the rest of his translation through the use of internal glosses. That these are probably revisions is corroborated by the fact that the Elphinstoun MS (Dk.7.49, University of Edinburgh, 1527) includes lines from the Comment (see Douglas 1957-64: n. 81) within the body of the translation itself (Bawcutt 2020: 12; Watt 1920: 138).

Such a function would be in the spirit of Prologue I, which—as suggested in Section 4.3.4—may have been written towards the end of the translation as a realisation of Douglas’s method. Indeed, the Comment and Prologue I were possibly written in proximity. According to Bawcutt (1976: 108), the Comment was probably composed before Douglas’s Direction and the other postscripts, but after the translation was completed, ‘since it contains many references to the later books and Prologues’. These references are incredibly specific, often listing the exact chapter where certain material appears—in effect performing a similar function as repeated lines by cross-referencing other parts of the *Eneados* and encouraging the reader’s awareness of the entire text (see Sections 6.1.3 and 6.2.1). They also reference every book of the *Eneados*, except Books II, III, and IV, which arguably were so well known that any reference to them was redundant. The translation must have been complete or nearly complete when the Comment was written, so it is possible that Prologue I and the Comment were composed in close succession and perhaps were born of the same impulse, given evidence suggesting Prologue I was written towards the end of the *Eneados* (see Section 4.3.4). In fact, the Comment proves to be a vital part of Prologue I’s description of Douglas’s

translation method in that it illustrates how one word can be a platform for expansion. Douglas's glosses (1957-64: nn. 9-11) in Prologue I explain Latin terms like 'oppetere' (I.Prol.350), 'animal' and 'homo' (I.Prol.367), and 'genus', 'sexus', and 'species' (I.Prol.371), which demonstrates how Douglas 'syndry expositouris seir / Makis on a text sentens diuerss to heir' (I.Prol.351-52) for the sake of following the text's 'sentens' (I.Prol.356). In this way, the Comment is intrinsically connected to and aware of Douglas's translation method.

The fact that the Comment stops in the middle of Book I can again be attributed to Flodden. There is no indication of a sudden change in Douglas's translation method that could motivate this abrupt ending. However, even if Douglas had more time to complete his Comment, it is uncertain that he would. The other books are more expansive in their translation and feature more repeated lines (see Section 6.2.2), so Douglas may have found the Comment redundant. The fact that the potential authorial revisions extend past Book I to Books III (Douglas 1957-64: nn. 84-85), IV (nn. 87-88), and V (nn. 89-91) also suggests that Douglas could have extended his commentary but chose not to. Likewise, his description of the Comment as 'schort' in the Direction (141) indicates that he was aware of the Comment's curtailed state and was prepared to leave it that way. In this way, while Douglas may not have initially intended for his Comment to be such a short work, circumstances and the evolution of his translation prompted him to leave it in an unfinished state.

#### 5.4.4 Book Divisions

In addition to these large interventions, Douglas makes some changes in how his text is segmented—both on the level of books and sections. In terms of the former, he sometimes alters the boundaries between books in the *Aeneid*: *Ene.* II starts in the middle of *Aen.* II.13, *Ene.* VI starts with *Aen.* VI.9, *Ene.* VII starts with *Aen.* VI.25, and *Ene.* VIII starts with *Aen.* VIII.18.

This is a particularly conspicuous intervention, as ‘this aspect of Virgil’s text is reasonably stable’ (Royan 2015: 127) and Ascensius (1501) does not alter book boundaries in any way. Changing these boundaries affects potential interpretations, as the *Aeneid*’s ‘multiple and shifting structures connect different parts of the poem in different ways, and thus correspond to the multiplicity of ends and means at the ideological level’ (D. Fowler 1997b: 266). Royan (2015) is the first to call significant attention to these altered book boundaries, and this analysis follows hers in suggesting that their purpose is to neutralise the presence of pagan gods in the *Aeneid* and create a more Christian Aeneas. However, this analysis goes a step further by suggesting that Douglas does this because his Prologues align his translation with Aeneas’s journey and his layout does not differentiate between voices and sources the same way Ascensius’s does.

Each of the altered book divisions serves to align each book (II, VI, VII, and VIII) with their respective Prologues. Book II starts with Aeneas’s recounting of Troy, as opposed to his response to Dido’s request that he tell the tale, so that Prologue II and the narrative of Book II transition seamlessly, and Douglas and Aeneas’s voices intermingle (see Blyth 1987: 181; Royan 2015: 132). Book VI starts with Aeneas’s arrival at Cumae, rather than mourning the death of Palinurus, so that Prologue VI, which discusses the Sibyl, the Underworld, and how to understand them in a Christian context, is immediately relevant. Book VII starts with Aeneas’s arrival at Italy, rather than the death of Caieta, because Prologue VII ended with Douglas making a renewed commitment to his work—which he explicitly makes analogous to Aeneas’s return from the Underworld (1957-64: VII.Prol.163-66)—and it would be incongruous for that commitment to transition immediately into a funeral scene. Book VIII starts with Aeneas’s dream vision where the river god Tiberinus advises Aeneas to seek aid, rather than Turnus rousing all of Latium, because Prologue VIII is a dream vision where Douglas is advised as to the value of poetry.

In this way, these book boundaries serve to emphasise the intertextual allegory that makes the progress of Douglas's translation analogous to Aeneas's journey (see Section 2.3.2). However, in aligning these books with their Prologues, Douglas also very subtly defuses the pagan elements of these books. As Blyth (1987: 181) observes, when Douglas presents Book II as if it were in his own speech, he gives the impression of a 'relatively detached and conventional' sorrow that is more palatable to Christian conventions of the time. He connects Aeneas's narrative with his own comments in Prologue II, which do not spend overlong mourning Troy (Prologue II is the shortest prologue), but instead sum things up with the blanket statement 'All erdly glaidness fynysith with wo' (1957-64: II.Prol.21). Such a statement resembles Troilus's realisation of the futility of earthly desire at the end of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (c. 1381-86) and creates an implicit version of Aeneas that has undergone this same philosophical transformation. This effect is further compounded by Douglas's delayed beginnings of Book VI and VII. As previously noted, these books both originally begin with the deaths of minor characters, so that Aeneas must first mourn the fallen before the main action of the book begins, creating the impression of a more reluctant hero (Simpson 1998: 409, 410). However, Douglas moves these deaths to the end of Books V and VI so that death is always an ending, not a beginning, making Aeneas appear 'more ... purposeful in his arrival in Italy' (Royan 2015: 128).

Moreover, the Prologues to Books VI, VII, and VIII provide euhemeristic interpretation of their pagan elements (see Royan 2015: 127). Prologue VI provides an entire allegorical framework for understanding the pagan underworld in Christian terms that is made immediately relevant to the reader by starting Book VI with Aeneas's arrival in Cumae. Prologue VII offers an alternative allegory for the Underworld as winter, so that troublesome Book VI is barricaded by allegory on either side. Prologue VIII offers an

interpretive model for Aeneas's dream meeting with Tiberinus as a dream vision along the lines of Chaucer's *House of Fame* (c. 1374-85) or Douglas's own *Palice of Honour* (c. 1501), where pagan gods and goddesses appear as allegorical representations of abstract concepts, rather than supernatural beings with divine power.

Such actions reflect Douglas's anxiety about translating a pagan text in a Christian context without damaging his own credibility (see Royan 2015: 121). He makes this concern clear throughout his Prologues. For example, in Prologue I Douglas grants that Virgil's account of the Underworld is 'nocht attentik' (1957-64: I.Prol.184), but also argues that 'Virgill tharin ane hie philosophour hym schew' (I.Prol.192). This is essentially the 'gentle pagan' argument, which medieval scholars used to justify the reading of classical works, pointing out how Virgil, though a pagan, anticipated many Christian ideas (see Braund 1997: 206). Later, in Prologue VI, Douglas declares that 'Virgil is ful of sentence our all quhare' (1957-64: VI.Prol.27) and 'writis lyke a philosophour naturall' (VI.Prol.38). As proof, he then lists the many aspects of Christianity that Virgil emulates, including the recognition of the mortal sins (VI.Prol.41), the torments of hell (VI.Prol.42), purgatory (VI.Prol.43), and heaven for the virtuous (VI.Prol.44).

In this way, Douglas proves to be sensitive to the gap between pagan and Christian contexts and attempts to bridge them. However, he never goes so far as to reinterpret pagan gods within his translation, nor does he expurgate them (though he does not expand upon content spoken by pagan gods to the same degree as he does for content spoken by mortals, see Section 7.5). Moreover, his use of the Prologues as an interpretive frame is subtle enough that many critics—Bawcutt (1970: 403) included—do not acknowledge their thematic links with their respective books. Consequently, it would be an overstatement to say that these book alterations completely bowdlerise all aspects of paganism in the *Aeneid*. Rather they

are a deft solution to a fundamental difference between Ascensius's and Douglas and Geddes's layouts. Ascensius's layout's multi-vocalism (see Section 5.1) distinguishes between his contribution to the text and the original so that Virgil's pagan ideas may never be attributed to Ascensius. For Douglas, however, the distinction between his beliefs and Virgil's is not clear because they are mingled together in his translation and difficult for those unfamiliar with Latin to distinguish. Even Douglas's Prologues are suspect because of the intertextual allegory that he pursues. Consequently, Douglas feels the need to perform his piety and defuse troubling pagan aspects of Virgil's text. However, given his position as a cleric, it is remarkable that he was not more stringent in his efforts to minimise paganism.

#### 5.4.5 Chapter Divisions

Aside from altering the segmentation of Books in the *Aeneid*, Douglas also replaces Ascensius's section boundaries with chapters. As previously discussed, these chapters are built using Ascensius's sections, and they only occasionally split Ascensius's sections in two (see Section 5.2). However, by segmenting the *Aeneid* into larger chunks, Douglas effectively 'imposes[s]' his own 'interpretative structure' (Royan 2015: 125) on the *Eneados* that affects how it is read—just as Ascensius's section divisions affect Douglas's process of translation.

This interpretive structure makes the text more approachable for a vernacular audience (Bawcutt 1976: 105; Royan 2015: 125). Arguably, these chapters function similarly to Ascensius's sections in that they enable the text to be read in a piecemeal fashion, which could be an aid for those studying the *Aeneid* as a language-learning tool, or a feature for those who are experienced readers who need to cross-reference specific passages. These chapters may have also been designed as passages for recitation, especially given Douglas's 'vivid and pictorial style', which Gray (2000: 99-100) compares



to illustrated editions of Virgil. However, unlike Ascensius's sections, which are often defined by rhetorical figures and speeches (see Section 5.3.2), Douglas's chapters tend to be defined by larger plot points. They function as independent narrative units that could stand alone and offer a greater awareness of the overall plot of the *Aeneid*.

Chapter rubrics help in this effort, as they provide brief summaries of the content that follows. These were not uncommon in vernacular texts like Andrew Wyntoun's (c. 1350 – c. 1425) *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland* (c. 1420-24), which Douglas may have used as a model (see Wyntoun 1914). However, these rubrics have no exact equivalent in the Latin tradition. They may be inspired by the monostich and decastich verses that introduce and summarise each book in most late fifteenth-century printed editions of the *Aeneid* (see Bawcutt 1976: 106). They also bear a functional similarity to the narrative summaries that Ascensius provides for every segment of the *Aeneid* within his edition (see Section 5.1).

Chapter rubrics also sometimes function like catchwords (see *Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology: catchword*). Geddes often separates chapter rubrics from their chapters with a page break, so that the rubric creates a sense of continuity between chapters divided by a page turn (see Figure 44). In fact, this is his preferred method of presenting chapter rubrics for chapters that start on a new page (67% occurrence,  $p < 0.05$ , pairwise proportion test), though only 9% of all chapters are presented this way ( $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 64). This placement could be coincidental, as there is no evidence that he wilfully alters his layout to position the rubrics in this way. However, the fact that he starts the first chapter of the very first book with this placement and even marks it with the heading 'The Rubric in the formast cheptour of the first buke' suggests that this practice is very intentional (see Figure 45). When presented this way, the chapter rubrics function as an inducement for readers to read on, or at least give readers a sense of greater context beyond the specific chapter they may be reading.

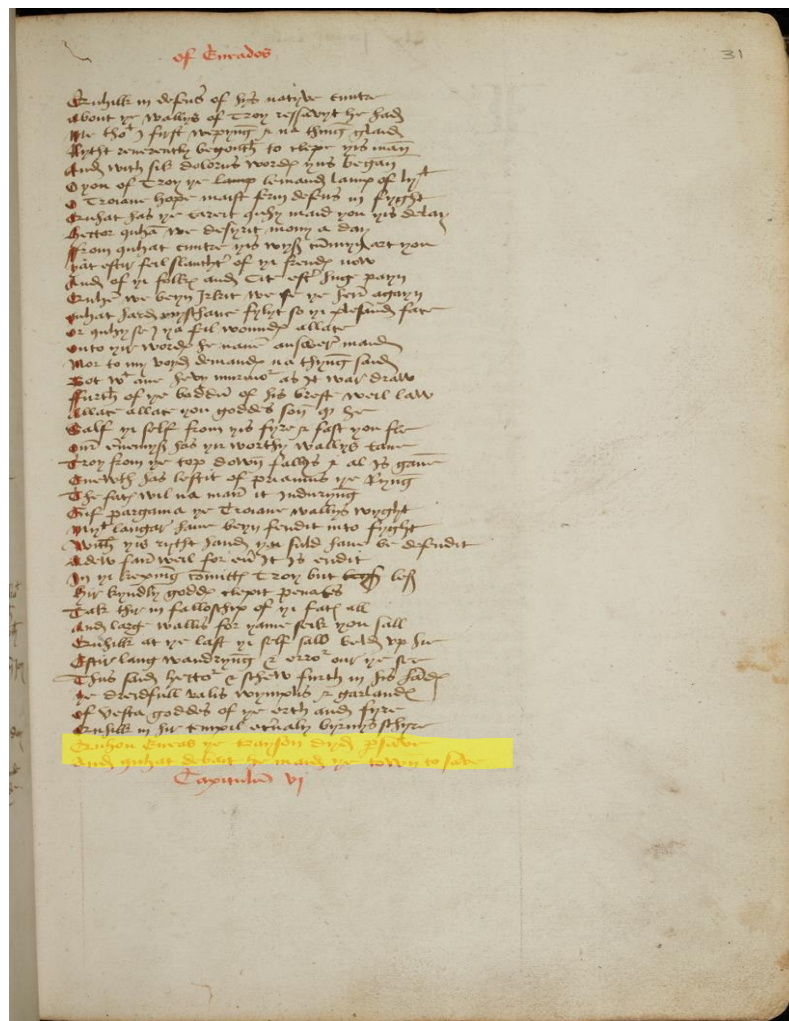


Figure 44: Cambridge Trinity College MS O.3.12 fol. 31r, featuring Ene. II.5.54-92. Note the chapter rubric for II.6 at the bottom of the page (highlighted, my edit) is separated from the chapter it prefaces.

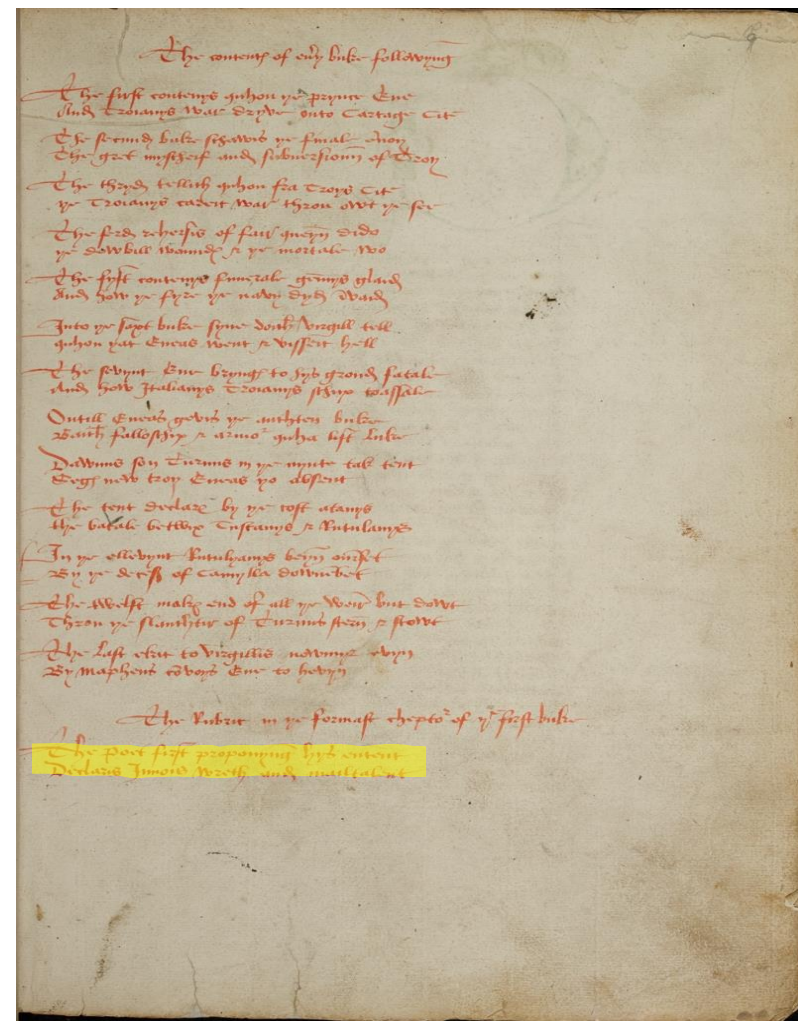


Figure 45: Cambridge Trinity College MS O.3.12 fol. 9r, featuring the Book Rubrics and the I.1 chapter rubric at the bottom of the page (highlighted, my edit) separated from its chapter.

In this way, Douglas's chapter design caters for a variety of readers—the experienced and inexperienced, those reading silently or aloud, those who aim to read the whole work or fragments. However, as seen in Section 5.3.1, Douglas's preference is for readers to engage with the entirety of his text, or at the very least to have an awareness of the greater work, and this becomes apparent in Geddes's layout of the Trinity College MS. This could be evidence of Douglas's direct influence on Geddes's production of this manuscript, or it could be understood as a natural interpretation of the emphasis Douglas's chapters put on the narrative unity of the *Aeneid*.

...

Overwhelmingly, this chapter has revealed that Douglas is far more attuned to issues of presentation than perhaps previously assumed. In fact, in many regards Ascensius's (1501) layout directly impacts how Douglas translates. Ascensius's section boundaries are the basis for Douglas's translation units and chapters; Ascensius's commentary and layout are motivating factors for the evolution of Douglas's line ratios. Even some of the most original aspects of the *Eneados*—the Prologues, Comment, and chapter rubrics—prove to have some resemblance to Ascensius's edition. In this way, Douglas designs his translation in direct response to Ascensius's edition, creating something almost akin to a companion text.

By preserving so much of Ascensius's layout in his translation, Douglas proves to share many of the same values. Chief among these is an interest in an audience that are first-time readers of Virgil or Latinate literature in general. Both Ascensius and Douglas segment the text logically to make it more approachable and provide thorough linguistic glosses. Both authors also demonstrate how readers are meant to interact with their texts

through their paratexts. In this way, both exhibit a belief that reading is an ethical exercise (see Wingfield 2014: 169; Section 2.3.3), where linguistic detail is always subordinate ‘to schemes of moral example and negative example’ (White 2013: 67-68). Such a practice likely appealed to Douglas because of the ‘advice to princes’ genre that is prominent in the Older Scots tradition (see Mapstone 1986), where the reader’s ability to navigate a text served as a lesson in self-mastery that was geared towards rulers, ostensibly, but applicable to readers of all estates (Martin c. 2008: 13).

Ascensius and Douglas also both make their texts self-referential. Douglas pursues an internal allegory where the subject of the *Aeneid* becomes *reading* the *Aeneid* itself, while both authors often refer to their process of composition and manufacturing—Douglas in his Prologues, Ascensius in the layout of his commentary. In this way, they self-authorise not just their texts but also their texts’ entire method of production, in effect arguing that editing, compiling, and translating texts are also creative enterprises (see White 2013: 53; Griffiths 2014: 83-84).

This aspect of textual curation in translation is most evident in Douglas’s practice of increasing his translation’s and the Prologues’ lengths over the course of the *Eneados*. This restores the text’s integrity by supplementing the later books, which suffer from a dearth of commentary, with extra material, thus transforming the typical six-book reading of the *Aeneid* into a twelve-book one. This is done to complement Douglas’s comments in Prologue I, which critique texts subscribing to the Romance tradition of the *Aeneid*, like Chaucer’s *Legend of Good Women* (c. 1386) and Caxton’s *Eneydos* (1490), which skip over books or misrepresent their importance, and so put undue emphasis on Dido and challenge Aeneas’s morality (see Section 2.4). To combat these alternative readings of

the *Aeneid*, Douglas makes the entirety of the text available to lay readers, thus restoring the full context and consequences of Aeneas's decision to leave Dido. Arguably this is also why Douglas includes the *Supplement*—to further justify Aeneas's choice with a happy ending (see Section 4.5.2). He also designs his chapters and chapter rubrics to foster greater general awareness of the text of the *Aeneid*, even if readers were not reading the complete work. In this way, Douglas is not just aiming to create a twelve-book (or rather thirteen-book) reading; he is aiming to create twelve-book readers.

This practice suggests that he is more straightforwardly humanist than initially granted—especially if we believe that 'the primary duty of the humanist is to the integrity of the text' (Royan 2015: 126). Even when Douglas alters Ascensius's text, he is often motivated by a desire to 'restore' the text to what he feels is its proper interpretation. He also inserts himself into the tradition of Virgilian commentary's line of succession, using his Prologues and translation to build on Ascensius's commentary, which in turn builds on the work of Servius, Donatus, and Beroaldo. Moreover, he shares with Ascensius an interest in 'moral and spiritual education' (White 2013: 67-68), which was a hallmark of Northern Humanism.

Of course, Douglas's humanism is complicated by the fact that he disguises his commentary as the main text through a mono-vocal layout and conducts his scholarship entirely in the vernacular—which are both not strictly humanist activities. However, such practice is not necessarily new: Copeland (1991: 229) finds that Henryson (*fl.* 1460-1500) uses Nicholas Trivet's commentary (*c.* 1300) on Boethius's *De consolazione philosophiae* (*c.* 524) as a 'supplement' to 'the vernacular narrative' in *Orpheus and Eurydice* (*c.* 1508). However, what differs between their practices is that 'The boundaries between

Henryson's tale and Trivet's exposition are clearly marked', suggesting that 'The vernacular ... [is] so self-sufficient that Henryson can invoke the authority of the schools as if by convention' (Copeland 1991: 229). However, the *Eneados* is presented as a monovocal text, so the boundaries between Douglas's paratextual sources and his main text are almost invisible. So, while Henryson 'level[s] off' 'the hierarchical difference between Latin and [the] vernacular' (229), Douglas reinstates it—but this time in favour of the vernacular. He turns humanism into a vernacular enterprise—making him truly, as Bawcutt (1976: 36) observes, a vernacular humanist.

## CHAPTER 6:

### 'REID, REID AGANE':

#### HOW DOUGLAS TRANSLATES REPETITION IN THE *ENEADOS*

Thus far, this work has established that Douglas is both sensitive to content and structure in his translation of the *Aeneid*. The following chapter now considers how these two factors affect each other in the translation of repeated lines and phrases. These are a frequently overlooked feature of Virgil's work, but prove to be a very useful means of evaluating translation. For, like line ratios and elements of layout, representation of repetitions in the source within a translation can indicate the translator's respect for stylistic aspects of the text. Moreover, repetitions provide additional structure and meaning within the poem. Consequently, they are useful indicators of what Douglas values when translating and what kind of translation he pursues.

This chapter first considers the significance of repeated lines in the *Aeneid* and whether they are intentional. It then establishes that Douglas recognises repeated lines and considers what conditions his recognition and whether he believes them evidence of authorial intent. It also investigates Douglas's original repetitions, which create additional structure within the *Eneados*. This is particularly notable in Douglas's translation of Maffeo Vegio's *Supplement* (1428)—a hypothetical Book XIII of the *Aeneid*, which Douglas includes in his *Eneados*.

The finding is that Douglas is more sensitive to repetition than might be expected, given claims that he does not mimic Virgil's style (see Section 2.3). He not only translates Virgil's practice, but adopts it, using it as a means of correcting what he considers to be a less authoritative text (i.e. the *Supplement*). His recognition of

repetition is the product of a cyclical translation process where he translates one book with reference to another. Moreover, it provides extra structure and narrative unity to the entire work. Such activity is effective in rebutting alternative versions of the *Aeneid* derived from single-book or fragmented readings that fail to take the entire context of the *Aeneid* into account (see Section 2.4).

In this way, Douglas rectifies the *Aeneid*'s diverse textual tradition and restores the primacy of Virgil's text over the many translations, adaptations, excerpts, and retellings that have fostered narrative ambiguity and multiplicity. He restores the text to a literary standard by carefully translating the *Aeneid* and emphasising its narrative unity. It is significant that he does this by creating an authoritative, universal text in a vernacular. However, rather than imply linguistic and nationalist ambitions, Douglas's text is not meant to supplant the Latin original but make it accessible. His aim is to create a new Virgilian tradition in the vernacular that is directly descended from the *Aeneid* itself.

### **6.1 Repetition in the *Aeneid***

Throughout the *Aeneid*, Virgil occasionally repeats material between books and from his earlier works the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*. His repetitions range from being as large as four lines (see *Aen.* I.530-33/III.163-66) to as small as an epithet (like 'pius Aeneas'). According to Moskalew (1982: 25), Virgil repeats lines (defined as 10-11 elements, an element being half a foot in dactylic hexameter; 184), within the *Aeneid* roughly once every 707 lines (0.1%), while he repeats half lines (5-9 elements) every 29 lines (3.4%). As these small percentages suggest, repetition of large segments in the *Aeneid* is uncommon and difficult to catch. As such, not a great deal of scholarly attention has been paid to this practice. Early critics like 'Macrobius, Gellius, Quintilian, and Servius are all silent on the point'



(Sparrow 1931: 56), while more modern criticism on the subject is confined largely to the twentieth century, starting with Albrecht's (1881) article in *Hermes* 16, followed by intense scrutiny in the 1920s and 30s (see Gladow 1921, Moseley 1922, Sparrow 1931, Highbarger 1931), with the subject lying largely dormant until the 1980s and 90s (see Briggs 1980, Moskalew 1982, Quint 1989, R.D. Brown 1990, Wills 1997). Moreover, because these repetitions are so rare, there are widely diverging opinions about their nature and purpose. The following evaluates these arguments.

#### 6.1.1 *The Traditional View and John Sparrow*

The traditional view set down by Aelius Donatus's *Vita Virgilii* (c. 350) is that repetitions are 'make-shift' lines that Virgil would have altered in subsequent revision had he not died before he was able to do so (Donatus 1996: ft. 21-24). In this interpretation, unfinished lines (*hemistiches*) and repeated lines (*tibicines*) are two sides of the same coin and are evidence of Virgil's process of composition. Sparrow (1931: 1, 18) questions this viewpoint to some extent, arguing that *hemistiches* are at times purposeful, which could suggest that *tibicines* are too. Sparrow refutes this, however, by splitting the function of the *hemistiche* and *tibicine*, claiming that a *hemistiche* is a line that Virgil was not able to finish but still composed with intention, and a *tibicine* is a line inserted as a stop-gap without intention (1-2). Consequently, he finds that very few repetitions are effective (65-70) and argues that most are unconscious (60-65) or inevitable (70-71) due to the length of the poem. He also cites the lack of repetition in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* as evidence for repetition being intrinsically not part of Virgil's style (88).

This view, however, is not the prevailing one, and there are some contradictions in Sparrow's (1931) argument. Most notably, he argues that repetition is not part of

Virgil's style (88), while simultaneously discounting many repetitions as unconscious and part of Virgil's preferred vocabulary (60). He claims that it is doubtful Virgil would have detected these repetitions or found them reprehensible (71), even though earlier he argues that 'Virgil was so careful a writer that it is difficult to believe that he would have spared any pains to alter anything which he did not think as good as he could make it, even if the blemish was like[ly] to escape the [notice of] most readers' (56). As Sale (1999: 208) aptly puts it, Sparrow 'bizarre[ly]' associates formulaic composition with 'artistic naiveté', and on those grounds 'den[ies] that Virgil consciously adopted it'. Sparrow, in this sense, is symptomatic of 'A certain classicizing instinct [that] risks trapping Virgil in a golden cage of uniformity' (Wills 1997: 186). As a result, he is only able to explain why 'Virgil's frequent repetitions of the same phrase are relatively rare' and not 'why they, and the countless infrequent repetitions, exist at all' (Sale 1999: 208).

One aspect of Sparrow's (1931) argument, however, concerning the relationship between Virgil's repetitions and Homer's, is persuasive. Homer is widely understood as the model for Virgil's repetitions (Moskalew 1982: 1), given the obvious parallels between the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and *Aeneid* and the fact that over 30% of Homer's lines are repeated (Highbarger 1931: 330-31; see Schmidt 1885). However, Sparrow (1931: 87) finds there are fundamental differences between the quality of Homer's and Virgil's repetitions. Based on these differences, he identifies no unifying purpose behind the repetitions in the *Aeneid*, and so concludes that they are not intentional.

To a certain extent Sparrow (1931) is correct—Homer's and Virgil's repetitions differ in many qualities. Homer tends to repeat the same few phrases multiple times, whereas Virgil employs greater variety in his repetitions (83; Sale 1999: 202). In fact, Virgil

rarely repeats a line more than once (see *Aen.* II.775/III.153/VIII.35; *Aen.* VII.691/IX.523/XII.128), and never more than twice. This is probably because the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were designed to be listened to, while the *Aeneid* was designed to be read. As such, Homer cannot ‘afford to carry ... systems of formulae that perform the same metrical/syntactic task’ in case he confuses the listener, but Virgil can (Sale 1999: 203), because he does not have to ‘support a listening audience’ (Minchin 2014: 282). Moreover, given that Virgil cannot grab his reader’s attention through dramatic recitation, he needs ‘to engage his audience, at every level’ by other means (282). Repetitions do this by rewarding the reader who spots them with a deeper appreciation of the work.

However, Sparrow’s (1931) argument completely overlooks the possibility that Virgil’s repetitions might be serving other purposes aside from homage to Homer and reveals an oversimplified view of how Virgil uses Homer’s work. For, while Virgil’s repetitions are different from Homer’s, that does not mean that they are untouched by Homer’s influence. Virgil is at the very least inspired by Homer’s practice, and, as R.D. Brown (1990) shows, he often uses Homer’s repetitions as a point of origin for his own. Brown analyses the repetition *Aen.* I.744/III.516 and finds that it responds to a similar repetition in Homer’s work: *Od.* V.271-75/*Il.* XVIII.483-89. However, this is not a simple imitation of Homer; Virgil mixes the context of the two parts of the Homeric repetition together to create a repetition of his own that is allusive but not mimetic. As Minchin (2014: 283) notes, ‘Virgil’s cross-references to the Homeric poems are rarely straightforward one-for-one correspondences’—and it perhaps underestimates Virgil to expect them to be.

### 6.1.2 Allusive Function of Repetition

Sparrow aside, most modern scholars agree that Virgil's repetitions are intentional and serve a variety of functions. They can inspire an epic tone in the work, by inviting comparison to Homeric epic, but they can also be 'allusive' and 'connect specific passages' (Wills 1997: 187), drawing striking comparisons between analogous contexts (see Albrecht 1881; Moseley 1922; Knight 1944; Moskalew 1982).

For example, the repetition *Aen.* I.73/IV.126 describes Juno arranging a marriage. In Book I this marriage is for Aeolus, and in Book IV this marriage is for Aeneas. Both marriages have some relation to stormy weather, with Aeolus brewing a storm for Juno in return for his bride, and Dido and Aeneas getting 'married' while taking shelter from a storm in the cave. Both marriages also draw censure from the gods—Neptune chastises the winds and their master for their interference, and Jupiter sends Mercury to scold Aeneas for his lotus-eating.

*Aen.* III.250/X.104 both deliver prophetic moments—one conveyed by Celaeno, the other by Jupiter. Both prophecies are delivered in uncomfortable circumstances—Celaeno conveys hers while the Harpies attack Trojans, and Jupiter conveys his during a marital quarrel with Juno. Both prophecies are not ostensibly benevolent towards the Trojans—Celaeno says they will endure great hunger before they reach Italy, while Jupiter promises not to interfere in the final battle between Turnus and Aeneas. However, both prophecies prove to be more benign than they initially seemed, with the Trojans' hunger fuelled by celebration rather than deprivation, and Jupiter's moratorium on divine interference applying to Juno and Juturna as well.

*Aen.* XI.831/XII.952 depicts the deaths of Camilla and Turnus, the death of the former foreshadowing the death of the latter and underscoring Turnus's 'feminine'—i.e. passionate and unruly—nature (see Oliensis 1997: 296). The comparison is unflattering for Turnus, for while he initially runs from battle, Camilla runs from no one—Turnus is bested by a woman in terms of honour. This not only reveals something about Turnus but Aeneas too. Camilla is struck down by Arruns by stealth, almost illicitly, certainly not honourably. Aeneas too is not honourable in his coldblooded murder of Turnus. However, while Arruns is punished by Diana and killed by Opis, Aeneas's actions are divinely sanctioned, the difference being that Arruns is motivated by his own glory while Aeneas is driven to fury by his memory of Pallas—who invokes simultaneously the bond between lord and vassal and father and son. Such bonds are the essence of *pietas*, and in his embodiment of this virtue Aeneas resembles more an executioner delivering ordained punishment rather than a murderer. However, in the process he abandons pity and even *pietas*, ignoring Turnus's pleas in his father's name. This highlights the contradictions inherent in Aeneas's nature and the founding of Rome.

These are just a few examples. For more instances, see Moskalew's (1982) treatise, *Formular Language and Poetic Design in the 'Aeneid'*, which is currently the authoritative work on the subject.

### 6.1.3 Structural Function of Repetition

In addition to linking contexts, Moseley (1922), Moskalew (1982), and Wills (1997) identify a structural motivation behind these repetitions. Moseley (1922: xxi) argues that the repeated lines 'preserve the unity of the poem' and Moskalew (1982) finds that they form several narrative structures, like 'ring compositions', which frame various episodes (116-

21) and foster 'thematic development' (122-23). Some of these are evident in Figure 46, which illustrates which books in the *Aeneid* are connected through repetition, and how strong this connection is in terms of how many lines are repeated between them.

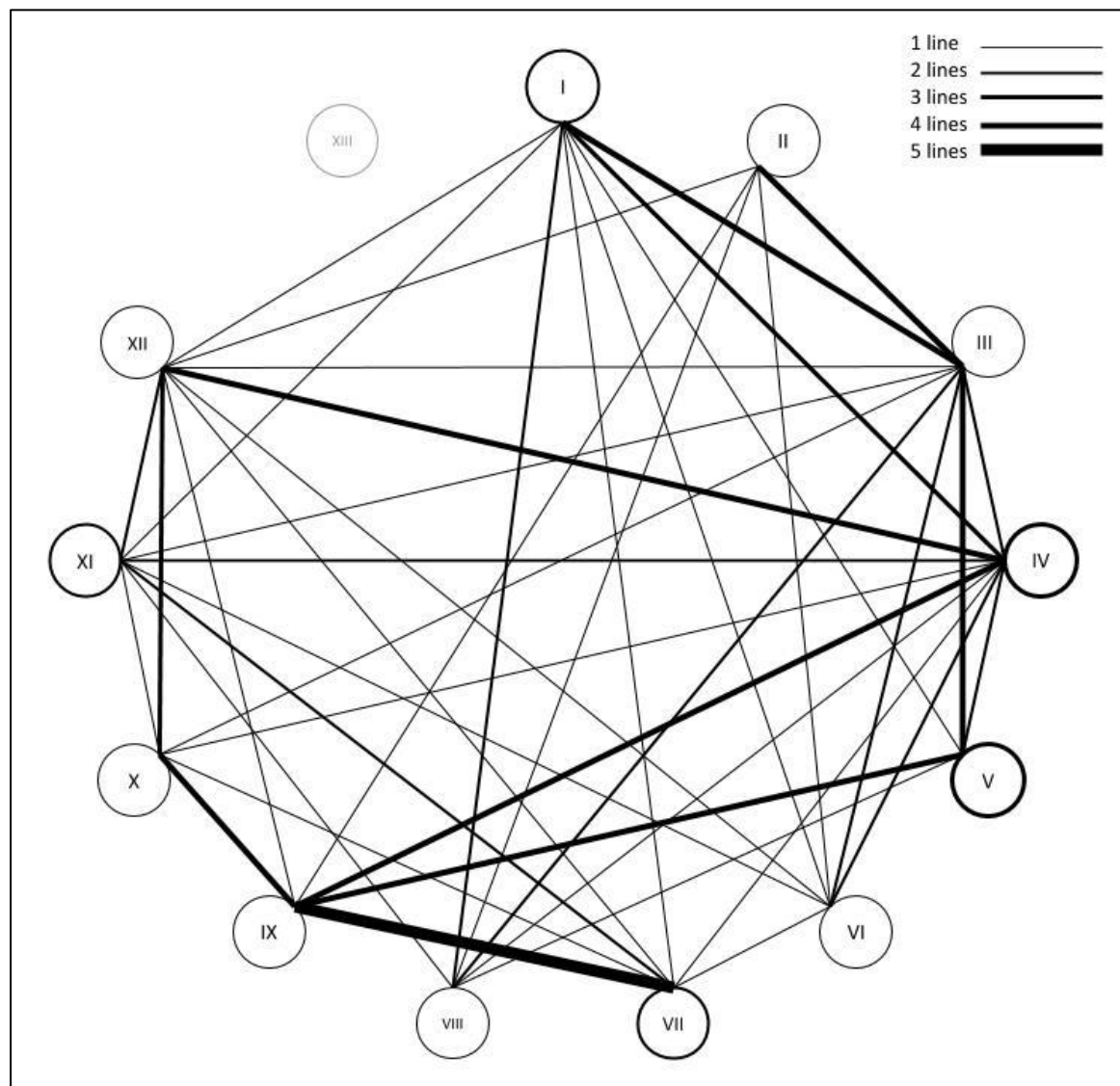


Figure 46: Diagram depicting where lines (10-12 elements) are repeated in the 'Aeneid'. Black lines represent lines shared between two (or in one case three) books in the 'Aeneid'. The thicker the line, the more repetitions. Book XIII is faded to illustrate how it is not an original part of the 'Aeneid'. See Dataset 9 for full raw data.

Several links become apparent. Books I, III, and V include seafaring scenes and a general emphasis on voyaging and exotic locales. They also feature members of Aeneas's crew and focus less on Aeneas. Likewise Book V and IX do not focus on Aeneas, but instead dramatise the link between the chivalric competition in Book V and the actual warfare in Book IX (see Caughey 2009: 270).

Books I and IV speak to one another as they simultaneously connect the story of Dido in Books I and IV and frame the travails of Aeneas in Books II and III—which are also strongly linked. Book IV also connects to Book IX as both are episodes of the Trojans besieged in enemy territory. This is straightforwardly presented in Book IX, but less obvious in Book IV, where Dido is initially a friend. However, as Dido's wrath escalates, there is an increasing foreboding that she will do whatever she can to detain the Trojans in Carthage. The link between these two books illustrates the geopolitical consequences of Aeneas's romance with Dido, the danger he puts the Trojans in, and their need to escape, which justifies Aeneas's abandonment of Dido.

Books IV and XII are also strongly linked, again connecting Turnus with a female character, indicating his passionate, 'womanly' nature. The connection with Dido is especially apt, as both die due to their refusal to relinquish their marriage partners. Books IV and XII also have the most links to other books in the *Aeneid*. This makes sense for Book XII as it is the climax of the poem. However, Book IV is an outlier, since it takes place in a different setting, handles different themes, and diverges from the Homeric model (see Section 5.3.1). It is almost a self-contained story and has been treated as such by the Romance tradition (Baswell 1995: 11; see Section 2.4). However, the number of repetitions between Book IV and the other books indicates that it does have structural significance for the rest of the poem and highlights the importance—the necessity even—of Aeneas's decision to leave Dido.

While IV and XI are not strongly linked, they have almost symmetrical links with all the other books, representing their analogous positions in each half of the *Aeneid*. Both focus on a female character adopting a man's role (Dido as king, and Camilla as warrior; see Desmond 1994: 14), and both are separate from the main action of the story. The Dido episode is a distraction from the quest for Rome and the Camilla episode does not involve Aeneas or even Turnus particularly. Nevertheless, both episodes inform the main action, and both characters act as foils for Turnus.

Finally Books VII, IX, X, and XII are all strongly linked as they focus on battle. They indicate the general unity of the latter half of the *Aeneid* as compared to the first half, which involves a diverse number of subjects, settings, and voices. Book III proves to be the lynchpin of the early books, perhaps because it is the most *Odyssey*-like book, which is traditionally viewed as the template for the first six books (see Section 5.3.1; cf. Farrell 1997: 229-30). By contrast, Book VIII is the odd one out in the later half, because it is not part of the battle scenes, recounting instead Aeneas's visit to Arcadia.

#### *6.1.4 Composition by Repetition*

In addition to using repetitions to point out contextual similarities and to create structural links, Virgil also at times composes passages out of repeated segments. There are 29 separate instances where repeated segments occur within 10 lines of one another (see Appendix, Table 65 for full list).

For example, the following passage depicts the end of Mercury's admonition of Aeneas in Book IV and Aeneas's reaction to it and is made up of a series of repetitions that connect it to other parts of Virgil's text where divine figures interfere in mortal events. The first repetition (1) appears in Book IV when Jupiter communicates his disappointment in



Aeneas to Mercury. The second repetition (2) occurs in Book IX, where Apollo disguises himself as Butes and convinces Ascanius to retreat from battle, and then vanishes. The third repetition (3) happens in Book XII when Jupiter sends a fury to prevent Juturna's interference in the final battle and Turnus sees it and foresees his doom. The fourth repetition (4) occurs in Book VIII when Aeneas worries about the upcoming war with the Italians and is counselled by Tiberinus. The fifth repetition (5) appears in Book XII when Venus inspires Aeneas to launch a final attack on the Latin city, and he summons his men.

(1) Si te nulla mouet tantarum gloria rerum:

Nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem:

Ascanium surgentem: et spes haeredis iuli

Respice: cui regnum italiae romanaque tellus

Debentur. tali cyllenius ore locutus:

(2) Mortales visus medio sermone reliquit:

Et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.

At vero aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens:

(3) Arrectaeque horrore comae: et vox faucibus haesit:

Ardet abire fuga: dulcesque relinquere terras.

Attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum:

Heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furem

Audeat affatu: et quae prima exordia sumat:

(4) Atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc diuidit illuc:

In partesque rapit varias: perque omnia versat:

Haec alternanti potior sententia visa est:

(5) Mnesthea: sergestumque vocat: fortemque cloanthum: (Virgil 1501: IV.272-88)

(1) Si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum:

Nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem: (Virgil 1501: IV.232-33)

(2) Mortalis medio aspectus sermone reliquit:

Et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram. (Virgil 1501: IX.657-58)

(3) Arrectaeque horrore comae: et vox faucibus haesit: (Virgil 1501: XII.868)

(4) Atque animum celerem nunc huc nunc diuidit illuc:

In partesque rapit varias: perque omnia versat: (Virgil 1501: VIII.20-21)

(5) Mnesthea sergestumque vocat fortemque serestum (Virgil 1501: XII.561)

'(1) If the glory of such things moves you not at all, nor if you will not start work for the sake of your own high fame, behold Ascanius growing and the hope of the heir Julius, to whom the reign of Italy and the Roman land is owed'.

Having spoke with such a rebuke, Mercury left mortal sight in the middle of his speech (2) and vanished far away from eyes into the thin air. And, truly, Aeneas fell silent, out of his mind from this vision, (3) his hair standing on end with horror, and his voice stuck in his throat. He strongly desired to depart in flight, to leave these sweet lands, having been astonished by such an order and admonishing from the gods. Alas, what to do? How might he dare depart with a word to the raging queen? How might he begin the first argument? (4) And now here, now there, Aeneas's dilemma divides his swift spirit; it tears him in various parts and whirls him over everywhere. After much debate, this more practical idea appeared. (5) He calls Mnestheus, Sergestus, and strong Cloanthus [or Serestus in Book XII]. (my translation)

In this way, echoes of Mercury's speech resound throughout the *Aeneid*, serving as a subtle refrain that emphasises certain themes throughout the work. One of these is the gods' investment in the creation of Rome. The other is that Aeneas is driven by divine mandate rather than personal desire. He must achieve Rome because the gods mandated it, thus underscoring Aeneas's *pietas*. In this way, many of Aeneas's more questionable actions are subtly contextualised by these repetitions. This is best illustrated by the final repetition (5), which signals Aeneas's preparedness to commit his two most egregious 'crimes'—the abandonment of Dido and execution of Turnus. However, in the context of Mercury's reprimand of Aeneas both actions become divinely sanctioned. The thoughtful use and placement of these repetitions belies coincidence. Each passage of repetitions has a structural purpose and thematic message.

...

Based on this evidence, this work finds that Virgil's repetitions are an intentional aspect of his style and worthy of study. However, that does not mean that every repetition is without a doubt intentional. There is some truth to Sparrow's (1931: 70-71) point that:

In an epic of some ten thousand lines, ... the same situations must more than once arise, the same thoughts and actions must more than once call for description, with the result that, however careful a poet is to avoid repeating himself, certain phrases will inevitably recur.

He refers to this as 'inevitable repetition', and there are several instances of this throughout the *Aeneid*. In particular, the repetition of individual words should not be assigned special significance—especially words like *dixit* ('he/she said') or phrases like *nec plura locutus* ('he/she spoke no more'), which begin or end speeches. These perform a set function in the text, and their usage does not allude to the contexts of their every occurrence. The same can be said of words like *animus* or *pectus*, which Virgil often uses when discussing emotion. While these words are used in similar contexts, that does not mean that their repetition is meant to forge a link between these contexts. Rather, their use illustrates a linguistic commonplace—that emotional turmoil is usually associated with hearts and minds. For this reason, Moskalew (1982: 22) defines a significant repetition as one that repeats five to twelve elements, arguing that length is:

The most useful and least subjective method of classification ... , for it not only includes all types of repetition, but is also likely to reflect a degree of conscious intent, since we can expect some correlation between the length of a repetition and the poet's awareness of it.

This threshold has also been adapted in this work. However, when it comes to the statistics presented here, the focus will be on repetitions that share 10-12 elements. This is because these longer repetitions are more relevant to Douglas, for reasons that will be explained shortly (see Section 6.2.3), and because, practically, there are too many repetitions that share 5-12 elements (nearly 10,000) to perform a qualitative analysis on.

## 6.2 Translation of Repetition in the *Eneados*

Virgil is not alone in implementing repetition as part of his poetic technique. According to *AntConc*'s (Anthony 2014a) n-Gram function, Douglas repeats 257 segments of at least five words within the body of the *Eneados* (excluding Prologues; see Dataset 10). This equates to approximately one repeated word every 105 words (1%; see Appendix, Table 66), or one repeated line every 69 lines (1.5%; see Appendix, Equation 4). The threshold of five words was chosen because Moskalew (1982: 22) judged a significant repetition in the *Aeneid* to be between five and twelve elements—or approximately half a line to a line. Half a line in iambic pentameter is at most five one-syllable words. Though not as frequent as Virgil's practice (3.4%, see Section 6.1), this amount of repetition is still enough to warrant further investigation.

Over half of Douglas's repetitions that respond to repetition in Virgil's text are motivated by Virgil's text, though this is not a significant preference (54%,  $p = 0.11$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 67). While he replicates only 25% ( $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 68) of Virgil's larger repetitions (i.e. 10-12 elements repeated), this is impressive considering how repetitions in the *Aeneid* are hard to spot. A brief survey of other translations of the *Aeneid* by Dryden ([n.d.]; first published 1697) and Williams (1910) reveals that neither replicate Virgil's repeats as often as Douglas does (7% and 10%, respectively; vs. 25%,  $p < 0.01$  and  $p < 0.05$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 68). Even trained critical readers of the *Aeneid* do not seem to be aware of repetitions or are troubled by their unobtrusiveness (see Section 6.1.1). That Douglas was able to recognise so many repetitions thus deserves admiration. It also indicates just how well he knew the *Aeneid* (see Bawcutt 1977: 113, 116-17).

However, as in the *Aeneid*, it is fair to say that many of Douglas's repetitions are probably not intentional. Many seem to be accidents of translation where there are only so many ways to translate certain Latin phrases. For instance, Douglas replicates his translation of 'troiana/troiaequ*e* iuuentus' in the example below. However, there is nothing to suggest that this repetition is intentional. No other material recurs between the two translations. Moreover, the repeated content is unremarkable, as it is common for Douglas to translate 'iuuentus' as 'gallant'. Each of the 14 occurrences of the word *gallant(s)* within the *Eneados* is a translation of *iuuentus*. The repeated Latin segment is also short (four elements) and would not be counted as a significant repetition by Moskalew (1982). This repeated translation then is a case of 'inevitable repetition'.

Et tyrii comites passim et troiana iuuentus: ... (Virgil 1501: IV.162)

The Tyriane menze skalis wydequhar,

And al the gallandis of Troy fled heir and thar, ... (Douglas 1957-64: IV.4.67-68)

... quos omnis euntes

Trinacriae mirata fremit troiaequ*e* iuuentus. (Virgil 1501: V.554-55)

And, quhar thai went, al the gallandis of Troy

And Sycill wondyrris with gret brute and ioy. (Douglas 1957-64: V.10.18-20)

Most of Douglas's repetitions are of this calibre (65%,  $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 67). However, the remaining percentage (35%) are demonstrably intentional, because the vocabulary and syntax in each translation is nearly identical. For example, the following is an intentionally repeated translation with almost two lines exactly reproduced. Differences between them are caused by the material that precedes and follows each repeated segment. 'Maximus' and 'coelifer' require different translations (cf. 'huge' vs. 'vpberar of the hevyn'), and the material that follows necessitates a different metrical filler at the end of the line (cf. 'as we se' vs. 'mony one'). The core content is otherwise the same.

... vbi maximus atlas  
Axem humero torquet: stellis ardentibus aptum. (Virgil 1501: IV.481-82)

‘... quhar that the huge Atlas  
On schuldyr rollys the round speir in cumpass,  
Full of thir lemand starnys, as we se: ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: IV.9.17-19)

... vbi coelifer atlas  
Axem humero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum. (Virgil 1501: VI.796-97)

‘... Quhar the vpberar of the hevyn, Atlas,  
On schuldir rollys the round speir in cumpas,  
Ful of thir lemand starnys mony one. ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: VI.13.89-91)

This is referred to here as a ‘sourced repetition’. Such practice indicates that on occasion Douglas intentionally replicates Virgil’s repetitions, but it is unclear why he does this and why he only replicates some repetitions. The next three sections establish that Douglas is sensitive to the allusive and structural functions of Virgil’s repetitions. However, he does not preserve all of Virgil’s repetitions because of his method of reading, which makes him more alert to certain contexts over others. Moreover, the way his source text is organised often hinders Douglas’s recognition of repetitions, leading him to ‘correct’ the presentation of repetitions in his own translation so that repeated elements mirror each other’s layout. Based on this, this work argues that Douglas means to replicate all of Virgil’s repetitions but fails to always recognise them.

#### *6.2.1 The Contextual Similarities and Thematic Relevance of Repeated Segments*

The strongest factor for Douglas’s recognition of repetitions in the *Aeneid* is the context of the repetitions. Repetitions with matching contexts are recognised by Douglas 83% of the time ( $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 69). For instance, the lines below are repeated when Aeneas tries to embrace a ghost—first Creusa’s, then Anchises’s. This reminds the reader of what Aeneas has lost in his quest for Rome. The

repetition of his action—he tries to touch them ‘thrice’—stresses how often this loss has occurred and how Aeneas must continue to strive while enduring tragedy.

Ter conatus ibi collo dare brachia circum:  
Ter frustra comprehensa manus effugit imago:  
Par leuibus ventis: volucrique simillima somno. (Virgil 1501: II.792-94/VI.700-02)

‘... That with myne armys thryss I presyt thar  
About the hals hir fortil haue belappit,  
And thryss, al waist, my handis togidder clappit:  
The figur fled as lycht wynd or the son beym,  
Or maist lykly a waverand swevyn or dreym. ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: II.12.60-64)

On this wyss talkyng, or thar wordis sessit,  
With hys lang armys thryss Eneas pressit  
About hys halss hym forto haue belappit,  
And thryss, invane, hys handys togidder clappit:  
The figur fled as lyght wynd, or son beym,  
Or mast lykly a waverand sleip or dreym. (Douglas 1957-64: VI.11.43-48)

In this way, Douglas recognises how Virgil uses repetitions to link and compare various scenarios in the *Aeneid* to explore the themes he was interested in. Moreover, he attributes enough importance to this practice to mimic it. However, context alone does not explain everything. These results could just reflect Virgil’s practice, as he repeats material that is contextually similar 78% of the time ( $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 69). Consequently, while context certainly informs Douglas’s use of repetitions, it does not explain why he does not recognise all repetitions with matching contexts. This is conditioned by the structural and thematic links between books.

Figure 47 illustrates which books in the *Eneados* are connected through repetition, and how strong this connection is in terms of how many lines are repeated between them. As in Figure 46, this illustrates thematic links between certain books like the seafaring

content in Books I and III, the intemperate desire of Dido, Nisus, Euryalus, and Turnus in Books IV, IX, and XII, and the warfare in Books X, XI, and XII. If Douglas uses such thematic links to guide his reading, it may explain why he does not preserve certain repetitions. For example, as stated before (see Section 6.1.3), Books IV and IX both concern the Trojans being besieged by foreigners (Dido and Turnus) who are distinguished by their emotional intemperance. Consequently, if Douglas translates Book IV with Book IX in mind, he may miss repetitions between Book IV and VIII (see *Aen.* IV.285-86/VIII.20-21/*Ene.* IV.6.12-13/VIII.1.7-10), which are not as obviously aligned.

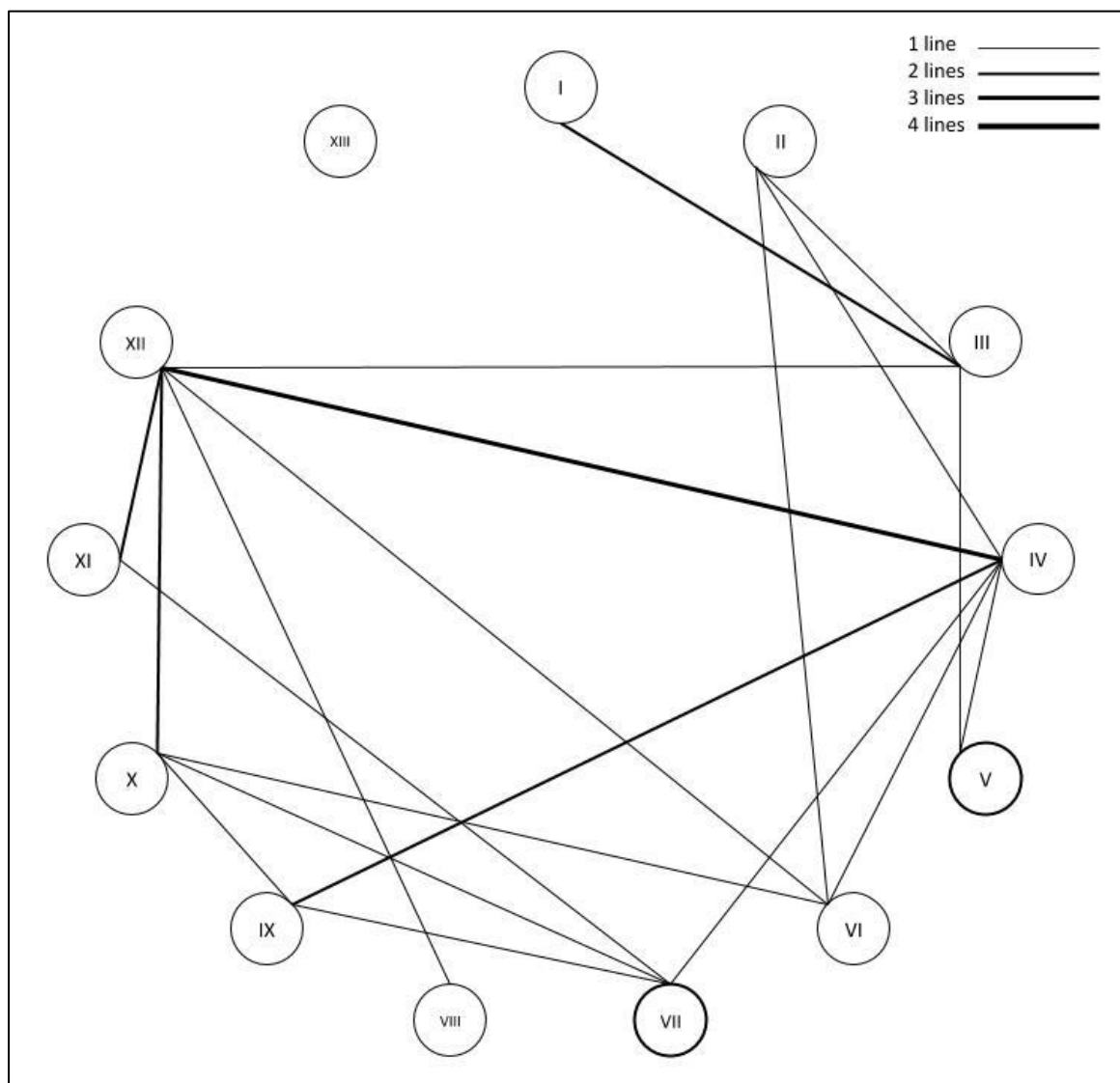


Figure 47: Diagram depicting where repetitions in the 'Aeneid' are represented in the 'Eneados'. The thicker the line, the more repeated content. See Dataset 11 for full data.



However, this fails to explain why Douglas does not recognise other repetitions from obviously aligned books. For example, if the characters of Dido and Turnus are so strongly connected that it is easy for Douglas to locate repetitions between Books IV and XII, why does Douglas not recognise the similarities between Dido and Camilla in Books IV and XI? Or the playful, chivalrous contest in Books V that assumes a darker implication in Book IX? Such links are also logical, and many scholars have argued that Douglas was aware of them. Desmond (1994: 196), for example, argues that ‘Douglas’s self-fashioning as a translator of Virgil’ depends on his rejection of Dido and Camilla. Caughey (2009: 267-70), too, has observed how Douglas does not domesticate Book V as a medieval tournament to avoid the troubling implications of Nisus and Euryalus’s relationship in Books V and IX.

However, just because Douglas does not recognise a repeated passage between two books does not necessarily mean that he is not reading with the associated book in mind. Again, these repeated lines are difficult to catch. Moreover, many repetitions from the books listed up above are not strictly relevant to the themes that tie these books together. For example, the shared lines between Books IV and XI concern the dawn (*Aen.* IV.129/XI.1/*Ene.* IV.4.1/I.1.1-2) and Aeneas’s clothes made by Dido (*Aen.* IV.260-64/XI.72-75/*Ene.* IV.5.157-64/XI.2.35-52). These do nothing to highlight the similarities between Dido and Camilla, but instead draw comparisons between Dido and Pallas—the dawn scenes preface the hunt where Dido and Aeneas ‘marry’ and Pallas’s funeral, while, the clothes made by Dido serve to link Pallas and Ascanius. Similarly, the repeated lines between Books V and IX concern prizes for the events (*Aen.* V.267/IX.264-64/*Ene.* V.5.44-45/IX.5.93-96), the quality of the horses Polites and Turnus ride (*Aen.* V.563-67/IX.47-50/*Ene.* V.10.33-40/IX.2.32-40), and the coming and going of Iris (*Aen.* V.605-08/IX.2/*Ene.* V.11.5-15/IX.1.4-6; *Aen.* V.658/IX.15/*Ene.* V.11.112-13/IX.1.35-36) and nothing concerning the relationship between Nisus and Euryalus and its destructive capabilities.

In short, if Douglas does not recognise content as being in some way allusive to a previous book, then it does not trigger in him the reaction to look up the similar passage.

In this way, while context proves to influence Douglas's translation of repetition, it is really the thematic relevance of the repetitions to the books they are repeated in that triggers his recognition of these lines. This indicates that Douglas had a conceptual map of the *Aeneid* in his head while translating, again proving that he was well acquainted with the *Aeneid*, its themes, and the contents of each book. However, as explained in the next section, Douglas probably was better acquainted with the material of certain books more than others—especially the early books, which, as explained in Section 5.3.1, benefitted from more attention thanks to six-book readings of the *Aeneid*.

#### *6.2.2 Cyclical Reading vs. Linear Translation*

Such practice suggests that Douglas intended to translate every repetition in the *Aeneid*, but he did not recognise them all because of how he read the *Aeneid*. He reads cyclically, using already translated books as reference for when he translates later ones. Such a practice matches Bawcutt's (1977: 108) assessment that Douglas refers to other texts and authors as he writes, with a specificity that suggests he has these physical texts 'open in front of him'. However, the books of the *Aeneid* he refers to while translating are ones that he has already consciously identified as having significant thematic links with the book he is translating. This is what enables him to catch so many repetitions, as he is constantly reading with other books in mind. It also explains why he misses so many too, as he sometimes does not read with the *right* book in mind. For example, he does not recognise repetitions between Books I and XI or II and VIII as these are not so obviously reminiscent of each other.

However, while Douglas may be reading cyclically, the evidence still indicates that he translates in the order the books are presented. Logically, it is easier to recognise repetitions when they are closer to one another, and the evidence indicates that Douglas replicates repeated lines more often when the repetition and its source are close to one another in linear order (see Figure 48). 86% ( $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 70) of his repetitions do not occur more than six books away from each other, and 79% ( $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 71) do not occur more than four books away from each other. Moreover, Douglas tends to outperform the original repetitions in Virgil for books of near proximity but underperforms for the books that are further away.

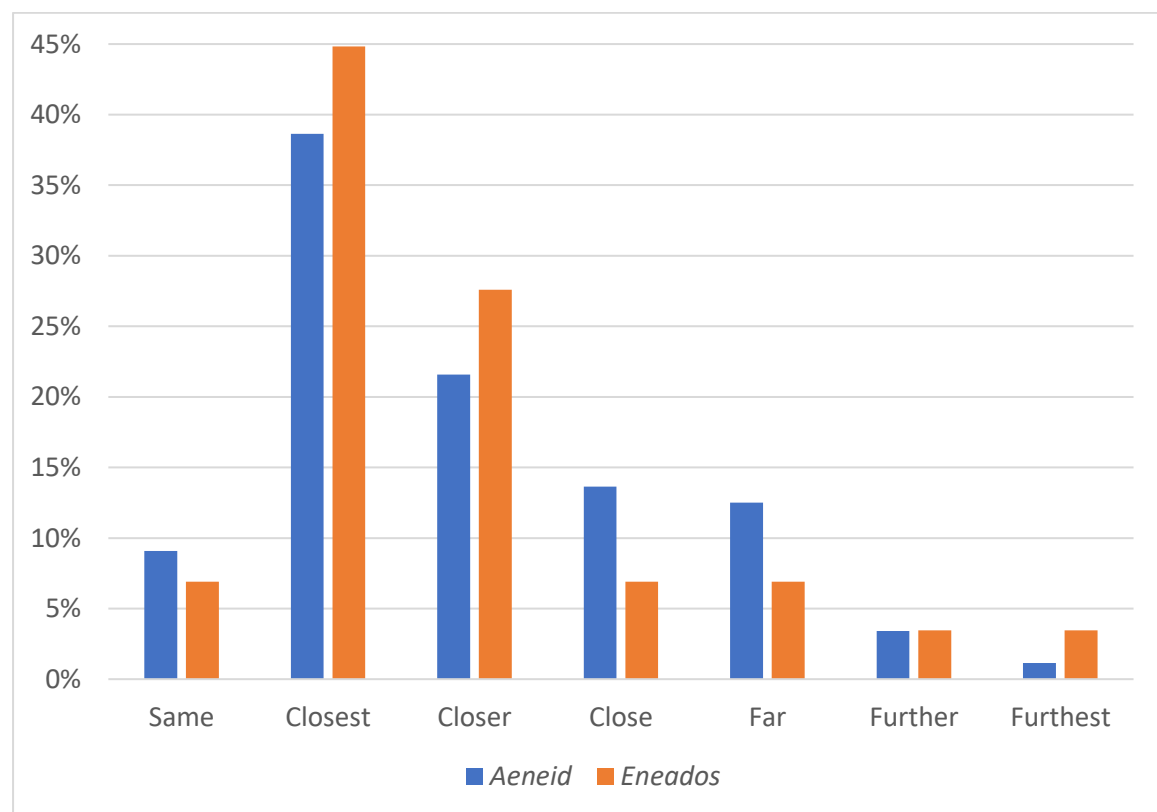


Figure 48: Distribution of sourced repetitions in the 'Eneados' and repetitions of 10-12 elements in the 'Aeneid' across a range of proximities, based on book. 'Same' refers to a book that has shared lines within itself (Book I-Book I), 'closest' refers to books next to one another or removed by one book (Book I-Books II or III), 'closer' refers to books removed by two or three (Book I-Books IV or V), 'close' refers to books removed by four or five (Book I-Books VI or VII), 'far' refers to books removed by six or seven (Book I-Books VIII or IX), 'further' refers to books removed by eight or nine (Books I-Books X or XI), 'furthest' refers to books removed by ten or eleven (Book I-Books XII or XIII). Difference between 'Aeneid' and 'Eneados' results is not significant ( $p < 0.09$ , paired two-tailed t-test). See Appendix, Table 72 for raw data.

While the results above are not significant, they are corroborated by Figure 49, which reveals that Douglas’s preservation of repetition increases over the course of the *Eneados*, even though Virgil’s use of it decreases, and that this is a significant difference. This indicates that later books, like Books X and XII, benefit from translations of the earlier books, but the earlier books do not benefit from translations of the later ones. This is in effect a cyclical reading practice that only goes one way—while it may look backwards, it always moves forwards. It is like Douglas’s practice in altering book boundaries (see Section 5.4.4), where lines are moved backwards to enable forward momentum, ‘as if some Virgilian baggage carried by the characters always needs to be left behind’ (Royan 2015: 131). This also indicates that Douglas perhaps knew the earlier books better than the later ones and found it easier to mine repetitions from them. This would not be surprising given how pervasive six-book readings of the *Aeneid* are and their impact on Douglas’s translation method (see Section 5.3.1).

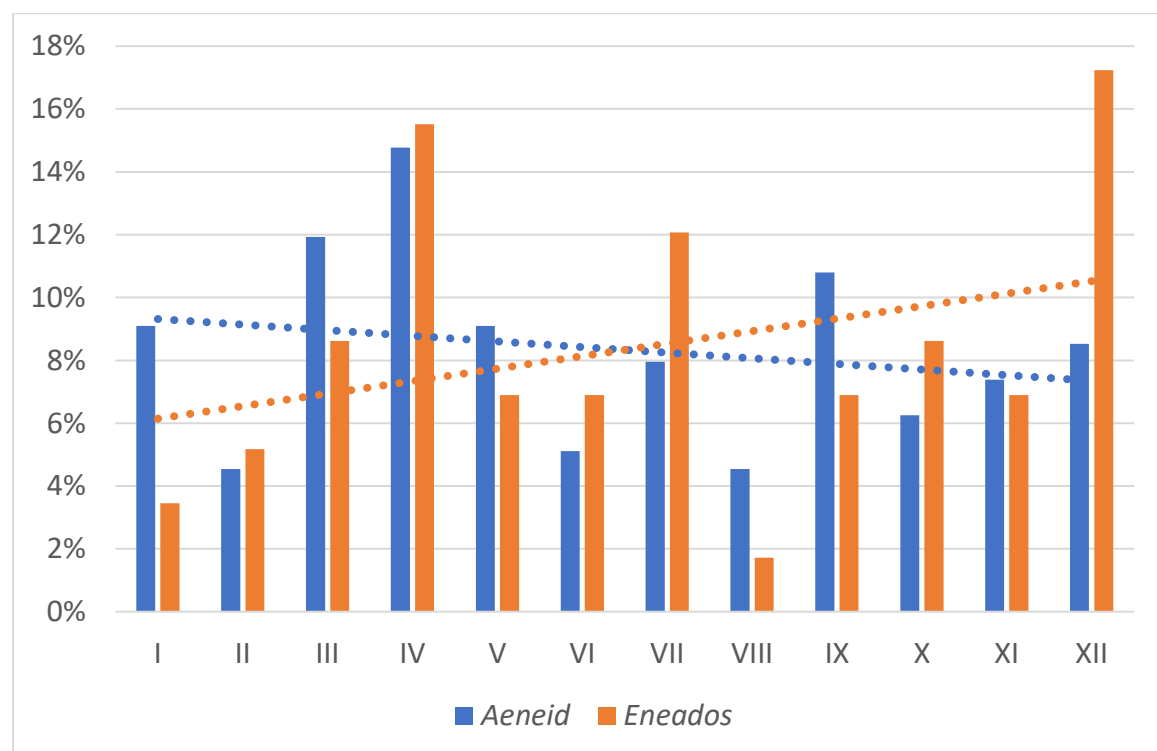


Figure 49: Distribution of repetitions of 10-12 elements in the ‘Aeneid’ and sourced repetitions in ‘Eneados’ across books. Results for each work are significantly different from each other according to a paired two-tailed t-test ( $p < 0.001$ ). See Appendix, Table 73.

Figure 49 also indicates which books Douglas prefers to use as resources for repetitions. Books II, IV, VI, and VII prove to be important points of reference for Douglas—which is not surprising, given they feature moments of key importance to the narrative, such as the fall of Troy, the death of Dido, the journey to the Underworld, and the arrival in Italy. By contrast, Books I, III, V, VIII, IX, and XI are underused, which is expected, given they tend to be peripheral to the main narrative and focus less on Aeneas.

It is counterintuitive that Douglas should prioritise repetitions from Book IV more than those in Book VIII, considering that Book IV is the Dido story, which Douglas finds problematic (see Section 2.4), whereas Book VIII features the Shield of Aeneas, which acts as an allegory not only for the narrative of the *Aeneid*, but Roman history. The amount of attention Douglas pays Book IV reflects his anxiety about the reception of this book and its impact on readers' understanding of Aeneas. By contrast, he does not seem to know what to do with Book VIII—even though he clearly recognises the Shield's allegory in Prologue VIII, which discusses the value of craft. Book VIII has the lowest percentage of recognised repetitions.

A closer investigation reveals that Douglas does not use other books when translating Book VIII, failing to recognise repetitions between Book VIII and Books I-V. He only recognises a repetition between VIII and XII, and this smacks slightly of desperation, as this is one of the few instances where Douglas acknowledges a repetition of fewer than 10 elements (see below). In this example, a scene from the Arcadian feast celebrating Hercules is repeated in the feast before the last battle between the Trojans and Rutulians. The repetition invokes the story of Hercules from Book VIII, a demigod like Aeneas, who manages to subdue Cacus, a monster who, like

Turnus, is driven by insatiable desires. In this way, this repetition rewrites the narrative so that Turnus is made equivalent to a monster who steals, even though it is really Aeneas who has wronged Turnus by usurping his bride.

... cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras. (Virgil 1501: VIII.284)

... and furth of platis gret

With paysit flesch plenyst the altaris large,

Tharon bestowyng in hepis mony a charge. (Douglas 1957-64: VIII.5.10-12)

... cumulantque: oneratis lancibus aras. (Virgil 1501: XII.215)

Syne furth of platys or ballancis belyve

With pasyt flesch plenyst the altaris large,

Tharon bestowand in hepys mony a charge. (Douglas 1957-64: XII.5.142-44)<sup>7</sup>

Douglas translating Book VIII in isolation could be intentional or just a product of circumstance. It seems almost imitative of the action in the book: just as Aeneas leaves the main narrative to find allies in Arcadia, Douglas too abandons his previous translations when handling the Arcadian book. Such a reading would fit with the intertextual allegory proposed in Section 2.3.2, where Douglas equates his activities as a poet-translator to Aeneas's journey. However, it is more probable that Douglas misses these repetitions in Book VIII because there are fewer repetitions in this book in general. It is also possible that, for whatever reason, Douglas did not have access to his previous translations when composing this book. He himself admits that he was sometimes interrupted by 'grave materis and gret sollicitud' (1957-64: Time, Space, and Date 15). Perhaps circumstances intervened so that he was not fully equipped to translate this book. The fact that he does not seem to revisit this book to find more repetitions again suggests that Douglas did not engage in an extensive revision process (see Section 4.3.4).

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<sup>7</sup> See XII.4.142-44 in the printed version of Coldwell (1957-64).

### 6.2.3 The Influence of Ascensius's (1501) Edition on Repetition

In this way, Douglas's process of reading directly contributes to his recognition of repetitions in the *Aeneid*. It is important then to also consider the influence of Ascensius's (1501) edition on this aspect of Douglas's translation, as his layout controls how Douglas interacts with the source text (see Section 5.3.2). However, his edition generally does not help Douglas identify repeated segments in the *Aeneid*; rather, it sometimes hinders him.

Ascensius's commentary, which would be the most obvious source of information on repetitions Douglas could turn to, has barely any notes regarding repetition, recognising them only 6% of the time ( $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 74). This is unsurprising, considering how most ancient commentators were not particularly interested in repetitions (see Section 6.1.1). Only two of these comments correlate with a repeated translation in the *Eneados*, and it is doubtful that they facilitated Douglas's translation of the repetition in any way.

For example, Servius acknowledges the repetition of *Aen.* VII.641/X.163, saying 'Licet cathalogus: in quo enumerantur hi qui venerunt de Thuscia inuenit tamen aliquam varietatem quod hos nauibus venisse commemorat cum in vii' (1501: fol. 303<sup>v</sup>) or 'That is, the catalogue: in which those who come from Tuscany are enumerated; [Virgil] finds some variety because he recalls that they [the Italians] came from the ships in Book VII'. However, this reference is buried in a discussion about the term 'heliconā' and is easy to miss. Moreover, the fact that this reference is in Servius's commentary, rather than Ascensius's limits its power. Douglas was probably not as attentive to Servius's text, partly because it was old, limited, and often criticised for its inaccuracies (Wilson-Okamura 2010: 33) and partly because Douglas probably was already familiar with it thanks to his

education (see Section 2.1.1). Ascensius's commentary, on the other hand, was new, long, and extremely thorough, and made a point of correcting and improving Servius (White 2013: 18). For these reasons, this note was probably not helpful to Douglas, even though he does replicate the repetition in question (see below). Rather, his recognition of this repetition can be attributed to its content. It is an invocation to the muse—an easily recognised trope that Douglas was likely to recall. Moreover, both invocations preface catalogues of soldiers, which again makes them more noticeable. Both iterations also occur at the beginning of a section, which—as will be discussed below—possibly made them more visible to Douglas.

Pandite nunc helicon deae: cantusque mouete [:] ... (Virgil 1501: VII.641/X.163)

3he Musys now, sweit goddessis ichone,  
Oppyn and onschet 3our mont of Helycone,  
Reveil the secretis lyand in 3our myght,  
Addres my stile, and steir my pen go rycht,  
Entone my sang, and til endyte me leir ... (Douglas 1957-64: VII.12.1-5)<sup>8</sup>

3he Musys now, sweit goddessis ychone,  
Oppyn and oncloss 3our mont of Helycon,  
Reveil the secretis lyand in 3our mycht,  
Entone my sang, address my style at rycht, ... (Douglas 1957-64: X.4.1-4)

Even when references to repetition in the commentary are clearly marked by punctuation, Douglas ignores them. For example, parentheses clearly mark Ascensius's note concerning the repetition of *Aen.* II.774/III.48: '(Iterum mediam corripit sicut in secundum dictum est)' (1501: fol. 88<sup>r</sup>) or 'again, he takes this middle thing as it was said in the second [book]'. And yet, Douglas does not acknowledge the repetition.

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<sup>8</sup> See VII.11.1-5 in the printed version of Coldwell (1957-64).



Obstipui: steteruntque comae: et vox faucibus haesit[:] ... (Virgil 1501: II.774/III.48)

‘... Abasyt I wolx, and widdyrsyns start my hayr;  
Speke mycht I not, the voce in my halss swa stak. ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: II.12.26-27)

‘... The feir affrayit my mynd estonyst als,  
Vpstart my hayr, the word stak in my hals. ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: III.1.89-90)

While there are echoes within the translation, nothing is markedly repeated. The phrase ‘(up)start my hair, the voice/word stuck in my halse’ is a natural translation of ‘steteruntque comae: et vox faucibus’ and a common phrase in the *Eneados*. Moreover, the vocabulary between the two translations varies considerably and they emphasise different things. The first translation focuses on Aeneas’s inability to speak while the second one focuses more on his fear (cf. II.12.27 and III.1.89), each translation devoting an extra half line to their respective interests.

In addition to not indicating repetitions in the commentary, Ascensius also does not indicate repetitions through his layout. Only 24% ( $p < 0.01$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 75) of repeated lines that begin or end sections share this position when they are repeated. This is not unexpected; there is no reason to think that Ascensius would wish to mimic the structural context of each repetition within his edition, especially given that his interest in Virgil’s text is primarily educational (White 2013: 37). While it is possible that Douglas uses layout to find repetitions, given how much significance he invests in Ascensius’s section divisions (see Section 5.2), the success of this is equivocal, as only 38% ( $p = 0.62$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 75) of Douglas’s acknowledged repetitions share positions in Ascensius’s section layout. This is an improvement on Ascensius’s percentage, but is not significantly different ( $p = 0.79$ ,

pairwise proportion test), and does not indicate a strong preference for Douglas to recognise repeated segments based on their layout alone.

All this indicates that Ascensius is not interested in Virgil's repetitions or perhaps did not realise they were there. Douglas, however, *is* interested in Virgil's repetitions and their structural contexts. Line boundaries, for example, prove to be a strong factor in Douglas's recognition of repetitions, where he prefers to translate whole and nearly whole lines (10-12 elements; 76%,  $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 76). Moreover, he distinctly disfavours repetitions that are not contained by a single line but instead span across two half-lines. These are referred to here as 'broken lines'. None of Douglas's acknowledged repetitions are broken lines ( $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test), whereas 11% of Virgil's repetitions of 10-12 elements are ( $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 77). Such respect for whole lines is in keeping with Douglas's sensitivity to layout (see Section 5.2).

Douglas is also more likely to recognise the repetition of multiple lines. 31% of his sourced repetitions involve multiples lines ( $p < 0.01$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 78) of his repetitions involve multiple lines, which outperforms Virgil's practice. Only 14% of Virgil's repetitions (of 10-12 elements) consist of multiple lines and Douglas recognises 75% of them (see Appendix, Table 63). This is a significant preference in comparison to Douglas's recognition of single line repetitions (26%,  $p < 0.001$ , chi-squared test; see Appendix, Table 78).

Multiple lines prove to be more recognisable because they give Douglas more chances to catch the repetition. For example, the following is a multi-line repetition describing Hesperia:

Est locus: hesperiam graii cognomine dicunt.  
Terra antiqua potens armis: atque vbera glebae.  
Oenotrii coluere viri: nunc fama minores  
Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem. (Virgil 1501: I.530-33/III.163-66)

'... Thar is a place quham the Grekis, thai say,  
Onto hys name clepis Hesperia,  
Ane nobill land, richt potent in bataill,  
And fructuus grond, plentuous of vittalle,  
By Kyng Onotryus inhabit first, we trow,  
Bot in our days laitly, the fame is now,  
Eftir thar duke it is namyt Italy. ...' (Douglas 1957-64: I.8.65-71)

""... A land thar is, in Grekis langage plane  
Hesperya clepit, a bald cuntre in weir,  
A fructuus grond of corn and richness seir,  
By Kyng Onotryus inhabit first with wyne,  
Bot in our days laitly, the fame is syne,  
Eftir thar duke it is namyt Italy. ..."" (Douglas 1957-64: III.3.30-35)

Initially, Douglas does not seem to recognise this repetition. The beginnings of the translations are disparate even though they come from the same material. The syntax varies (cf. 'Thar is a place ... clepis Hesperia' vs. 'A land thar is ... Hesperya clepit'), and the adjectives differ (cf. 'Ane nobill land' vs. 'a bald cuntre in weir' and 'plentuous of vitalle' vs. 'of corn and richness seir'). However, by the time Oenotrus is mentioned, Douglas appears to recognise that this is a repetition and the last three lines of each translation are nearly identical. In this way, multiple lines offer more opportunities for recognising repetitions, which corroborates Moskalew's (1982: 22) belief that there is a correlation between the length of a repetition and the poet's—or in this case translator's—awareness of it (see Section 6.1.4). This is probably why Douglas recognises this example—it is doubtful that Ascensius's observation of this repetition in the commentary had much influence ('de quibus in primo in oratione ilionei dictum est', 'concerning those things which were said in the first book in the oration of Ilioneus', 1501: fol. 92<sup>v</sup>).

While Ascensius's (1501) edition does not help Douglas recognise repetitions, Douglas's abiding interest in *ordinatio* influences how he translates them. He alters his own chapter segmentation so that 90% ( $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 79) of his repetitions share a position in a chapter. For example, *Aen.* IV.584-85 occurs at the beginning of a section in Ascensius's edition (Figure 50), but the repetition *Aen.* IX.459-60 does not (Figure 51). Douglas, however, defies Ascensius's section structure—which normally he tries to follow (see Section 5.2)—and places his translation of both lines at the beginning of chapters within his translation. Moreover, Douglas translates this repetition the same way each time, indicating he consciously recognises the repetition and its structural significance.

Et iam prima nouo spargebat lumine terras  
Tithoni croceum linquens aurora cubile: ... (Virgil 1501: IV.584-85/IX.459-60)

Be this Aurora, leifand the purpour bed  
Of hir lord Titan, heth the erd oursprede  
With new days licht, ... (Douglas 1957-64: IV.11.1-3)

Be this Aurora, levand the safron bed  
Of hir lord Titan, had the erth oursprede  
With new cleirness, ... (Douglas 1957-64: IX.8.1-3)

Such behaviour attests to a deep and abiding belief in the significance of *ordinatio*—even when it is not especially informative when it comes to repetitions. This again indicates, as in Chapter 5, that Douglas is concerned with these aspects of text, which likely contributes to why preserves repetitions in the first place.

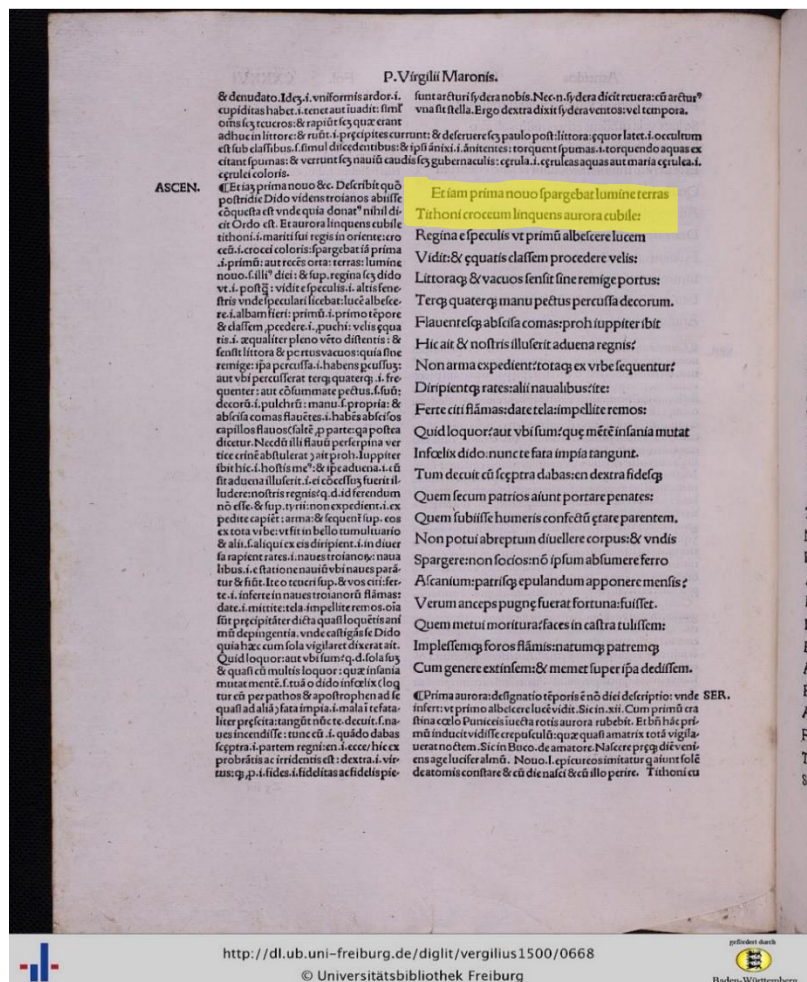


Figure 50: UB Freiburg, Ink. 4. D 7672 fol. 136<sup>v</sup>, featuring Aen. IV.584-606. Aen. IV.584-85 are highlighted (my edit) to illustrate an example on p. 247. These lines occur at the beginning of a section here, but when they are repeated in Book IX, they are placed differently (see Figure 51).

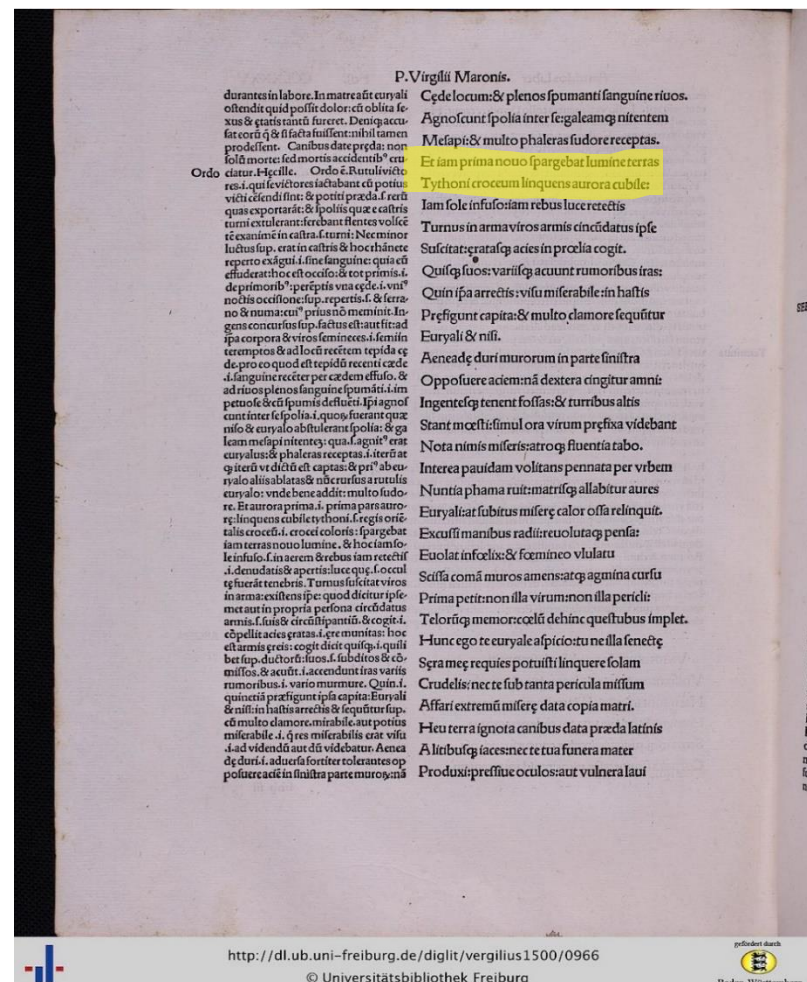


Figure 51: UB Freiburg, Ink. 4. D 7672 fol. 285<sup>v</sup>, featuring Aen. IX.456-87. Aen. IX.459-60 are highlighted (my edit) to illustrate an example on p. 247. These lines are repeated from Book IV (see Figure 50) but are placed differently here.

### 6.3 Original Repetitions and Book XIII

The previous sections have established that Douglas attributes authorial intention to repetitions and tries to replicate them. However, he sometimes goes even further and creates his own original repetitions. Alongside the many sourced repetitions in the *Eneados*, a large percentage of Douglas's repetitions are not motivated by the *Aeneid* (46%,  $p = 0.11$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 67). Again, most of these repetitions (66%,  $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 67) are probably not significant, being set phrases like 'and in his breast gang' or grammatical phrases like 'as it had been for' which function as metrical filler. However, a sizeable amount (34%) appear intentional, in that they have allusive and structural function and are sometimes even used to organise Douglas's layout.

Douglas's original repetitions tend to occur in analogous contexts (79%,  $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 80). For example, the repetition below first occurs in Jupiter's prophecy to Venus in Book I where he promises that Juno will eventually favour the Trojans, and it occurs again in Book XII when Aeneas lays out the terms of his duel with Turnus:

... fouebit

Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam. (Virgil 1501: I.281-82)

'... [Juno shall] Fostir the Romanys, lordis of al erdly geir,  
And Latyne pepill kepe bath in payce and weir. ...' (Douglas 1957-64: I.5.91-92)

Sacra deosque dabo: socer arma latinus habeto: ... (Virgil 1501: XII.192)

'... The wirschipyng of goddis in sacryfice  
I sal thame lern and tech at my devyss:  
My fader in law, the kyng Latinus heir,  
Most rewle the pepill baith in peax and wer; ...' (Douglas 1957-64: XII.5.79-82)<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See XII.4.79-82 in the printed version of Coldwell (1957-64).

While the phrase ‘peace and war’ is a regular occurrence in Older Scots (see *DSL*: *wer* n. 4.d), its use in both these instances is an unusual paraphrase of the phrases ‘gentemque togatam’ and ‘arma habeto’. The former translates more literally as ‘she will foster the Romans, both the high-born and the low’—with *gens* having a noble connotation, as it was originally used to refer to patricians only (*A Latin Dictionary*: *gens* I) and *togata* referring to plebeians—the toga representing Roman citizenship (*togatus* II.A). However, Douglas takes this rather in the sense of situation, that they must be ruled both in good conditions and bad. Similarly, the repetition in Book XII is more closely translated as ‘let my father-in-law Latinus bear arms’ or, more metaphorically, ‘wield power’. While the addition of ‘both in peace and war’ is perhaps more appropriate here, given the word *arma* and its connotations of battle, it is not indicated by the source. Rather, it seems to be supplied by Douglas’s recollection of Jupiter’s prophecy in Book I. The echo of Jupiter’s promise of Juno’s favour is particularly appropriate here given that Aeneas promises to cede power to Latinus, foreshadowing Juno’s request from Jupiter that the Trojans not rule Latium (*Aen.* XII.819-28/*Ene.* XII.14.69-90).<sup>10</sup> Moreover, this phrase is often used in pledges of fealty (see *DSL*: *wer* n. 1.d), highlighting how both repetitions are instances where a character’s loyalty (Juno’s and Aeneas’s) is promised to another (Rome and Latinus).

Douglas’s original repetitions also create additional structure in the poem (see Figure 52). He often forges repetitions between books where there are repeated lines in the Latin that he has missed, as if he knows a link is there but cannot find it (see II and XII; III and V, VI, and XIII; IV and VI and VIII; V and V; VII and XIII; IX and X; X and XI and XII). In fact, 23% ( $p < 0.001$ , pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 81) of segments that form an original repetition are within proximity of an existing repetition in the *Aeneid*. On

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<sup>10</sup> See XII.13.69-90 in the printed version of Coldwell (1957-64).



the other hand, wherever Douglas has acknowledged multiple repetitions between books, he does not usually feel the need to add his own (see I and III; IV and IX and XII). He is not interested in replacing Virgil's repetitions with his own or intentionally ignoring Virgilian repetitions. Rather there is a concerted effort to represent Virgil's repetitions faithfully or, failing that, represent Virgil's repetitive style.

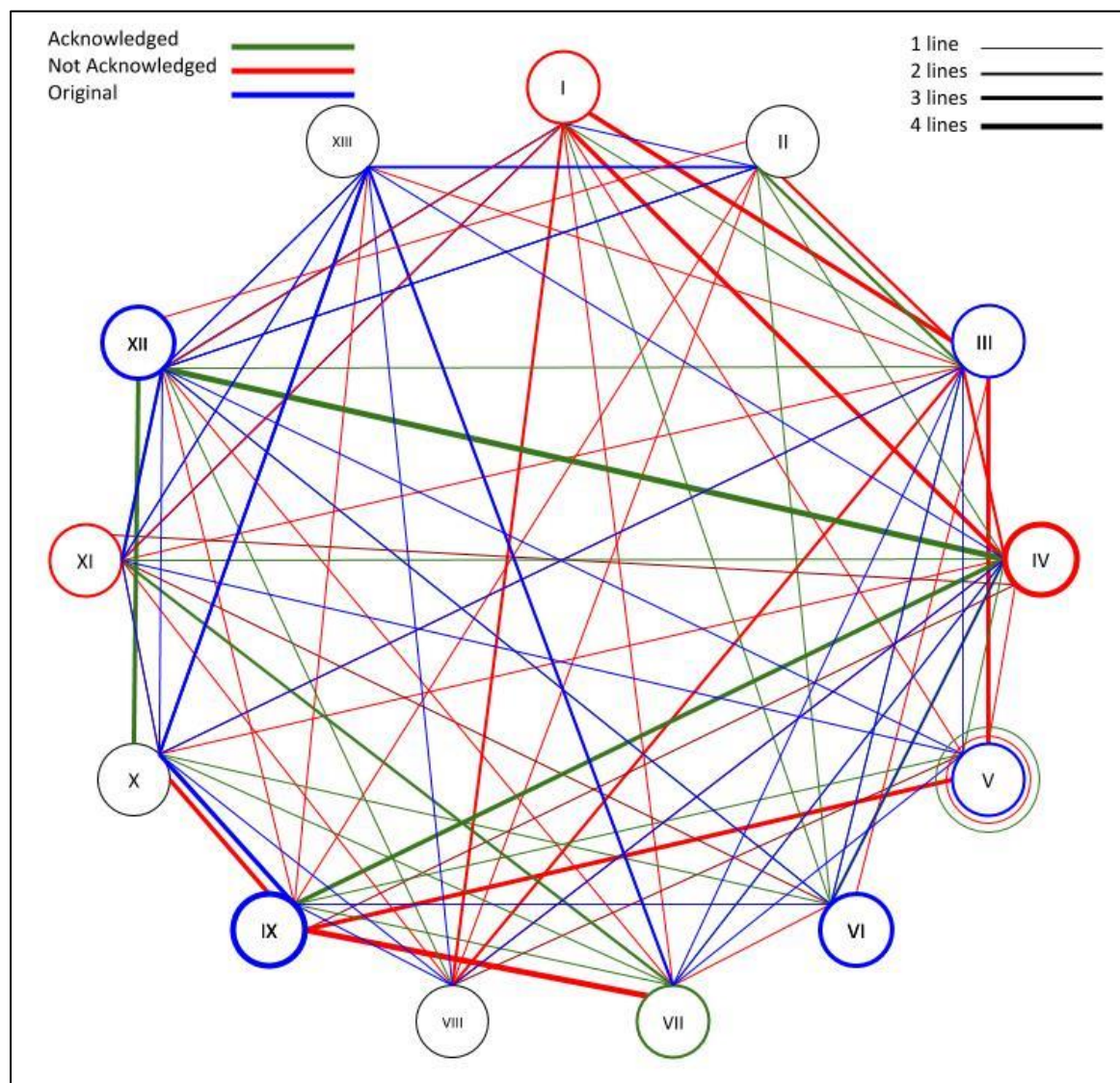


Figure 52: Colour coded diagram depicting where repetitions in the 'Aeneid' are recognised in the 'Eneados' (in green) and where they are not (in red), overlaid with Douglas's original repetitions (in blue). The thicker the line, the more repeated content. See Datasets 9, 11, and 12 for full data.



Moreover, unlike Ascensius, Douglas occasionally embeds his original repetitions into his layout design. While Douglas's original repetitions occur mostly in the body of the translation, there are a few instances of repetition in the paratextual material and chapter rubrics. Granted, these are largely formulaic; however, on occasion the repetition is significant. For example, the chapter heading of chapter IX.13 foreshadows material within the chapter:

The Troianys set on Turnus dyntis rude,  
 Quhill at he fled, and lap into the flude. (Douglas 1957-64: IX.13.a-b)

Tum demum: praeceps saltu sese omnibus armis  
In fluuium dedit: ille suo cum gurgite flauo  
 Accepit venientem: ac mollibus extulit vndis: ... (Virgil 1501: IX.815-17)

Than at the last, al suddanly, with a plasch,  
 Harnes and al togiddir, quhar he stude,  
 Him self he swakkis and lap into the flude.  
 With giltyn stremys hym kepptyt the ryver,  
 And bar hym vp abuf hys wallis cleir, ... (Douglas 1957-64: IX.13.82-86)

Douglas's repetition of the Latin in the chapter rubric indicates that he translated his chapters first and then wrote the rubrics—though he may have divided the chapters themselves while translating. Something similar occurs in Book VI where a chapter rubric repeats information from the previous chapter to help orient the reader (*Ene.* VI.9.17/VI.10.b). Again, this shows that Douglas invests significance in the presentation of repetitions within the format of both his translation and his source (see Section 6.2.3).

In this way, Douglas's original repetitions mimic Virgil's in their use of allusion, their structural purpose and creation, and their importance in Douglas's organisation of layout. Such behaviour confirms that Douglas attaches a great deal of importance to Virgilian repetition—enough to adopt the practice himself. He even takes the practice further to correct what he considers to be a less authoritative text—Vegio's *Supplement*.

### 6.3.1 Repetition in the 'Supplement'

Thus far this chapter has focused on repetitions in the *Aeneid* and Douglas's interpretation of them in the *Eneados*. Now, it will consider how Vegio interprets Virgil's style of repetition within the *Supplement* and how Douglas reacts to it. In writing a hypothetical thirteenth book for the *Aeneid*, Vegio set himself the challenge of imitating Virgil. Virgil's repetitions (illustrated in Figure 53) provide a good metric for assessing if he succeeds.

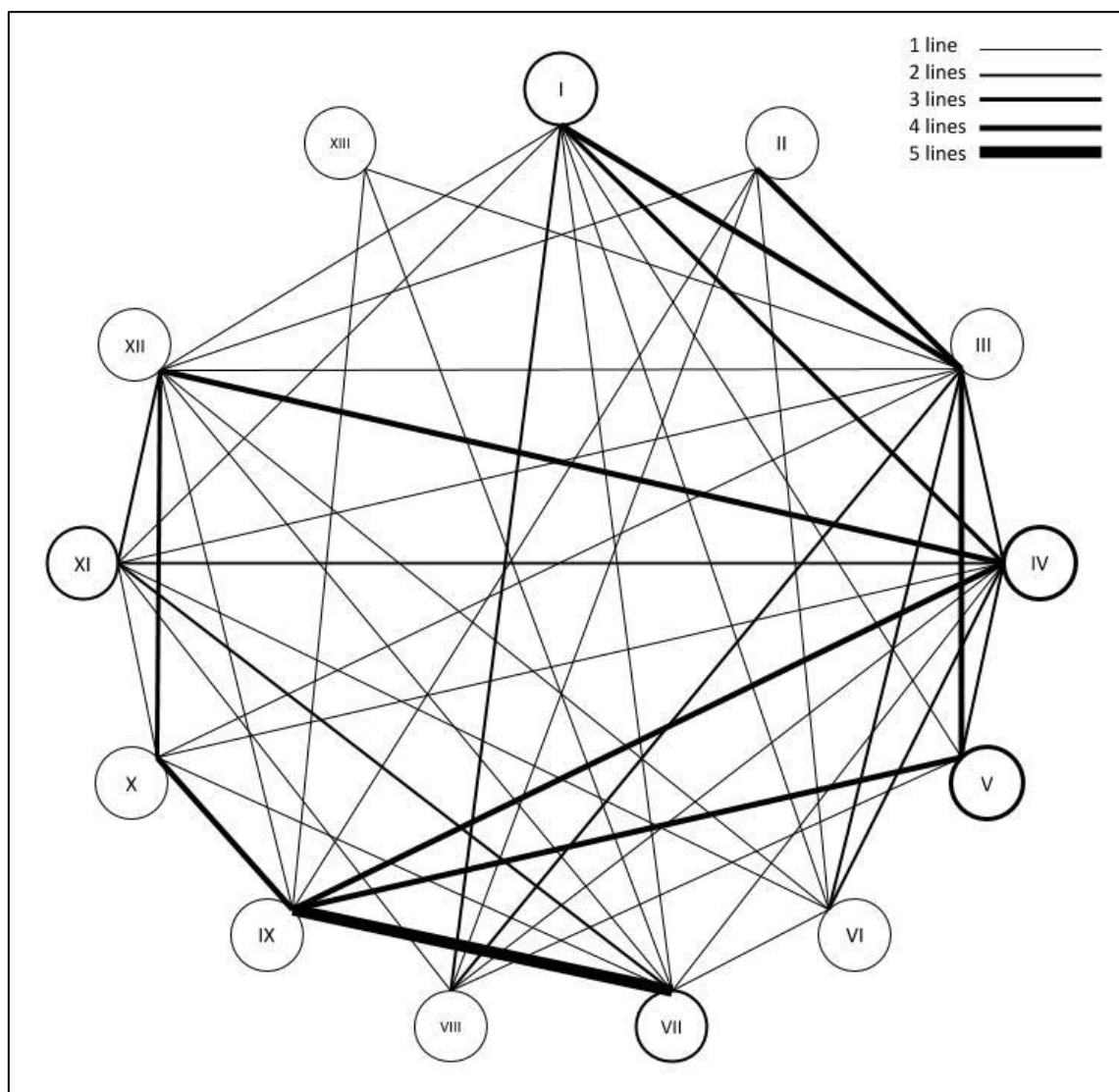


Figure 53: Diagram depicting where lines (10-12 elements) are repeated in the 'Aeneid' and 'Supplement'. An edited version of Figure 46. See Dataset 9 for full raw data.

Initially it seems that Vegio is not interested in Virgilian repetition. The *Supplement* only features two repetitions of 10-12 elements (see Figure 53). However, that does not mean that the *Supplement* is completely devoid of repetition. Rather, Vegio uses many smaller echoes of the *Aeneid*, instead of longer exact repetitions, and these are so numerous that almost every single line features vocabulary or phrasing reminiscent of Virgil (see Brinton 1930: 158-76). However, it is unclear whether Vegio recognised that repetition was a Virgilian stylistic device or if he was just repeating Virgilian language for the sake of imitation or out of habit. For, as Brinton notes, Vegio has a ‘habit of employing the words and phrases of his adored master, Virgil’ in all his works (11-12). Though one of his repetitions (*Sup.* 271-72) is a segment that has already been repeated in the *Aeneid* (*Aen.* VII.649-50/IX.179-80), it is not clear if Vegio was aware of both iterations. Brinton (1930: 164) herself only attributes it to the instance in Book VII and not the one in Book IX. Moreover, as repetitions go it is not one of the more notable ones, consisting of generic language describing beauty:

Filius hunc iuxta lausus: quo pulchrior alter

Non fuit excepto laurentis corpore turni. (Virgil 1501: VII.649-50)

Here nearby was his son Lausus: there was no other in Laurentum more physically beautiful than him, except for Turnus. (my translation)

Et iuxta comes euryalus: quo pulchrior alter

Non fuit aeneadum: ... (Virgil 1501: IX.179-80)

And nearby was his comrade Euryalus: there was no other of the Trojans more beautiful than him. (my translation)

Iam mutum et sine voce caput: quo pulchrior alter

Non fuit in tota ausonia: ... (Vegio 1501: 271-72)

‘... Now [Turnus’s] head is silent and without voice: there was no other in all Ausonia more beautiful than him. ...’ (my translation)

However, like Douglas, Vegio appears to be sensitive to the contexts of his repetitions. The repeated segments above describe Lausus, Mezentius’s son who dies

trying to protect his father, and Euryalus, who dies with Nisus when they attempt to plunder the Italians. The original repetition serves to contrast the two boys—one is motivated by familial devotion and the other by greed and glory; one protects, the other endangers; one has *pietas*, the other represents more Homeric models of heroism. By repeating this phrase in the *Supplement*, Vegio paints a nuanced portrait of Turnus where he is depicted as a combination of the two boys and their virtues and flaws. Like Euryalus he is motivated by rage and desire, and he allows those emotions to lead himself and others to ruin. However, like Lausus, Turnus is also a devoted son and at the end of Book XII begs for mercy for his father's sake. In this repetition then Vegio captures something that Virgil has hinted at often throughout the epic—that in different circumstances Turnus could be considered a noble warrior. Moreover, this comparison illustrates the waste of war—here again is the image of the flower of youth being struck down in its prime. Such a meditation on the losses empire building accrues feels apt in an extension of the *Aeneid*.

Vegio also proves to be sensitive to repetitions' structural significance. In the example below, he repeats a segment from Book III where Aeneas reacts to a dream vision where he sees the Penates. Vegio invokes this image again when the Trojans receive an omen from Jupiter where lightning strikes Lavinia's head and she is unscathed.

Corripio e stratis corpus: tendoque supinas

Ad coelum cum voce manus: ... (Virgil 1501: III.176-77)

'... I roused myself from the bed and I raised my submissive hands to the sky and said: ...' (my translation)

... duplicesque tetendit

Ad coelum cum voce manus: ... (Vegio 1501: 543-44)

He stretched his two hands to the sky and said: (my translation)

The Penates' prophecy in Book III is the first time in Aeneas's journey that he is explicitly told to seek Italy, and this moment in the *Supplement* is when Aeneas finally builds the 'mighty walls' the Penates foretold (*Aen.* III.159-60/ *Ene.* III.3.23-24). The Penates' prophecy also features one of the most prominent repetitions where the Penates describe Italy (*Aen.* III.163-66/*Ene.* III.3.30-35) and Ilioneus repeats their prophecy in Book I (*Aen.* I.530-33/*Ene.* I.8.65-71). By referencing this prophecy, Vegio links not just to the prophecy itself, but Ilioneus's quotation too. Moreover, this also echoes the moment when Lavinia's hair catches fire as an omen of the war to come, providing a link to Book VII too (*Aen.* VII.68-84/*Ene.* VII.2.94-134). In this way, the *Supplement* is connected to the chronological beginning of the *Aeneid* (Books II and III), the beginning of the *Aeneid* as laid out by Virgil (Book I), the beginning of the Odyssean half of the *Aeneid* (Book I), and the beginning of the Iliadic half (Book VII). Vegio incorporates his work into the structure of the *Aeneid* completely, and achieves this through one repetition alone.

These examples suggest that Vegio was aware of the purpose of repetition in Virgil's work. However, regardless of this awareness, Vegio himself does not adopt Virgilian repetition. Virgil on average has 15 repeated segments per book, whereas Vegio has only 3, one of which has been counted twice because it is linked to repetitions in two books (see Appendix, Table 73). This lack of repetitions can be attributed to the nature of Vegio's project. For, even though he was writing in imitation of Virgil, his readers probably would not have been impressed by lines copied directly from Virgil; they could even have considered it an infringement upon Virgil's authority as per Augustine's comments (see Section 1.2.2). Consequently, Vegio echoes Virgil but rarely repeats him verbatim. For example, the segment 'fremet impulsus clamoribus aer' (Vegio 1501: 401) ('the air shrieks, having been struck with cries') vaguely resembles 'It coelo clamorque virum clangorque

tubarum' (Virgil 1501: IX.192) ('the clamour of men and clangour of trumpets goes to the sky') but differs greatly in its grammar and cadence (see Brinton 1930: 168). This is the norm for most of Vegio's homages to Virgil, and indicates an approach interested in variation inspired by Virgil's text rather than strict imitation.

Even if this is the case and Vegio knew about Virgil's repetitions and deliberately chose not to adopt them, it is doubtful that Douglas would recognise this, considering his tendency to underestimate Vegio (see Section 4.3). Moreover, since Douglas is so concentrated on the repetition of whole lines, he does not recognise the two repetitions Vegio does preserve, because they are broken lines, and it is unlikely that he would have recognised the smaller echoes either, given how he translates the *Supplement* with less care than the *Aeneid*. Consequently, Douglas probably did not believe that Vegio is aware of Virgilian repetition, and subsequently Douglas includes many original repetitions in his translation of the *Supplement* to 'correct' Vegio's text.

### 6.3.2 Repetitions as a Means of Narrative Unity

To rectify Vegio's seeming lack of repetitions in the *Supplement*, Douglas includes many original repetitions in Book XIII. As Figure 54 shows, Book XIII features ten original repetitions that link it to seven separate books. The only other book that receives similar treatment is Book XII (twelve repetitions, seven links), which indicates that Douglas had a similar interest in Book XIII as he had for the climax of the epic. He did not translate the *Supplement* as an afterthought but with real narrative purpose, which contradicts his comment in Prologue XIII that Vegio's work 'ekit but ony necessite' (XIII.Prol.16).

Book XIII's narrative purpose is linked to how Douglas wants his audience to read the *Aeneid*. As discussed in Section 5.3.1, the practice of reading only parts of the *Aeneid*

resulted in alternative versions of Aeneas’s story and character. To resolve this, Douglas makes the entirety of the *Aeneid* available to lay readers and attempts to redress imbalances in the layout and paratext of the work that were produced by fragmentary reading. As discussed in Section 4.5.2, Book XIII also serves this purpose, by justifying the many losses Aeneas sustains on his journey with a happy ending. For this ending to be convincing, however, it must be fully incorporated into the narrative structure of the *Aeneid*—hence the use of repetitions.

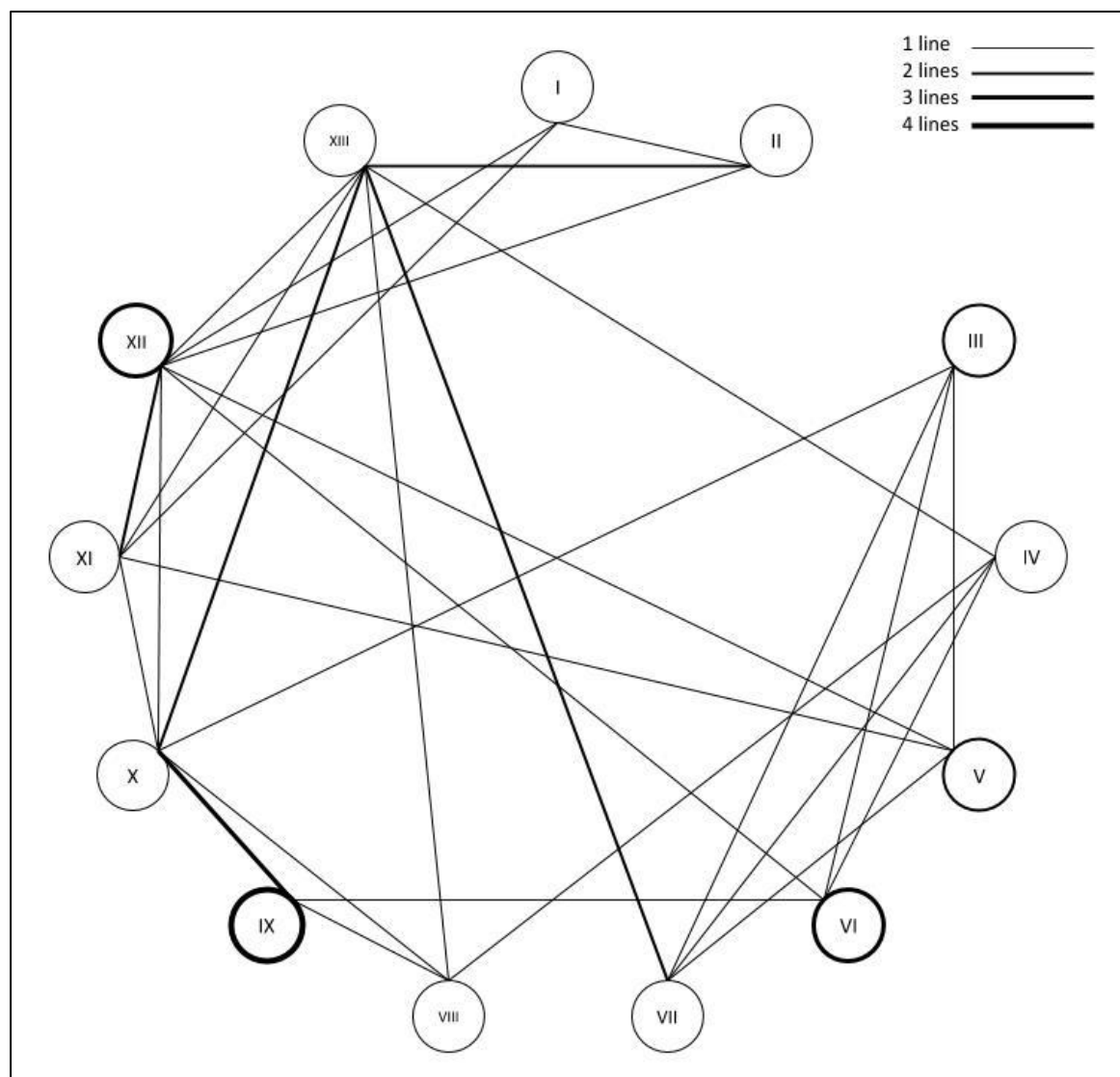


Figure 54: Diagram depicting original repetitions across the ‘Eneados’. The thicker the line, the more repeated content. See Dataset 12 for full data.

However, Douglas faces a challenge, analogous to Vegio's struggle with poetic authority, in translating Book XIII: How should he translate a work that he does not take seriously but that he feels is necessary for the structure of his text? How can he separate Vegio's work from Virgil's and his own, so that any fault found in the first cannot be transferred to the others, while at the same time indicating that the *Supplement's* content is intrinsically part of the *Aeneid*? He achieves this by claiming in Prologue XIII that Vegio's text is not of the same standard as Virgil's and by taking greater liberties with the translation—especially when it comes to inserting original repetitions.

The most striking example of this occurs in a set of speeches Aeneas gives to his son and his people. First, he promises Ascanius his birth right, and then entrusts his people with the responsibility of keeping the peace between Trojans and Italians. It is an important speech that emphasises the Roman patriarchy and the duty of the Roman citizenry and acknowledges Rome's mixed origins. So, it is interesting that in this important moment, Douglas references past books—namely Books VII, II, X, and I.



... quam dura in bella vocatus  
 Saepe tibi (1) diis auspicibus meminisse futuram  
 iam memini: nunc te cum primum aurora rubebit  
 Crastina sublimen rutulorum ad moenia mittam.  
 Dehinc sese ad gentem iliacam voluebat: (2) et alto  
Pectore verba trahens blando sic ore locutus.  
 (3) O socii per dura ac densa pericula vecti ... (Maffeo Vegio 1501: 79-85)

‘Quhen ontill hard bargan callit was I,  
 This was tocum and betyd by and by  
 (1) Be dispositioun of the goddys abufe.  
 And now, my derrest child, for thy behufe,  
 To morn, soyn as Aurora walxis red,  
 To the cite of Lawrent, that ryall sted,  
 I sall the send, as victor with ovirhand,  
 Tobe mastir and to maynteym this land’.  
 And eftir this he turnyt hym agane  
 Onto hys folkis and the pepill Troian,  
 (2) And from the boddum of hys breist weill law  
 With soft spech furth gan thir wordis draw:  
 (3) ‘O ze my ferys and my frendis bald,  
 Throu mony hard perrellis and thikfald,  
 Throw sa feill stormys baith on land and se,  
 Hiddir now careit to this cost with me, ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: XIII.2.55-70)

(1) Filius huic fato diuum: prolesque virilis  
 Nulla fuit: ... (Virgil 1501: VII.50-51)

(1) By dispositioun of the goddis dyvyn,  
 Son nor manchild nane had Kyng Latyn, ... (Douglas 1957-64: VII.2.57-58)<sup>11</sup>

(2) Sed grauitur gemitus imo de pectore ducens: ... (Virgil 1501: II.288)

‘... Bot with ane hevy murmour, as it war draw  
 Furth of (2) the boddum of his breste weill law, ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: II.5.71-72)

(3) ... magnumque sub imo  
Corde premit gemitum: ... (Virgil 1501: X.464-65)

(3) And from the boddum of hys hart can gron,  
 Hydand hys smart for rewth of Pallas 3yng,  
 Seand the fatys wald haue hys endyng; ... (Douglas 1957-64: X.8.66-68)

(4) O socii ... (Virgil 1501: I.198)

(4) ‘O ze my feris and deir frendis’, quod he, ... (Douglas 1957-64: I.4.69)

<sup>11</sup> See VII.1.57-58 in the printed version of Coldwell (1957-64).

Books II and VII have a symbolic standing here. Book II represents the most Trojan of all episodes—when the Trojans are still in Troy and not refugees. By contrast, Book VII represents the most Italian of all episodes, depicting the pastoral lifestyle and the grand catalogue of Italian might. Their union here foreshadows Aeneas's request (later in the passage) that the Trojans and Italians unite. Each repetition also speaks to one another's context. The repetition in Book II comes from Hector's warning to Aeneas to flee, while the repetition in Book VII discusses how Latinus has no son. In effect, the material from Book II tells Aeneas to run away, and the material from Book VII indicates what he should run towards.

The repetition from Book X originally occurs when Pallas prays to Hercules for strength in battle against Turnus, and Hercules mourns Pallas, realising that he is doomed to die. This repetition thus links Pallas with Ascanius and Hercules with Aeneas with the theme of parental love. Hercules, as the 'patron god' of Arcadia, is a father-figure of sorts for Pallas. Aeneas, of course, is Ascanius's father. While his speech here does not mourn Ascanius, it does similarly prophesy his future—though this future is a happy one as 'master' of Latium. Here then Douglas captures the essence of *pietas*: parental grief and stoicism in the face of the inevitable, and patriarchal inheritance and provision for the young so that they might realise their potential. Ascanius is going to grow into the man Pallas might have been. Similarly, this foreshadows Aeneas's future apotheosis and future as the 'patron god' of Rome by linking him with Hercules.

This repetition also emphasises the importance of fate. Jupiter responds to Hercules's grief in Book X with a lecture on how the fates cannot be contravened. Similarly, Aeneas begins his speech by referencing 'the hard fortune and the froward fates' (Douglas 1957-64: XIII.2.48) as well as 'the disposition of the goddess' that led the Trojans

to Italy. The word 'disposicioun' is a prominent lexical item in *Troilus and Criseyde* (c. 1381-86) that is always used in relation to divine providence:

O god, that at thy disposicioun  
Ledest the fyn, by luste purveyaunce,  
Of every wight, ... (Chaucer 1894c: II.526-28)

Aprochen gan the fatal destinee  
That loves hath in disposicioun, ... (1894c: V.1-2)

Fortune, whiche that permutacioun  
Of thinges hath, as it is hir committed  
Through purveyaunce and disposicioun  
Of heighe love, ... (1894c: V.1541-44)

The 'dispositioun of the goddis dyvyn' in Book VII and XIII that make Aeneas the heir of Latinus, is the same 'disposicioun' that ensures the fall of Troy and the deaths of Troilus and Pallas, again linking the rise of Rome to tragedy and the death of young heroes. Fate is what powers the narrative, and the links forged by the repetitions essentially enact its power. Moreover, by tying these contexts together, Douglas again aligns this ending with that of *Troilus*, where Troilus rises above earthly desire and grief and recognises the transience of life (see Section 5.4.4). This reinterprets Aeneas's apotheosis—foreshadowed by his connection to Hercules above—as fundamentally Christian, which is appropriate, considering the *Supplement* is a Christian addition to a pagan text.

Appropriately, the last repetition comes from Book I, bringing the story full circle. In Book I Aeneas speaks these lines to encourage his companions. Now in Book XIII he says it again to pacify them as their wanderings come to an end. While this repetition is not original to Douglas, its presence here amongst all the others gains significance, as the combined effect serves as a whistle-stop tour of the *Aeneid*, hitting major structural points like Books I, II, and VII, and invoking important themes like fate, sacrifice, and stoic vindication. It is a masterful

passage, serving not only to translate Vegio's text effectively, but also to incorporate Book XIII into the body of the *Aeneid*, making the *Supplement* not just a disparaged afterthought ('to the cart the fifth wheel' as Douglas says in XIII.Prol.118 in an echo of Ascensius; see Wilson-Okamura 2010: 249), but rather a more organic part of the epic as a whole.

Moreover, Douglas's method of doing this recognises and imitates how Virgil often constructs passages out of multiple repetitions (see Section 6.1.4). Douglas imitates five of these passages and invents eight more (see Appendix, Table 82 for full list). Consequently, his use of composition by repetition in Book XIII adopts a special significance as he is inserting a particularly Virgilian stylistic device into a non-Virgilian text. While Vegio also makes use of several repetitions or echoes at once, as seen in the Section 6.3.1, again, it is doubtful that Douglas recognises this. Rather, his practice of stringing together repetitions here reads as a criticism of Vegio and a chance to show off his own aptitude as both a reader and translator of the *Aeneid*. In this way, Douglas distances himself from and 'corrects' Vegio's text while honouring Virgil's style and narrative structure.

Of course, Book XIII is not the only one to receive this treatment. All the books feature original repetitions. However, these repetitions do not critique Virgil in the same way they critique Vegio. They primarily serve to emphasise the narrative unity of the poem. As previously noted, Douglas adds numerous links to Book XII. He also adds many original repetitions to Book IV, again to incorporate it into the narrative better so that Dido's tragedy cannot be read without its greater context which illustrates what Aeneas left Dido for (see Section 6.2.2). In doing so, Douglas implicitly argues that Dido must be discarded for Rome to rise. Her tragedy is not avoidable, and in that sense, it is Aeneas's tragedy too. In this way, Douglas's repetitions in the body of the *Aeneid* are designed to redress the tendency to read the text in a disjointed manner. By

contrast, Douglas's repetitions in the body of the *Supplement* seem to be a pointed correction of what he considers Vegio's failure to recognise Virgil's repetitive style.

Douglas also treats the first and second halves of the *Eneados* differently when it comes to inventing repetitions. The early books have several original repetitions, but never between books that are adjacent. By contrast, the books forming the last half of the *Eneados*—except for Book VII—are neatly linked together. At the same time, Douglas provides many new links between the first six books and the last six. Such activity reads as an attempt to bind the two halves of the *Aeneid* together, while still recognising that the first six books are episodic while the later books are continuous. This makes it harder for the work to be used in a six-book reading, though Douglas does not actually link Books VI and VII together, despite there being a repetition between these two books in the *Aeneid* (see Figure 52). This is yet another indication that the division between Books VI and VII is so calcified in Douglas's reading practices that he is not able to fully revise it (see Section 5.3.1). Nevertheless, his repetitions work to make his text more cohesive, ensuring that readers are always aware of the broader context of the *Aeneid*.

...

This chapter establishes that Douglas recognises Virgilian repetition as a significant figure of style and adopts it in his translation. Not only does he translate Virgilian repetitions on occasion, but he also invents his own. Moreover, like Virgil, he repeats a variety of content intermittently. His repetitions are conditioned by context, but also hold structural significance, and become a part of his translation method. He also recognises how repetitions affect how a text is read and incorporates them into his layout.

The significance of this is a deeper appreciation of Douglas's skill as a translator. As Bawcutt (1977: 108) observes, Douglas's approach to his translation is 'less characteristic of the poet than of the scholar'. He is a fantastic reader of Virgil, able to catch repetitions that presumably few others at the time were finding, based on the lack of contemporary commentary on the topic. To accomplish this, Douglas must have been translating books with reference to other ones. Potentially he consulted other translations of individual books, potentially he looked at multiple books in Latin at the same time or used early books he translated to help with the later ones. This suggests a recursive form of reading that accompanied the otherwise linear order of composition.

In approaching the *Aeneid* in this way, Douglas proves to be aware of the work as a narrative whole and sensitive to structural concerns. Wherever he fails to find a repetition, he forges one himself, thus acknowledging the structural importance of these repetitions and adopting them in his own style. He essentially takes a work that has often been 'scrapped' for parts and rehabilitates it as a unified text. 'Scrapped' may be too strong a word, but not wholly inappropriate given the textual history: Consider Caxton's *Eneydos* (1490) that expands on the Dido episode to the detriment of the other books, or Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* (c. 1386; lines 924-1367) that again focuses on Dido's story, or Surrey's translation of only Books II and IV (1557 and 1554), or Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* (1593), or the single-book translations by Sir Thomas Wroth (1620), Sir Dudley Digges (1622), and George Sandys (1615-32) (see Brammall 2015).

From this dismemberment, Douglas renovates the work as a cohesive unit. We see this not only in his translation of repetition, but also in his reorganisation of Ascensius's sections into larger chapters (see Section 5.4.5), and even his method of

translation which tries to account for the entirety of meaning in Virgil's lexis (see pp. 156-57). Such practices are motivated by Douglas's desire to correct Romance interpretations of the *Aeneid* that focus on Dido's story to the detriment of the rest of the text (see Section 2.4). His translation restores the primacy of the original Latin text, albeit by means of a vernacular one. In this regard, Douglas is both textual editor and translator combined. He is, in effect, creating a new edition of the *Aeneid*, but one designed for both readers that do not understand Latin and those who know it well enough to recognise the finer points of Douglas's translation—such as his repetitions and stylistic use of different translation methods. In this way, he both creates new twelve-book readers, and rehabilitates experienced six-book readers.

In the process of creating this vernacular edition, Douglas must juggle texts of different type and authority—i.e. Ascensius's (1501) edition and Vegio's *Supplement*—and he sometimes has inaccurate expectations as to how these texts work. Douglas assumes that Ascensius invests greater meaning in his layout decisions, initially treating his section boundaries as though they indicate natural junctures in the narrative or signposts for interesting features in the text. To a certain extent this is true as Ascensius does divide the text into logical excerpts (see Section 5.1). However, his excerpts are much smaller than Douglas's and they tend to encapsulate single events or moments of description (see Section 5.3). Consequently, they do not aid narrative flow or identify repeated content, but rather enable the study of rhetorical figures, and in so doing 'promote[...] fragmentation' (Wilson-Okamura 2010: 205). The text is broken down into rhetorical figures and read for its style instead of content.

Similarly, Douglas assumes that if Vegio recognised repetition in the *Aeneid* he would replicate it in his *Supplement*. However, Vegio cannot balance his authority with Virgil's the

same way that Douglas or Ascensius can. While Ascensius and Douglas have paratexts that give them room to exert their own voices (see Griffiths 2014: 83-84), Vegio's work is a true mono-vocal encounter (see pp. 216-17), where he can only assert his creative authority in the variations he produces on Virgil's style. His claim to authorship rests on his ability to imitate Virgil closely, but not so closely as to become invisible or deemed a hack. Consequently, rather than mimic Virgilian repetition, Vegio uses Virgil as a rhetorical model.

However, for Douglas, Virgil's rhetoric is not something easily accessed for a Scottish translation, because of the language barrier. Instead, the events and symmetry of the narrative and its allegory are the point of focus, which is why Douglas attributes so much importance to structural aspects of the text (see Section 5.2). Focusing on these aspects necessitates that he read books instead of sections and read cyclically—reading, translating, and rereading in tandem. Such a procedure matches Douglas's own exhortation in Prologue VI to his readers that they 'Reid, reid agane, this volume, mair than twyss: / Considir quhat hyd sentence tharin lyis' (1957-64: VI.Prol.12-13).



## CHAPTER 7:

### THE ROLE OF RHETORIC IN TRANSLATION:

#### DOUGLAS'S APPROACH TO SPEECH AND NARRATIVE AND THE TRANSLATION OF IDENTITY

As seen in the previous chapters, Douglas has a specific interest in narrative unity. He divides the *Eneados* into chapters based on narrative episodes, whereas Ascensius (1501) divides his edition of the text more in a response to commentary available and rhetorical figures (see Sections 5.1 and 5.4.5). Douglas also reads cyclically, which makes him more conscious of the *Aeneid's* narrative structure (see Section 6.2.2). Consequently, it is valuable to examine how Douglas constructs narrative within the *Eneados* and whether he differentiates it from Virgil's narrative. A part of this consideration is the speech of various characters and how Virgil and Douglas characterise various identities as defined by gender, status, and nation. The interpretation of such facets illustrates Douglas's 'ideological situation' as both a reader of Virgil (Laird 1997: 289) and a translator and provides 'a type of rhetorical criticism of Virgil's poetry' (282).

This chapter first analyses how Virgil creates character in the *Aeneid*—focusing on Aeneas. It then discusses how Douglas interprets this characterisation and handles narrative and speech, using Labovian narrative analysis as an interpretive lens. Different types of narrative and speech—Douglas's narrative, character narratives, Douglas's Prologues, and reported speech—are also considered. The chapter then investigates how Douglas interprets different facets of identity within characters' speech. This provides insight into Douglas's views on gender, the role of pagan literature in a Christian culture, and nationalism.

This reveals, predictably, Douglas's anxiety about Virgil's paganism and its reception by his audience. However, it also indicates, surprisingly, less concern with

gender and nation than might be expected, given Douglas's comments on these subjects in Prologue I (see Section 2.4). Most importantly, this chapter finds that Douglas identifies his voice with Aeneas's, and in so doing alters the readers' perception of Aeneas's character (as in Section 5.4.4). In this way, Douglas proves to possess a different attitude towards the power of poetry and rhetoric than Virgil does.

### **7.1 Characterisation in the *Aeneid***

Character, of course, is not a fixed concept, but signifies different things to different authors. Ginsberg (1983: 4), who considers formulations of character in the works of Ovid, Boccaccio, and Chaucer (amongst others), argues that 'character becomes a metaphor for the artist's shaping imagination', as characters' 'speeches and actions define not only themselves but central themes or principles of structure or signification as well'. Character consequently can be evoked in numerous ways (through speech, through action, through structure, etc.) and perform many functions beyond inhabiting the plot, such as providing additional structure and emphasising certain themes. This section considers some of the more salient aspects of characterisation in the *Aeneid*—focusing particularly on speech. This focus is justified given the emphasis on speech as a marker of character in the work of Greek authors (14), and Virgil's tendency to use Greek examples, especially Homeric ones.

One of the predominant trends in the interpretation of the *Aeneid* is to avoid characterising Virgil's attitude towards his story's events as positive or negative, but to recognise the intrinsic ambiguity of the poem (see Horsfall 1995: 119; Conte 2007: 152). The characters play a big role in this ambiguity as 'at every point who speaks and who sees admits itself of more than one story' (D. Fowler 1997b: 259). As a result, 'the ideological frame of reference of the *Aeneid* is formed by a plurality of partial truths in competition

with each other' that 'attack and so compromise the univocal and fixed point of view of traditional Roman epic' (Conte 2007: 35).

Of course, the most important point-of-view in the poem is that of Aeneas, the 'principal speaker' of the *Aeneid* who utters about 2,000 lines, depending on methods of counting (cf. Hight 1972: 25 vs. Section 3.1.4). However, despite being prolific in comparison to other characters, Aeneas's speeches offer little insight into his character. Most of his speaking lines are the narrative of Books II and III, leaving about 450 lines as declamatory speech. This is quite meagre compared to Homeric characters like Agamemnon and Achilles, who speak 588 and 823 lines, respectively (Griffin 1986: 52). Moreover, Aeneas is more reclusive than the Homeric heroes. Feeney (1983) notes how Aeneas rarely engages in 'reciprocal or personal' conversation (215); he barely addresses his son (213) or exhibits an intimate connection with his men (215), and often his conversations with his family are inhibited by disguise (see Venus in Book I) or death (see Creusa in Book II or Anchises in Book VI).

As a result, the overall impression is a world 'lacking in the [H]omeric style of open, co-operative and sustaining speech' (Feeney 1983: 213). Whereas Homer's epics feature 'The healing and unifying power of dialogue' (212), intimate conversation in the *Aeneid* is often a source of discord. For example, the council of Trojans in Book IX (*Aen.* IX.224-307/ *Ene.* IX.5.1-188) who prepare against the siege of the Italians is 'panic-ridden and hysterical' (216) and produces a fruitless strategy resulting in the deaths of Nisus and Euryalus. This situation is mirrored in the Italian debate in Book XI (see *Aen.* XI.225-485/*Ene.* XI.6.1-9.98), where, again, the speakers fail to come to a proper consensus, resulting in Camilla's sacrifice without success. Based on this failure, Hight (1972: 289) and Feeney (1983: 216) both claim that the *Aeneid* exhibits a distrust in the power of rhetoric, understood here as the ability to speak persuasively

(Vickers 1970: 24). That is not to say that Aeneas is a poor speaker, but rather that ‘he does not use words to win his way by overpowering one emotion with another’ (Feeney 1983: 217).

In this way Homeric and Virgilian epic make different claims about the qualities of good speech. Homer’s definition hinges on the concept of rhetoric, with heroes like Achilles being ‘the most impressive user of language’ and antagonists like Agamemnon being at times inarticulate (Griffin 1986: 51). By contrast, Virgil’s definition hinges on whether rhetoric is directed for public or private good, with well-crafted speech being beneficial only in those instances where it represents *res publica* (Feeney 1983: 217). For example, in Book I Aeneas speaks to hearten his troops after they are shipwrecked in Carthage, and though his words do not reflect his personal feelings, they serve to bring stability to the Trojans (see *Aen.* I.198-222/*Ene.* I.4.69-110). This reflects the long ‘Platonic debate’ (Payne 1978: 280) concerning the utility of rhetoric particularly regarding its ‘opportunism and relativism’ in respect to the truth (Vickers 1970: 19), which Plato believed was ‘absolute and knowable’ (20) and injured by rhetoric’s machinations.

Despite this differing attitude towards rhetoric from Homer—or rather, because of it—Virgil often alludes to Homer’s works, frequently using these allusions as a means of subtle characterisation. Over the course of the poem Aeneas switches from Odysseus-based forms of communication to Achilles-based ones (Highet 1972: 187-88), mirroring six-book readings of the *Aeneid* (see Section 5.3.1). Of course, the actual transformation is not so neat—Odyssean models are frequently seen in the later books (see *Aen.* VIII.67-78/*Ene.* VIII.2.1-27 where Aeneas’s prayer to Tiberinus resembles Odysseus’s prayer in *Od.* V.445-450; Highet 1972: 204) and Achillean models are used in the early books as well (see Book II’s depiction of the fall of Troy; Highet 1972: 196). Overall, however, the

pattern holds true as Aeneas transforms from a voyager to a warrior, becoming 'cautious and stiff', with 'a resistance to emotional appeals' (Stewart 1972: 661).

However, Virgil does not simply assemble Aeneas's character from fragments of Odysseus and Achilles. As with his repetitions (see Section 6.1.1), he echoes his models, but also makes subtle changes. For example, Hightet (1972) demonstrates how Virgil makes Aeneas's first and last speeches, which are drawn from *Od.* V.299-312 and *Il.* XXII.345-54, respectively, 'more chivalrous' (191) and 'loftier in tone' (192) than their models. Odysseus thinks bitterly of all those who died on the field or at sea and wishes that he were able to be buried at home (190). Aeneas, however, 'more generous of heart', feels that it would be better to die and be with his countryman rather than bear witness to the loss of Troy (190). Likewise, while Achilles vows to feed Hector's body to the dogs out of spite, Aeneas almost lets Turnus go, killing him in the end only because he is reminded of Turnus's murder of Pallas (192). Achilles does not recognise Hector's humanity, whereas Aeneas does recognise Turnus's. Such a shift creates the impression that Homer's heroes are 'barbarous or naive' (193) in comparison to Aeneas's moral restraint and suggests that characters like Turnus, who are more Homeric in their emotionality, are equally reprehensible.

Virgil also deviates from his Homeric models by compressing them—making Aeneas more taciturn over the course of the *Aeneid*. Hightet (1972) argues that this is also part of Aeneas's character development (29, 33), as he 'turns into a silent warrior' (39). Stewart (1972: 651) agrees, though stipulates that Aeneas is really becoming a politician via 'the displacement, if not the disappearance, of Aeneas's epic personality'. He becomes less an individual and more an impersonal hand of fate as he 'begins to curtail all instinctive, natural

reactions and replace them with political calculation' (661). For example, he allies himself with the Arcadians in Book VIII, even though they are Greeks and his natural enemies.

## 7.2 Douglas's Interpretation of Virgil's Character Design

While the previous analysis has focused on Virgil's presentation of Aeneas and the dwindling of his speech, there are several other characterisation strategies present in the *Aeneid* that were also mainstays in the Middle Ages. These include multiple narrative frames that create multi-dimensional character (Ginsberg 1983: 50), typological analogy that orient a character within a symbolic history (96), and rhetoric—especially the practice of arguing an issue from both sides ('disputatio in utramque partem') to create a dialectic between and within characters (117).

Arguably the *Aeneid* features aspects of all three strategies. There are multiple narrative frames when characters tell their own stories (see Section 7.3). While there are no examples of typology in the typical, biblical sense, Virgil does use allusions that compare his characters to those in other (especially Homeric) epics, as previously seen (Section 7.1). Moreover, multiple viewpoints are conveyed by 'disputatio in utramque partem'—which is a major aspect of Virgil's 'subjective style', where he succeeds in making his antagonists sympathetic (see Horsfall 1995: 193-94; D. Fowler 1997b: 266-67; P. Hardie 1997: 314; Conte 2007: 24-29). Consequently, many of Virgil's means of characterisation were probably not alien to Douglas, and he succeeds in translating some of them. As discussed in Section 2.3.4, Gray (2000, 2001, 2006) finds that Douglas is sensitive to Virgil's subjective style in his use of expansions. Moreover, while Douglas probably did not know Homer's works well enough to recognise Virgil's allusions (see Bawcutt 1976: 33), he does recognise Virgil's repetitions on occasion (see Section 6.2), which forge character in a paratactical fashion akin to typology (Ginsberg 1983: 96-97).

However, Douglas does make one rather major alteration in his presentation of Virgil's texts and characters. His main translation strategy, as identified in Section 4.2, is to add more material. This disrupts the impression of Aeneas as a 'silent warrior' in the later books by increasing Aeneas's spoken lines (see Figure 55). Arguably, this makes the instances when Aeneas is silent more conspicuous (see Books IV, VII, and IX). However, Douglas's translation runs counter to Virgil's pattern from Book X onwards. This original intervention in Virgil's text suggests that Douglas feels the need for Aeneas to speak more rather than less in these later books. The overall effect is a more dynamic Aeneas who more naturally fills his role as leader of the Trojans and founder of Rome. This corroborates the effect of Douglas's alteration of book boundaries so that books begin with Aeneas in action as opposed to Aeneas in grief (see Section 5.4.4).

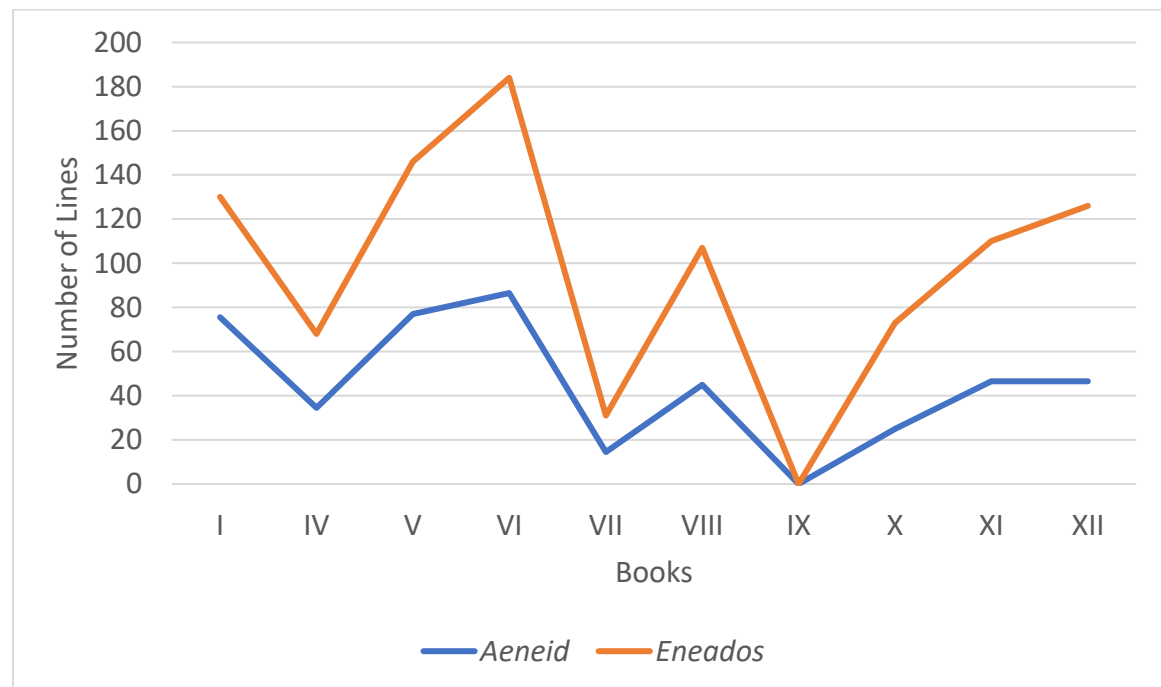


Figure 55: Number of lines spoken by Aeneas in the books of the 'Aeneid' and 'Eneados'. Books II and III are not included, as they are comprised completely of Aeneas's speech and are outliers. Results for the 'Aeneid' and 'Eneados' are significantly different ( $p < 0.05$ ) according to a paired two-sample t-test. See Appendix, Table 83 for raw data.

This expansion is not unique to Aeneas's speech; Douglas adds more material to speech generally (see Figure 56), which begs the question: why does Douglas feel that speech is more conducive for expansion? A series of keyword analyses elucidates this by revealing linguistic differences between narrative and speech (see Tables 5 and 6). These differences, according to Labovian narrative analysis, indicate that narrative informs readers of events, whereas speech evaluates or interprets their significance. In turn, expansion proves to have an evaluative significance that is intensified when used in speech. The following describes Labovian Narrative Analysis and defines its terminology. This is then used as an analytical frame for the keyword analyses.

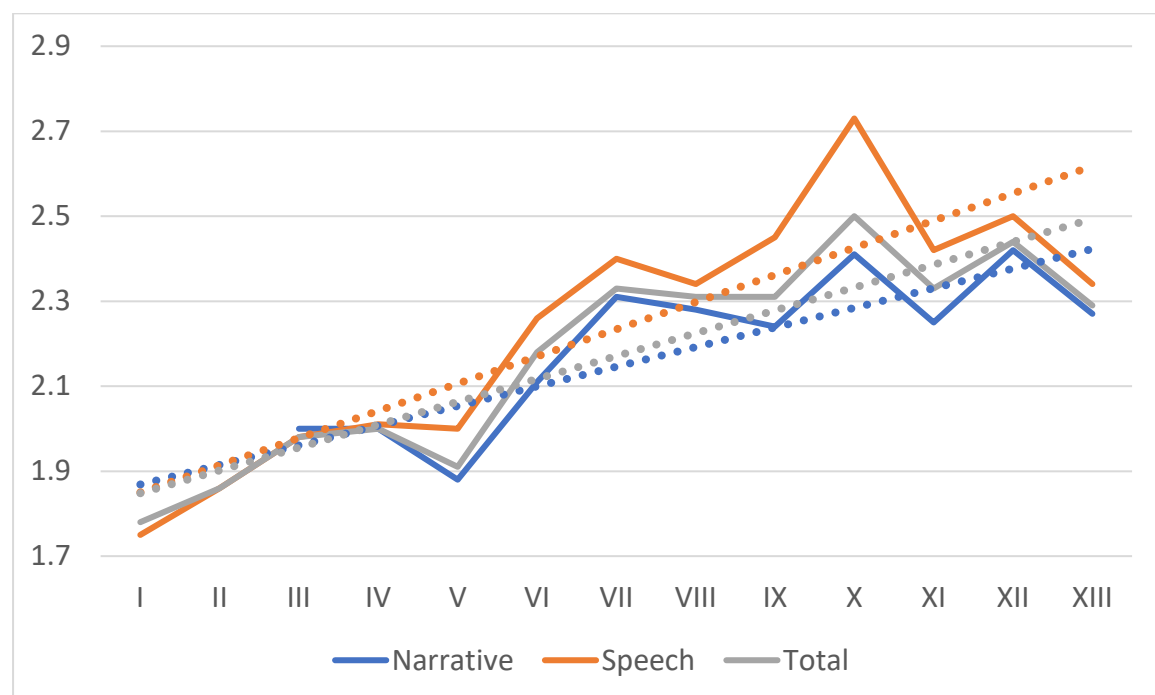


Figure 56: Average line ratios for translation units in books, narrative, and speech across the course of the 'Eneados'. According to a multiple linear regression, results for speech and narrative are significant and not just a reflection of the general increase of line ratios across the 'Eneados' ( $p < 0.001$  for both variables). A post-hoc Tukey test confirms this ( $p < 0.001$ ). See Appendix, Table 84 for raw data.



### *7.2.1 Labovian Narrative Analysis*

Narrative analysis is a type of discourse analysis that focuses on how stories are told. Labovian narrative analysis—the framework adopted here—is particularly interested in narrative’s grammatical characteristics. Labov & Waletzky (1967: 13), in their seminal paper, argue that narrative performs referential and evaluative functions. ‘Referential clauses have to do with what the story is about—events, characters, setting’ while ‘evaluative material states or highlights the point of the story’ (Johnstone 2016: 543).

These two functions have different syntactic behaviour. Referential material has clauses that are ‘locked in position in the sequence ... , maintaining the strict temporal sequence that is the defining characteristic of narrative’ (Labov & Waletzky 1967: 22). Labov (1972a: 375-76), in a later work, finds that the syntax of these clauses tends to consist of conjunctions, simple subjects, simple past tense markers, preterite verbs, direct and indirect objects, manner or instrumental adverbs, locative adverbials, and temporal adverbials and comitative clauses. He refers to this as ‘basic narrative syntax’ (375-93).

By contrast, evaluative material has a more complicated syntax. Clauses with evaluative content are not locked into position (Labov & Waletzky 1967: 22, 23, 35) and make use of ‘intensifiers, comparators, correlatives, and explications’ (Labov 1972a: 377-78; his italics). Intensifiers select and emphasise one narrative event above others (378)—these include quantifiers (379), repetitions (379), and interjections (380). Comparators ‘compare the events which did occur to those which did not occur’ to evaluate their significance (380-81)—these include negatives, the future tense, modals, questions, and imperatives (386). Correlatives emphasise certain events by providing extra information—usually through progressives (387-88), appended participles (387-88),

double appositives (388), and double attributives (388). Explicatives provide ‘explication of a narrative ... in separate clauses’ introduced by qualifiers like while or though or causal conjunctions like since or because (390-91).

While it may seem incongruous to apply Labov’s approach to Douglas’s text, given that Labov’s approach is geared towards modern oral narratives (see Section 3.1.4), much of what Labov has observed is already codified in rhetoric. According to Vickers (1970: 87), Quintilian organises rhetorical figures of speech into four groups: ‘variations of syntax’, ‘modes of iteration’, ‘word-play’, and ‘balance and antithesis’. These correlate with Labov’s own description of evaluative syntax. Vickers defines ‘Variations of syntax’ as ‘departure[s] from ordinary word-order’ (87), which Labov (1972a: 377-78) also identifies as having ‘marked evaluative force’. Moreover, the function of ‘iteration’ is like that of intensifiers in that it involves repetition and provides emphasis (see *plote*, *anaphora*, *epanorthosis*, *epanalepsis*, and *anadiplosis*). Likewise, rhetorical devices listed under ‘word play’ and ‘balance and antithesis’ also involve repetition (see *antanaclasis* and *homoioteleuton*) or implicit comparison between elements (see *paranomasia*, *syllipsis*, *parison*), making them akin to intensifiers and comparators.

In this way rhetorical figures of speech can be considered roughly equivalent to evaluative syntax. This is true for both their specific and general functions. For, as with evaluation, ‘rhetoric has been thought to have an emotional and psychological influence’ (Vickers 1979: 83). This is because ‘language is the expression of thought and emotion’, so any disturbance in language is representative of an analogous emotional disturbance (96). However, Labov’s methodology is used here rather than traditional rhetoric, because it is compatible with a corpus linguistic methodology; he has identified

syntactic qualities that are easier to search for using part-of-speech markers, as opposed to rhetorical devices, which can manifest in many forms.

### 7.2.2 Narrative vs. Speech Analysis

With this framework established, consider Tables 5 and 6. Table 5 is a summary of lexical and grammatical keyword analyses comparing the normalised and part-of-speech tagging between narrative and speech. Table 6 is a summary of a semantic keyword analysis comparing semantic tagging between narrative and speech.

*Table 5: Summary of lexical and part-of-speech keyword analyses comparing narrative and speech in the 'Eneados'. Part-of-speech results are grouped by descriptive categories determined by me. Results are listed by effect. See Appendix, Tables 85 and 86 for raw data.*

| POS Category                                | Narrative                                        | Speech                                                                                                                |
|---------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Auxiliary Verbs &amp; Modals</b>         | <i>did, was</i>                                  | <i>am, shall, must, may, have, be, are, is, been, do</i>                                                              |
| <b>Pronouns</b>                             | <i>her, she, they, their, his, him, them, he</i> | <i>my, me, thyself, myself, us, you, your, our, I, thy, mine, thee, ye, thou, thine, we</i>                           |
| <b>Conjunctions</b>                         |                                                  | <i>sen, gif, nor</i>                                                                                                  |
| <b>Interjections</b>                        |                                                  | <i>O, alas, forsooth, lo</i>                                                                                          |
| <b>Adverbs</b>                              | <i>syne, forth, thus, then</i>                   | <i>hither, never, now, how, here, not, sa</i>                                                                         |
| <b>Nouns</b>                                | <i>rout</i>                                      | <i>empire, friendship, friends, reign, offspring, souls, fortune, Greeks, honour, Troy, Italy, father, gods, land</i> |
| <b>Verbs</b>                                | <i>gang</i>                                      | <i>think, swear, quote, grant, render, remember, promised, pray, seek</i>                                             |
| <b>Determiners &amp; Articles</b>           | <i>a, the</i>                                    | <i>yon</i>                                                                                                            |
| <b>Prepositions &amp; Infinitive Marker</b> | <i>about, on, with</i>                           |                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Adjectives</b>                           | <i>thick</i>                                     | <i>dear, worthy, no</i>                                                                                               |

Table 6: Summary of a semantic keyword analysis comparing narrative and speech in the 'Eneados'. Results are ordered by effect (read up-down, left-right), and all results with an effect less than 0.5 are excluded. Examples of lexical items from the 'Eneados' are provided for each category. See Appendix, Tables 85 and 87 for raw data.

| Narrative                                                                          |                                                                 | Speech                                                              |                                                                |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| transport by air<br><i>ethereal, flew, gliding</i>                                 | arts & crafts<br><i>art, browden, painted</i>                   | if<br><i>but, gif</i>                                               | residence<br><i>dwel, hold, lodging</i>                        |
| substances & materials generally: liquid<br><i>dewy, foam, water</i>               | transport on land<br><i>carter, chair, horseback</i>            | time: general future<br><i>defer, posterity, shall</i>              | money: affluence<br><i>fortune, prosper, rich</i>              |
| music & related activities<br><i>ballads, carolling, gitterns</i>                  | light<br><i>beams, dark, light</i>                              | discourse terms<br><i>alas, lo, O</i>                               | wanting, planning, choosing<br><i>ambition, chosen, intent</i> |
| comparing: variety<br><i>admixed, diverse, manifold</i>                            | food<br><i>appetite, banquet, fest</i>                          | deserving<br><i>condign, mede, worthy</i>                           | getting & giving: possession<br><i>grant, have, receive</i>    |
| substances & materials generally: gas<br><i>air, reek, smoke</i>                   | measurement: size<br><i>big, large, mickle</i>                  | government<br><i>ambassadors, citizens, empire</i>                  | ability: success & failure<br><i>beat, overcome, undaunted</i> |
| sensory: sound<br><i>bruit, clamour, hear</i>                                      | objects generally<br><i>array, cup, dais</i>                    | exclusivisers/particularisers<br><i>allenarly, express, only</i>    | thought, belief<br><i>belief, feel, think</i>                  |
| living creatures generally<br><i>bark, flocks, horns</i>                           | temperature<br><i>blaze, burning, chill</i>                     | time: general present, simultaneity<br><i>daily, meantime, now</i>  | being<br><i>am, been, is</i>                                   |
| shape<br><i>bend, crooked, deformed</i>                                            | farming & horticulture<br><i>field, rural, sheugh</i>           | permission<br><i>allow, consent, forbid</i>                         | time<br><i>ages, day, stound</i>                               |
| measurement: speed<br><i>belive, fast, hastily</i>                                 | measurement: length & height<br><i>bass, deep, thick</i>        | crime & justice: law & order<br><i>apprehend, clemency, leesome</i> | pronouns<br><i>I, thyself, what</i>                            |
| seeming<br><i>appear, blent, guise</i>                                             | anatomy & physiology<br><i>agile, blood, corpse</i>             | obligation & necessity<br><i>debtful, must, promised</i>            | knowledge<br><i>experience, fame, remember</i>                 |
| colour & colour patterns<br><i>ashen, bausand, canous</i>                          | numbers<br><i>fifty, half, nine</i>                             | negative<br><i>never, nor, not</i>                                  | definite & modals<br><i>can, may, soverly</i>                  |
| plants<br><i>acorn, barren, garlands</i>                                           | appearance & physical properties<br><i>adorn, bare, crested</i> | evaluation: true/false<br><i>beguile forsooth, verity</i>           | liking<br><i>abhor, dear, tender</i>                           |
| clothes & personal belongings<br><i>apparel, belt, crown</i>                       | personal names<br><i>Acestes, Jupiter, Sychaeus</i>             | comparing: usual/unusual<br><i>accustomed, common, strange</i>      |                                                                |
| substances & materials generally: solid<br><i>alchemy, buschbome, cuir-bouilli</i> | warfare<br><i>ambush, lance, rout</i>                           | general ethics<br><i>chivalrous, honour, noble</i>                  |                                                                |
| linear order<br><i>afore, syne, then</i>                                           |                                                                 | kin<br><i>father, offspring, wedlock</i>                            |                                                                |

As Labov's model predicts, narrative shares many elements of syntax with basic narrative syntax, such as use of the simple past tense ( 'did', 'was', 'had', etc.). While not a surprising discovery, this confirms that this method is valid. Speech, on the other hand, draws on evaluative syntax, using a greater variety of modals and tenses ('am', 'shall', 'must', 'may', 'have', 'be', etc.), interjections ('O', 'alas', 'forsooth'), and negatives ('never', 'not', 'no'). This specialisation of speech as evaluation is also apparent in the semantic categories that narrative and speech access. Narrative describes what is happening prosaically and contains mostly descriptive lexis, like categories that describe objects ('substances and materials', 'shape', and 'colour and colour patterns'), living creatures ('living creatures generally' and 'plants'), movement ('transport by air', 'measurement: speed', and 'transport on land'), the sequence of events ('linear order'), etc. Speech, on the other hand, concerns more abstract concepts, ('deserving', 'crime and justice', 'obligation and necessity', and 'general ethics'). There are also many categories concerning characters' thoughts, desires, and memories ('wanting, planning, choosing' and 'thought, belief', and 'knowledge'), which is naturally evaluative information.

Such division of syntax and vocabulary is not original to Douglas, nor even to Virgil. A similar distribution is present in Homer's poems. Griffin (1986) finds that speech in Homer's epics includes more abstract nouns (37), more particles (45-46), which function like interjections, and more superlatives, which act as comparators by implicitly inviting comparison between the pinnacle of a quality and anything less than that (49). The overall effect is that Homer's vocabulary in speech is naturally evaluative. By contrast, Booth (1991: 3, 6, 8), observes how Homer's narrative is keen to appear unbiased. As a result, 'the Homeric epics have two vocabularies' (Griffin 1986: 40) and this is no less true in the *Aeneid* and *Eneados*.

### 7.2.3 Evaluation and Douglas's Expansions

Douglas does not only preserve this distinction between narrative and speech in the *Eneados*, he enhances it by translating speech at length. This begs the question, how do Douglas's expansions interact with the linguistic distinction between narrative and speech? The following considers expansive moments in Douglas's translation (translation units with a line ratio greater than 4, see Section 4.1) with content concerning 'strong emotion' (see Section 4.5)—i.e., content that is naturally evaluative. See Appendix (Examples 1 and 2) for all examples (excluding the ones presented here).

Expansions have a natural evaluative significance because they take longer to describe an event than originally intended, thus 'suspending the action of narrative' (Labov 1972a: 374). Moreover, expansions correspond with the rhetorical practice of 'amplification', which can mean both 'to intensify' (i.e., emotionally) as well as 'to lengthen' (Vickers 1970: 32), indicating its simultaneous evaluative and formal function. While Douglas does not always translate naturally evaluative content with expansions (see Section 4.5.1), when he does it is not surprising that he should use his most obvious expansion type—addition. See, for example, the following description of Catiline's punishment from Book VIII's narrative:

Pendentem scopulo: furiarumque ora trementem: ... (Virgil 1501: VIII.669)

Hyingand out our ane **schorand** hewch **or bra**,

And trymland **for the feirfull dreid and wa**,

**To se** the furyus **gryslly** sisteris facis,

**That with thar scurgis wikkit pepill chacis**; ... (Douglas 1957-64: VIII.11.63-66)

Additions here perform an explicit 'evaluative' function by offering direct commentary on events (see Labov 1972a: 390-93)—they explain why Catiline trembles at

the Furies. By contrast the elaborations and double translation provide little overt explanation. Instead, elaborations like ‘schorand’ and ‘furyus grysly facis’ act as correlatives (specifically an attributive and double attributive, respectively), which ‘heighten or deepen the effect of a particular description’ (388). Similarly, the semantic repetition of double translations like ‘hewch or bra’ serve as intensifiers, which emphasise specific content (378-90). In this way, all expansion types prove to have evaluative significance, but elaborations and double translations are less straightforward.

Narrative makes use of a more diverse range of expansion techniques than speech does, which prefers additions (cf. Appendix, Examples 1 vs. 2). In this way, speech appears to be specialised for forthright evaluation while narrative has more diverse purposes. What these purposes are is best illustrated by how speech and narrative make use of additions. Speech uses additions to describe and explain thoughts and feelings. For example, the additions in Drances’s speech censuring Turnus from Book XI describe Turnus’s thoughts and priorities, as Drances interprets them:

Concipsis: et si adeo dotalis regia cordi est: (Virgil 1501: XI.369)

‘... Thou hass consauyt, **thynkand the sa wight**,  
 And gif that **on sik wyss** this hald ryall  
 Suldbe thy dowry **and rych gyft dotall**  
**Thou berys** in hart, **and is to the sa deir**; ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: XI.7.180-83)

By contrast, narrative additions are more concerned with action and lose some of their evaluative force. For example, in Book VIII, the narrative describes Achates and Aeneas in a period of sad reflection. However, the additions do not serve to highlight this emotion, but rather position the characters:

Multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant: (Virgil 1501: VIII.522)

Sat starrand on the grond, baith he and he,

And in thar hartis dyd full oft compass

Ful mony hard aduersyte and cace,

With drery cheir and myndis sad bath twa, ... (Douglas 1957-64: VIII.8.152-55)

Even though this content uses evaluative syntax—i.e., the appended participle ‘starrand’, which is a correlative—it is much less concerned with interpretation. Rather, this material is ‘orientative’—a narrative function that, like evaluation, does not subscribe to the strict syntax of basic narrative (Labov & Waletzky 1967: 32). However, it does not serve the same interpretive function as evaluation; rather it serves to ‘orient the [reader] in respect to person, place, time, and behavioural situation’ (32). This might be understood as something akin to ‘stage direction content’ (see Section 4.5.3), which is potentially why emotional content is often translated succinctly, especially when framing speech, as in the examples below:

Ad quem subridens mixta mezentius ira. (Virgil 1501: X.742)

To quham Mezentyus smyland said in teyn: (Douglas 1957-64: X.12.133)

Arrectaeque ~~horre~~ comae: et vox faucibus haesit: (Virgil 1501: IV.280)

Vpstart his hair, the voce stak in his hals. (Douglas 1957-64: IV.6.2)

Obstipuit: *retroque* ~~pedem~~ cum voce *repressit*: (Virgil 1501: II.378)

Estonyt with the word, *abak he drewch* (Douglas 1957-64: II.7.32)

Consequently, the explicative power of additions ‘may serve an evaluative function’ but can also ‘be required only to describe actions and events that are not entirely familiar to the listener’ (Labov 1972a: 392). In other words, they can also serve what Baswell (1995: 49) would call a pedagogic function in that they bridge differences of reference between the author and reader (see Sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.4).



Arguably, the reference expansion type performs this function most effectively. For example, the following reference in a description of Juturna in Book XII does not describe emotion, thoughts, motives, or any sort of interpretation of the action. Rather, it offers information concerning specific vocabulary ('virago'), thus bridging the gap between readers and text. This information comes straight from Ascensius's commentary: 'Iuturna virago id est virile implens officium' (1501: fol. 367<sup>v</sup>).

Hoc concussa metu mentem iuturna virago ... (Virgil 1501: XII.468)

With dreid **heirof** the mynd was smyttyn **so**  
 Of Iuturna, the **verray** virago  
 (**Quhilk term to expone, be myne avyss,**  
**Is a woman exersand a mannys offyss**); ... (Douglas 1957-64: XII.9.55-58)<sup>12</sup>

Speech, then, is specifically evaluative in a way that narrative is not. While narrative can be evaluative, the content that Douglas adds to it leans more towards orientation and pedagogical gloss rather than evaluation. Moreover, narrative includes a greater variety of expansion types—such as elaboration and double translation—while speech relies on additions, which are more straightforwardly evaluative. It is interesting that Douglas should use balder expansions when translating speech as opposed to when he is using his own narrative voice, especially considering how amplification is typically linked to the 'grand style', which aims "'to move'" the audience (Vickers 1970: 74). It is as though Douglas attributes greater poetic capabilities to his characters than he does to himself. This is probably because amplification and expansion have creative implications that are not always desirable for an accurate translator (79). Consequently, by

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<sup>12</sup> See XII.8.55-58 in the printed version in Coldwell (1957-64).

communicating his creative power indirectly through characters, Douglas is able to exert creative licence without appearing to transgress his translational authority.

### 7.3 Douglas's Narrative vs. Character Narrative

In this way, Douglas proves to have captured the two vocabularies that characterise classical epic both in his grammatical interpretation of Virgil's narrative and character speech and in his use of expansions. Given this sensitivity to Virgil's subjective style, this chapter now considers how Douglas interprets other aspects of characterisation in the *Aeneid*—namely his use of narrative frames and how he differentiates between characters to capture the different perspectives that makes Virgil's use of *disputatio in utramque partem* so compelling. Narrative frames are investigated in this section, looking specifically at how Douglas distinguishes his voice from those of other characters, with reference to the Prologues and reported speech. Character speech is considered in the subsequent sections.

Throughout the *Aeneid* there are speeches where characters assume the role of narrator (see Table 7). These moments present a quandary, as it is not clear if they should be considered narrative or speech—especially Books II and III where Aeneas takes over the narration completely. Generally, scholars have classified them as speeches because they are redolent of the speaker's character. Highet (1972: 41) claims Books II and III are the only moments where Aeneas 'reveals[s] his whole heart', and Griffin (1986: 36), when discussing the analogous Books IX–XII in the *Odyssey*, argues that 'Odysseus's style of narration is not the same as that of the poet himself'. However, it is not clear if Douglas preserves this distinction between poet and character, especially given how he blurs the distinction between his voice and Aeneas's by altering the division between Books I and II (see Section 5.4.4).

Table 7: List of narrative speeches in the 'Aeneid' and their speakers, contexts, and equivalent lines the 'Eneados'.

| Speaker  | Context                                          | <i>Aeneid</i>                                      | <i>Eneados</i>                                        |
|----------|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| Jupiter  | Prophecy regarding Aeneas and the future of Rome | I.257-96                                           | I.5.51-120                                            |
| Venus    | The story of Dido                                | I.335-70                                           | I.6.53-113                                            |
| Aeneas   | The fall of Troy                                 | II.13-804                                          | II.1.1-12.84                                          |
|          | Aeneas's journey                                 | III.1-715                                          | III.1.1-10.120                                        |
| Deiphobe | Tour of the Underworld                           | VI.83-97, 125-46, 322-30, 562-618, 620-27          | VI.2.4-38, 100-57; 5.55-74; 9.62-189, 193-214         |
| Anchises | Explanation of reincarnation                     | VI.724-51, 756-807, 808-46, 847-53, 855-59, 868-86 | VI.12.1-69; 13.1-110; 14.1-102; 15.1-18, 21-34, 54-91 |
| Evander  | The story of Cacus                               | VIII.185-275, 314-36, 351-54, 355-58               | VIII.4.3-200; 6.4-55, 89-98, 100-06                   |
| Cymodoce | The story of how the Trojan ships became nymphs  | X.228-45                                           | X.5.32-76                                             |
| Diana    | The story of Camilla                             | XI.535-56, 561-86                                  | XI.11.7-52, 63-118                                    |

This section investigates various character narratives in the *Eneados* and compares them to Douglas's to determine if he handles them differently. Most of these speeches are simple narrative, except the prophetic speeches of Jupiter and Anchises and Deiphobe's tour of the Underworld. Narrative usually recounts past events; prophecy, however, concerns the future. Moreover, prophecy arguably functions in the 'subjunctive' mood, since it discusses things that could happen, but potentially will not. This places it more in the realm of evaluation rather than narrative. However, prophecy is unusual in that it treats the future as a *fait accompli*, essentially presenting future events as past ones. For this reason, these prophetic speeches are included here. On the other hand, Deiphobe's tour of the underworld leans more towards description—a form of orientation—than narrative in that it is organised by space rather than temporality (see Herman 2001: 518). However, Herman argues that 'features that have been centrally associated with ... description may be core properties of narrative as well' (535-36). Consequently, Deiphobe's speech is also included here.

Table 8 presents the results of a series of keyword comparisons between Douglas's narrative and that of other characters conducted across lexical, syntactic, and semantic levels. These results are cross referenced with the results from Tables 5 and 6. Results that are shared with Douglas's narrative are highlighted in yellow; results that are shared with speech are in blue.

Table 8: Summary of lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to character narrative in the 'Eneados'. Results are ordered by effect (read up-down, left-right), and results with an effect less than 0.5 are excluded. See Appendix, Tables 88-90 for raw data.

|                   | Douglas's Narrative                   | Character Narrative             |                             |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Lexis             | Turnus                                | yon                             | I                           |
|                   | Aeneas                                | Pyrrhus                         | mine                        |
|                   | can                                   | Helenus                         | Greeks                      |
|                   | did                                   | my                              | Priam                       |
|                   | him                                   | torment                         | reign                       |
|                   | her                                   | Cacus                           | thou                        |
|                   | their                                 | our                             | ye                          |
|                   | his                                   | us                              | thy                         |
|                   | her                                   | me                              | Troy                        |
|                   |                                       | shall                           | thee                        |
|                   |                                       | we                              | have                        |
| POS Category      |                                       | quoth                           | is                          |
|                   | 'did'                                 | quotation marks                 | 'been'                      |
|                   | third person objective pronoun        | first person objective pronoun  | 'be' (infinitive)           |
|                   | third person subjective pronoun       | first person subjective pronoun | 'is'                        |
|                   |                                       | second person pronoun           | third person pronoun ('it') |
|                   |                                       | interjection                    | modal auxiliary             |
|                   |                                       | 'have' (base form)              | subordinating conjunction   |
| Semantic Category | transport by air                      | time: general future            |                             |
|                   | altercation (an extension of warfare) | crime & justice: law & order    |                             |
|                   | people: female                        | negative                        |                             |
|                   | warfare                               | geographical terms              |                             |
|                   | objects generally                     | places                          |                             |
|                   | personal names                        |                                 |                             |

The results reveal that differences between Douglas's narrative and character narrative tend to be rooted in the latter's language, with Douglas's narrative producing fewer keywords. Moreover, most keywords are the same as those produced by a more general comparison between narrative and speech. The few new keywords (not highlighted) tend to be obvious reflections of each narrative's subject matter. These include proper names of characters who are present only in certain narratives (cf. Turnus and Aeneas in Douglas's narrative vs. Pyrrhus, Helenus, and Priam in Aeneas's narrative and Cacus in Evander's) or vocabulary specific to each narrative (i.e. *battle*, *melee*, and *stour* in Douglas's narrative which focuses on war and *torment* in Deiphobe's description of hell).

In this way, character narratives function like speech; the effects for keyword analyses comparing narrative and speech and Douglas's narrative and character narratives resemble each other and are not significantly different (see Figure 57). However, there are a few exceptions where character narrative resembles Douglas's. For instance, character narrative makes use of the semantic category 'places', which is a descriptive category more suited to narrative. Similarly, while elements of evaluative syntax are present in character narrative—i.e. interjections, modal verbs, and subordinating conjunctions—it is missing many elements that are present in speech—like modal catenatives, general infinitives, and adverbs. On top of this, character narratives use the past tense, a marker for narrative, just as frequently as Douglas's narrative does (3% for both,  $p = 1$  by a pairwise proportion test; see Appendix, Table 91). This suggests that while character narratives strongly resemble speech, they are not wholly alien from narrative either.

In fact, when each character narrative is compared to Douglas's narrative within the same book, there is usually no statistical difference in the level of their expansion (see

Appendix, Table 93 for p-values). Only Anchises's and Deiphobe's narratives are significantly more expansive, and consequently more evaluative, than Douglas's narrative in Book VI. This could be because neither of these are proper narratives, being a description and prophecy, respectively. However, this is doubtful, given that Jupiter's prophecy in Book I is handled like a narrative. Perhaps this is because Douglas had not yet fully developed his expansive translation style in Book I, whereas by Book VI he had (see Section 4.3.4). However, a more compelling reason, is that—as discussed in Section 5.4.4—Douglas was particularly concerned with the religious subject matter in Book VI and felt that both Deiphobe's description of hell and Anchises's account of reincarnation deserved special care.

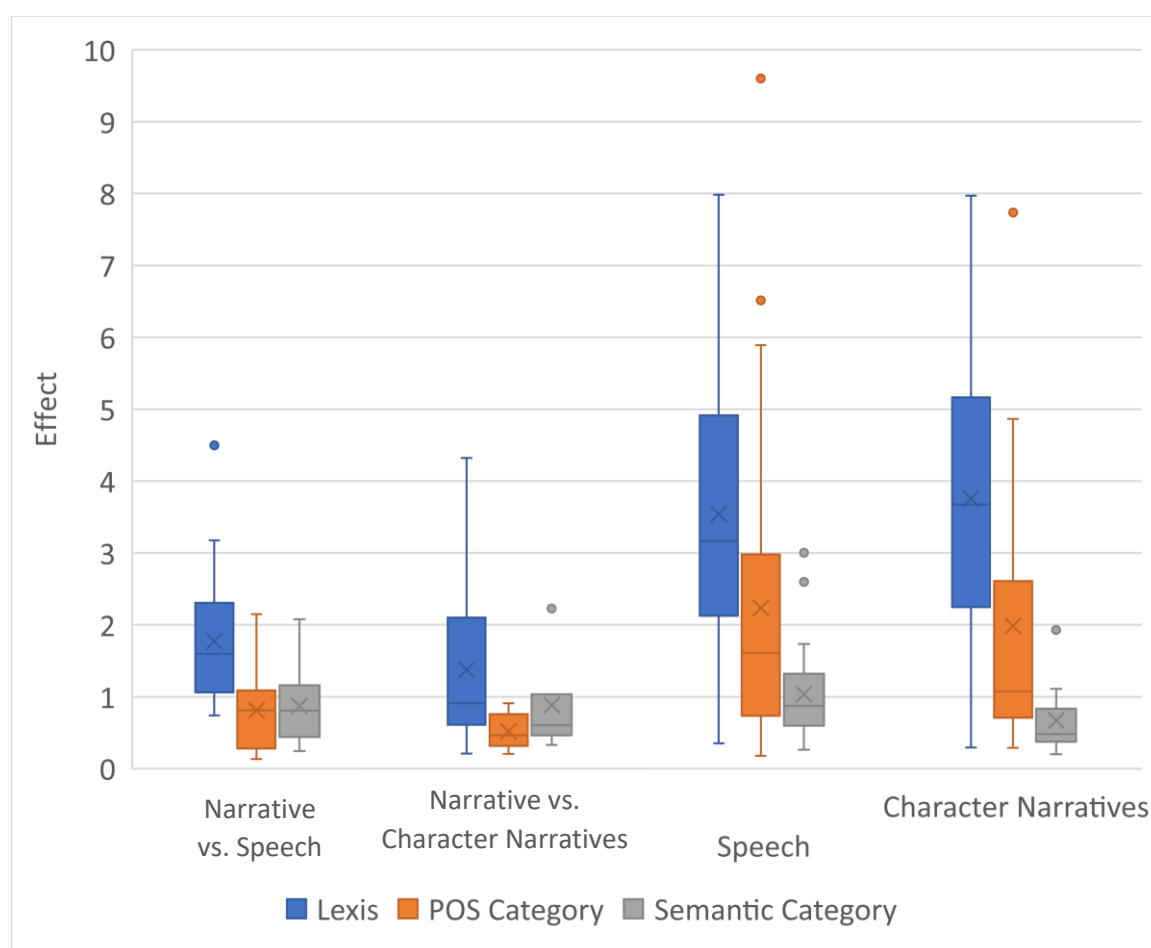


Figure 57: Boxplot of effects from keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to speech and character narratives in the 'Eneidos'. See Appendix, Tables 85-90 for raw data. Comparisons of effects between Douglas's narrative and speech and Douglas's narrative and character narratives by a two-sample t-test reveal no significant difference (see Appendix, Table 92 for p-values).

In this way, character narrative is a hybrid, possessing the linguistic qualities of speech but the line ratio behaviour of narrative. However, aside from adopting certain features of speech—the use of first and second person pronouns and the use of some evaluative syntax—Douglas does not appear to transform his voice when handling the narrative of other speakers. This is especially true when he writes for Aeneas. Aeneas’s narrative scores some of the lowest effects compared with Douglas’s narrative—especially in the part-of-speech and semantic results (see Figure 58). While it scores highly on lexical differences, these keywords prove to be content specific (see Table 9), including character names (cf. Aeneas and Turnus vs. Creusa, Ulysses, etc.) and unique vocabulary (i.e. belly [of the Trojan horse] in Book II, and sea in Book III).

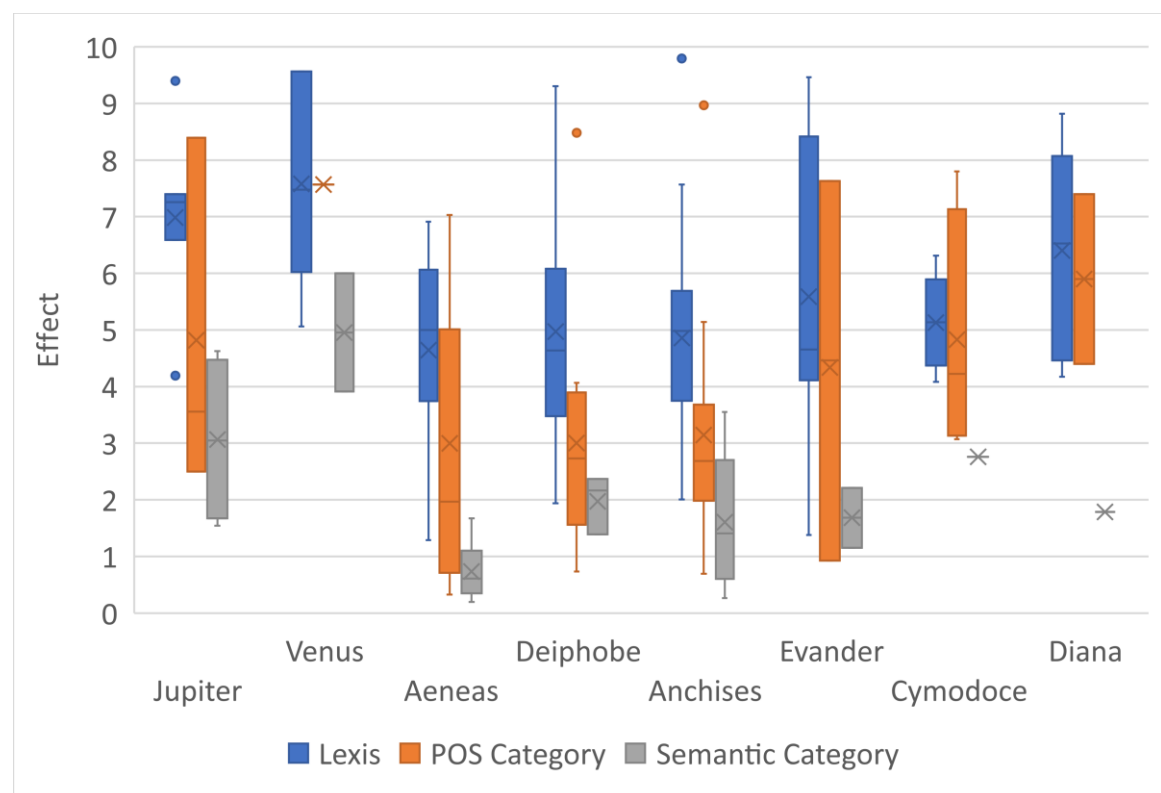


Figure 58: Boxplot of effects from keyword analyses comparing Douglas’s narrative to character narratives in the ‘Eneados’. These are the results for the characters’ side of the comparison; for Douglas’s side, see Appendix, Figure 18. For raw data, see Appendix, Tables 94-101.

Table 9: Results of lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to Aeneas's narrative in Books II and III in the 'Eneados'. Results are ordered by effect (read up-down, left-right), and all results with an effect less than 0.5 are excluded. See Appendix, Table 96 for raw data.

| Keyword Type      | Douglas's Narrative                   | Aeneas's Narrative              |                           |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Lexis             | <i>Aeneas</i>                         | <i>Pyrrhus</i>                  | <i>we</i>                 |
|                   | <i>Turnus</i>                         | <i>Helenus</i>                  | <i>I</i>                  |
|                   | <i>can</i>                            | <i>my</i>                       | <i>Greeks</i>             |
|                   | <i>him</i>                            | <i>Creusa</i>                   | <i>mine</i>               |
|                   | <i>her</i>                            | <i>Ulysses</i>                  | <i>Priam</i>              |
|                   | <i>his</i>                            | <i>our</i>                      | <i>Troy</i>               |
|                   | <i>he</i>                             | <i>belly</i>                    | <i>sea</i>                |
|                   |                                       | <i>us</i>                       | <i>when</i>               |
|                   |                                       | <i>me</i>                       |                           |
| POS Category      | 'has'                                 | quotation marks                 | interjection              |
|                   | third person objective pronoun        | first person objective pronoun  | subordinating conjunction |
|                   | third person subjective pronoun       | first person subjective pronoun |                           |
|                   | -s form of verb                       | 'have' (infinitive)             |                           |
|                   |                                       |                                 |                           |
| Semantic Category | transport by air                      | other proper names              |                           |
|                   | altercation (an extension of warfare) | transport by water              |                           |
|                   | warfare                               | geographical terms              |                           |
|                   | personal names                        | places                          |                           |
|                   | power, organising                     |                                 |                           |



Most of the results in Table 9 are reflective of the division with narrative and speech seen before. However, this division breaks down somewhat, with some part-of-speech categories typical of speech sneaking into Douglas's narrative (i.e. 'has') and some semantic categories typical of narrative sneaking into Aeneas's narrative (i.e. 'transport by water'). Many of the part-of-speech results are superficial (like the use of different pronouns) and the amount of evaluative syntax is further diminished (only interjections and subordinating conjunctions). Similarly, all the semantic results on Aeneas's side are prosaic, including 'proper nouns', 'modes of transport', 'geographical terms', and 'places'—all of which are descriptive categories more suitable for narrative.

Based on this lack of real difference between Douglas's and Aeneas's narratives, and the fact that Douglas alters the boundary between Books I and II so that he appears to deliver Aeneas's narrative directly, Aeneas's narrative is considered an extension of Douglas's and is treated as direct narrative in the rest of this chapter, with reported speech within his narrative treated as direct speech. For clarity, the term 'general narrative' will be used to refer to narrative in the *Eneados* that includes Aeneas's narrative in Books II and III; 'Douglas's narrative' only refers to narrative explicitly attributed to Douglas (not including Aeneas's narrative in Books II and III); 'Aeneas's narrative' refers to Aeneas's narrative in Books II and III.

### 7.3.1 Prologues vs. Translation

While Aeneas's speech in Books II and III may be like Douglas's narrative within translation, it is unclear how it is related to Douglas's voice within his original Prologues. Again, a basic keyword analysis elucidates (see Tables 10-12). As in the previous section, these results are cross referenced with the Tables 5 and 6.

Table 10: Summary of a lexical keyword analysis comparing general narrative and the Prologues in the 'Eneados'. Results are ordered by effect (read up-down, left-right) and all results with an effect less than 0.5 are excluded. See Appendix, Table 102 for raw data.

| General Narrative | Prologues  |           |        |
|-------------------|------------|-----------|--------|
| Turnus            | Virgil     | pleasance | gentle |
| walls             | book       | grace     | are    |
| Trojan            | text       | am        | though |
| rout              | Caxton     | language  | not    |
| huge              | books      | song      | pain   |
| coast             | think      | translate | love   |
| shield            | volume     | you       | is     |
| stout             | Christ     | perfect   | been   |
| mickle            | clerks     | thine     | be     |
| breast            | poetry     | indite    | god    |
| Trojans           | read       | style     | gif    |
| tho               | rhyme      | works     | no     |
| fast              | terms      | faith     | what   |
| anon              | eloquence  | thy       | will   |
| about             | merit      | quoth     | us     |
| she               | poets      | thou      | have   |
| amid              | sentence   | virtue    | some   |
| city              | charity    | lust      | our    |
| hand              | clerk      | must      | nought |
| gang              | comprehend | sen       | nor    |
| king              | goodness   | glory     | but    |
| onto              | loves      | than      |        |
| they              | ornate     | shall     |        |
| great             | sin        | thee      |        |
| Aeneas            | Tonaw      | world     |        |
| did               | trusts     | I         |        |
| down              | writes     | me        |        |
| her               | substance  | wit       |        |
| forth             | says       | reason    |        |
| them              | author     | my        |        |
| him               | welcome    | mine      |        |
| with              | grant      | never     |        |
| was               | write      | ye        |        |
| their             | your       | may       |        |
| a                 | poet       | work      |        |
| his               | bliss      | who       |        |
| the               | mercy      | lord      |        |
| and               | nature     | follow    |        |

The Prologues are distinct from narrative—particularly in their syntactic qualities (see Table 11). These resemble speech’s syntax and are highly evaluative, featuring modal auxiliaries, modal catenatives, interjections, negatives, and a variety of auxiliary verbs coupled with infinitives. The distinction is not as strong in the semantic results, with the Prologues covering categories prevalent in both speech and narrative (see Table 12). However, the overall impression is that the Prologues’ main function is evaluative—which is unsurprising, given how the Prologues provide an interpretive frame for the *Eneados* (see Section 5.4.2).

Table 11: Summary of a part-of-speech keyword analysis comparing general narrative (including Aeneas’s speech in Books II and III) and the Prologues in the ‘Eneados’. Results are ordered by effect (read up-down, left-right) and all results with an effect less than 0.5 are excluded. See Appendix, Table 103 for raw data.

| General Narrative               | Prologues                       |                             |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 'did'                           | wh-ever pronoun                 | interjection                |
| objective wh-pronoun            | 'be' (base form)                | 'be' (infinitive)           |
| third person objective pronoun  | 'am'                            | modal auxiliary             |
| prepositional adverb, particle  | quotation marks                 | third person pronoun ('it') |
| 'was'                           | month noun                      | indefinite pronoun          |
| third person subjective pronoun | second person pronoun           | wh- adverb                  |
| locative adverb                 | 'than' (conjunction)            | degree adverb               |
| 'with, without'                 | modal catenative                | -s form of verb             |
| past tense of verb              | first person objective pronoun  | base form of verb           |
| -ing participle                 | 'are'                           | 'for' (preposition)         |
| quasi-nominal adverb of time    | subjective wh-pronoun           | temporal noun               |
| past participle                 | first person subjective pronoun | infinitive marker           |
| article                         | 'is'                            | infinitive                  |
| general preposition             | 'not, n't'                      |                             |
| coordinating conjunction        | 'been'                          |                             |
| general adverb                  | 'have' (base form)              |                             |

Table 12: Summary of a semantic keyword analysis comparing general narrative (including Aeneas's speech in Books II and III) and the Prologues in the 'Eneados'. Results are ordered by effect (read up-down, left-right) and all results with an effect less than 0.5 are excluded. See Appendix, Table 104 for raw data.

| General Narrative                               | Prologues                        |                              |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| measurement: weight                             | books                            | obligation & necessity       |
| warfare                                         | paper documents & writing        | plants                       |
| measurement: speed                              | attention                        | crime & justice: law & order |
| safety/danger                                   | nature & the environment         | time                         |
| groups & affiliation                            | industry                         | food                         |
| geographical names                              | mental actions and processes     | liking                       |
| altercation (an extension of warfare)           | education in general             | being                        |
| transport on land                               | substances & materials generally | time: period                 |
| social actions, states & processes              | understanding & comprehension    | knowledge                    |
| parts of buildings                              | language, speech & grammar       | judgment of appearance       |
| relationship: general                           | exclusivisers/particularisers    | religion & the supernatural  |
| places                                          | politeness                       | living creatures generally   |
| linear order                                    | ability: intelligence            | pronouns                     |
| putting, taking, pulling, pushing, transporting | evaluation: true/false           | punctuation                  |
| transport by water                              | if                               |                              |
| measurement: length & height                    | relationship: intimate           |                              |
| anatomy & physiology                            | evaluation: accuracy             |                              |
| life & living things                            | other proper names               |                              |
| sensory: sight                                  | negative                         |                              |
| sensory: sound                                  | sensory: taste                   |                              |
| location & direction                            | sensibility                      |                              |
| moving, coming & going                          | general ethics                   |                              |
| calm/violent/angry                              | music & related activities       |                              |
| geographical terms                              | work & employment: generally     |                              |
| personal names                                  | thought, belief                  |                              |
| grammatical words                               | time: general future             |                              |

Consequently, there is a distinction between how Douglas communicates in his original poetry and how he communicates when translating. This is evident from just reading the two bodies of work alone. While the Prologues and *Palice of Honour* are highly aureate and allegorical and borrow a great deal from Chaucer (see Bawcutt 1970), the *Eneados* borrows from ‘the traditions of alliterative poetry, and ... the diction and phrasing of native “epics” on the deeds of such Scottish heroes as Robert Bruce and William Wallace’ (1976: 150; see Section 2.1.2). However, there is a further difference revealed here; Douglas’s representation of Virgil’s narrative is one that excludes evaluation, even though Douglas’s own voice in his original work is far more evaluative. That is not to say that Douglas emulates Virgil’s voice itself, as he often inserts into the narrative many authorial asides like ‘I wyss’ or ‘ze se’, reminding readers of his presence. However, he attempts to be faithful to Virgil’s style by refraining from actively reinterpreting the text. In this way, evaluation becomes linked with Douglas’s original voice.

If Aeneas’s narrative voice is considered separately to Douglas’s there is no significant difference in results (see Figure 59; Appendix, Table 90), indicating again how Aeneas’s narrative functions as an extension of Douglas’s. Likewise, If Aeneas’s narrative is compared to the Prologues, little changes, though the difference between them is mitigated (see Figure 60; Appendix, Table 91). This indicates that Aeneas’s voice is closer to Douglas’s own in its expressive capability, making Douglas’s identification with Aeneas even stronger. Such a link further necessitates that Douglas make Aeneas speak more in the latter half of the *Aeneid* when his own line ratios are rising and his Prologues are getting longer (see Figure 55). Neither he—nor his allegorical double Aeneas—shall be silenced.

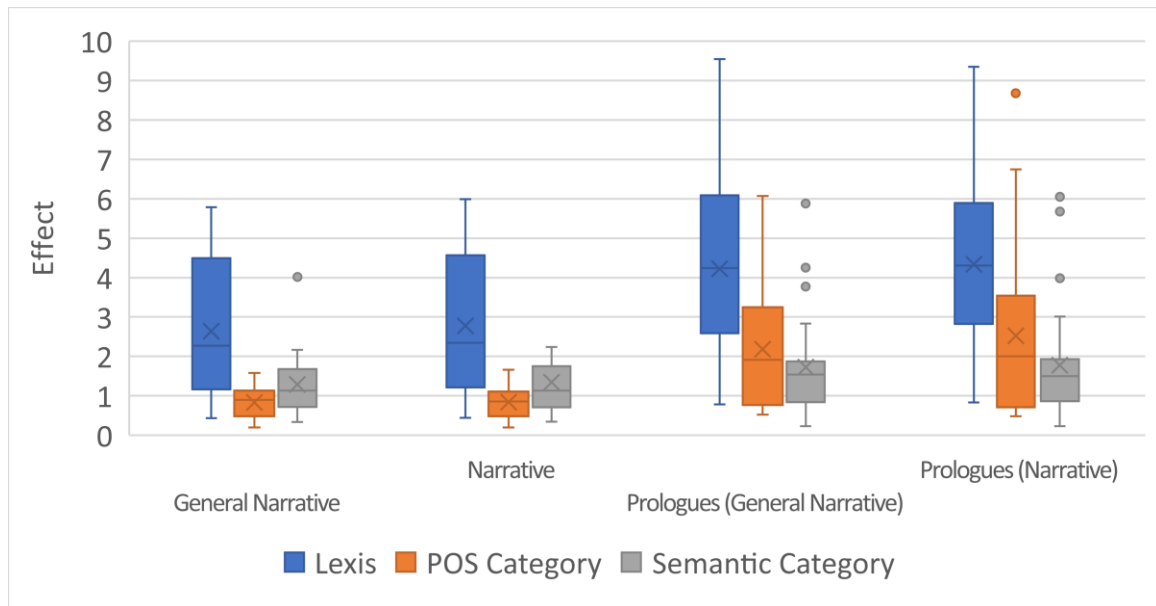


Figure 59: Boxplot of effects from keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative (not including Aeneas's speech in Books II and III) to the Prologues, and general narrative (including Aeneas's speech in Books II and III) to the Prologues, within the 'Eneados'. See Appendix, Tables 102-04, 107-09 for the raw data. A two-sample t-test compares the results for Douglas's narrative and general narrative and the results for the Prologues when compared with Douglas's narrative and general narrative. There are no significant differences; see Appendix, Table 105 for the p-values.

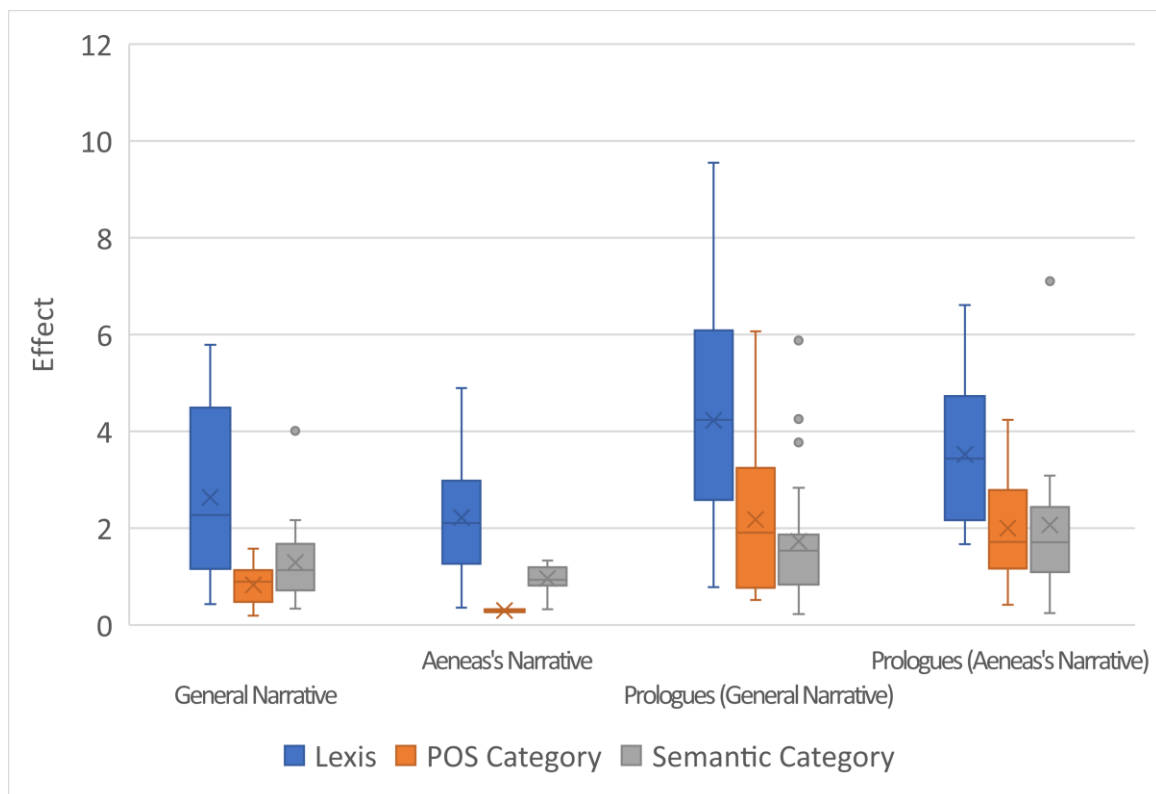


Figure 60: Boxplot of effects from keyword analyses comparing Aeneas's narrative (in Books II and III) to the Prologues, and general narrative (including Aeneas's speech in Books II and III) to the Prologues, within the 'Eneados'. See Appendix, Tables 102-04, 110-12 for the raw data. There are no significant differences according to a two-sample t-test; see Appendix, Table 106 for the p-values.

### 7.3.2 Reported Speech

The final aspect of narrative speeches to be considered here is the phenomenon of reported speech—where a character recites the speech of another, usually while telling a story. Reported speech does not occur often enough to provide a statistically significant sample. However, there is a noticeable trend where reported speech is especially prone to expansion, nearly always to an evaluative effect (see Figure 61).

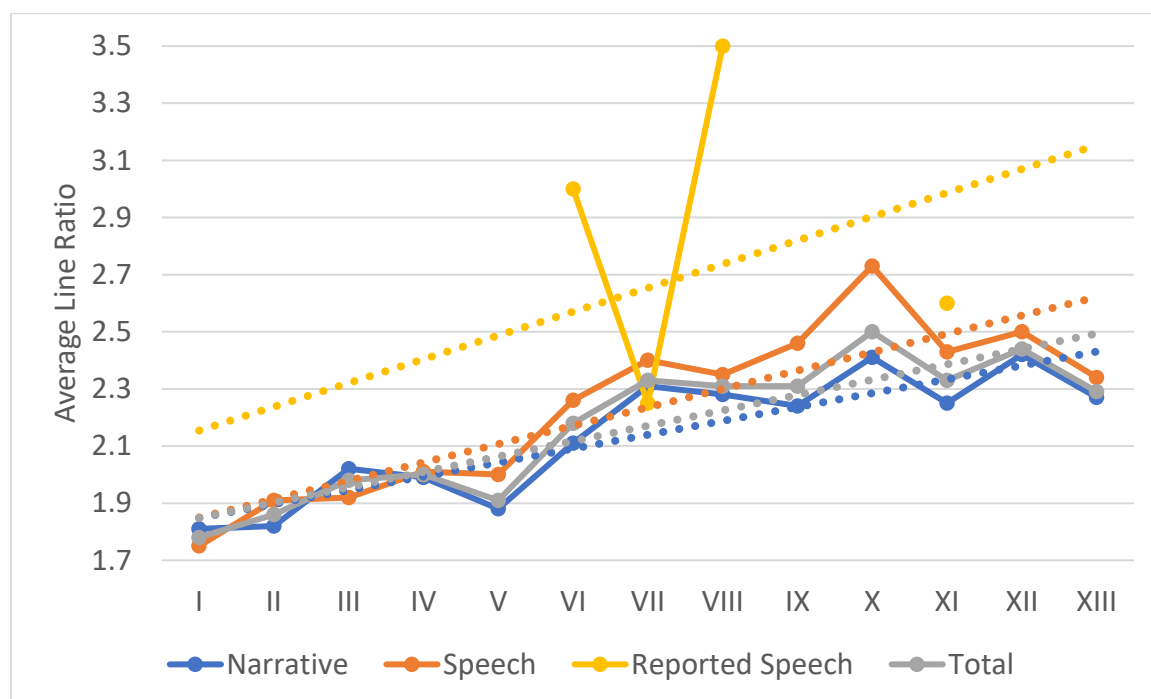


Figure 61: Average line ratios for translation units in books, narrative (including Aeneas's narrative in Books II and III), speech (including reported speech in Books II and III), and reported speech across the course of the *'Eneados'*. Results for reported speech are not significant ( $p = 0.28$ ) according to a multiple linear regression. See Appendix, Table 113 for plotted data.

Even the exception—reported speech in Book VII—proves the rule, as it has lower line ratios because it is a form of narrative. In this episode (*Aen.* VII.124-27/*Ene.* VII.3.44-52), Aeneas recalls Anchises’s prophecy to him about how he would know when he had reached the land of Italy. Prophecy, as previously discussed, can be considered a form of narrative (see Section 7.3). While Douglas handles Anchises’s prophecy in Book VI like straightforward speech, he treats Jupiter’s prophecy in Book I and the quoted prophecy by Anchises here like narrative, proving that Douglas’s handling of Anchises’s prophecy in Book VI is an exception and not the rule.

Why reported speech should serve such an overt evaluative function is probably because of its distance from its speaker. It is not spoken directly, but is conveyed via another, whose words are conveyed via Virgil in turn and translated by Douglas. The multiple opportunities for reinterpretation of the message dilute its authority and afford Douglas more artistic licence. This confirms the connection between eloquence and evaluation that was indicated by the previous discussion of Douglas’s Prologues and Aeneas’s speech (Section 7.3.1), where originality and evaluative interpretation are bound closely together.

...

This section has investigated how Douglas handles character narratives, discovering that he largely does not distinguish his voice from that of other characters; he is not willing to yield control of the narrative to another. The only exceptions are Deiphobe and Anchises, whose narratives in Book VI Douglas is keener to distance himself from, because they concern pagan ideas (as in Section 5.4.4). However, that is not to say that he disregards narrative frames altogether; rather, he uses them to explore the boundary between his



voice and Virgil's. He treats each frame as a deconstruction of Virgil's authority, which allows his translation to become less restrained. This is evident in how he identifies Aeneas's voice with his own creative abilities and expands more freely upon reported speech. In this way, Douglas characterises narrative frames through his translation method rather than through linguistic variation.

The following three sections continue to investigate Douglas's differentiation of voice across characters, but now in speech. They focus especially on instances where characters clash to examine how Douglas interprets *disputatio in utramque partem*. This inquiry is conducted through the lenses of gender, status, and nationality. These are not only significant for sociolinguistics (see Section 3.1.4), but also were of importance to Virgil and Douglas. The next three sections consider how Douglas represents these aspects of character and what that indicates about his ideology.

#### **7.4 Female vs. Male Speakers**

Given the *Aeneid* is a poem about the founding of the patriarchy that the Roman Empire—and consequently Western Europe—was based on, gender plays a significant role within the text. Oliensis (1997: 310) describes Virgil's interpretation of gender in his *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* in detail, explaining how each poem 'places men in the foreground' with women ideally in 'the deep background of the fruitful landscape and household', with their active participation in poetry, craft, and nation-building figured as obstructive rather than productive. Such a viewpoint was very much the norm for Rome's paternalistic society.

However, gender for Virgil is not an easy matter of physical difference. Rather, 'In Virgil's Rome ... what counted more was the role an individual took in sexual

intercourse’—who is active and who is passive (Oliensis 1997: 296). In this way, ‘Virgil associates the feminine with unruly passion, the masculine with reasoned (self-) mastery’, with the narrative consequence that ‘women make trouble and men restore order’ (303)—as we see with the characters Juno and Jupiter. However, in this configuration, men could also be considered ‘feminine’ if they should ‘passively’ succumb to someone else, or to their own passions (296). For this reason, it is not just Dido, Amata, and Camilla who must be deposed, but also Turnus, Euryalus, Nisus, and even Pallas, who all demonstrate an unmanning, ‘unruly passion’. Gender, then, is not a straightforward issue for Virgil and his characters. For, while the ideal of reasonable behaviour may be gendered, the possessors of this ideal are not.

Gender is also a murky issue for Douglas. Though his comments about Dido in Prologue IV seem straightforwardly misogynistic (see Desmond 1994: 193), there is some nuance. As often reiterated, Douglas’s issues with Dido stem more from the alternate tradition of the *Aeneid* that she symbolises (see Section 2.4) than necessarily her gender alone—a point that Desmond also recognises (164). In fact, Wingfield (2014: 171) argues that Douglas ‘remains sympathetic towards Dido as a betrayed woman’ in Prologue IV, condemning her only for ‘the immoderate passion through which she lost rule of both herself and her realm’. This indicates a more classical understanding of gender, where Dido’s gender is not necessarily at fault, but rather her lack of emotional control.

Moreover, while Douglas reduces Dido’s audibility by altering the boundary between Books I and II, this again is probably not because of her gender but because of the problems Dido poses the narrative (see Section 5.4.4). As Geddes (presumably; see Section 5.4.3) points out in his note in the Trinity College MS (O.3.12, Trinity College,

University of Cambridge, c. 1515-25; Douglas 1957-64: n. 12), Douglas cannot simultaneously argue that the gods are allegories and attribute Aeneas's abandonment of Dido to them; they cannot both be abstract concepts and actively influence the events of the narrative (see Bawcutt 1976: 108; Griffiths 2014: 98). Consequently, there is a pressing need to neutralise Dido's character—not necessarily because she is a woman, but because she impugns Aeneas's honour and threatens Douglas's Christian interpretation of the text.

An investigation of Douglas's line ratio across speakers reveals that there is no significant difference between how Douglas translates male and female speakers over the course of the *Eneados* (Figure 62). Moreover, keyword analyses comparing male and female speakers yield few results (Table 13). There are no syntactic differences, and lexical differences consist mostly of the use of third person female pronouns in female speech (she and her) vs. first person pronouns in male speech (our). This reflects how female characters in the *Eneados* usually stand alone, whereas male characters are often part of a collective. Female characters who speak are loose cannons, while those who are part of a group are appropriately (at least in Virgil's and Douglas's eyes) silent.

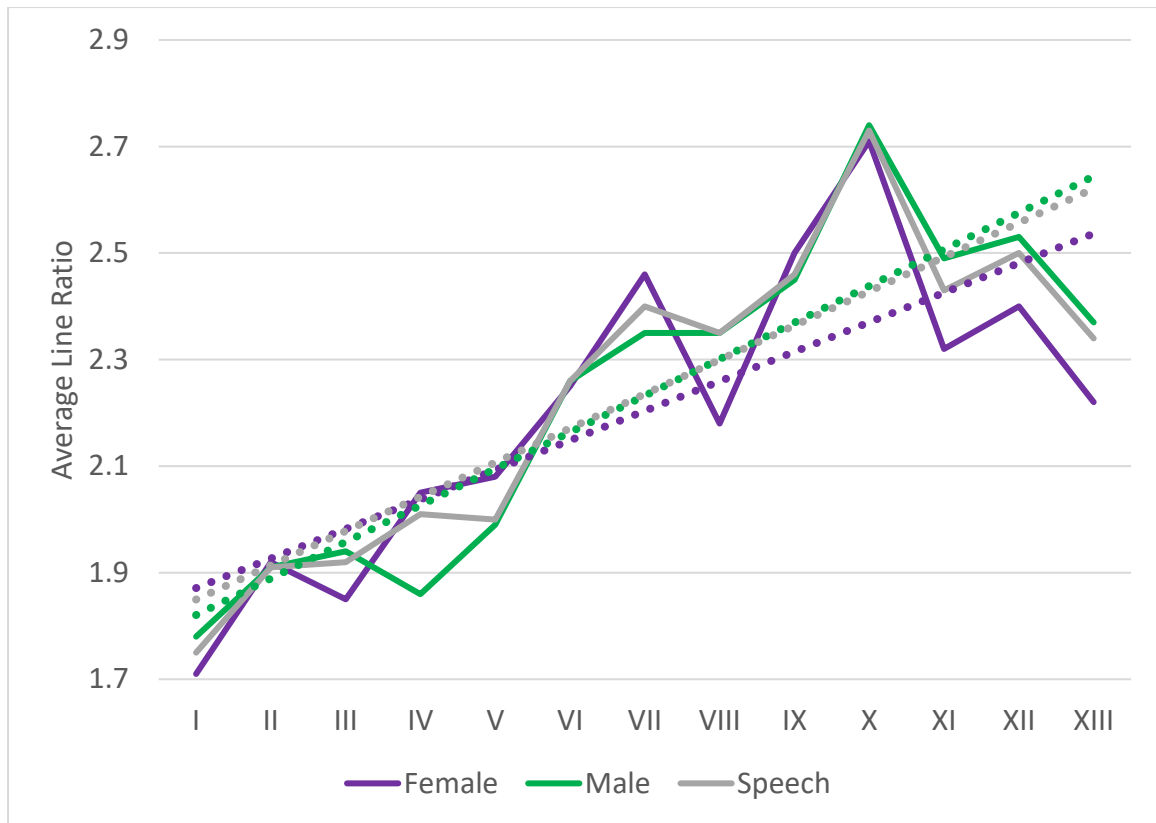


Figure 62: Average line ratios for male and female speakers over the course of the ‘Eneados’. Reported speech is counted as regular speech in Books II and III. Results for gender are not significant according to a multivariable linear regression ( $p = 0.54$ ), and this is confirmed by a post-hoc Tukey test ( $p = 0.77$ ). See Appendix, Table 114 for raw data.

Table 13: Summary of results from lexical, grammatical, and semantic keyword analyses comparing female and male speech in the ‘Eneados’. Reported speech in Books II and III is counted as speech here. Results with effects less than 0.5 are excluded. There are no significant results from a grammatical keyword analysis. See Appendix, Table 115 for raw data.

| Keyword Type      | Female        | Male        |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------|
| Lexis             | <i>she</i>    | <i>our</i>  |
|                   | <i>sister</i> |             |
|                   | <i>her</i>    |             |
| Semantic Category | temperature   | competition |

However, there are some books where Douglas's translation of male and female speech is distinct—specifically Books IV, VIII, and XI (see Figure 62). The reason why is evident: Books IV and XI both contain unconventional female characters, Dido and Camilla, who pose a threat to Rome. Similarly, Venus surpasses traditional gender roles when she instigates the forging of the shield of Aeneas in Book VIII, which is given disturbing undertones when juxtaposed to the story of Cacus. Other large differences occur in books where women behave badly or assume more active roles in the narrative—as in Book V where the Trojan women burn the ships, Book VII where the Latin women become Bacchantes, Book XII where Juturna interferes in battle, and Book XIII where Venus makes Aeneas a god. Books that make no distinction between male and female speakers feature women on their best behaviour, like Dido in Book I when she is still celibate, Creusa who conveniently dies in Book II, Andromache who grieves gently in Book III, Deiphobe who acts as a divine agent in Book VI (Douglas, 1957-64: VI.Prol.137-52, sanctions her actions by depicting her as a Marian figure), Berecynthia who exerts power only to the extent that Jupiter allows in Book IX, and Cymodoce who returns to aid Aeneas even after becoming a nymph in Book X. This indicates that Douglas's handling of female speakers is dependent on context.

With that in mind, the following examines the famous argument between Dido and Aeneas in Book IV (*Aen.* IV.305-87/*Ene.* IV.6.49-99, 7.1-51) to analyse Douglas's handling of translation of gender within discourse. Here, Aeneas and Dido argue over the legitimacy of their 'marriage' and whether Aeneas might leave Dido with his honour intact. According to Feeney (1983: 210), two items are made apparent over this exchange of speeches: 'First, the distinction ... between Dido's use of speech and Aeneas's' and 'Second, the ineffective and unnaturally truncated nature of the dialogue, with the denial to Aeneas of the opportunity to speak the words he wishes to speak'. Douglas preserves this difference, with female speech featuring

more prominently than male speech (see Figure 62). However, closer examination reveals that Douglas endows Aeneas with greater facility in speech than originally attributed to him.

Figure 63 shows the line ratios across this exchange—excluding any intervening moments of narrative. While the trend line for the entire exchange is level, those for the individual speeches are decidedly not. Dido’s first speech entreating Aeneas to stay is distinguished by a very steep and erratic line that characterises Dido’s emotionality. By contrast, Aeneas’s speech in response is largely stable—with only one blip—that defuses Dido, making her second speech more sedate. In this way, Douglas’s Aeneas is not as rhetorically incapable as Highet (1972) and Feeney (1983) suggest. While Feeney describes Aeneas’s inability to staunch Dido’s ‘reckless incitement of passion’ between her two speeches (210), Douglas’s manipulation of line ratios makes Aeneas able to contain Dido’s emotional excesses. Dido’s rage is still scathing—Douglas does nothing to mitigate the content of her speech. However, he does limit her space to express it.

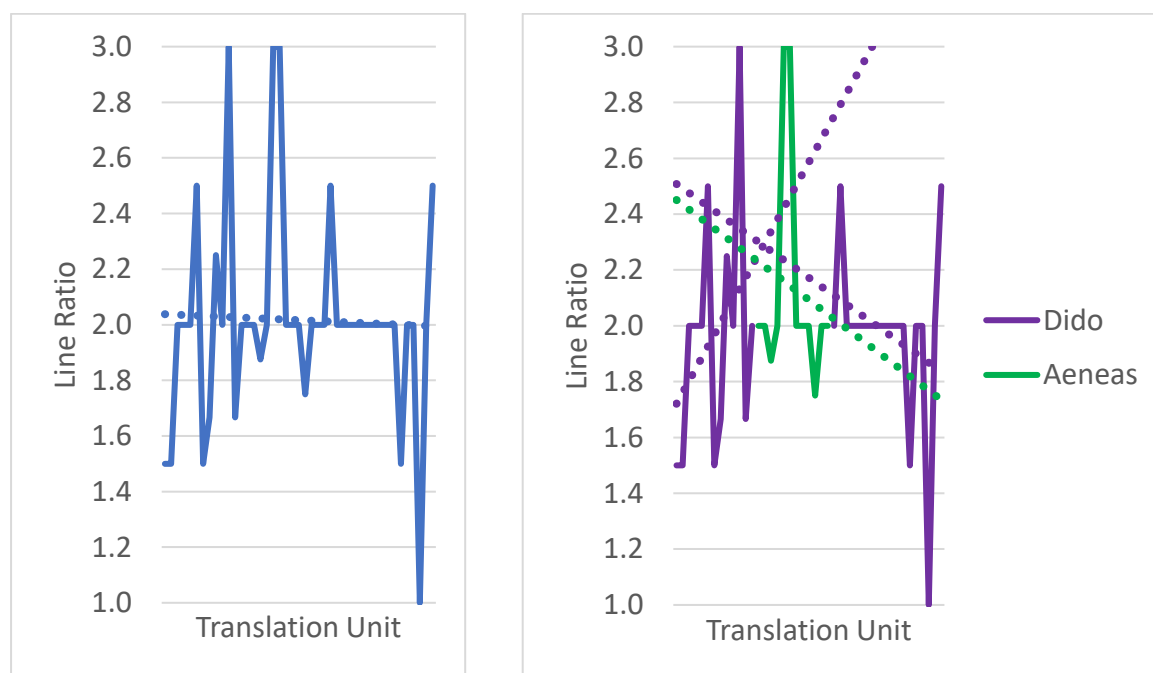


Figure 63: Line ratios for *Aen.* IV.305-30, 333-61, 365-87 and *Ene.* IV.6.49-99, 104-60, 7.6-51. The graph on the left shows the general development of the line ratios. The graph on the right shows the development of the individual speeches. See Appendix, Table 116 for raw data.

Aside from this difference in translational ‘pitch’, both characters are also distinguished by different types of expansion. Dido’s speech at its most expansive favours a wide variety of expansion strategies, including additions and elaborations:

Quid moror? An mea pygmaeon dum moenia frater  
Destruat. Aut captam ducat getulus iarbas. (Virgil 1501: IV.325-26)

‘... Bot quharto suld I my ded langar delay?  
Sal I abyde **quhile thou be went away**,  
**And** quhil myne **awyn** brothir, Pigmaleon,  
Bet down the wallis **of my cite onon**,  
Or **stern** Hyarbas, **kyng of** Getule,  
Led me **away** into captiuite? ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: IV.6.87-92)

Douglas’s expansions make Dido’s argument more compelling. The addition ‘quhile thou be went away’ emphasises Aeneas’s absence and her defenceless position against her encroaching enemies. The addition ‘my ded’ also hints at her eventual suicide—implying that her only alternative is to die. Such a suggestion is not present in the Latin—although it is perhaps teased by the similarity between ‘moror’ (I wait) and ‘morio’ (I die). The elaborations, in the meantime, serve to enhance Dido’s language. Adverbs like ‘langar’ and adjectives like ‘stern’ highlight Dido’s precarious situation and the danger her enemies pose. Similarly, the locative adverb ‘away’ adds motion and direction to the activity of capturing Dido, making the danger more real and dynamic. The fact that ‘away’ is repeated also intensifies this sense of peril and indicates a direct line of causality between Aeneas’s absence (‘quhile thou be went away’) with the possibility of Dido’s capture (‘Led me away into captiuite’). Douglas does not shy away from stating Dido’s case but strengthens it.

By contrast, when Douglas expands upon Aeneas’s speech, he favours double translations and more subtle elaborations:

Hic amor haec patria est: si te carthagini arces ... (Virgil 1501: IV.347)

‘... Thar is **my** lust **now and delyte at hand**,

Thar is **my** cuntre **and my natyve land**.

Gif the, of Cartage the burgh **and towris swa**, ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: IV.6.131-33)

These expansions intensify the comparison between Aeneas’s personal gratification and his duty to his people and his son. The double translations draw attention to the comparison between ‘amor’ and ‘patria’ and question their meaning through the accumulation of synonyms—‘lust’ vs. ‘delight’, ‘country’ vs. ‘native land’. In this way, Douglas uses lexis to mimic what Virgil does with metre in the Latin, where the line is divided between what Aeneas could have—love or honour—versus what Dido does have—a home city. However, for Douglas the emphasis is much more on Aeneas, with Dido’s ruling of Carthage more of an afterthought. Moreover, the accruelement of terms relating to nation and power (‘burgh’ and ‘towris’) weighs the translation unit more heavily in favour of public duty. Likewise, the elaboration ‘now’ suggests that Aeneas’s pleasure in Carthage is temporary and cannot compare with the solidity of the ‘burgh’ and ‘towris’ that Aeneas could have, intensified by the elaboration ‘swa’. Again, Douglas expands upon what is already in the Latin, but the effect is subtler here than in Dido’s speech, again associating balder expansion with greater emotional pitch (see Section 7.2.3).

Dido’s speech is also characterised by ellipsis, as in the example below (elided content is indicated by strikethroughs):

Troia per ~~vndosum~~ peteretur ~~classibus~~ aequor

Mene fugis.’ Per ego has lachrymas: dextramque tuam te: (Virgil 1501: IV.313-14)

‘... **Aucht thou, zit than, leif this weifair and ioy**,

**And in sik perrell** seik throu the sey to Troy?

**Quhat!** wilt thou fle from me? **allace! allace!**

Be **all** thir teris **trygland our** my **face**,

**And be that** rycht hand **vmquhile** thou **me gave ...**’ (Douglas 1957-64: IV.6.63-67)



Here the poetic characterisation of the sea ‘vndosum classibus’ (‘surging with ships’) is not translated, presumably because it is redundant next to ‘aequor’ (‘sea’). However, in doing so Douglas removes Virgil’s emphasis on nautical matters, or rather reinterprets this emphasis as an explicit contrast between the dangers of sea voyaging (‘in sik perrell’) and the comforts of staying in Carthage (‘this weilfair and ioy’). The translation is appropriate, but not as strictly faithful as Douglas is elsewhere—especially in Aeneas’s response to Dido here, where he does not elide a single word (see Appendix, Example 3).

In this way, Douglas employs a more eloquent, less faithful kind of translation when translating Dido’s speech, whereas he pursues more restrained and sententious translation when translating Aeneas’s speech. Dido’s speech ‘is conventionally described as being in the “high tragic-rhetorical tradition”’ (Feeney 1983: 205) and Douglas presents that tradition through extremely expressive expansions and more complicated syntax, featuring rhetorical questions, interjections, and complex subordinate clauses. In Vickers’s (1970: 74) terms, Dido is speaking in the grand rhetorical style, whose object is ‘to move’. By contrast, Aeneas is speaking in the plain style, whose object is ‘to prove’. His expansions are more in service of logic, not emotion, and his syntax is more straightforward, consisting mostly of coordinate clauses.

In this way, Dido and Aeneas enact the conflict between eloquence and sentence that Douglas discusses in Prologue I (see Section 2.4). However, while Douglas’s comments in Prologue I indicate a worry that a more sententious translation style might be perceived as less skilful, here he proves the opposite. While he sometimes translates Dido using complex rhymes like ‘Pigmaleon/onon’ and ‘Getule/captiuite’, he uses them more consistently when translating Aeneas’s speech, using rhymes like ‘expreme/mysseym’

(1957-64: IV.6.107-08), 'memory/remember may I' (IV.6.109-10), 'thytuously/secretly' (IV.6.113-14), 'defraud/withhawl' (IV.6.149-50), 'sweir/messynger' (IV.6.151-52), 'sent/commandment' (IV.6.153-54), etc. While Feeney (1983: 208) characterises Aeneas's reactions by 'the ... sense of incapacity before an insistent pressure of words' in the Latin original, Douglas's skilful use of rhyme in Aeneas's speech and his successful containment of Dido's line ratios gives the impression that Aeneas is not incapable at all.

Douglas does, then, translate gender differently—although this is heavily dependent on context. It is not always the case that Douglas treats female speech as distinct from male speech. However, when he does it is usually in those circumstances when male and female dynamics are crucial in the interaction between characters. This interaction provides fertile ground for Douglas to experiment with his translation practice and compare different methods so that gender becomes an allegory for textual interpretation, and a vehicle for Douglas to develop his own evolving translation process.

This indicates that Douglas's reaction to gender is not especially misogynistic beyond what we might expect from a cleric in this period. He does not 'under' translate female speech as a matter of course; in fact, Douglas arguably gives Dido more than her fair share of representation. Again, his comments about Dido in his Prologues appear to have more to do with the literary traditions she represents, rather than any outstanding antipathy towards women in general.

### **7.5 Gods vs. Mortals**

This section considers how Douglas interprets characters of different status. However, classical epic poetry is not especially interested in the plight of the everyman; rather, all the main speaking characters in the *Aeneid* are either patricians or gods. Consequently,

the issue at stake is not the differentiation between social classes, which for Virgil and Douglas, as members of the upper echelons of a rigid society, would have been moot. Rather it is how Douglas interprets Virgil's conception of mankind's place in the cosmos.

According to Braund (1997: 210, 220), Virgil does not subscribe to any one philosophy or theological viewpoint, but rather draws 'upon the entire range of ideas and expressions available to him' to articulate the 'patriotic vision of the future race of Rome'—which is most explicitly articulated in Anchises's speech in Book VI (*Aen.* VI.724-51/*Ene.* VI.12.1-69). Here Anchises describes reincarnation and illustrates it with a catalogue of figures from the past who will be resurrected as future Roman heroes. In this way, the cycle of the heavens is figured in the progression of Roman history, making Virgil's presentation of the *Aeneid's* cosmology explicitly political. Rome becomes a microcosm for a well-balanced cosmos, where Roman success echoes and influences the order of the universe. We see this in the *Aeneid* where Juno relents to Jupiter only after Aeneas has routed Turnus on several occasions. Jupiter's command is not enough to stop Juno, it is Aeneas's demonstration of his inherent power that finally resolves the discord in the heavens. This reflects the belief that humanity lives in 'sympathy' and 'harmony' with the divine realm (Braund 1997: 213-14), where it is possible for mortals 'to cross the boundary to become divine' 'by their deserving conduct' (218).

Douglas's handling of Virgil's religious ideas is rather fraught, considering the number of strategies he employs to reduce the impact of Virgil's paganism. He alters book boundaries (see Section 5.4.4), interprets pagan gods as allegories (see Section 2.3.2), or takes a euhemeristic approach, where he 'rationalises the figures of the Roman gods as outstanding heroes whose earthly exploits led to their credulous memorialisation as divinities' (Hollo & Rutledge 2018: 250). According to Bawcutt (1976: 73) such approaches are 'traditional';

however, the fact that Douglas felt the need to employ so many indicates a real anxiety about how to handle Virgil's paganism that probably fed into Douglas's actual translation practice.

Figure 64 compares the line ratios between divine and mortal speakers and reveals that Douglas's handling of these separate groups is significantly different. He tends to expand upon mortal speech consistently, but disfavours divine speech. In addition, a keyword analysis comparing divine and mortal speech (see Table 14) reveals that mortal speech uses more evaluative syntax (i.e. interjections) and content (i.e. 'emotional actions, states, and processes' and 'happy/sad' semantic categories). These results together indicate that mortal speech is consistently more evaluative than divine speech. In other words, pagan speakers rarely interpret events for the reader—it is usually the mortal point-of-view that presides.

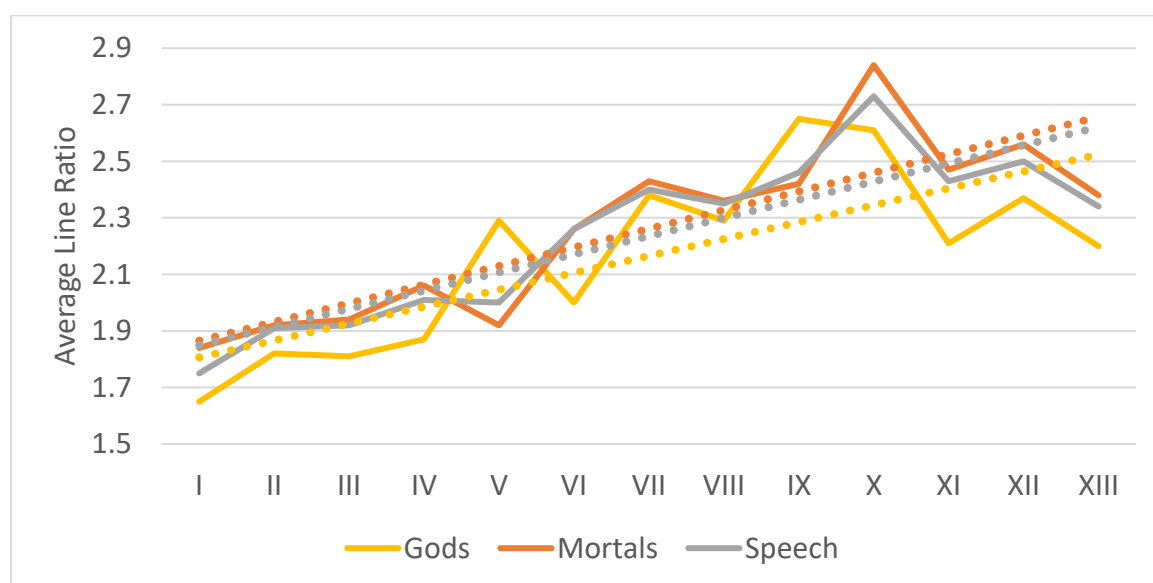


Figure 64: Average line ratios for divine and mortal speakers over the course of the 'Eneidos'. Reported speech counts as regular speech in Books II and III. Results for status are significant according to a multivariable linear regression ( $p < 0.01$ ) and are confirmed by a post-hoc Tukey test ( $p < 0.01$ ). See Appendix, Table 117 for raw data.

Table 14: Summary of results from lexical, grammatical, and semantic keyword analyses comparing divine and mortal speech in the 'Eneados'. Reported speech in Books II and III is counted as speech here. Results with effects less than 0.5 are excluded. See Appendix, Table 118 for full data.

| Keyword Type      | Gods       | Mortals                       |
|-------------------|------------|-------------------------------|
| Lexis             | <i>she</i> | <i>your</i>                   |
|                   | <i>her</i> | <i>our</i>                    |
| POS Category      |            | interjection                  |
|                   |            | first objective pronoun       |
| Semantic Category |            | emotional, states & processes |
|                   |            | happy/sad                     |

We see this in the interactions between gods and mortals in Books VI and X—the books with the greatest difference between the behaviour of these types of speakers. In Book VI, Charon tries to bar Aeneas passage to the Underworld and is scolded by the Sibyl. In Book X, the nymph Cymodoce alerts Aeneas to the danger he is sailing towards. In both cases, mortal speakers and divine speakers share line ratio patterns and favoured expansion type (see Figures 65 and 66). Charon and Deiphobe both rely heavily on elaboration and double translation with some elision, while Cymodoce and Aeneas rely heavily on additions (see Appendix, Examples 4 and 5). This illustrates the principal of 'sympathy' and 'harmony' where the heavens reflect the earth and vice versa. The one difference is that Douglas allows mortal speakers to sustain higher rates of expansion more frequently. This gives mortal speakers the power to either refute or amplify divine messages. For example, Deiphobe's rebuke of Charon mitigates his high line ratios, but Aeneas's response to Cymodoce's warning increases the trend line. Mortals can choose which divine beings they listen to.

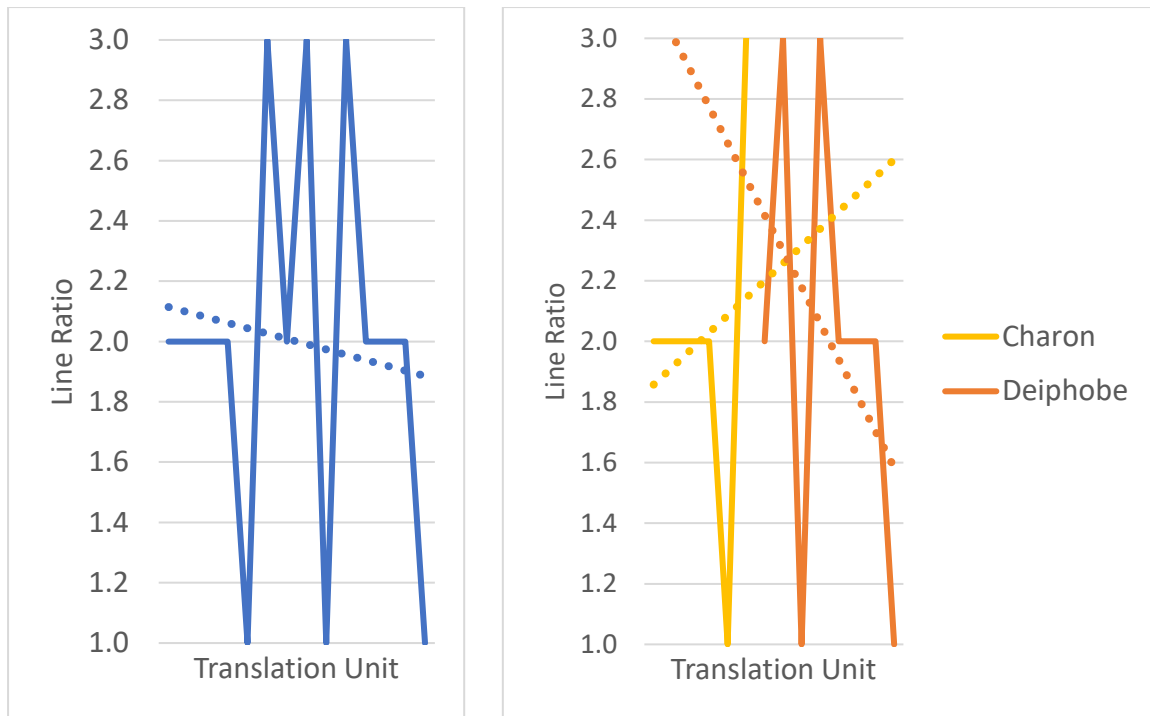


Figure 65: Line ratios for Aen. VI.388-97, 399-406, and Ene. VI.6.7-26, 29-44. Graph on the left shows the general development of the line ratios. Graph on the right shows the development of the individual speeches. See Appendix, Table 119 for raw data.

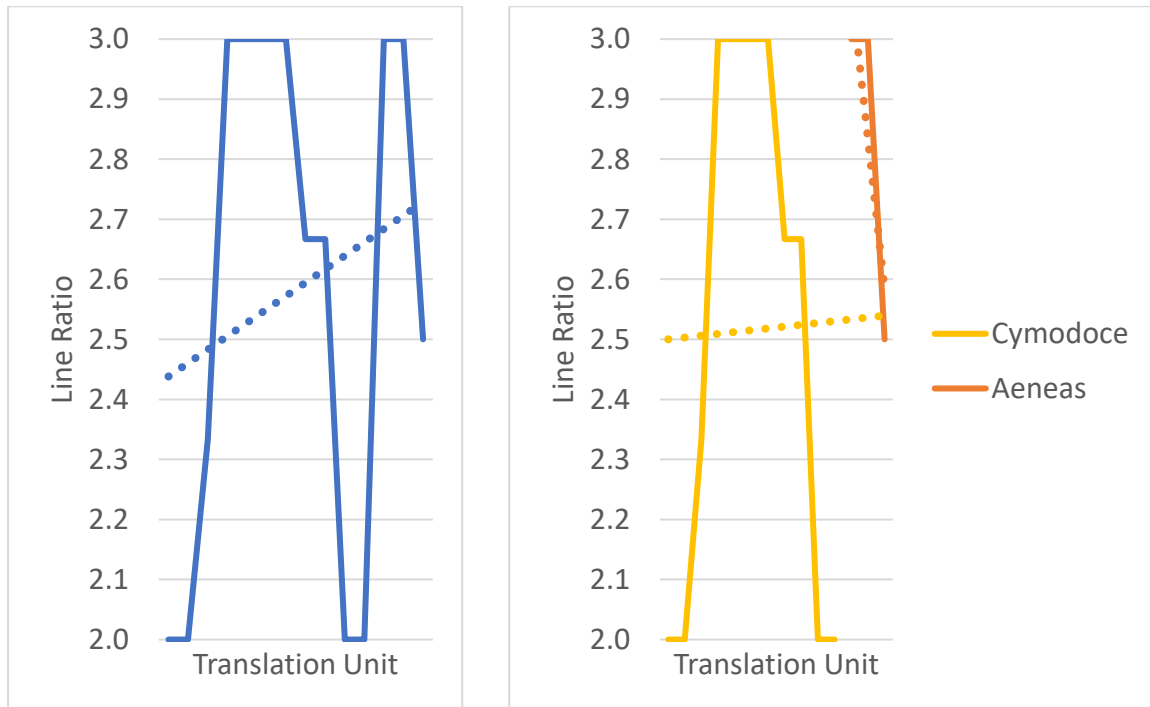


Figure 66: Line ratios for Aen. X.228-45, 252-55 and Ene. X.5.32-76, 91-101. The graph on the left shows the general development of the line ratios. The graph on the right shows the development of the individual speeches. See Appendix, Table 120 for raw data.

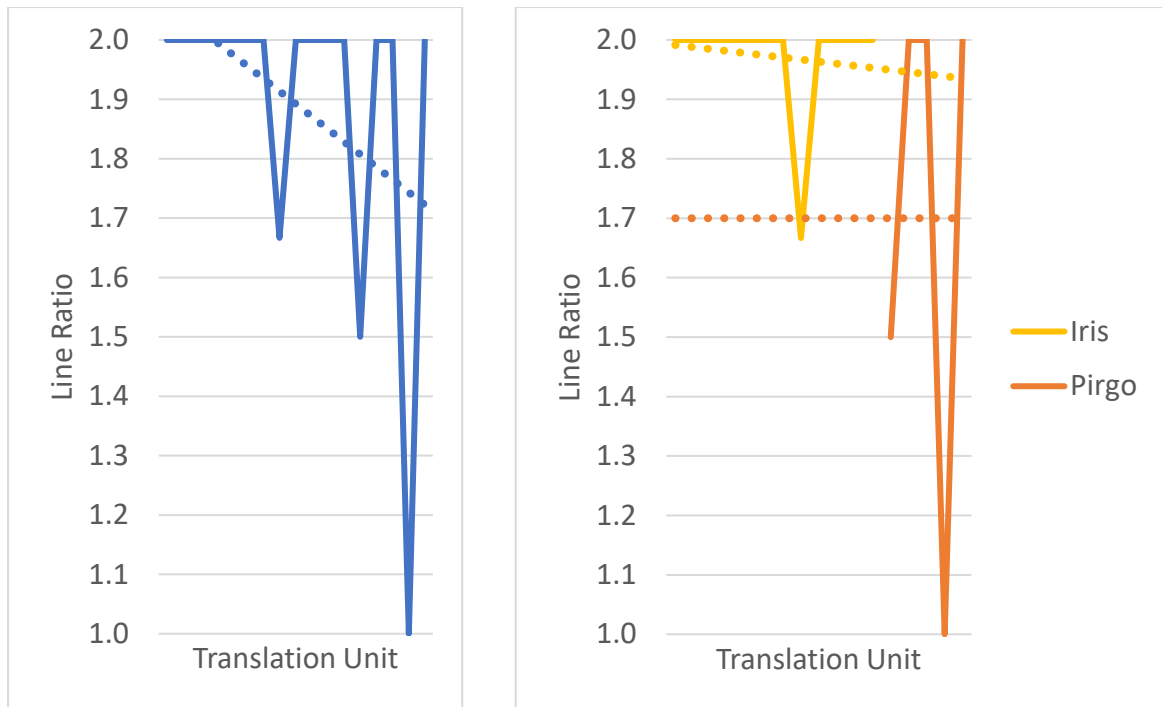


Figure 67: Line ratios for *Aen.* V.623-40, 646-52 and *Ene.* V.11.47-81, 91-102. The graph on the left shows the general development of the line ratios. The graph on the right shows the development of the individual speeches. See Appendix, Table 121 for raw data.

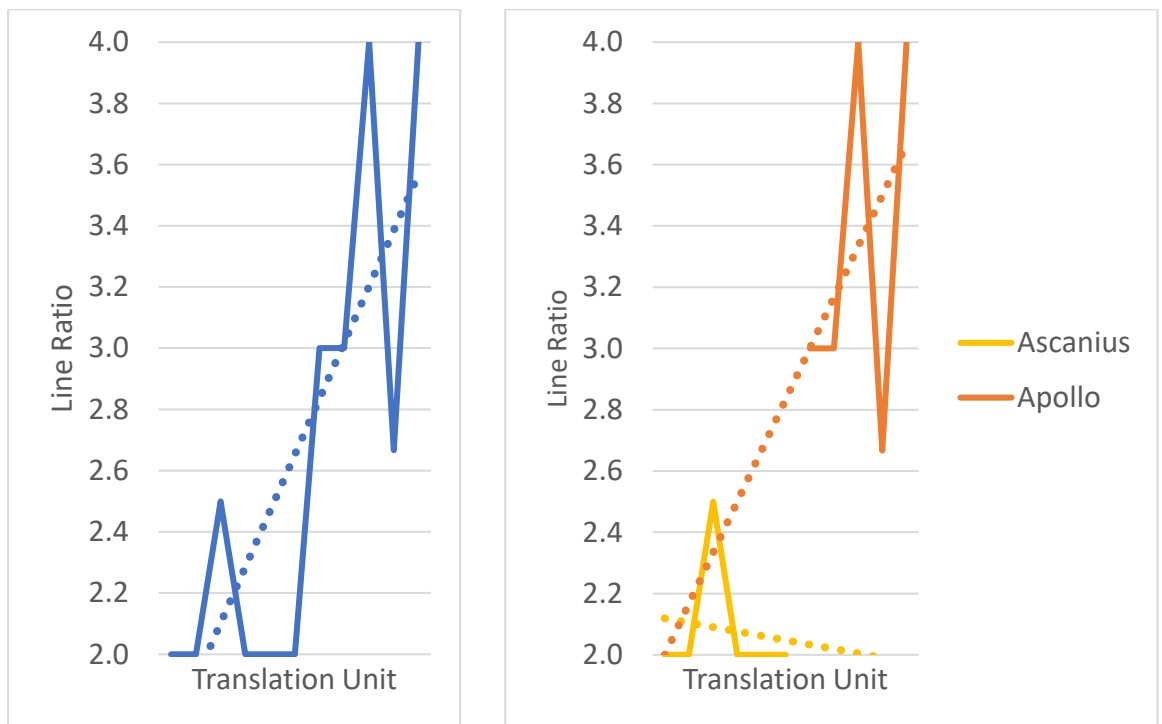


Figure 68: Line ratios for *Aen.* IX.625-29, 633-35, 641-44, 653-56 and *Ene.* IX.10.82-92, 100-104, 117-27, 145-54. The graph on the left shows the general development of the line ratios. The graph on the right shows the development of the individual speeches. See Appendix, Table 122 for raw data.

Even in books where gods are more expansive than mortals—Books V and IX—this pattern persists. In Book V, Iris disguises herself as Beroe and persuades the Trojan women to burn the ships, though Pirgo sees through her disguise (see Figure 67). In Book IX, Apollo disguises himself as Butes and persuades Ascanius to withdraw from battle (see Figure 68). Again, mortal and divine characters imitate each other's manipulation of line ratios and create almost parallel trend lines, illustrating the idea of 'harmony'. Moreover, both sets of speakers share translation modes, Iris and Pirgo relying largely on elaboration and double translation and Ascanius and Apollo using elaboration and addition (see Appendix, Examples 6 and 7).

The main difference between these examples and the ones from Books VI and X is that here the mortal characters are not given agency; their intervention in no way overrides the divine characters' intention. Rather Pirgo's intervention intensifies the downward trend in line ratios that Iris initiates. While highly expansive translation is often a sign of turbulent emotion, extremely succinct translation can also represent violence (see Section 4.5.2). In this case, the precipitation of lower line ratios ends with the Trojan women burning the ships. Likewise, Apollo's deception of Ascanius completely flips the trend of the line ratios in Ascanius's speech so that it goes up instead of down. The downward trend in Ascanius's line ratios perhaps reflect his potential death had he remained in the battle. The upward trend, however, instead illustrates Ascanius's future fame that Apollos prophesies: 'for that is the way the ledis / Vp to the starnys and the hevynnys hie' (Douglas 1957-64: IX.10.118-19; Virgil 1501: IX.641).

The gods are given more agency in these episodes probably because of two factors. Firstly, the gods are in disguise, which makes it easier for Douglas to fit them into a



euhemeristic interpretation. Iris is not a goddess but Beroe influenced by madness; Apollo is not a god, but Butes whose wisdom alerts him to keep Ascanius safe. Secondly, these two books—V and IX—are notable for Aeneas's reduced involvement in the action. In Book V, Aeneas oversees the games in honour of his father, but does not take part. In Book IX, Aeneas is not even present, having gone to forge an alliance with the Arcadians. Books V and IX also represent moments of great violence that Aeneas is not able to prevent—such as the burning of the ships in Book V and the siege of the Trojans in Book IX. These events are later mitigated by divine intervention: In *Aen.* V.779-815/*Ene.* V.13.33-116, Venus begs Neptune that he protect the Trojans on their voyage as recompense for the damage caused to the Trojan ships. In *Aen.* IX.77-109/*Ene.* IX.3.1-76, Berecynthia appeals to Jupiter to save the Trojan ships from Turnus's attack and transforms the ships into nymphs. These moments are where Douglas gives divine speech extra emphasis and content.

This emphasises Aeneas's position between the mortal and the divine, as when he is absent his presence can only be replaced by a god, who protects the Trojans on Aeneas's behalf. Not only does this foreshadow Aeneas's eventual apotheosis in Book XIII, but it also underscores Christian interpretations of the *Aeneid*. A popular Christian allegory of the *Aeneid* interprets 'moments in Aeneas's journey in terms of moral or spiritual progress' (Baswell 1995: 94, 155). Such an allegory begins with Servius (*fl.* 400) but is further developed by Bernard Silvestris (*fl.* 12<sup>th</sup> c.), who makes it explicitly Christian, arguing that the first six books tell 'the journey of the soul from its imprisonment in the body to its return to God' (Pike 1998: 343). As part of this allegory, Aeneas, as the leader of those seeking Italy (i.e. heaven), assumes a 'Christological role' (Baswell 1995: 155). While such an interpretation is not explicit in Douglas's *Eneados*, and he does not overtly pursue a Christian allegory, his handling of divine and mortal speech is congruent with

such an interpretation, in that Aeneas is figured as an intermediary between mankind and the divine. Such a tacit comparison, which might be considered akin to typology (see Ginsberg 1983: 96), illustrates his point that Virgil's content is not inconsistent with Christian teachings (see Section 5.4.4) and makes Aeneas and his undertakings more relatable to a medieval Christian audience.

## **7.6 Trojans vs. Italians**

As discussed in Section 7.5, Virgil's concept of cosmology is intrinsically tied to Rome's geopolitical status. As Braund (1997: 210) puts it, 'politics trumps the labelling of philosophical ideas in interpretations of Virgil'. Consequently, the final variable of interest here is Virgil's concept of nationality.

Throughout the history of the reception of the *Aeneid*, many critics have identified Virgil's work as a propaganda piece meant to strengthen Augustus's mythic persona (see Dearing 1952: 855). Douglas himself espouses this view in his Comment (1957-64: n. 68), probably drawing on Servius's commentary which makes a similar claim ('Intentio ... parentibus'; 1501: fol. 1<sup>v</sup>). However, as usual, Virgil is not so easy to pin down. While the goal of the *Aeneid* is 'the creation of a Roman people and a Roman nation' (Zetzel 1997: 188), Virgil is not as outspokenly positive as the comments above suggest. In fact, Tarrant (1997: 170) argues that Virgil's poetry is 'remarkable' both 'for the degree to which it engages seriously with the political realities of his time' and 'the distance that it maintains from those realities'. Again, this is achieved by the expression of many voices, including those who are in favour of Rome and those who are dubious (see Section 7.1). Moreover, Virgil does not attempt to cast the Trojans (the future Romans) in a positive light. Rather, 'the apparent contrasts ... between civilised Trojans

and barbarous Italians, dissolves [*sic*] on closer inspection' (Tarrant 1997: 190). The emphasis is on similarity, rather than difference, indicating Virgil's concept of Rome is more open than propaganda would allow.

Douglas's political message in the *Eneados* is also quite ambiguous. Given his linguistic declaration in Prologue I and his interpretation of the *Aeneid* as propaganda in his Comment, it would be expected for him to cast the Trojans as Scots and the Italians as the English and compare their modes of expression. However, Douglas does not do this. While Figure 69 reveals a difference between Trojan and Italian speaker trend lines, this is probably because the Italians are introduced in the second half of the poem, where Douglas's line ratios are higher. Moreover, the results here are not confirmed by a Tukey Test.

Keyword analyses comparing Italians and Trojans (see Table 15) also yield limited results. Syntactic differences are essentially non-existent. The lexical and semantic results are due to divergences in content between the two types of speaker as opposed to linguistic or stylistic differences implemented by Douglas. The Trojans sail around the Mediterranean (see *Greeks*, 'transport by water'), visit different lands (see 'other proper names', 'geographical terms'), and have many supernatural encounters (see 'religion & the supernatural'). By contrast, the Italians exist in only two modes in the *Aeneid*—pastoral life and war. This is naturally reflected in the results (see 'farming & horticulture' and 'warfare').

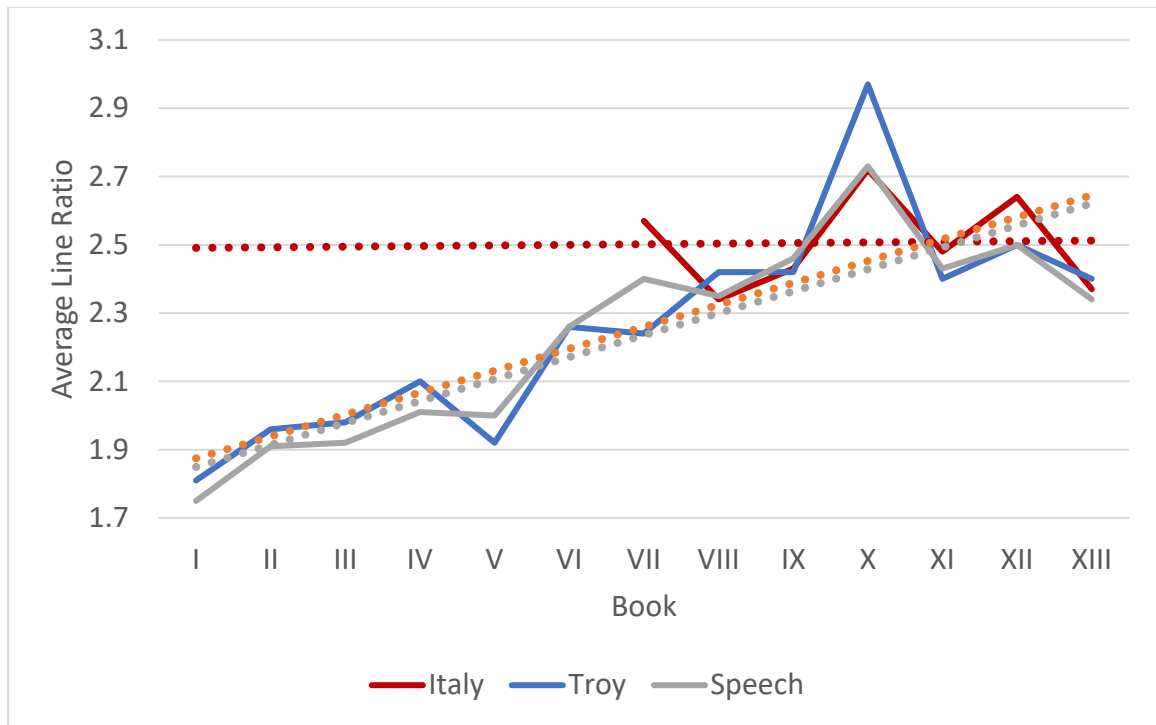


Figure 69: Average line ratios for speakers of different nation over the course of the ‘Eneados’. Reported speech counts as regular speech in Books II and III. Results for nation are significant by a multivariable linear regression ( $p < 0.01$ ), but not confirmed by post-hoc Tukey test ( $p = 0.86$ ). See Appendix, Table 123 for raw data.

Table 15: Summary of results from lexical, grammatical, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Italian and Trojan speech in the ‘Eneados’. Reported speech in Books II and III is counted as speech here. Results with effects less than 0.5 are excluded. See Appendix, Table 124 for raw data.

| Keyword Type      | Italy                  | Troy                        |
|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Lexis             |                        | Greeks                      |
| POS Category      |                        | quotation marks             |
| Semantic Category | farming & horticulture | other proper names          |
|                   | warfare                | transport by water          |
|                   |                        | geographical terms          |
|                   |                        | religion & the supernatural |

Similarly, Douglas does not distinguish Trojan and Italian speakers in translation method—although at first glance this seems to be the case. In Book X, which features the most exchanges between the Trojans and Italians, Mago and Lucagus both interact with Aeneas and share expansion practices, using mostly elaborations and double translations. Mago, for example, describes in detail the rewards he would give to Aeneas should Aeneas spare Mago's life.

Caelati argenti: sunt auri pondera sacri:  
 Infectique mihi. non hic victoria teucrum  
 Vertitur: haud anima vna dabit discrimina tanta. (Virgil 1501: X.527-29)

'... Or charge of **fyne** siluer, **in veschell quent**  
**Forgyt and punsynt wonder craftely**;  
 Ane **huge** weght of fynast gold **tharby**,  
 Oncunzeit **zit**, **ne nevir put in wark**:  
**Sa thou me self, thy pyssans is so stark**,  
 The Troianys **glory nor thar** victory  
 Sall na thyng change **nor dymynew tharby**,  
 Nor a **puyr** sawle, **thus hyngand in ballance**,  
 May sik diuisioun mak **nor discrepans**.' (Douglas 1957-64: X.9.51-58)

The synonyms and extra adjectives in the double translations and elaborations mimic the treasure's ornateness. By contrast, Aeneas's response is translated with additions that do not embellish or sweeten language, but make explicit his cold fury:

Hoc patris ~~anchisae~~ manes: ~~hœc~~ sentit iulus. (Virgil 1501: X.534)

'... That **rewthfull harm**, **and that myschews cace**,  
 Felys **baith** Ascanyus and my faderis gost,  
**For thai na litill thyng tharby hess lost**.' (Douglas 1957-64: X.9.68-70)

There is a similar interaction later between Lucagus and Aeneas. Like Mago, Lucagus begs Aeneas for mercy—although he appeals to Aeneas's good nature rather than attempting to bribe him. Again, the elaborations and double translations heighten the emotional pitch of Lucagus's plea, enumerating many reasons why he

should be spared. His plea is compelling—which makes it especially shocking when Aeneas denies him mercy.

*Lucagus:*

Per te per qui te talem genuere parentes  
Vir troiane: sine hanc animam: ~~et~~ miserere precantis. (Virgil 1501:  
X.597-98)

‘O Troiane prynce, I lawly the beseik,  
Be thyne awyn vertuus and thy thewys meyk,  
And be thy parentis maist of renowne,  
That sik a child engendryt hess as the,  
Thow spair this wofull sylly sawle at lest,  
Haue rewth of me, and admyt my request’. (Douglas 1957-64:  
X.10.121-26)

*Aeneas:*

... morere et fratrem ne desere frater. (Virgil 1501: X.600)

‘Syk sawys war langer furth of thy mynd.  
Sterve the behuffis, less than thou war onkynd  
As for toleif thy broder desolait  
All hym allane, na follow the sam gait’. (Douglas 1957-64: X.10.129-32)

In this way, Douglas appears to pursue different kinds of translation when handling Italian and Trojan characters. However, Mago and Aeneas behave similarly in their line ratios (Lucagus’s speech cannot be considered here, as it is too short). As Figure 70 shows, both Mago and Aeneas cover the same range of line ratios (2-3), with neither one exceeding the other. Moreover, if each character’s individual line ratios are considered, the slopes of their trend lines are almost parallel.

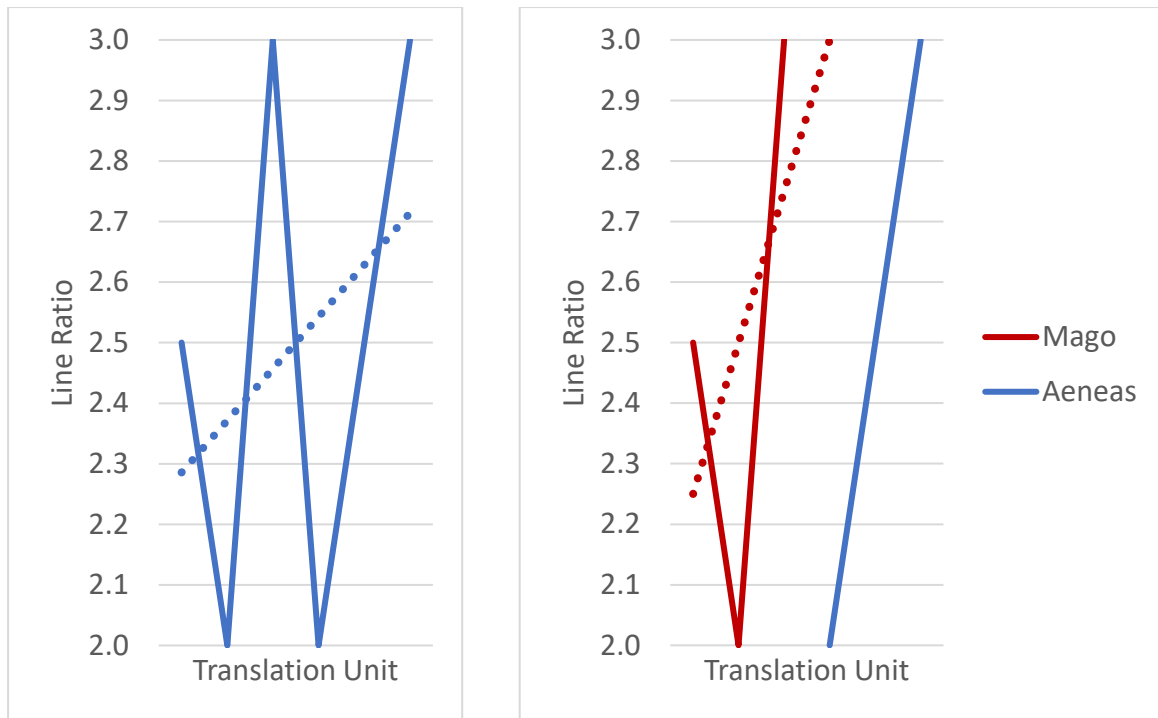


Figure 70: Line ratios for *Aen.* X.524-29, 531-34 and *Ene.* X.9.43-58, 61-70. The graph on the left shows the general development of the line ratios. The graph on the right shows the development of the individual speeches. See Appendix, Table 125 for raw data.

Moreover, many differences between Italian and Trojan speakers' uses of expansion have more to do with Aeneas's status as the main hero. Exchanges between Turnus and Pallas are not so differentiated. For example, Turnus observes Pallas fighting and declares:

*Debetur*: *cuperem ipse parens spectator adesset*: (Virgil 1501: X.443)

'... *The victory* *pertenys of sik a knycht*;

Glaibly I wald hys fader stude heirby,

*This interpryss* *to dereyn and aspy*.' (Douglas 1957-64: X.8.12-14)

Here Douglas paraphrases words like 'debetur' ('it is obligated') as 'pertenys' and interprets the predicate noun 'spectator' (meaning as you would expect) as a purpose clause 'to dereyn and aspy'. Because of these paraphrases, Turnus's speech abounds with elaboration. Pallas, meanwhile, sees Turnus and the slaughter of his comrades and prays to Hercules for strength:

Per patris hospitium: et mensas quas aduena *adisti*:  
Te precor alcidē *coeptis ingentibus* adsis. (Virgil 1501: X.460-61)

‘I the beseik, **thou myghty** Hercules,  
Be my faderis gestnyng, and the **ilk** dess  
Quhar **thou** strangear was *ressauyt to herbry*,  
Assist **to me**, **cum in my help in hy**,  
To perform **this** excellent **fyrst** iourne, ...’ (Douglas 1957-64: X.8.55-59)

Again, there is paraphrase: The ablative absolute ‘*coeptis ingentibus*’ (‘with these great things beginning’) is translated as the purpose clause ‘to perform this excellent first iourne’. Similarly, the active verb ‘*adisti*’ (‘you came’) becomes a passive configuration (‘thou ... was *ressauyt*’). These paraphrases cause a similar proliferation of elaborations as seen in Turnus’s speech. In this way, Douglas translates these two characters using a similar mode, though the expansions and paraphrases are less extreme in Pallas’s speech.

For Douglas, then, as with Virgil, the differences between nations are not delineated within speech. However, that is not to say that Douglas is entirely devoid of interest in nationhood. He frequently makes explicit characters’ nationality in battle, scenes where Virgil preferred to leave everyone unlabelled. For example, in Book IX Douglas transforms a one-line catalogue of the dead and victorious into four lines highlighting where everyone is from (see below). Whereas for Virgil the focus is on individuals killing other individuals, with no sense of net benefit, Douglas gives this carnage a purpose by making nationhood explicit. It is not just Liger who kills Emathio, it is a Trojan who defeats a Rutulian.

Emathiona liger: chorineum sternit asylas ... (Virgil 1501: IX.571)

Liger **a Troiane from the wall also**  
Doun bet **a Rutiliane hait** Emathio.  
**A Phrigiane eik**, Asylas, **stern and stowt**,  
**All tofruschit** Choryneus **withowt**, ... (Douglas 1957-64: IX.9.99-102)



This might not seem like an important alteration, but it must have involved much effort. The *Aeneid* includes many characters that are mentioned only once and whose nationality is not always identified. To add this material, Douglas must have researched each character in various commentaries. For example, Ascensius offers the following explanation for the previous lines:

Liger id est vt videt italus quasi ligur aut ligus id est de luguria sternit emathiona id est troianum illum et id quidem vocabula indicant: sed series verborum postulare videtur vt dicamus liger scilicet troianus ille sternit emathiona scilicet rutulum: nam is proprie sternit qui desuper incumbit vt itali non rutuli. Asylas troianus: sternit chorineum italum hic scilicet chorineus erat super: ... (Ascensius 1501: 288v)

Liger—seems Italian like the names Ligur or Ligus, i.e. from Liguria—kills Emathio, a Trojan man; at least this is what the vocabulary indicates. But it seems that the order of words demands that we say Liger, a Trojan, kills Emathio, a Rutulian. For, properly, the one mentioned last kills the one who is mentioned before—as they are Italians, not Rutulians. Asylas is a Trojan; he kills Chorineus, an Italian, here, because Chorineus was listed before. (my translation)

Douglas follows Ascensius's instruction here in making Liger and Asylas Trojans, and Emathio and Chorineus Italians. However, the explanation Ascensius provides is odd. By etymology he suggests that Liger and Asylas should be identified as Italians, but he argues that word order dictates against this. However, it is not entirely clear why the syntax should reflect upon these characters' nationalities. Rather, the word order only indicates who is the object and who is the subject—i.e. who is killed and who does the killing. Ascensius's claim that word order also implies nationality indicates that the conclusion here is already foregone: Liger must be a Trojan, because he kills Emathio, and it is the Trojans who ultimately win. However, there is no such sense of Trojan victory in the original text at this point. Rather, it is the Italians who are besieging the

Trojans, so Ascensius's interpretation of grammar here is rather extraordinary. The fact that Douglas uses this interpretation suggests a similar desire to indicate Trojan supremacy in battle. Such practice contradicts Cummings's (1995: 140) claim that Douglas translated the *Aeneid* for its pacifist message. However, despite this emphasis on Trojan might, Douglas also rejects the unbridled chivalry demonstrated by Euryalus and Nisus within this same book (see Caughey 2009: 262). He does not valorise the Trojans but presents a balanced characterisation of both sides.

There are many other examples of this tendency make nationhood explicit—every book featuring a major battle features such a passage (see *Aen.* II.425-26/*Ene.* II.7.111-13; *Aen.* X.753-54/*Ene.* X.12.157-62; *Aen.* XI.612/*Ene.* XI.12.37-38; and *Aen.* XII.371/*Ene.* XII.7.147-49).<sup>13</sup> The one exception is Book VII, even though this book marks the beginning of hostilities between Trojans and Italians. Perhaps this is because this book does not involve proper armed combat between the two nations, but an unofficial skirmish between a Trojan hunting party and Latin shepherds. By contrast, Book IV possesses an example, even though it does not feature battle, where Douglas reminds us that Aeneas and Dido are representatives of their nations (see *Aen.* IV.60/*Ene.* IV.2.16-17), and consequently their love affair is a geopolitical issue. In this way, Douglas employs this hyper attention to nationhood only when nations are coming into conflict in an official capacity. Crucially, he does not interpret this conflict in terms of difference. Rather, like Virgil, he aligns speakers of different nations so that they all use the same discourse. However, he specifies that they come from diverse places.

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<sup>13</sup> See XII.6.147-49 in the printed version of Coldwell (1957-64).

Such practice correlates with what we know of Douglas's political life, where he often was sympathetic towards English concerns, but never to the extent that he professed a desire for Scotland to be subordinate to England (see Section 2.3.3). For example, when Douglas was sent proposals in 1515 to convince Queen Margaret to return to England with her children after the death of James IV at Flodden (1513), Douglas politely refused, potentially recognising 'the folly of allowing the infant James V to leave Scotland and enter the keeping of an English king' (Bawcutt 1976: 11). Likewise, Douglas never subscribed to Mair's (1467-1550) view that Scotland and England should be unified (see Mason 2005: 100), famously critiquing Mair's *Historia maioris Britanniae* (1521) for its 'scepticism' concerning the Gaythelos and Scota myth (Bawcutt 1976: 30), which asserts Scotland's independent mythic origins (see Section 2.3.3). While Douglas never pursues zealous patriotism and aggression against England, he also is insistent that Scotland's sovereignty be recognised.

Such an attitude would also be in keeping for the general situation between Scotland and England at the time. As Bawcutt (1976: 37) explains, 'Scottish attitudes to England and English culture at this time were complex': while there was political friction with and a lasting antipathy towards England due to the Wars of Independence (1296-1328; 1332-57), there was also great respect towards English language and literature that was often treated as a common inheritance. In this respect, it is not surprising that Douglas does not distinguish between his Trojans and Italians through their language, as traditionally differences between Scotland and England had not been viewed this way (see Section 2.3.3). That he instead illustrates different nationalities through labels is congruent with his practice of calling his language 'Scottis' or the Gaythelos and Scota myth which tenuously claims Greek origins for Scotland.

This again indicates that national identity is a subtle concept for Douglas that is more symbolic than necessarily functional (see Section 2.3.3). It need not be demonstrated through actions but absolutely should be recognised in name. The names of things matter—especially in the *Aeneid* where Juno insists that the Italian people remain Italian and that they speak Latin, even though Rome is ostensibly the descendant of Troy, at least in Virgil’s version of history (*Aen.* XII.819-28/*Ene.* XII.14.69-90).<sup>14</sup> Of course, this distinction is moot for the literally-minded reader, given that Virgil depicts all nations as speaking Latin, foreshadowing Latin’s supremacy. It must be interpreted more abstractly in terms of the methods of characterisation that Virgil does use—especially his allusions to Greek texts like the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (see Section 7.1). In this way, nationality is performed by texts and labels but not necessarily by language itself.

...

This chapter has discovered that Douglas translates narrative and speech differently, with speech being more prone to expansion. This is because speech is a form of evaluation that interprets events in the narrative. Expansion for Douglas is also, by its nature, evaluative, as it delays the action, creating space for reflection. In other words, the relationship between evaluation and expansion is mutual: not only are evaluative aspects of narrative marked by amplification, but expansion itself carries evaluative significance. This suggests, as in Section 4.5.1, that expansion has a stylistic function—which may indicate that Douglas was writing partly for an audience familiar with Latin, who would be able to recognise his expansions and appreciate their effect. It also indicates that if Douglas alters the *Aeneid* in any way, it is not in the minutiae of the plot,

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<sup>14</sup> See XII.13.69-90 in the printed version of Coldwell (1957-64).

but rather in the interpretation of these minutiae. This allows him to transmit his source accurately, while still giving him the freedom to mitigate content he finds problematic with culturally suitable interpretations. It is as though, in Douglas's eyes, a faithful translation cannot add anything except evaluation.

Douglas makes this link between original content and evaluation even clearer in his handling of narrative frames, where he generally does not distinguish character narrative from his own. This is especially the case with Aeneas's narrative in Books II and III, which also bears a strong similarity to the Prologues. Such an overlap in styles indicates that Douglas identifies Aeneas with his own creative potential, making the *Eneados* not just the story of a man's political development and his apotheosis, but a man's poetic development as well (see Section 2.3.2). Such an association also links Douglas's term 'eloquence' with the concept of evaluation and expansive translation. His Prologues are redolent with evaluative syntax, but his narrative in translation is not, and it is only through other speakers' mouths that he allows himself to introduce especially evaluative language. In this way, evaluation proves to be both a threat to a translation's authority and a necessity of original poetry.

The way Douglas translates male and female speech during certain situations—specifically those where female characters overstep their expected gender roles—illustrates this quandary. In these instances, male characters often work to contain female evaluation, so it is a male interpretation of events that triumphs. However, in the process, Douglas uses gender conflict as an opportunity to experiment with various modes of translation. For example, Dido pursues a much more expansive, expressive, and less accurate mode of translation, whereas Aeneas is brief and precise, and

ultimately Aeneas's mode of expression wins out. However, over the course of the *Eneados*, Douglas follows both examples, retaining Aeneas's fidelity to the source text, while also implementing Dido's expansiveness. So, while gender may not influence Douglas's line ratios, it does affect the evolution of his method. The *disputatio in utramque partem* between characters of different genders proves to be a productive space for Douglas to develop his ideas on translation.

Surprisingly, this interjection of more evaluative material over the course of the *Eneados* is not especially disruptive. Rather, the overwhelming impression is that Douglas is a very skilled translator, who often reflects the viewpoint of Virgil in his translation decisions. His translation of divine and mortal speech, where divine and mortal speakers adopt each other's mode of discourse, mimics Virgil's understanding of the gods as both paradigms and reflections of mankind's own activities. Likewise, his interpretation of nation—while departing from Virgil's own in some respects—also represents what Virgil seemed to want Rome to embody. Rome is a universal, civilising idea, not necessarily an exclusive identity.

However, in one respect, Douglas's insertion of original content causes a significant deviation from the *Aeneid*. Unlike Virgil, Douglas presents Aeneas as an able speaker, which indicates that he has a different opinion of rhetoric from Virgil's. Words, for Virgil, fail; they fail to palliate Dido, they fail to prevent war, and they fail to save Turnus. However, because Douglas has linked his own creative voice with Aeneas's, he is compelled to prove that words do not fail. To that end, he increases Aeneas's capacity for speech and alters book boundaries to create a less hesitant characterisation (see Section 5.4.4). Moreover, he includes Vegio's *Supplement* (1428) so that his project

ends in union and apotheosis (see Section 4.5.2). In this way, Douglas intrinsically changes the nature of the ideas that are being transmitted. The overall effect is a more dynamic, almost Homeric Aeneas who more naturally fills his role as leader of the Trojans and founder of Rome.

In this way, Douglas both challenges the notion that Aeneas is a reticent speaker and reformulates the place of rhetoric in translation and in society. Whereas Homer stipulates that good speech utilises rhetoric, and Virgil specifies that good speech utilises rhetoric for the public good, Douglas occupies an uneasy middle ground. In the *Eneados*, Aeneas's inherent nobility is represented by his ability to speak well, even in those situations where his tongue is most restrained. In the figure of Aeneas, then, Douglas essentially poses a rhetorical, poetically expressive form of translation that can nonetheless represent truth—what he himself refers to in Prologue IX as 'the knyghtlyke stile' (1957-64: IX.Prol.31).

## CHAPTER 8:

### CONCLUSION:

#### GAVIN DOUGLAS'S ACTUAL TRANSLATION METHOD

The past chapters have examined Douglas's translation method from various perspectives—how he handles different kinds of content, how he translates aspects of his source text's layout, how he reads repetition in the *Aeneid*, and how he interprets character speech. This final chapter evaluates the effectiveness of this approach to the *Eneados*, providing a general assessment of what this work's methodology has accomplished and what it can further produce. It concludes that this method enables researchers to look at Douglas from a new perspective, revealing aspects of his translation that were never encountered before or at least never fully addressed, which in turn has shed light on Douglas's ideology. The method is effective and should be considered for future literary studies—where appropriate.

This chapter summarises the findings of the past chapters and brings them into conversation with one another to achieve a comprehensive description of Douglas's actual translation method. This includes Douglas's general translation habits, his purpose in including the Prologues and Book XIII, the order of translation, and how Douglas envisioned his project. With this method defined, this chapter then compares Douglas's translation activity to his comments in Prologue I to evaluate their accuracy and purpose. This analysis reveals that Prologue I accurately describes Douglas's translation method, but makes a subtle distinction between 'word for word' and literal translation. His comments and translation method also reveal that Douglas has a great interest in language, but that this interest is stylistic, rather than specifically linguistic.



This chapter then considers the implications of Douglas's method for various aspects of his identity as an author that have been debated by the scholarly community—namely, his humanism and nationalism. This work concludes that Douglas's humanism is more straightforward than is often granted, but decidedly vernacular. By contrast, Douglas's nationalism is more nuanced than sometimes granted and more invested in textual than political concerns. This work finishes with some final remarks about the nature of the *Eneados*, what this tells us about translation in general, and how it reflects on Douglas and his position in the Scottish canon.

### **8.1 A Final Review of the Method of this Thesis**

This work has used a combination of descriptive translation studies (DTS), corpus linguistics, and philology to investigate how Douglas translates the *Aeneid* (see Chapter 1). Digital files of the *Eneados* and its source text—Ascensius's (1501) edition of the *Aeneid*—were created and enhanced with information pertaining to the layout and *ordinatio* of Douglas's source text, the boundaries between narrative and speech and speaker identities, equivalent segments between the Latin and Scots, and the lexical, grammatical, and semantic function of each word (see Chapter 3). This method is highly original and has involved the creation of numerous tools—such as systems of layout, pragmatic, and alignment annotation, a normalised lexicon for Douglas's Scots, and modern alternatives for obscure Scots words that make it possible to use modern English taggers on Older Scots texts.

One of the major benefits of these digital files is that they make Douglas's text more accessible. The length of the *Eneados* precludes analysis of the entire work—there is simply too much there. This thesis has produced a tool to easily examine the *Eneados*. The digital files created for this project provide numerous means of analysing and selecting the text.

They enable researchers to isolate sections of the text by line ratio, pragmatic type, speaker, and sociolinguistic variable. They allow aspects of layout to be tracked as well as grammatical and semantic functions, and they enable comprehensive lexical searches in general. They also provide a means of easily recognising repetitions of various sizes across the entire text'

Together, these approaches have revealed numerous aspects of the *Eneados* that have either been unacknowledged or casually observed but not meticulously studied. For example, while Bawcutt (1976: 137) recognises that Douglas tends to build his translation around Virgil's lines, with one Scots couplet often translating a Latin line, this work has discovered that Douglas's translation method shifts over the course of the *Eneados*, which in turn sheds new light on the Comment and the order in which the Books and Prologues were composed. Moreover, it builds on Bawcutt's (1973; 1976) work on the impact of certain features in Ascensius's (1501) edition on the *Eneados*, finding that Ascensius's layout influences Douglas's translation practice. This correlation has important implications, proving that translation and reading are analogous activities, where factors that impact the latter also affect the former.

Likewise, this work's finding that Douglas alters Virgil's presentation of Aeneas by expanding upon his speech in the later books contradicts Bawcutt's (1976: 127) claim that 'Douglas does not distort the proportions of the *Aeneid* nor fundamentally alter Virgil's thought', but supports Gray's (2001: 32) observation that Douglas's characterisation of Aeneas is no less complex than Virgil, but 'more wordy'. This work also builds on Gray's (2000: 98) claim that Douglas is aware of Virgil's 'subjective style', finding that Douglas's different translation strategies carry stylistic weight and are used as a means of characterisation to differentiate between divine and mortal characters and between

characters of different gender in certain contexts. This has provided valuable insight into how Douglas designed his translation and who it was aimed for, as these processes suggests an audience who knew Latin well enough to recognise Douglas's stylistic use of translation. It has also shed light on Douglas's ideas on gender, the role of pagan literature in a Christian context, and nationalism, providing more nuanced interpretations of his ideological position on these topics than previously offered by Desmond (1994), Canitz (1996), and Corbett (c. 1999), and corroborating the work of Ghosh (1995), Royan (2012), and Wingfield (2014).

Finally, like Gray (2000: 114), this work observes the unity and impetus of Douglas's style within the *Eneados*, based on how Douglas alters book boundaries (building on Royan's 2015 work) and how he recognises repetitions. Gray (2000: 116) also acknowledges Douglas's ability to identify, reproduce, and create verbal repetitions, though he does not acknowledge just how far this goes, nor does he recognise the academic impetus behind such repetitions. This work argues that repetitions provide evidence for how Douglas reads the *Aeneid*—building on Bawcutt's (1974) analysis of Douglas's reading material—and indicates an interest in the narrative unity of the poem that is quite different from many translations (and adaptations) of the *Aeneid* that came before and after. The recognition that Douglas designs his text to create twelve-book readers of the *Aeneid* is one of the more original contributions of this work, and could not have been achieved without the use of a computational method that enables detailed analysis of the entirety of the *Eneados*.

In summary, this method has succeeded in supporting many claims of well-respected scholars—especially Bawcutt who has done the most comprehensive work on Douglas—while at the same time making new discoveries, which arguably could not have been made without the use of a corpus linguistic methodology.

These results have only scratched the surface. Further work could be done using this method. For example, translation pairs could be analysed to investigate how Douglas translates certain words or semantic fields and whether that changes over the course of the *Eneados*. Likewise, more could be done to investigate Douglas's handling of certain Virgilian tropes—like *dicolon abundans* (where something is said twice in quick succession but in different ways) and extended similes. Researchers can also use the line ratio data to locate chapters and passages that could benefit from further analysis.

In addition, the files themselves could be further developed and used as the foundation for a corpus that investigates medieval and early modern Scottish translation. This, in turn, could yield fascinating insights on the evolution of humanism in Scotland. Moreover, a pilot study has been undertaken with the *OED* to develop an etymological tagger for Older Scots, which could be used to study the distribution of different etymologies across the *Eneados*. This could illuminate Douglas's expansive style further and clarify how it relates to his variegated vocabulary and what he means when he declares that he writes in Scots. Finally, now that the *Eneados*'s translation method has been thoroughly defined, the *Palice of Honour* (c. 1501) should be revisited to investigate how it relates to the *Eneados* and whether it anticipates any of its ideas.

In this way, this project has proved that an interdisciplinary method drawing on literary and linguistic methods, and traditional and digital techniques can be very productive when applied to medieval texts—especially large, complicated ones that defy easy analysis. When digital, linguistic, and statistical analyses are balanced with respect to literary, material, and historical contexts, they can forge a powerful tool that can provide new perspectives on well-studied texts. Moreover, the adoption of this method

produces a variety of digital tools and texts that make the study of medieval literature and language more accessible and, consequently, more relevant.

## 8.2 Douglas's Actual Translation Method

While Douglas's translation method evolves across the *Eneados*, making it difficult to characterise, the analysis here has revealed that he generally pursues literal translation—that is, a translation that closely follows the text and its syntax (see Section 4.2). His translation also is extremely complete—he translates almost every word and disfavours elision. In this way, Douglas provides a very accurate and meticulous translation of the *Aeneid*.

However, the most notable aspect of Douglas's method is how he inserts original content throughout his translation. This content often provides the space needed to translate Virgil's syntax accurately, as briefer translation often necessitates elisions or paraphrase (see Section 4.2). However, Section 7.2.3 finds that these expansions also serve an evaluative, or rhetorical, purpose. Not only do they interject Douglas's authorial voice, but they also supply interpretation of the content. Sometimes this interpretation is an interlinear gloss that explains what certain words mean or who certain people are. Other times the interpretation is more subtle, emphasising certain content to guide readers to specific understandings of the text. Crucially, these expansions never alter the actual content of the *Aeneid*—Virgil's text is relayed faithfully. Moreover, these expansions are never so intrusive as to interrupt the text. They usually are not long or grouped together to be easily recognised as an interlude. Rather, they are a key component of Douglas's response to Virgil and often enhance the reader's understanding of the text.

This insertion of original material increases over the course of the *Eneados* and is part of the general evolution of Douglas's translation method (see Section 4.3). It is

conditioned largely by the structure and layout of Douglas's source text, Ascensius's (1501) edition of the complete works of Virgil, whose commentary also proves to be the source and inspiration of many of Douglas's expansions (see Section 5.3.2). Ascensius's page layout changes over the course of his edition due to the imbalance of commentary available for each book of the *Aeneid*, which is a product of six-book readings (see Section 5.3.1). As the commentary shrinks in the later books, Ascensius divides the text into larger sections, capitalising on the available space on the page. This, in turn, changes Douglas's experience of reading the edition, making it easier for him to access the commentary while simultaneously reading the main text. This results in Douglas adding more original material to the translation that he has either borrowed from the commentary or been inspired to add by the lack of commentary available.

To a lesser extent, this evolution is also conditioned by pragmatic type. Douglas adds more original material to speech because it is naturally evaluative (see Section 7.2.2). He also probably finds it easier to incorporate original material when he can distance it from his own voice so that it is not an obvious intervention in the text. However, he also uses the speech of other characters—especially female characters who 'misbehave'—to experiment with different types of translation (see Section 7.4). Extreme expansion is initially a hallmark of Dido's speech and is coupled by paraphrase and elision. But, over the course of the *Eneados*, Douglas adopts this level of expansion in his own narrative but still retains his literal method.

Finally, content proves to influence Douglas's level of expansion with more abstract concepts attracting more interpolation, and more descriptive content attracting less—again reflecting the evaluative quality of expansion (see Section 4.5). The one exception to this is that content referring to death, a rather weighty subject, is regularly

treated very briefly and baldly (see Section 4.5.2). In this way, Douglas proves to associate extremely brief translation—and the elision and paraphrase that it engenders—with moments of loss. This justifies his movement away from brief translation that honours the textual proportions and style of the *Aeneid* towards lengthy translation that is more accurate and provides space for Douglas's own voice.

### *8.2.1 Inclusion of Prologues and Book XIII*

While Douglas's original insertions in the body of his translation are subtle and not always immediately apparent, the same cannot be said about Douglas's expansions outside the body of his translation—i.e. the Prologues. These are obviously original to Douglas and they appear to assert his poetic prowess should any find it lacking within his translation. In Prologue I, Douglas (1957-64: I.Prol.287-314) vents his frustration that it is necessary for him to limit and disguise his poetic voice in order to translate the *Aeneid* accurately. However, rather than follow the example of Maffeo Vegio, who makes gestures of homage to Virgil but decides against actively imitating him (see Section. 6.3.1), Douglas restrains himself in the body of the translation itself and uses the paratext to assert his authorial voice.

However, this assertion of Douglas's poetic ability also serves his translation. The Prologues often perform a function like Ascensius's general commentary—indeed, sometimes they borrow directly from Ascensius (see Section 5.4.2). They act as an interpretive frame, helping to provide context and guide readers. This frame introduces the intertextual allegory described in Section 2.3.2, where the journey of Aeneas is made equivalent to Douglas's travails as a translator. This is achieved not only through the parallels drawn between Aeneas and Douglas in the Prologues, but also by the rearrangement of certain book boundaries so that there is no boundary between Douglas's and Aeneas's voices

(see Section 5.4.4), and by how Douglas handles Aeneas's narrative in Books II and III (see Section 7.3). Douglas's creative voice in the Prologues then becomes equivalent to Aeneas and the legacy of the Roman empire that he represents, necessitating that Douglas's poetic craft rise to meet that standard. As Ebin (1988: 106) puts it, 'In the *Eneados* prologues, [Douglas] introduces an extreme variety of styles, each directed to a different purpose, which establish the range of possibilities of Scots as a purveyor of meaning'.

It is because of this intertextual allegory that Book XIII must also be included. The unsettling original ending of the *Aeneid* of Aeneas murdering Turnus is not a suitable endpoint for a story made equivalent to Douglas's translation method and poetic style (see Section 4.5.2). It lends credence to Dido and the Romance tradition's point-of-view that Aeneas is not virtuous, and, by extension, the founding of Rome is not noble. By ending the *Aeneid* with the founding of Rome and Aeneas's apotheosis, Douglas justifies Aeneas's choices, and by extension defends his translation.

### 8.2.2 Order of Translation

The fact that Douglas's translation method evolves over the course of the *Eneados* offers evidence as to the order in which the various elements of the *Eneados* were composed. It suggests that Douglas translates the *Aeneid* in its textual order (see Section 4.3.4), approaching it like a complete story, and not something to be excerpted and rearranged. Further evidence of this is that Douglas divides his text into chapters which are defined by narrative events (see Section 5.4.5) and that he spots and recreates repetitions across the *Aeneid* that create situational parallels and forge a sense of narrative unity (see Section 6.3.2). Douglas has a real respect for the *Aeneid* as an entire story.



However, while Douglas translates the *Aeneid* linearly, he does not necessarily read it that way. Rather, as posited in Section 6.2.2, he reads recursively, using already translated books as a reference while translating later ones. It is likely that he knew the first half of the *Aeneid* well—perhaps he even had portions memorised—due to institutionalised six-book readings of the *Aeneid*. This made it easy for him to spot repetitions from earlier books in later books, but not necessarily anticipate repetitions that feature in later books while translating the earlier ones. This indicates that Douglas’s recursive reading was probably unidirectional, where he mines earlier books for the sake of later ones.

It is tempting to hypothesise that repetitions were included in a later draft and that Douglas employed a recursive form of drafting as well as reading. However, this revision process is unlikely. Throughout his translation, Douglas gives the impression of someone learning ‘on the job’. His translation is uneven in its method and only hits its stride in the second half of the poem (see Section 4.3). Moreover, Douglas initially invests a great deal of meaning in Ascensius’s layout before eventually realising that this is misplaced (see Section 5.2). Presumably revision would have evened out his translation, or resolved any awkwardness caused by following Ascensius too closely, or even resulted in Douglas finding more of Virgil’s repetitions and dispensing with the ones he invented (see Section 6.3). However, this does not happen. Moreover, Douglas’s own claim in the *Time, Space, and Date* (1957-64: 12) that he translated the *Aeneid* in only a year and a half speaks against any thorough revision process.

In this way, the composition of the Books *Eneados* followed either a linear or one-way circular pattern, depending on its aspect. However, that is probably not the case for the Prologues. As Section 4.3 revealed, Book I behaves differently from the others (barring Book XIII) in terms of its translation method. It is more succinct than the other books, tends to have

larger translation units, and uses more paraphrase and elision. This suggests that when he started translating Douglas had a different idea of what the translation would be, and this initial concept perhaps did not include Prologues or included Prologues that had a different design and purpose, which might explain why some Prologues—like Prologues II, III, and V—are less discursive than others. Consequently, most Prologues were probably written during the later stages of the translation when Douglas had a better idea of what he was doing and were potentially written out of order and not necessarily alongside the Book they preface. Many might have been written after the translation of their respective books were complete as meditations on Douglas's experience of reading and translating the *Aeneid*.

Prologue I was probably written last (or certainly later) once Douglas's translation style was established. For, while Prologue I does not appear to correctly identify Douglas's translation practice, it does define it accurately once Douglas's terminology is understood (see Section 8.3). Moreover, the Prologue's disapproval of Caxton's and Chaucer's 'translation' practices that take liberties with the source do not correlate with Douglas's less meticulous method in Book I (see Section 4.3.4). His resurrection of this method in Book XIII when translating a text he has less respect for also indicates that he does not consider this the most prestigious translation method. Consequently, Prologue I was probably written later once Douglas's method had developed into being more literal, complete, and expansive (see Sections 4.2 and 4.3)

Likewise, the Comment was probably written later as a form of editing Book I, once Douglas recognised that his translation within this book differed from the others (see Section 5.4.3). The Comment appears to be written in the same spirit as Prologue I and even underwrites a lot of the Prologue's points about the purpose of expansions within

translation. However, since the Comment was started towards or at the end of the *Eneados*, its composition was probably interrupted by Flodden (1513). However, as posited in Section 5.4.3, it is possible that Douglas meant to curtail the Comment's length regardless.

### 8.2.3 *How Douglas Conceives of his Translation*

Repeatedly throughout this work, Douglas has impressed with his skill as a translator and commitment to rendering the *Aeneid* as faithfully as possible. The overall impression is that he is an avid reader of Virgil and extremely frustrated by the poor quality of existing vernacular translations—hence his disparaging comments on Caxton (c. 1422-c. 1491) and Chaucer (c. 1340-1400) in Prologue I (see Section 2.4). He feels the need to rectify inaccurate vernacular accounts of the *Aeneid* that cast Aeneas in a bad light, which are rooted in partial readings of the *Aeneid* or in second-hand adaptations. This motivates him to create his own translation which focuses on the narrative of the *Aeneid*—hence Douglas's implementation of chapters and recreation of Virgil's repetitions (see Sections 5.4.5 and 6.2). Perhaps even his excessive interest in the formatting and presentation of the *Aeneid*, especially in the early books (see Sections 4.3 and 5.3), is a reaction to romance versions of the *Aeneid* that wildly misrepresent the proportions of the text.

However, while this translation is redolent of admiration of Virgil, it also owes a great deal to Ascensius's influence, and Douglas may not have written this work at all had it not been for this edition. So much of Douglas's translation is inspired by aspects of his source—including his Prologues (Section 5.4.2), his Comment (Section 5.4.3), and his postscripts (Section 5.4). The way he reads and segments his translation is a product of Ascensius's layout (Section 5.2), his decision to include Book XIII may have been influenced by the presence of Ascensius's commentary, and the transformation of his translation method can be directly

attributed to how Ascensius's page layout transforms as well (Section 5.3.2). Douglas does not just translate the *Aeneid*, he translates Ascensius's *Aeneid*. Moreover, like Ascensius he compiles sources (in the Comment), edits the text (by adding original repetitions; Section 6.3), and designs it (by implementing chapters; Section 5.4.5). He creates a book. Had he not had Ascensius's example demonstrating the artistic potential in such an endeavour, it is likely that Douglas's translation would have been very different and probably not as memorable.

The overall result is a comprehensive edition of the *Aeneid*, not just a translation. Moreover, it is an edition that can appeal to a wide audience. While initially conceived as a vernacular work that could replace less accurate versions by Caxton and Chaucer, aimed at those without a Classical education, Douglas's evolution of translation method also enabled him to expand his audience. As shown in Section 5.2, Douglas largely respects Ascensius's (1501) section divisions in his translation units and chapter divisions, making it very easy for Douglas's and Ascensius's *Aeneids* to be read in tandem—though, admittedly, the page layout in the Trinity College MS (O.3.12, Trinity College, University of Cambridge, 1513) is not modelled around Ascensius's at all. This tendency to structure his translation around Ascensius's *ordinatio* is helpful for first time readers of the *Aeneid*, as Douglas imports many features from Ascensius's edition that are designed to aid inexperienced Latinists (see Section 5.4), or those interested in using Scots to learn Latin, or, in Franciscus Junius's (1591-1677) case, those interested in using Latin to learn Scots (see Stanley 1988: 167).

However, Douglas's translation also features many subtle, artistic aspects that would appeal to those who were familiar with the *Aeneid* and could enjoy Douglas's interpretation of its finer points—such as his stylistic use of brief translation to denote death and expansive translation to denote emotionality (see Sections 4.5 and 7.2.3), and his detection of Virgilian

repetitions and creation of his own (see Sections 6.2 and 6.3). Indeed, the history of the ownership of manuscripts of the *Eneados* attests to this, for while Douglas posits and addresses an audience of students and nobles unversed in Virgil's oeuvre (see 1957-64: I.Prol.79-104; IX.Prol.88; Bawcutt 1976: 88, 92), the owners and scribes of these manuscripts comprise a more learned audience, made up of poets, burgesses, lawyers, and clerics (193; see Coldwell 1957-64: I.96-106; Bawcutt 2020: 24-25). In this way, not only does Douglas's method evolve over the course of the *Eneados*, but his aims and intended readership transform as well.

### 8.3 A Reanalysis of Prologue I

As explained in Section 8.1, Douglas pursues a far more literal mode of translation than many have granted, largely because his comments in Prologue I suggest that he pursues the exact opposite. However, on closer examination, Prologue I does accurately describe his practice. For instance, Douglas is open about the fact that he follows Virgil closely and prefers not to paraphrase or elide content. He says he follows Virgil's text 'fut hait' (1957-64: I.Prol.287), which could mean 'quickly', but also 'directly' and 'immediately', implying closeness (DSL: *futehate*). He also describes his method as being 'attachit ontill a staik' (1957-64: I.Prol.297) where he is not allowed to wander from the text. He claims that such a method makes his work 'intricate', perhaps referring to the level of meticulousness such a translation demands. However, he later professes to prefer this to 'circumlocutioun' (I.Prol.386) or 'roundabout language' (DSL: *circumlocutioun*). This likely refers to paraphrase and elision, which are tools translators frequently used to handle difficult lexical items (Ivir 1987: 38).

However, while claiming to follow Virgil's text strictly, Douglas also clearly states that he has no intention of capturing Virgil's style (see 1957-64: I.Prol.309-10). This is because maintaining 'the cullour of [Virgil's] properte'—that is, his 'metre' (DSL: *cullour*, 4), or, by

extension, his line length—would necessitate Douglas ‘to mak [his] sayng schort sum tyme, / Mair compendyus, or to lykly my ryme’ (1957-64: I.Prol.123-24). In other words, while Douglas can represent Virgil’s meaning (‘sentens’), he cannot represent his style—Virgil’s legendary terseness—without indulging in paraphrase, which, again, he would rather not do. Instead, Douglas prefers to use expansions or ‘digressioun[s]’ (I.Prol.306) to explain ‘sum history, subtell word or the ryme’ (I.Prol.305). This is such an important aspect of his translation that Douglas justifies it twice (see I.Prol.347-50) and even demonstrates how various Latin words can generate extra material through his Comment (see Section 5.4.3). Douglas even counsels his readers to read both the *Aeneid* and his translation ‘oftar than anys’ (I.Prol.107), claiming that ‘Als oft as 3e [Virgil] reid ... / 3he fynd ilke tyme sum mery new consait’ (I.Prol.337-38), which is reminiscent of his own practice of cyclical reading.

In this way, Douglas is forthright about his translation method and acknowledges several aspects of it that would only have been obvious in the later stages of his translation—namely, his reliance on expansions and his inability to represent the *Aeneid*’s textual proportions faithfully. This indicates, again, that Prologue I was written later rather than earlier. However, Douglas’s claim that he does not translate ‘word for word’ must be reconciled with the fact that his actual method is very literal. The solution here is that when Douglas says that ‘To follow alanerly Virgilis wordis’ (1957-64: I.Prol.391) would be ‘a felloun blundir’ (I.Prol.390), he means this quite literally. He is saying a translator should not assume the level of equivalence where one word can be translated completely by just one word. This is what is behind Douglas’s general anxiety that he cannot adequately translate Virgil’s style or ‘eloquence’.

Douglas’s solution to this problem of pursuing an incredibly close translation without assuming lexical equivalency is to invest greater significance in larger units of sense within the

text. He approaches the Virgilian line as a unit and usually translates this as two lines (see Section 4.2). Sometimes he takes multiple lines as a unit, but this is not as common, and tends to be confined to Books I and XIII (see Sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2). In this way Douglas interprets the word *sentence* as denoting not just ‘meaning’, but also, again literally, an actual sentence, a period of meaning. He also attributes meaning to Ascensius’s (1501) section divisions as well as implementing his own larger units of meaning—chapters—so that his readers do not lose sight of the narrative. In this way, Douglas preserves Virgil’s ‘sentence’, and, while he cannot capture Virgil’s exact ‘eloquence’, he certainly proves to be sensitive to Virgil’s lexis and pays homage to it with his double translations, varied diction, and elaborations. As a result, Douglas can forswear ‘word by word’ translation in Prologue I, but still boast that a reader *can* match his translation to its source ‘al maste word by word’ (1957-64: 46) in the Direction.

However, this is where Douglas’s division between sentence and eloquence and their relationship to lexical fourth becomes complicated. Throughout his translation and Prologue I Douglas links eloquence with expansive translation and a rich vocabulary. In the translation, expansions have an evaluative or rhetorical purpose (see Section 7.2.3). In Prologue I, Douglas pairs the idea of eloquence and rhetoric numerous times, saying things like ‘Thy sawys in sic eloquens doith fleit, / So inuentione of rethorik flowris sweit’ (1957-64: I.Prol.69-70) and ‘So thocht in my translatioun eloquens skant is, / Na lusty cast of oratry Virgill wantis’ (I.Prol.307-08). However, Douglas also links expansive translation with sentence, explaining how ‘syndry expositouris seir / Makis on a text sentens diuerss to heir’ (I.Prol.351-52)—i.e. that expositors produce commentary and glosses on the text—and that this practice is ‘ganand’ (I.Prol.355) for those which to follow the ‘sentens’ (I.Prol.356). Moreover, Douglas’s expansions prove to be strongly related to Ascensius’s commentary (see Section 5.3.2), and thus do not only demonstrate Douglas’s poetic vocabulary, but also

explicate and reveal meaning (see Ebin 1988: 106). In this way, sentence and eloquence are both served by this one practice and Douglas does not separate language from meaning, but rather finds meaning in language's proliferation. A good translation can be an eloquent one; likewise, displays of poetic prowess—like Douglas's Prologues—can be sources of sentence in that they provide commentary and interpretation for the books that follow.

This indicates that Douglas views language as a vessel of truth, as opposed to Virgil, who finds it prone to misuse (see Section 7.1 and p. x). How then should Douglas's declaration concerning Scots in Prologue I be understood? As argued in Section 2.4, this declaration is a strategy to distinguish Douglas's *Eneados* from English interpretations of the *Aeneid* that follow romance readings of the *Aeneid*. Moreover, this declaration is also part of Douglas's dedication to his patron, Henry Sinclair (*d.* 1513), and should be read in that context. Douglas figures Sinclair as the pinnacle of nobility, attributing to him the qualities of 'Humanyte, curage, fredome and chevalry' (1957-64: I.Prol.98). He also later describes Aeneas in similar terms, declaring that Aeneas portrays 'euery vertu belangand a nobill man' (I.Prol.325), including 'All wirschip, manhed and nobilite' (I.Prol.330). In this way, Sinclair is figured as a Scottish Aeneas, who consequently requires a Scottish *Aeneid*. It is not enough for it to be an English *Aeneid*—these already exist (in a diluted form) and figure Aeneas as an adulterer. An English Aeneas is culpable, a Scottish Aeneas is not. It is easier for Douglas to fend off the accusations inherent in the English tradition of the *Aeneid* by declaring his work to be part a different tradition that readers interact with separately, even if this separation is artificial, given how the Scottish and English literary traditions are interwoven.

What makes this Scottish tradition more authentic than the English one? According to Ebin (1988: 106), Douglas's 'purpose in turning to Scots is not only to make his native tongue



equal to Virgil's Latin or to Chaucer's "Inglish", but to create a medium in Scots that is capable of the important role he envisions for style as the vehicle of the poem's sentence'. The key to this medium is variety. While Douglas describes his language as Scots 'braid and plane, / Kepand na sudron bot our awyn langage, / And spekis as I lernyt quhen I was page' (1957-64: I.Prol.110-12), he quickly contradicts this statement saying 'Nor 3it sa cleyn all sudron I refuss' (I.Prol.113) and admits that he makes use of 'Sum bastard Latyn, French or Inglys oyss' (I.Prol.117). He justifies this lapse by comparing it to how Latin sometimes uses Greek vocabulary (I.Prol.115), adopting again stylistic strategies from Latin—like Virgil's repetitions—into his own poetic style.

However, Douglas's description of these sources and the relation of Scots to them is at times contradictory and vague. Douglas describes English as 'gross' (1957-64: I.Prol.139) when discussing Caxton, but also describes his own work as 'gross' (I.Prol.312) later. He also compares 'Inglish bukis' (I.Prol.272) to a 'bogill' or 'browny' (I.Prol.273) and 'ald gaistis or spretis ded of lait' (I.Prol.274), but yet also praises Chaucer as 'principal poet but peir' (I.Prol.339), whom Douglas rates above himself and near Virgil (I.Prol.407-08). Moreover, Douglas seems to include English in his understanding of Scots when he claims Virgil 'stude ... nevir weill in our tung endyte' (I.Prol.494). While he could be referring to other Scottish interpretations of the Trojan myth—like the *Scottish Troy Book* (c. 15<sup>th</sup> c) and other texts examined by Wingfield (2014) in her analysis of the tradition—it seems more likely that Douglas is actually referring to Caxton's and Chaucer's attempts, given that he spends a great deal of the Prologue explaining how these works miss the mark. In this way Scots is uncertainly defined vis-à-vis its linguistic characteristics. Rather, Scots seems to be a specific style and method, best illustrated by the variety of Douglas's diction and poetic styles within the Prologues. The purpose of this variety is again to illustrate Virgil's sentence, as well as to enhance the work's poetic style. In this way, Scots is intrinsically tied to Douglas's expansive style.

To summarise: Douglas distinguishes between literal and ‘word for word’ translation methods, placing greater emphasis on how a translation linguistically represents the source. In effect, he limits the purview of authoritative translation so that adaptation is no longer acceptable, and some form of linguistic equivalence is mandated. The only question that remains is what this implies about Douglas’s ideology—specifically about his humanism and nationalism.

#### **8.4 Douglas’s Quality of Humanism**

As Section 2.3.4 explained, previous scholars have struggled with Douglas’s humanist identity. Humanism necessarily entails a fascination with classical texts and a return to classical sources (see Durkan 1962: 274). This return can be conducted in a variety of ways, though scholars are most comfortable classifying those that take an academic approach, preferably involving the use of Greek and/or Latin, as humanist. Douglas, of course, does not fit that mould. Not only is his engagement with the *Aeneid* conducted entirely in Scots, but his approach is seemingly casual. He frames his translation with original poetry (the Prologues) that owes more to English and Scottish sources than Latin and Greek—though there is some influence from the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* (see Bawcutt 1976: 89; Leahy 2016). Likewise, his translation adds much material, appearing to take great liberties with the text. While it is by no means an adaptation along the lines of Chaucer’s or Caxton’s efforts, it is still more redolent of Douglas’s authorial voice than Virgil’s. Douglas also does not attempt to imitate Virgil’s style (Bawcutt 1976: 133), but rather follows a specifically Scottish poetic tradition when he translates—that of the Scottish historical epic (150-51; see Section 7.3.1). While his source is Latinate, his influences are not. For these reasons, any identification of Douglas as a humanist has been hesitant or qualified.

However, this work has revealed that much of Douglas's behaviour is more scholarly than it seems. He proves to be a very careful reader, recognising repetitions that more modern translations miss (see Section 6.2). Indeed, Bawcutt (1977: 108) argues that his method of reading is 'less characteristic of the poet than of the scholar or even the pedant'. Moreover, most of Douglas's interventions are in service to the text and reminiscent of Ascensius's own behaviours in Douglas's source text (see Section 5.4). His more conspicuous additions—i.e. the Prologues and Book XIII—correct six-book readings of the *Aeneid* that cause an imbalance of commentary. While it is true that Douglas does not imitate Virgil's rhetorical style, he does preserve structural aspects of his text as laid out by Ascensius. In this way, Douglas proves to be very concerned with matters of textual integrity. He is not just writing a poem or translating a text; he is creating a vernacular edition of the *Aeneid*.

The other issue with Douglas's claim to humanism is his difficulty navigating the gap between Christianity and paganism. According to Durkan (1962: 274), there is a tendency for many to conflate the Renaissance—typically characterised by the flourishing of humanism—and Reformation in Scotland. However, while the return to sources that the former advocates helped engender the latter, the latter's denunciation of the Catholic faith does not necessarily apply to the former. So, while Douglas does not approach Virgil's paganism with complete academic objectivity, instead altering book boundaries and using to mitigate its paganism (see Sections 2.3.2 and 5.4.4), this does not necessarily impair his humanist status. Rather, it indicates something important in his text's design.

As argued in Sections 5.1 and 5.4.4, commentators like Ascensius have the luxury of being able to advocate for a Christian interpretation of the *Aeneid* without in any way altering Virgil's actual text. They can engage in scholarly analysis of a pagan text without

appearing to advocate for paganism. Douglas, however, cannot do this, because he conducts his translation in his own voice, so that Virgil's views are presented as his own. Given this, it is remarkable that Douglas does not do more to erase Virgil's paganism. He never bowdlerises it; he only contextualises it within his paratext. Even when Douglas alters books boundaries, this is just as much an issue of preserving the text as appearing devout. Douglas's presentation of the gods is linked to his defence of Aeneas in the matter of Dido (see Section 7.4), which again is linked to Douglas's criticisms of the Romance tradition and six-book readings of the *Aeneid* (see pp. 215-16).

In this way, religious concerns in the *Eneados* are made subservient to textual ones, which corresponds with the overarching intertextual allegory Douglas implements in his Prologues (see Section 2.3.2). According to Burrow (1997: 80), this is 'The most literal-minded reading of the *Aeneid*', where the relocation of a society and reconstruction of its values and the adaptation and reinterpretation of Homeric material are understood as analogues to translation. However, in linking an intertextual allegory with a religious one, where Aeneas's journey is figured as ascent to heaven, textual concerns become equivalent to moral ones, and reading becomes an ethical exercise. Such an approach to reading is typical of Northern humanism and shared with Ascensius (see White 2013: 67-68). However, the difference between Douglas and Ascensius is that Douglas conducts his entire engagement with Latin scholarship in the vernacular. Moreover, he enables a vernacular readership to engage with the Classics and even use the *Eneados* to access the original Latin text if they are so inclined. In this way Douglas moves the entire pursuit of humanism into the vernacular, making him, truly, a vernacular humanist, as Bawcutt (1976: 36) argues.

## 8.5 Douglas's Nationalism and his Use of Scots

As explained in Section 2.3.3, Douglas's nationalism is somewhat ambiguous. It is clear he identifies strongly as a Scotsman, but he also identifies as a member of the Douglas clan, and prioritises his family's needs and his own ambitions, which often necessitate appealing to England and its monarchs for support. The very fact that he defines his language by his nation has nationalist implications in that 'It engages the writer in cultural self-assertion and identity politics' (I. Brown 2013: 261). However, these may not be figured as aggressively as is sometimes argued. Corbett (c. 1999: 41-42) calls it 'linguistic patriotism', while Canitz (1996: n. 6) argues that Douglas is trying to instate a 'national language' for Scotland. However, it is not entirely clear that Douglas would feel that Scotland needed a national language, given that Scotland at the time was its own nation and did not need further determination. While he may have felt some anxiety about Scotland's political future in the face of the upcoming Battle of Flodden (1513), this feels like a red herring, given he does not explicitly address these worries within his translation; he does not figure the Trojans and Italians as the English and Scots; nor does he distinguish the Trojans from the Italians in any way except by name (see Section 7.6). Enthusiastic interpretations of Douglas as a nationalist then are perhaps influenced by the later Scottish Renaissance movement (c. early-mid 20th c.), where Scotland was no longer its own country and the revival of Scotland's 'native languages, traditions and habits of thought' was needed for political capital (Keller et al. 2014: 3).

Moreover, Douglas's comments about Scots and English are inconsistent and sometimes contradictory, making it unclear as to what Scots entails (see Section 8.3). Scots seems to include English lexis rather than renounce it. While Douglas does wish to separate the Scottish and English Troy traditions, this is for textual reasons rather than

political ones, as previously discussed (see Section 8.3). It is unclear then just how seriously Douglas's comments regarding English and Scots should be taken, especially since the boundary between them was blurred (see McClure 1981: 58; Kniesza 1997: 41).

Likewise, while Douglas may have later claimed fondness for the Gaythelos and Scota myth (see Section 2.3.3), he makes no attempt to shoehorn that story into his translation, or to especially sympathise with the Greeks or Italians against the Trojans. He does not revive the War of Historiography (see Wingfield 2014: 1-21), even in the context of Flodden. The political allegory that does exist in the *Eneados* is about Aeneas growing as a politician and cultivating a rhetorical style (see Chapter 7 conclusion, p. 329-30). Again, this is figured as a textual concern, not an aggressive, militaristic one.

Of course, that is not to say that nation means nothing to Douglas and that he has no nationalist impulses. Nation matters enough that he frequently labels characters' nationalities in battle scenes (see Section 7.6). However, again, he does not characterise one nation as better than another. Rather the implication is that having a nation is better than having no nation, in that it gives purpose to what would otherwise be chaotic carnage. His concern is not which nation is morally superior but that the Trojan refugees find a new nationality—that they find Rome.

Moreover, while it is true that Douglas's use of Scots raises it 'to the level of a national language on a par with English and Latin, and capable of supporting a national literature separate from the English literary tradition' (Canitz 1996: 27), it is unlikely that this was Douglas's original ambition. As previously argued, his interest is in correcting a mode of reading. However, as a result of his translation decisions, he makes access to one of the most important Latin texts contingent on interacting with Scots. This has powerful nationalist

implications, but these are probably unplanned. For Douglas, nations are figured as textual traditions and ways of reading. These become figured as linguistic differences because translation and reading are analogous processes and because Douglas emphasises accurate linguistic representation in his translation method. In this way, as Royan (2012: 207) argues, 'For Douglas, identity rests more in language and literature than in narratives of violence'.

## 8.6 Final Remarks

The overwhelming impression the *Eneados* leaves is one of accuracy. This is a very skilful translation that faithfully represents Virgil's text—especially its lexis. While it does not attempt a blank verse translation that might have better captured Virgil's grammatical style and terseness (cf. Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey's translations of Books II, 1557, and IV, 1554, it does capture many subtler points of Virgil's text, like repetition and metrical emphasis (see Section 6.2 and 7.4), and preserves aspects of Ascensius's (1501) layout within his translation (see Section 5.2). That is the level of accuracy and fidelity to detail that Douglas engages in, and it reveals a deep-seated love and fascination with the content.

However, in one notable respect Douglas does wilfully diverge from his source text—the presentation of Aeneas. He imagines Aeneas as an abler speaker than Virgil does, expanding upon his speech so that he speaks more in the later books than he does in the original text (see Section 7.2). This serves multiple purposes. First, it emphasises the intertextual allegory of Douglas's Prologues, as it makes Douglas and Aeneas—who are made analogous in this allegory—both experience a kind of verbal expansion. Douglas's translation and Prologues become longer in the later books as do Aeneas's speeches (see Sections 4.3 and 5.3.2). Moreover, in making a rhetorically confident Aeneas, Douglas emphasises the importance of language. While Virgil distrusts rhetoric,

Douglas finds it indispensable for his translation method. Ultimately, his expansions are the source of his translation's accuracy.

However, Douglas does not come to this conclusion immediately. His translation method evolves over the course of the *Eneados* in response to his source text's layout (see Section 5.3.2) and he starts with a different expectation of what his translation will be (see Section 4.3). Not only does this signify the relationship between translating and reading, but also that a translation's method can change over the course of a text, along with its aims and intended audience. This is what makes Douglas so difficult to characterise in some respects—not only are his comments about his method contradictory at first glance, but his ideas and intentions change. In this way, he is not just a person living through a period of historical transition, his translation enacts transition itself.

This quality can make Douglas and his work inscrutable, so much so that they are sometimes treated as something separate from the other Scottish Makars. Douglas's linguistic declaration removes the *Eneados* from the 'English' canon and he does not explicitly appeal to a 'Scottish' canon instead—at least not in the body of the *Eneados*, though he does identify one in the *Palice of Honour* (2018: 895-924). However, this canon is extremely limited, consisting of only Walter Kennedy (c. 1455-c. 1508), William Dunbar (c. 1460 – c. 1513), and the unknown poet Quintin. Bawcutt (1977: 120-21) argues that this trio is designed 'to parallel the English trio' of poets that Douglas uses to represent English poetry—Geoffrey Chaucer, John Gower (c. 1330-1408), and John Lydgate (c. 1370 – c. 1451)—and to demonstrate not so much a break between English and Scottish poetry, but rather imply 'the smallness of literary achievement in the



vernacular’—which includes both Scots and English—‘compared to the multitude of those who wrote in Latin’, who dominate Douglas’s catalogue of poets. Douglas’s presentation of English and Scottish authors within one stanza supports this and again indicates that his linguistic declaration is not as definite as it initially seems (see Section 8.2.3). Moreover, while he forswears Chaucer’s handling of Virgil, he clearly is looking to him and Lydgate for certain examples, though these are largely confined to the Prologues and Book XIII (see Section 4.3.2).

Likewise, Douglas often implicitly alludes to Scottish authors. He utilises the style of Scottish epics like the *Brus* (c. 1375) by John Barbour (c. 1320-95) and the *Wallace* (c. 1478-88) by Blind Hary (1440-92) in the body of translation. He also uses the Scottish aureate style in Prologues I and XII, and the traditional northern alliterative verse in Prologue VIII—both of which feature in the work of Dunbar. Moreover, Prologue XIII, where Douglas meets Maffeo Vegio, is essentially a comical reworking of Robert Henryson’s (fl. 1460-1500) Prologue to ‘The Lion and the Mouse’ in *Moral Fabillis* (c. 1480), where Henryson meets Aesop. In this way, Douglas is by no means isolated from the previous literary tradition. However, what makes the *Eneados* stand out is that it prioritises its interaction with the Latin textual tradition rather than the English/Scottish one, which makes it feel slightly alien, even though it owes a great deal to the vernacular tradition. Moreover, Douglas is an excellent self-promoter and he himself trumpets that he is doing something new. However, this can cause misconceptions if his claims in the Prologues are examined without the context of the broader translation.

However, in one respect Douglas achieves something very new by making careful, scholarly translation an artistic enterprise, not just an academic one. In this respect, Douglas

resembles Cicero, Boethius, and Chaucer in that they too use translation as a platform for their own creativity (see Sections 1.2.1, 1.2.3, and 1.2.4). However, for these three translators, this creativity is accompanied by the aim of displacing their source. By contrast, Douglas does not intend his translation to replace Virgil's text. He goes to great lengths in Prologue I to explain how his translation could never compare to the original. Rather, his aim is to displace 'competing' versions of the *Aeneid*—i.e. those descended from the romance tradition—and, like Caxton, this effort is predicated on giving readers improved access to the text. His translation functions as a means for readers unfamiliar with Latin to access the essence of the *Aeneid*, and potentially even access the Latin language and original text. See Table 16 for a summary of Douglas's position on various issues within translation.

Table 16: Summary of the translation methods of Cicero, Jerome, Augustine, Boethius, Chaucer, Caxton, and Douglas.

|                  | <b>Equivalency<br/>'Word for Word'</b> | <b>'Sense for Sense'</b> | <b>Adequate</b>              | <b>Acceptable</b>                       |
|------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| <b>Cicero</b>    |                                        | x                        |                              | x                                       |
| <b>Jerome</b>    | for sacred texts only                  | x                        | x                            | x                                       |
| <b>Augustine</b> |                                        | x                        |                              | x                                       |
| <b>Boethius</b>  | x                                      |                          | x                            | x                                       |
| <b>Chaucer</b>   | x                                      | x                        | x                            | x                                       |
| <b>Caxton</b>    | x                                      | x                        |                              | x                                       |
| <b>Douglas</b>   | x                                      | x                        | x                            | x                                       |
|                  | <b>Aim</b>                             |                          | <b>Location of Meaning</b>   |                                         |
|                  | <b>Displacement</b>                    | <b>Access</b>            | <b>Sense in<br/>Language</b> | <b>Sense Separate<br/>from Language</b> |
| <b>Cicero</b>    | x                                      |                          | x                            |                                         |
| <b>Jerome</b>    |                                        | x                        |                              | x                                       |
| <b>Augustine</b> |                                        | x                        | x                            |                                         |
| <b>Boethius</b>  | x                                      |                          | x                            |                                         |
| <b>Chaucer</b>   | x                                      |                          |                              | x                                       |
| <b>Caxton</b>    | of competitors                         | x                        |                              | x                                       |
| <b>Douglas</b>   | of romance tradition                   | x                        | x                            |                                         |

In this way, Douglas takes a step towards what we might consider a more ‘modern’ (i.e. closer to today’s values) notion of an accurate translation with artistic merit. To achieve this, Douglas follows Ascensius’s (1501) example in many respects, as Ascensius succeeds in making scholarly commentary and editorial compilation creative activities. Indeed, Douglas’s and Ascensius’s projects are so alike in design and intent that reading the two texts is like reading two halves of an edition from the Loeb Classical Library. However, at the same time, Douglas reinterprets many aspects of Ascensius’s project and includes his own original touches, thus combining this rigorous adherence to with his own imagination. The result is something that could be considered the forerunner of powerful literary translations like Heaney’s *Beowulf* (1999) and Armitage’s *Gawain and the Green Knight* (2007).

That is not to say that Douglas perfected this art. Obviously, the genesis of modern literary translation is a culmination of many efforts across a large span of time. Moreover, sometimes Douglas’s synthesis of adequate (that is to say, accurate) and acceptable (as in palatable) translation styles is laboured, and the incorporation of so much extra material can make Virgil’s light touch feel heavy. Likewise, Douglas’s methods of negotiating authority in translation—and the concomitant problems that arise vis-à-vis piety—can appear clumsy (like the alteration of book boundaries). Despite these pitfalls, Douglas achieves a translation that is distinct and remarkable in its vividness and attention to its source. Take, for example, the following passage that depicts the Tyrian hunting party beset by a storm:

Interea magno misceri murmure coelum  
 Incipit: insequitur commixta grandine nimbus:  
 Et tyrii comites passim et troiana iuuentus:  
 Dardaniusque nepos veneris: diuersa per agros  
 Tecta metu petiere: ruunt de montibus amnes: ... (Virgil 1501: IV.160-64)

In the meyn quhile, the hevynnys al about  
 With fellow noyss gan to rummyll and rowt.  
 A bub of weddir followyt in the tayll,  
 Thik schour of rayn myddillit ful of haill.  
 The Tyriane menze skalis wydequhar,  
 And al the gallandis of Troy fled heir and thar,  
 And eik with thame the 3ong Ascanyus,  
 Nevo to Kyng Dardan and to Venus.  
 For feir, to diuerss stedis throu the feildis,  
 Thai seik to haldis, howsis, hyrnys and beildis:  
 The ryveris rudly ruschit our hillis bedene. (Douglas 1957-64: IV.4.63-73)

This is Douglas at his finest—indeed, Ridley (1983: 114-16) notes that Douglas’s nature passages in general, and especially his sea passages, are especially good. In these instances, the very features that at times make Douglas’s text feel dense—the accumulation of synonyms, the unique Scots words, and alliteration—are the most striking when used well. In this way, Douglas creates an art out of lexical accuracy, and in so doing fashions a mode of translation that becomes quietly influential, reaching poets at home (like John Bellenden, *fl.* 1533 – c.1587) and abroad (like Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, c. 1517-1547), and through time (like Ezra Pound, 1885-1972). While his work does not immediately revolutionise its genre, it does reveal a movement towards a different way of interacting with texts and textual authorities that certainly heralds, if does not fully embrace, the modern age.

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## APPENDIX

### Tables

Table 17: Description of XML elements in the corpus-based apparatus. The order of the elements illustrates their hierarchy. Numbering conventions are described here using generic symbols: ‘#’ indicates an Arabic number, ‘R’ indicates a Roman numeral, ‘abc’ indicates a lowercase letter, and ‘x’ indicates a word. Continued over two pages. ‘All’ indicates that this element is in all digital files. ‘Coded’ indicates that this element is only in the coded files. ‘Books only’ indicates that this element is only in Book files and not in Prologue files. ‘Latin only’ indicates that this element is only in Latin files—i.e. files from the ‘Aeneid’ and ‘Supplement’. ‘Scots only’ indicates that this element is only in Scots files—i.e. files from the ‘Eneados’. Continued across two pages.

| Element                                                       | Description                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | File Type                                       |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| <TEI>                                                         | Contains a TEI-conformant text. Contains <teiHeader> and <text> elements.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | All                                             |
| <teiHeader>                                                   | Contains bibliographic information about the text.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | All                                             |
| <text>                                                        | Contains the text. Contains <body> element.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | All                                             |
| <body>                                                        | Contains the body of the text, largely identical to <text>. Contains <div type="book/prologue"> elements.                                                                                                                                                                                                               | All                                             |
| <div type="book/prologue" n="#" xml:id="AenR/EneR/EneR.Prol"> | Indicates Book and Prologue structure. @n identifies each book by Arabic numeral; @xml:id identifies each book by text and Roman numeral. Contains <div type="chapter"> elements.                                                                                                                                       | Coded                                           |
| <div type="chapter" n="#" xml:id="AenR.#/EneR.#">             | Indicates chapter structure. @n identifies each chapter by Arabic numeral, counting all chapters in the entire poem; @xml:id identifies each chapter by text, book number, and Arabic numeral, counting the number of chapters per book. Contains <head> and <l> elements. Indicates stanza structure in the Prologues. | Coded, Books only                               |
| <div type="stanza" n="#" xml:id="EneR.Prol.#">                | @n identifies each stanza by Arabic number, counting all stanzas in the entire poem. @xml:id identifies each stanza by text, Prologue number, and Arabic number, counting the number of stanzas per Prologue. Contains <l> elements.                                                                                    | Coded, Prologues only                           |
| <head>                                                        | Indicates chapter rubrics. Contains <l> and <w> elements.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Coded, Books only, empty element in Latin files |

|                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                          |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| <code>&lt;div<br/>type="section"<br/>n="#"<br/>xml:id="AenI.#.abc/EneI.#.abc"&gt;</code>                                                     | <p>Indicates Ascensius's section structure. @n identifies each section by Arabic numeral, counting all the sections in the entire poem; @xml:id identifies each section by text, book number, chapter number, and lower-case letter based on the number of sections per chapter. Sections that cross chapter boundaries are divided into &lt;div&gt; elements that share an @n value but have different @xml:id values. Contains &lt;pb&gt; and &lt;seg&gt; elements.</p> | <p>Coded,<br/>Books only</p>                             |
| <code>&lt;pb<br/>n="#r/#v"/&gt;</code>                                                                                                       | <p>Indicates page breaks in Ascensius's edition; an empty element. @n indicates folio number in Ascensius's edition specified for recto (r) or verso (v).</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | <p>Coded,<br/>Books only</p>                             |
| <code>&lt;seg<br/>type="narrative"&gt;</code>                                                                                                | <p>Indicates passages of narrative. Contains &lt;said&gt; and &lt;ab&gt; elements.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | <p>Coded,<br/>Books only</p>                             |
| <code>&lt;said<br/>direct="true/false"<br/>speaker="x",<br/>gender="female/male/plural"<br/>mortality="god/mortal"<br/>nation="x"&gt;</code> | <p>Indicates passages of speech and reported speech—indicated by the value of the @direct. These are further specified by speaker, speaker gender, speaker mortality, and speaker nation. &lt;said direct="true" contains &lt;said direct="false"&gt; and &lt;ab&gt; elements. &lt;said direct="false" contains &lt;ab&gt; elements.</p>                                                                                                                                  | <p>Coded,<br/>Books only</p>                             |
| <code>&lt;ab<br/>type="translation_unit"<br/>n="#"&gt;</code>                                                                                | <p>Indicates alignment units. @n identifies each unit by Arabic numeral, counting the units throughout the entire poem. Each @n in the Scots text matches an @n in the Latin text that is equivalent. Contains &lt;l&gt; elements.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | <p>Coded,<br/>Books only</p>                             |
| <code>&lt;l<br/>xml:id="AenR.##/EneR.##/<br/>EneR.Prol.##"&gt;</code>                                                                        | <p>Indicates poetic lines. @xml:id indicates the line number—identified by text, book or prologue, chapter, and line number.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | <p>Coded</p>                                             |
| <code>&lt;w<br/>orig="x"<br/>norm="x"<br/>mod="x"<br/>pos="x"<br/>sem="x"&gt;</code>                                                         | <p>Indicates words and each word's original orthography (@orig), normalised form (@norm), modern equivalent, if necessary (@mod), part-of-speech (@pos), and semantic category (@sem).</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | <p>Coded,<br/>attributes<br/>only in<br/>Scots files</p> |

Table 18: Number of chapters in the 'Eneados' and sections in Ascensius's (1501) edition of the 'Aeneid' per book. The number of sections that occur across chapter boundaries are included also.

| Book         | Chapters | Sections | Overlapping Sections |
|--------------|----------|----------|----------------------|
| I            | 12       | 47.5     | 2.5                  |
| II           | 12       | 31.5     | 2.5                  |
| III          | 10       | 30       | 3                    |
| IV           | 12       | 30       | 1                    |
| V            | 14       | 30.5     | 5.5                  |
| VI           | 16       | 41.5     | 5.5                  |
| VII          | 13       | 31       | 1                    |
| VIII         | 12       | 26       | 6                    |
| IX           | 13       | 28       | 6                    |
| X            | 14       | 29       | 7                    |
| XI           | 17       | 27       | 3                    |
| XII          | 14       | 28       | 8                    |
| XIII         | 11       | 9        | 5                    |
| <b>Total</b> | 170      | 389      | 56                   |

Table 19: Number of lines of narrative and speech per book in the 'Aeneid' and 'Eneados'.

| Book         | Narrative     |                | Speech        |                | Total         |                |
|--------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
|              | <i>Aeneid</i> | <i>Eneados</i> | <i>Aeneid</i> | <i>Eneados</i> | <i>Aeneid</i> | <i>Eneados</i> |
| I            | 427           | 744            | 339.5         | 577            | 766.5         | 1,321          |
| II           | 0             | 0              | 787           | 1,419          | 787           | 1,419          |
| III          | 3             | 6              | 712           | 1,375          | 715           | 1,381          |
| IV           | 362.5         | 696            | 340           | 678            | 702.5         | 1,374          |
| V            | 630.5         | 1,159          | 245.5         | 477            | 876           | 1,636          |
| VI           | 437           | 910            | 479           | 1,064          | 916           | 1,974          |
| VII          | 610.5         | 1,376          | 196.5         | 462            | 807           | 1,838          |
| VIII         | 373           | 846            | 339.5         | 782            | 712.5         | 1,628          |
| IX           | 557.33        | 1,233          | 257.67        | 617            | 815           | 1,850          |
| X            | 631.5         | 1,497          | 273.5         | 719            | 905           | 2,110          |
| XI           | 512           | 1,142          | 402           | 968            | 914           | 2,110          |
| XII          | 654.5         | 1,567          | 296           | 733            | 950.5         | 2,300          |
| XIII         | 357.67        | 808            | 272.33        | 628            | 630           | 1,436          |
| <b>Total</b> | 5,556.5       | 11,984         | 4,940.5       | 10,499         | 10,497        | 22,483         |

Table 20: Number of lines of reported speech and twice reported speech per book in the 'Aeneid' and 'Eneados'.

| Book         | Reported Speech |                | Twice Reported Speech |                |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------------|----------------|
|              | <i>Aeneid</i>   | <i>Eneados</i> | <i>Aeneid</i>         | <i>Eneados</i> |
| I            | 0               | 0              | 0                     | 0              |
| II           | 285.75          | 525            | 7.5                   | 12             |
| III          | 288.33          | 541            | 1.5                   | 3              |
| IV           | 1               | 1              | 0                     | 0              |
| V            | 0               | 0              | 0                     | 0              |
| VI           | 1               | 3              | 0                     | 0              |
| VII          | 4               | 9              | 0                     | 0              |
| VIII         | 4               | 15             | 0                     | 0              |
| IX           | 0               | 0              | 0                     | 0              |
| X            | 0               | 0              | 0                     | 0              |
| XI           | 46              | 121            | 0                     | 0              |
| XII          | 0               | 0              | 0                     | 0              |
| XIII         | 0               | 0              | 0                     | 0              |
| <b>Total</b> | 630.08          | 1,215          | 9                     | 15             |

Table 21: Number of lines per speaker of a certain gender per book in the 'Aeneid' and 'Eneados'. Results for direct speech, reported speech, and twice reported speech are separated.

| <b>Speakers of Direct Speech</b>         |               |                |               |                |               |                |               |                |
|------------------------------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| Book                                     | Female        |                | Male          |                | Plural        |                | Total         |                |
|                                          | <i>Aeneid</i> | <i>Eneados</i> | <i>Aeneid</i> | <i>Eneados</i> | <i>Aeneid</i> | <i>Eneados</i> | <i>Aeneid</i> | <i>Eneados</i> |
| I                                        | 169           | 283            | 170.5         | 294            | 0             | 0              | 339.5         | 577            |
| II                                       | 0             | 0              | 787           | 1,419          | 0             | 0              | 787           | 1,419          |
| III                                      | 0             | 0              | 712           | 1,375          | 0             | 0              | 712           | 1,375          |
| IV                                       | 284           | 578            | 56            | 100            | 0             | 0              | 340           | 678            |
| V                                        | 44            | 90             | 201.5         | 387            | 0             | 0              | 245.5         | 477            |
| VI                                       | 160.5         | 354            | 318.5         | 710            | 0             | 0              | 479           | 1,064          |
| VII                                      | 91.5          | 219            | 105           | 243            | 0             | 0              | 196.5         | 462            |
| VIII                                     | 16.5          | 35             | 323           | 747            | 0             | 0              | 339.5         | 782            |
| IX                                       | 21.5          | 52             | 235.83        | 564            | 0.33          | 1              | 257.66        | 617            |
| X                                        | 109           | 286            | 164.5         | 433            | 0             | 0              | 273.5         | 719            |
| XI                                       | 91            | 200            | 311           | 767            | 0             | 1              | 402           | 968            |
| XII                                      | 72            | 174            | 224           | 559            | 0             | 0              | 296           | 733            |
| XIII                                     | 42            | 93             | 230.33        | 535            | 0             | 0              | 272.33        | 628            |
| Total                                    | 1,101         | 2364           | 3,839.16      | 8,133          | 0.33          | 2              | 4,940.49      | 10,499         |
| <b>Speakers of Reported Speech</b>       |               |                |               |                |               |                |               |                |
| Book                                     | Female        |                | Male          |                | Plural        |                | Total         |                |
|                                          | <i>Aeneid</i> | <i>Eneados</i> | <i>Aeneid</i> | <i>Eneados</i> | <i>Aeneid</i> | <i>Eneados</i> | <i>Aeneid</i> | <i>Eneados</i> |
| I                                        | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| II                                       | 49.75         | 91             | 229.5         | 420            | 6.5           | 14             | 285.75        | 525            |
| III                                      | 43.5          | 80             | 225.33        | 427            | 19.5          | 34             | 288.33        | 541            |
| IV                                       | 0             | 0              | 1             | 1              | 0             | 0              | 1             | 1              |
| V                                        | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| VI                                       | 0             | 0              | 1             | 3              | 0             | 0              | 1             | 3              |
| VII                                      | 0             | 0              | 4             | 9              | 0             | 0              | 4             | 9              |
| VIII                                     | 0             | 0              | 4             | 15             | 0             | 0              | 4             | 15             |
| IX                                       | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| X                                        | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| XI                                       | 0             | 0              | 46            | 121            | 0             | 0              | 46            | 121            |
| XII                                      | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| XIII                                     | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| Total                                    | 93.25         | 171            | 510.83        | 996            | 26            | 48             | 630.08        | 1215           |
| <b>Speakers of Twice Reported Speech</b> |               |                |               |                |               |                |               |                |
| Book                                     | Female        |                | Male          |                | Plural        |                | Total         |                |
|                                          | <i>Aeneid</i> | <i>Eneados</i> | <i>Aeneid</i> | <i>Eneados</i> | <i>Aeneid</i> | <i>Eneados</i> | <i>Aeneid</i> | <i>Eneados</i> |
| I                                        | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| II                                       | 0             | 0              | 7.5           | 12             | 0             | 0              | 7.5           | 12             |
| III                                      | 0.5           | 1              | 1             | 2              | 0             | 0              | 1.5           | 3              |
| IV                                       | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| V                                        | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| VI                                       | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| VII                                      | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| VIII                                     | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| IX                                       | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| X                                        | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| XI                                       | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| XII                                      | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| XIII                                     | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| Total                                    | 0.5           | 1              | 8.5           | 14             | 0             | 0              | 9             | 15             |

Table 22: Number of lines per speaker of a certain status (or mortality) per book in the 'Aeneid' and 'Eneados'. Results for direct speech, reported speech, and twice reported speech are separated.

| <b>Speakers of Direct Speech</b>         |               |                |               |                |               |                |
|------------------------------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| <b>Book</b>                              | <b>God</b>    |                | <b>Mortal</b> |                | <b>Total</b>  |                |
|                                          | <b>Aeneid</b> | <b>Eneados</b> | <b>Aeneid</b> | <b>Eneados</b> | <b>Aeneid</b> | <b>Eneados</b> |
| I                                        | 182           | 300            | 157.5         | 277            | 339.5         | 577            |
| II                                       | 0             | 0              | 787           | 1,419          | 787           | 1,419          |
| III                                      | 0             | 0              | 712           | 1,375          | 712           | 1,375          |
| IV                                       | 70            | 130            | 270           | 548            | 340           | 678            |
| V                                        | 55            | 123            | 190.5         | 354            | 245.5         | 477            |
| VI                                       | 10            | 20             | 469           | 1,044          | 479           | 1,064          |
| VII                                      | 79            | 184            | 117.5         | 278            | 196.5         | 462            |
| VIII                                     | 60.5          | 137            | 279           | 645            | 339.5         | 782            |
| IX                                       | 38.5          | 96             | 219.167       | 521            | 257.667       | 617            |
| X                                        | 144.5         | 370            | 129           | 349            | 273.5         | 719            |
| XI                                       | 71.5          | 156            | 330.5         | 812            | 402           | 968            |
| XII                                      | 89            | 210            | 207           | 523            | 296           | 733            |
| XIII                                     | 54.5          | 120            | 217.83        | 508            | 272.33        | 628            |
| <b>Total</b>                             | 854.5         | 1,846          | 4,085.997     | 8,653          | 4,940.497     | 10,499         |
| <b>Speakers of Reported Speech</b>       |               |                |               |                |               |                |
| <b>Book</b>                              | <b>God</b>    |                | <b>Mortal</b> |                | <b>Total</b>  |                |
|                                          | <b>Aeneid</b> | <b>Eneados</b> | <b>Aeneid</b> | <b>Eneados</b> | <b>Aeneid</b> | <b>Eneados</b> |
| I                                        | 182           | 300            | 157.5         | 277            | 339.5         | 577            |
| II                                       | 26.5          | 46             | 259.25        | 479            | 285.75        | 525            |
| III                                      | 34.5          | 60             | 253.83        | 481            | 288.33        | 541            |
| IV                                       | 0             | 0              | 1             | 1              | 1             | 1              |
| V                                        | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| VI                                       | 0             | 0              | 1             | 3              | 1             | 3              |
| VII                                      | 0             | 0              | 4             | 9              | 4             | 9              |
| VIII                                     | 0             | 0              | 4             | 15             | 4             | 15             |
| IX                                       | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| X                                        | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| XI                                       | 0             | 0              | 46            | 21             | 46            | 21             |
| XII                                      | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| XIII                                     | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| <b>Total</b>                             | 243           | 406            | 726.58        | 1,286          | 969.58        | 1,692          |
| <b>Speakers of Twice Reported Speech</b> |               |                |               |                |               |                |
| <b>Book</b>                              | <b>God</b>    |                | <b>Mortal</b> |                | <b>Total</b>  |                |
|                                          | <b>Aeneid</b> | <b>Eneados</b> | <b>Aeneid</b> | <b>Eneados</b> | <b>Aeneid</b> | <b>Eneados</b> |
| I                                        | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| II                                       | 0             | 0              | 7.5           | 12             | 7.5           | 12             |
| III                                      | 0.5           | 1              | 1             | 2              | 1.5           | 3              |
| IV                                       | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| V                                        | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| VI                                       | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| VII                                      | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| VIII                                     | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| IX                                       | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| X                                        | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| XI                                       | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| XII                                      | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| XIII                                     | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              | 0             | 0              |
| <b>Total</b>                             | 0.5           | 1              | 8.5           | 14             | 9             | 15             |



Table 23: Number of lines per speaker of direct speech of a certain nationality per book in the 'Aeneid' and 'Eneados'.

| Book  | Arcadia |         | Ardea  |         | Carthage |         | Cumae  |         | Etruria |         | Getulia |         | Greece  |         |
|-------|---------|---------|--------|---------|----------|---------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
|       | Aeneid  | Eneados | Aeneid | Eneados | Aeneid   | Eneados | Aeneid | Eneados | Aeneid  | Eneados | Aeneid  | Eneados | Aeneid  | Eneados |
| I     | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 42       | 77      | 0      | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       |
| II    | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       |
| III   | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       |
| IV    | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 250.5    | 513     | 0      | 0       | 0       | 0       | 13      | 23      | 0       | 0       |
| V     | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       |
| VI    | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 157    | 347     | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 4.5     | 10      |
| VII   | 0       | 0       | 8      | 20      | 0        | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       |
| VIII  | 234     | 538     | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       |
| IX    | 0       | 0       | 66.5   | 161     | 0        | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       |
| X     | 25      | 68      | 27     | 75      | 0        | 0       | 0      | 0       | 39      | 100     | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       |
| XI    | 30      | 73      | 138.5  | 346     | 0        | 0       | 0      | 0       | 18      | 45      | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       |
| XII   | 0       | 0       | 67.5   | 178     | 0        | 0       | 0      | 0       | 1.5     | 3       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       |
| XIII  | 0       | 0       | 40     | 86      | 0        | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       |
| Total | 289     | 679     | 347.5  | 866     | 292.5    | 590     | 157    | 347     | 58.5    | 148     | 13      | 23      | 4.5     | 10      |
| Book  | Italy   |         | Latium |         | Liguria  |         | Troy   |         | Volsci  |         | N/A     |         | Greece  |         |
|       | Aeneid  | Eneados | Aeneid | Eneados | Aeneid   | Eneados | Aeneid | Eneados | Aeneid  | Eneados | Aeneid  | Eneados | Aeneid  | Eneados |
| I     | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 115.5  | 200     | 0       | 0       | 182     | 300     | 339.5   | 577     |
| II    | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 787    | 1,419   | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 787     | 1,419   |
| III   | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 712    | 1,375   | 0       | 0       | 0       | 0       | 712     | 1,375   |
| IV    | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 6.5    | 12      | 0       | 0       | 70      | 130     | 340     | 678     |
| V     | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 190.5  | 354     | 0       | 0       | 55      | 123     | 245.5   | 477     |
| VI    | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 307.5  | 687     | 0       | 0       | 10      | 20      | 479     | 1,064   |
| VII   | 0       | 0       | 58.5   | 145     | 0        | 0       | 51     | 113     | 0       | 0       | 79      | 184     | 196.5   | 462     |
| VIII  | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 45     | 107     | 0       | 0       | 60.5    | 137     | 339.5   | 782     |
| IX    | 0       | 0       | 3.5    | 7       | 0        | 0       | 149.17 | 353     | 0       | 0       | 38.5    | 96      | 257.67  | 617     |
| X     | 10.5    | 28      | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 45     | 123     | 0       | 0       | 127     | 325     | 273.5   | 719     |
| XI    | 0       | 0       | 77.5   | 193     | 3.5      | 9       | 46.5   | 110     | 16.5    | 36      | 71.5    | 156     | 402     | 968     |
| XII   | 0       | 0       | 49     | 125     | 0        | 0       | 85.5   | 212     | 0       | 0       | 92.5    | 215     | 296     | 733     |
| XIII  | 0       | 0       | 100    | 240     | 0        | 0       | 77.83  | 182     | 0       | 0       | 54.5    | 120     | 272.33  | 628     |
| Total | 10.5    | 28      | 288.5  | 710     | 3.5      | 9       | 2,619  | 5,247   | 16.5    | 36      | 840.5   | 1,806   | 4,940.5 | 10,499  |

Table 24: Number of lines per speaker of reported speech of a certain nationality per book in the 'Aeneid' and 'Eneados'.

| Book         | Arcadia |         | Greece |         | Volsci |         | Thessaly |         | Troy   |         | N/A    |         | Greece |         |
|--------------|---------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|----------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|
|              | Aeneid  | Eneados | Aeneid | Eneados | Aeneid | Eneados | Aeneid   | Eneados | Aeneid | Eneados | Aeneid | Eneados | Aeneid | Eneados |
| I            | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       |
| II           | 0       | 0       | 116.5  | 212     | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 142.75 | 267     | 26.5   | 46      | 285.75 | 525     |
| III          | 0       | 0       | 50.5   | 90      | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 221.33 | 423     | 16.5   | 28      | 288.33 | 541     |
| IV           | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 1      | 1       | 0      | 0       | 1      | 1       |
| V            | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       |
| VI           | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 1        | 3       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 1      | 3       |
| VII          | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 4      | 9       | 0      | 0       | 4      | 9       |
| VIII         | 4       | 15      | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 4      | 15      |
| IX           | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       |
| X            | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       |
| XI           | 0       | 0       | 42     | 111     | 4      | 10      | 0        | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 46     | 121     |
| XII          | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       |
| XIII         | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0        | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       |
| <b>Total</b> | 4       | 15      | 209    | 413     | 4      | 10      | 1        | 3       | 369.08 | 700     | 43     | 74      | 630.08 | 1,215   |

Table 25: Number of lines per speaker of twice reported speech of a certain nationality per book in the 'Aeneid' and 'Eneados'.

| Book         | Greece |         | Troy   |         | N/A    |         | Total  |         |
|--------------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|
|              | Aeneid | Eneados | Aeneid | Eneados | Aeneid | Eneados | Aeneid | Eneados |
| I            | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       |
| II           | 7.5    | 12      | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 7.5    | 12      |
| III          | 0      | 0       | 1      | 2       | 0.5    | 1       | 1.5    | 3       |
| IV           | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       |
| V            | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       |
| VI           | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       |
| VII          | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       |
| VIII         | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       |
| IX           | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       |
| X            | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       |
| XI           | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       |
| XII          | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       |
| XIII         | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       | 0      | 0       |
| <b>Total</b> | 7.5    | 12      | 1      | 2       | 0.5    | 1       | 9      | 15      |

Table 26: List of characters delivering direct speech, their sociolinguistic categorisation, and number of spoken lines in the 'Aeneid' and 'Eneados'. Three nation categories are listed: the nation itself, a condensed category that groups nation by alliance (Troy, Greece, Italy, N/A), and a simplified category representing each character's attitude towards the creation of Rome (pro-, anti-, and neutral). Continued over two pages.

| Character        | Gender | Status | Nation   | Nation Condensed | Nation Simplified | Aen. Lines | Ene. Lines |
|------------------|--------|--------|----------|------------------|-------------------|------------|------------|
| Acestes          | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 5          | 11         |
| Achates          | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 6.5        | 11         |
| Aeneas           | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 2,000      | 3,894      |
| Aeolus           | Male   | God    | N/A      | N/A              | Anti-Rome         | 5          | 8          |
| Alecto           | Female | God    | N/A      | N/A              | Anti-Rome         | 24.5       | 56         |
| Alethes          | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 8.5        | 23         |
| Amata            | Female | Mortal | Latium   | Italy & Allies   | Anti-Rome         | 26.5       | 68         |
| Anchises         | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 184        | 423        |
| Anna             | Female | Mortal | Carthage | Neutral          | Anti-Rome         | 61.5       | 130        |
| Apollo           | Male   | God    | N/A      | N/A              | Pro-Rome          | 7          | 21         |
| Arcadian Men     | Male   | Mortal | Arcadia  | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 3          | 8          |
| Arcadian Priests | Male   | Mortal | Arcadia  | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 10         | 28         |
| Arruns           | Male   | Mortal | Etruria  | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 9          | 21         |
| Ascanius         | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 42.5       | 93         |
| Aunus            | Male   | Mortal | Liguria  | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 3.5        | 9          |
| Berecynthia      | Female | God    | N/A      | N/A              | Pro-Rome          | 13.5       | 34         |
| Caicus           | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 2.33       | 5          |
| Camilla          | Female | Mortal | Volsci   | Italy & Allies   | Anti-Rome         | 16.5       | 36         |
| Charon           | Male   | God    | N/A      | N/A              | Neutral           | 10         | 20         |
| Cloanthus        | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 4          | 8          |
| Cymodoce         | Female | God    | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 17.5       | 45         |
| Dares            | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 2.5        | 4          |
| Daunus           | Male   | Mortal | Ardea    | Italy & Allies   | Anti-Rome         | 40         | 86         |
| Deiphobe         | Female | Mortal | Cumae    | Neutral          | Pro-Rome          | 157        | 347        |
| Deiphobus        | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 28.5       | 60         |
| Diana            | Female | God    | N/A      | N/A              | Anti-Rome         | 60         | 130        |
| Dido             | Female | Mortal | Carthage | Neutral          | Anti-Rome         | 231        | 460        |
| Drances          | Male   | Mortal | Latium   | Italy & Allies   | Pro-Rome          | 82.5       | 203        |
| Entellus         | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 22.5       | 38         |
| Epytides         | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 0.5        | 1          |
| Euryalus         | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 38         | 91         |
| Evander          | Male   | Mortal | Arcadia  | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 249.5      | 572        |
| Fame             | Female | God    | N/A      | N/A              | Neutral           | 0.5        | 2          |
| Farmers          | Male   | Mortal | N/A      | N/A              | Neutral           | 3.5        | 5          |
| Faunus           | Male   | God    | N/A      | N/A              | Pro-Rome          | 6          | 12         |
| Gyas             | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 4          | 8          |
| Iapyx            | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 4.5        | 8          |
| Iarbas           | Male   | Mortal | Getulia  | Neutral          | Neutral           | 13         | 23         |
| Ilioneus         | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 72         | 145        |

|                 |        |        |         |                 |           |       |     |
|-----------------|--------|--------|---------|-----------------|-----------|-------|-----|
| Iris            | Female | God    | N/A     | N/A             | Anti-Rome | 27.5  | 56  |
| Juno            | Female | God    | N/A     | N/A             | Anti-Rome | 167.5 | 392 |
| Jupiter         | Male   | God    | N/A     | N/A             | Pro-Rome  | 138   | 289 |
| Juturna         | Female | God    | N/A     | N/A             | Anti-Rome | 39.5  | 92  |
| Latin Citizens  | Male   | Mortal | Latium  | Italy & Allies  | Anti-Rome | 0.5   | 1   |
| Latin Matrons   | Female | Mortal | Latium  | Italy & Allies  | Anti-Rome | 3     | 9   |
| Latin People    | Plural | Mortal | Latium  | Italy & Allies  | Anti-Rome | 0     | 1   |
| Latinus         | Male   | Mortal | Latium  | Italy & Allies  | Pro-Rome  | 169.5 | 415 |
| Liger           | Male   | Mortal | Italy   | Italy & Allies  | Anti-Rome | 2.5   | 6   |
| Lucagus         | Male   | Mortal | Italy   | Italy & Allies  | Anti-Rome | 2     | 6   |
| Mago            | Male   | Mortal | Italy   | Italy & Allies  | Anti-Rome | 6     | 16  |
| Mercury         | Male   | God    | N/A     | N/A             | Pro-Rome  | 21.5  | 38  |
| Messapus        | Male   | Mortal | Etruria | Italy & Allies  | Anti-Rome | 1.5   | 3   |
| Mezentius       | Male   | Mortal | Etruria | Italy & Allies  | Anti-Rome | 34.5  | 91  |
| Mnestheus       | Male   | Mortal | Troy    | Troy & Allies   | Pro-Rome  | 14.5  | 35  |
| Morpheus        | Male   | God    | N/A     | N/A             | Anti-Rome | 4     | 9   |
| Musaeus         | Male   | Mortal | Greece  | Greece & Allies | Pro-Rome  | 4.5   | 10  |
| Nautes          | Male   | Mortal | Troy    | Troy & Allies   | Pro-Rome  | 10    | 20  |
| Neptune         | Male   | God    | N/A     | N/A             | Pro-Rome  | 25.5  | 56  |
| Nisus           | Male   | Mortal | Troy    | Troy & Allies   | Pro-Rome  | 57.5  | 133 |
| Numanus Remulus | Male   | Mortal | Ardea   | Italy & Allies  | Anti-Rome | 23    | 56  |
| Opis            | Female | God    | N/A     | N/A             | Anti-Rome | 11.5  | 25  |
| Orodes          | Male   | Mortal | Arcadia | Troy & Allies   | Pro-Rome  | 2.5   | 7   |
| Palinurus       | Male   | Mortal | Troy    | Troy & Allies   | Pro-Rome  | 40    | 75  |
| Pallas          | Male   | Mortal | Arcadia | Troy & Allies   | Pro-Rome  | 24    | 64  |
| Pandarus        | Male   | Mortal | Troy    | Troy & Allies   | Pro-Rome  | 2.5   | 6   |
| Pirgo           | Female | Mortal | Troy    | Troy & Allies   | Pro-Rome  | 7     | 12  |
| Saces           | Male   | Mortal | Ardea   | Italy & Allies  | Anti-Rome | 12.5  | 31  |
| Sergestus       | Male   | Mortal | Troy    | Troy & Allies   | Pro-Rome  | 1     | 1   |
| Tarchon         | Male   | Mortal | Etruria | Troy & Allies   | Pro-Rome  | 13.5  | 33  |
| Tiberinus       | Male   | God    | N/A     | N/A             | Pro-Rome  | 29.5  | 65  |
| Tolumnius       | Male   | Mortal | Ardea   | Italy & Allies  | Anti-Rome | 7     | 17  |
| Trojan Men      | Male   | Mortal | Troy    | Troy & Allies   | Pro-Rome  | 7     | 13  |
| Trojan Women    | Female | Mortal | Troy    | Troy & Allies   | Pro-Rome  | 1.5   | 4   |
| Trojan Youths   | Male   | Mortal | Troy    | Troy & Allies   | Pro-Rome  | 0.33  | 1   |
| Trojans         | Plural | Mortal | Troy    | Troy & Allies   | Pro-Rome  | 0.33  | 1   |
| Turnus          | Male   | Mortal | Ardea   | Italy & Allies  | Anti-Rome | 246.5 | 618 |
| Venulus         | Male   | Mortal | Ardea   | Italy & Allies  | Anti-Rome | 53    | 136 |
| Venus           | Female | God    | N/A     | N/A             | Pro-Rome  | 231.5 | 459 |
| Volscens        | Male   | Mortal | Latium  | Italy & Allies  | Anti-Rome | 3.5   | 7   |
| Vulcan          | Male   | God    | N/A     | N/A             | Pro-Rome  | 14.5  | 37  |
| Watchman        | Male   | Mortal | Latium  | Italy & Allies  | Anti-Rome | 3     | 6   |

Table 27: List of characters delivering reported speech, their sociolinguistic categorisation, and number of spoken lines in the 'Aeneid' and 'Eneados'. Three nation categories are listed: the nation itself, a condensed category that groups nation by alliance (Troy, Greece, Italy, N/A), and a simplified category representing each character's attitude towards the creation of Rome (pro-, anti-, and neutral).

| Character    | Gender | Status | Nation   | Nation Condensed | Nation Simplified | Aen. Lines | Ene. Lines |
|--------------|--------|--------|----------|------------------|-------------------|------------|------------|
| Achaemenides | Male   | Mortal | Greece   | Greece & Allies  | Pro-Rome          | 50.5       | 90         |
| Achates      | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 0.5        | 1          |
| Aeneas       | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 83         | 156        |
| Anchises     | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 56.5       | 109        |
| Androgeos    | Male   | Mortal | Greece   | Greece & Allies  | Anti-Rome         | 3          | 4          |
| Andromache   | Female | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 31.5       | 59         |
| Apollo       | Male   | God    | N/A      | N/A              | Pro-Rome          | 5          | 9          |
| Celaeno      | Female | God    | N/A      | N/A              | Neutral           | 11.5       | 19         |
| Coroebus     | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 4.5        | 8          |
| Creusa       | Female | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 18         | 35         |
| Diomedes     | Male   | Mortal | Greece   | Greece & Allies  | Anti-Rome         | 42         | 111        |
| Diviner      | Male   | Mortal | Arcadia  | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 4          | 15         |
| Hector       | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 7          | 16         |
| Hecuba       | Female | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 5.25       | 10         |
| Helenus      | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 96         | 185        |
| Laocoon      | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 8          | 14         |
| Metabus      | Male   | Mortal | Volsci   | Italy & Allies   | Anti-Rome         | 4          | 10         |
| Panthus      | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 12         | 20         |
| Penates      | Plural | God    | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 18         | 32         |
| Phlegyas     | Male   | Mortal | Thessaly | Neutral          | Neutral           | 1          | 3          |
| Polydorus    | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 6          | 11         |
| Priam        | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 14         | 25         |
| Pyrrhus      | Male   | Mortal | Greece   | Greece & Allies  | Anti-Rome         | 3.5        | 6          |
| Sinon        | Male   | Mortal | Greece   | Greece & Allies  | Anti-Rome         | 110        | 202        |
| Trojan Men   | Male   | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 0.33       | 1          |
| Trojan Women | Female | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 0.5        | 2          |
| Trojans      | Plural | Mortal | Troy     | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 8          | 16         |
| Turnus       | Male   | Mortal | Ardea    | Italy & Allies   | Anti-Rome         | 246.5      | 618        |
| Venus        | Female | God    | N/A      | N/A              | Pro-Rome          | 26.5       | 46         |

Table 28: List of characters delivering twice reported speech, their sociolinguistic categorisation, and number of spoken lines in the 'Aeneid' and 'Eneados'. Three nation categories are listed: the nation itself, a condensed category that groups nation by alliance (Troy, Greece, Italy, N/A), and a simplified category representing each character's attitude towards the creation of Rome (pro-, anti-, and neutral).

| Character  | Gender | Status | Nation | Nation Condensed | Nation Simplified | Aen. Lines | Ene. Lines |
|------------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|-------------------|------------|------------|
| Calchas    | Male   | Mortal | Greece | Greece & Allies  | Anti-Rome         | 4          | 7          |
| Eurypylus  | Male   | Mortal | Greece | Greece & Allies  | Anti-Rome         | 3.5        | 5          |
| Juno       | Female | God    | N/A    | N/A              | Anti-Rome         | 0.5        | 1          |
| Trojan Men | Male   | Mortal | Troy   | Troy & Allies    | Pro-Rome          | 1          | 2          |

Table 29: Number of translation units per book of the 'Aeneid' and 'Eneados'.

| Book         | Translation Units | Total | Average Line Ratio |
|--------------|-------------------|-------|--------------------|
| I            | 1-394             | 394   | 1.78               |
| II           | 395-843           | 449   | 1.86               |
| III          | 844-1,304         | 461   | 1.98               |
| IV           | 1,305-1,737       | 433   | 2.00               |
| V            | 1,738-2,255       | 518   | 1.91               |
| VI           | 2,256-2,876       | 621   | 2.18               |
| VII          | 2,877-3,378       | 502   | 2.33               |
| VIII         | 3,379-3,824       | 446   | 2.31               |
| IX           | 3,825-4,299       | 475   | 2.30               |
| X            | 4,300-4,866       | 567   | 2.49               |
| XI           | 4,867-5,429       | 563   | 2.32               |
| XII          | 5,430-6,006       | 577   | 2.44               |
| XIII         | 6,007-6,311       | 305   | 2.29               |
| <b>Total</b> |                   | 6,311 | 2.18               |

Table 30: List of USAS tags and their categories as well as an indication of how these categories have been revised for this thesis. Continued over six pages.

| Tag    | USAS Category                     | Revised Category                  |
|--------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| A1     | General and abstract terms        | General & abstract terms          |
| A1.1.1 | General actions, making etc.      | General actions                   |
| A1.1.2 | Damaging and destroying           | Damaging & destroying             |
| A1.2   | Suitability                       | Suitability                       |
| A1.3   | Caution                           | Caution                           |
| A1.4   | Chance, luck                      | Chance & luck                     |
| A1.5   | Use                               | Use                               |
| A1.5.1 | Using                             | Using                             |
| A1.5.2 | Usefulness                        | Usefulness                        |
| A1.6   | Physical/mental                   | Physical/mental                   |
| A1.7   | Constraint                        | Constraint                        |
| A1.8   | Inclusion/exclusion               | Inclusion/exclusion               |
| A1.9   | Avoiding                          | Avoiding                          |
| A2     | Affect                            | Affect                            |
| A2.1   | Affect: Modify, change            | Affect: Modify, change            |
| A2.2   | Affect: Cause/Connected           | Affect: Cause/connected           |
| A3     | Being                             | Being                             |
| A4     | Classification                    | Classification                    |
| A4.1   | Generally kinds, groups, examples | Generally kinds, groups, examples |
| A4.2   | Particular/general; detail        | Particular/general; detail        |
| A5     | Evaluation                        | Evaluation                        |
| A5.1   | Evaluation: Good/bad              | Evaluation: Good/bad              |
| A5.2   | Evaluation: True/false            | Evaluation: True/false            |
| A5.3   | Evaluation: Accuracy              | Evaluation: Accuracy              |
| A5.4   | Evaluation: Authenticity          | Evaluation: Authenticity          |



|       |                                              |                                              |
|-------|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| A6    | Comparing                                    | Comparing                                    |
| A6.1  | Comparing: Similar/different                 | Comparing: Similar/different                 |
| A6.2  | Comparing: Usual/unusual                     | Comparing: Usual/unusual                     |
| A6.3  | Comparing: Variety                           | Comparing: Variety                           |
| A7    | Definite (+ modals)                          | Definite & modals                            |
| A8    | Seem                                         | Seeming                                      |
| A9    | Getting and giving; possession               | Getting & giving; possession                 |
| A10   | Open/closed; Hiding/Hidden; Finding; Showing | Open/closed; Hiding/Hidden; Finding; Showing |
| A11   | Importance                                   | Importance                                   |
| A11.1 | Importance: Important                        | Importance: Important                        |
| A11.2 | Importance: Noticeability                    | Importance: Noticeability                    |
| A12   | Easy/difficult                               | Easy/difficult                               |
| A13   | Degree                                       | Degree                                       |
| A13.1 | Degree: Non-specific                         | Degree: Non-specific                         |
| A13.2 | Degree: Maximizers                           | Degree: Maximizers                           |
| A13.3 | Degree: Boosters                             | Degree: Boosters                             |
| A13.4 | Degree: Approximators                        | Degree: Approximators                        |
| A13.5 | Degree: Compromisers                         | Degree: Compromisers                         |
| A13.6 | Degree: Diminishers                          | Degree: Diminishers                          |
| A13.7 | Degree: Minimizers                           | Degree: Minimizers                           |
| A14   | Exclusivizers/particularizers                | Exclusivisers/particularisers                |
| A15   | Safety/Danger                                | Safety/danger                                |
| B1    | Anatomy and physiology                       | Anatomy & physiology                         |
| B2    | Health and disease                           | Health & disease                             |
| B3    | Medicines and medical treatment              | Medicines & medical treatment                |
| B4    | Cleaning and personal care                   | Cleaning & personal care                     |
| B5    | Clothes and personal belongings              | Clothes & personal belongings                |
| C1    | Arts and crafts                              | Arts & crafts                                |
| E1    | Emotional actions, states, and processes     | Emotional actions, states & processes        |
| E2    | Liking                                       | Liking                                       |
| E3    | Calm/Violent/Angry                           | Calm/violent/angry                           |
| E4    | Happy/sad                                    | Happy/sad                                    |
| E4.1  | Happy/sad: Happy                             | Happy/sad                                    |
| E4.2  | Happy/sad: Contentment                       | Happy/sad: Contentment                       |
| E5    | Fear/bravery/shock                           | Fear/bravery/shock                           |
| E6    | Worry, concern, confident                    | Worry, concern, confusion                    |
| F1    | Food                                         | Food                                         |
| F2    | Drinks                                       | Drinks                                       |
| F3    | Cigarettes and drugs                         | N/A                                          |
| F4    | Farming & horticulture                       | Farming & horticulture                       |
| G1    | Government, politics, and elections          | Government, politics & elections             |
| G1.1  | Government etc.                              | Government                                   |
| G1.2  | Politics                                     | Politics                                     |

|      |                                                     |                                                 |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| G2   | Crime, law, and order                               | Crime & justice                                 |
| G2.1 | Crime, law, and order: Law and order                | Crime & justice: Law & order                    |
| G2.2 | General ethics                                      | General ethics                                  |
| G3   | Warfare, defence, and the army; weapons             | Warfare                                         |
| H1   | Architecture and kinds of houses and buildings      | Architecture & kinds of buildings               |
| H2   | Parts of buildings                                  | Parts of buildings                              |
| H3   | Areas around or near houses                         | Areas around houses                             |
| H4   | Residence                                           | Residence                                       |
| H5   | Furniture and household fittings                    | Furniture & household fittings                  |
| I1   | Money generally                                     | Money generally                                 |
| I1.1 | Money: Affluence                                    | Money: Affluence                                |
| I1.2 | Money: Debts                                        | Money: Debts                                    |
| I1.3 | Money: Price                                        | Money: Price                                    |
| I2   | Business                                            | Business                                        |
| I2.1 | Business: Generally                                 | Business: Generally                             |
| I2.2 | Business: Selling                                   | Business: Selling                               |
| I3   | Work and employment                                 | Work & employment                               |
| I3.1 | Work and employment: Generally                      | Work & employment: Generally                    |
| I3.2 | Work and employment: Professionalism                | Work & employment: Professionalism              |
| I4   | Industry                                            | Industry                                        |
| K1   | Entertainment generally                             | Entertainment generally                         |
| K2   | Music and related activities                        | Music & related activities                      |
| K3   | Recorded sound etc.                                 | N/A                                             |
| K4   | Drama, the theatre and showbusiness                 | Drama, the theatre                              |
| K5   | Sports and games generally                          | Sports & games generally                        |
| K5.1 | Sports                                              | Sports                                          |
| K5.2 | Games                                               | Games                                           |
| K6   | Childrens games and toys                            | Toys                                            |
| L1   | Life and living things                              | Life & living things                            |
| L2   | Living creatures generally                          | Living creatures generally                      |
| L3   | Plants                                              | Plants                                          |
| M1   | Moving, coming and going                            | Moving, coming & going                          |
| M2   | Putting, taking, pulling, pushing, transporting &c. | Putting, taking, pulling, pushing, transporting |
| M3   | Vehicles and transport on land                      | Transport on land                               |
| M4   | Shipping, swimming etc.                             | Transport by water                              |
| M5   | Aircraft and flying                                 | Transport by air                                |
| M6   | Location and direction                              | Location & direction                            |
| M7   | Places                                              | Places                                          |
| M8   | Remaining/stationary                                | Remaining/stationary                            |
| N1   | Numbers                                             | Numbers                                         |
| N2   | Mathematics                                         | Mathematics                                     |
| N3   | Measurement                                         | Measurement                                     |



|      |                                                          |                                                       |
|------|----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| N3.1 | Measurement: General                                     | Measurement: General                                  |
| N3.2 | Measurement: Size                                        | Measurement: Size                                     |
| N3.3 | Measurement: Distance                                    | Measurement: Distance                                 |
| N3.4 | Measurement: Volume                                      | Measurement: Volume                                   |
| N3.5 | Measurement: Weight                                      | Measurement: Weight                                   |
| N3.6 | Measurement: Area                                        | Measurement: Area                                     |
| N3.7 | Measurement: Length & height                             | Measurement: Length & height                          |
| N3.8 | Measurement: Speed                                       | Measurement: Speed                                    |
| N4   | Linear order                                             | Linear order                                          |
| N5   | Quantities                                               | Quantities                                            |
| N5.1 | Entirety; maximum                                        | Quantities: Entirety, maximum                         |
| N5.2 | Exceeding; waste                                         | Exceeding; waste                                      |
| N6   | Frequency etc.                                           | Frequency etc.                                        |
| O1   | Substances and materials generally                       | Substances & materials generally                      |
| O1.1 | Substances and materials generally: Solid                | Substances & materials generally: Solid               |
| O1.2 | Substances and materials generally: Liquid               | Substances & materials generally: Liquid              |
| O1.3 | Substances and materials generally: Gas                  | Substances & materials generally: Gas                 |
| O2   | Objects generally                                        | Objects generally                                     |
| O3   | Electricity and electrical equipment                     | Cables & sockets                                      |
| O4   | Physical attributes                                      | Physical attributes                                   |
| O4.1 | General appearance and physical properties               | Appearance & physical properties                      |
| O4.2 | Judgement of appearance (pretty etc.)                    | Judgment of appearance                                |
| O4.3 | Colour and colour patterns                               | Colour & colour patterns                              |
| O4.4 | Shape                                                    | Shape                                                 |
| O4.5 | Texture                                                  | Texture                                               |
| O4.6 | Temperature                                              | Temperature                                           |
| P1   | Education in general                                     | Education in general                                  |
| PUNC |                                                          | Punctuation                                           |
| Q1   | Linguistic actions, states, and processes; communication | Linguistic actions, states & processes; communication |
| Q1.1 | Linguistic actions, states, and processes; communication | Linguistic actions, states & processes; communication |
| Q1.2 | Paper documents and writing                              | Paper documents & writing                             |
| Q1.3 | Telecommunications                                       | N/A                                                   |
| Q2   | Speech acts                                              | Speech acts                                           |
| Q2.1 | Speech etc: Communicative                                | Speech etc: Communicative                             |
| Q2.2 | Speech acts                                              | Speech acts                                           |
| Q3   | Language, speech and grammar                             | Language, speech, & grammar                           |
| Q4   | The Media                                                | Publishing                                            |
| Q4.1 | The Media: Books                                         | Books                                                 |
| Q4.2 | The Media: Newspapers etc.                               | Articles                                              |
| Q4.3 | The Media: TV, radio, and cinema                         | N/A                                                   |

|        |                                       |                                     |
|--------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| S1     | Social actions, states, and processes | Social actions, states, & processes |
| S1.1   | Social actions, states, and processes | Social actions, states, & processes |
| S1.1.1 | Social actions, states, and processes | Social actions, states, & processes |
| S1.1.2 | Reciprocity                           | Reciprocity                         |
| S1.1.3 | Participation                         | Participation                       |
| S1.1.4 | Deserve etc.                          | Deserving                           |
| S1.2   | Personality traits                    | Personality traits                  |
| S1.2.1 | Approachability and friendliness      | Approachability & friendliness      |
| S1.2.2 | Avarice                               | Avarice                             |
| S1.2.3 | Egoism                                | Egoism                              |
| S1.2.4 | Politeness                            | Politeness                          |
| S1.2.5 | Toughness; strong/weak                | Toughness, strong/weak              |
| S1.2.6 | Sensible                              | Sensibility                         |
| S2     | People                                | People                              |
| S2.1   | People: Female                        | People: Female                      |
| S2.2   | People: Male                          | People: Male                        |
| S3     | Relationship                          | Relationship                        |
| S3.1   | Relationship: General                 | Relationship: General               |
| S3.2   | Relationship: Intimate/sexual         | Relationship: Intimate              |
| S4     | Kin                                   | Kin                                 |
| S5     | Groups and affiliation                | Groups & affiliation                |
| S6     | Obligation and necessity              | Obligation & necessity              |
| S7     | Power relationship                    | Power relationship                  |
| S7.1   | Power, organising                     | Power, organising                   |
| S7.2   | Respect                               | Respect                             |
| S7.3   | Competition                           | Competition                         |
| S7.4   | Permission                            | Permission                          |
| S8     | Helping/hindering                     | Helping/hindering                   |
| S9     | Religion and the supernatural         | Religion & the supernatural         |
| T1     | Time                                  | Time                                |
| T1.1   | Time: General                         | Time: General                       |
| T1.1.1 | Time: General: Past                   | Time: General: Past                 |
| T1.1.2 | Time: General: Present; simultaneous  | Time: General present, simultaneity |
| T1.1.3 | Time: General: Future                 | Time: General future                |
| T1.2   | Time: Momentary                       | Time: Momentary                     |
| T1.3   | Time: Period                          | Time: Period                        |
| T2     | Time: Beginning and ending            | Time: Beginning & ending            |
| T3     | Time: Old, new, and young; age        | Time: Age                           |
| T4     | Time: Early/late                      | Time: Early/late                    |
| W1     | The universe                          | The universe                        |
| W2     | Light                                 | Light                               |
| W3     | Geographical terms                    | Geographical terms                  |
| W4     | Weather                               | Weather                             |
| W5     | Green issues                          | Nature & the environment            |

|      |                                              |                                           |
|------|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| X1   | Psychological actions, states, and processes | Psychological actions, states & processes |
| X2   | Mental actions and processes                 | Mental actions & processes                |
| X2.1 | Thought, belief                              | Thought, belief                           |
| X2.2 | Knowledge                                    | Knowledge                                 |
| X2.3 | Learn                                        | Learn                                     |
| X2.4 | Investigate, examine, test, search           | Investigate, examine, test, search        |
| X2.5 | Understand                                   | Understanding & comprehension             |
| X2.6 | Expect                                       | Expect                                    |
| X3   | Sensory                                      | Sensory                                   |
| X3.1 | Sensory: Taste                               | Sensory: Taste                            |
| X3.2 | Sensory: Sound                               | Sensory: Sound                            |
| X3.3 | Sensory: Touch                               | Sensory: Touch                            |
| X3.4 | Sensory: Sight                               | Sensory: Sight                            |
| X3.5 | Sensory: Smell                               | Sensory: Smell                            |
| X4   | Mental object                                | Mental object                             |
| X4.1 | Mental object: Conceptual object             | Mental object: Conceptual object          |
| X4.2 | Mental object: Means, method                 | Mental object: Means, method              |
| X5   | Attention                                    | Attention                                 |
| X5.1 | Attention                                    | Attention                                 |
| X5.2 | Interest/boredom/excited/energetic           | Interest/boredom/excited/energetic        |
| X6   | Deciding                                     | Deciding                                  |
| X7   | Wanting; planning; choosing                  | Wanting, planning, choosing               |
| X8   | Trying                                       | Altercation (an extension of warfare)     |
| X9   | Ability                                      | Ability                                   |
| X9.1 | Ability: Ability, intelligence               | Ability: Intelligence                     |
| X9.2 | Ability: Success and failure                 | Ability: Success & failure                |
| Y1   | Science and technology in general            | Science & technology in general           |
| Y2   | Information technology and computing         | N/A                                       |
| Z0   | Unmatched proper noun                        | Unmatched proper noun                     |
| Z1   | Personal names                               | Personal names                            |
| Z2   | Geographical names                           | Geographical names                        |
| Z3   | Other proper names                           | Other proper names                        |
| Z4   | Discourse Bin                                | Discourse terms                           |
| Z5   | Grammatical bin                              | Grammatical words                         |
| Z6   | Negative                                     | Negative                                  |
| Z7   | If                                           | If                                        |
| Z8   | Pronouns etc.                                | Pronouns                                  |
| Z9   | Trash can                                    | Trash can                                 |
| Z99  | Unmatched                                    | Unmatched                                 |

Table 31: Frequency of ranges of line ratio for translations units in the 'Eneados'. See Dataset 1 for full data.

| Line Ratio    | Number of Occurrences |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| $0.5 < x < 1$ | 1                     |
| 1             | 247                   |
| $1 < x < 2$   | 779                   |
| 2             | 3,432                 |
| $2 < x < 3$   | 646                   |
| 3             | 965                   |
| $3 < x < 4$   | 47                    |
| 4             | 167                   |
| $4 < x < 5$   | 2                     |
| 5             | 20                    |
| 6             | 3                     |
| 8             | 2                     |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>6,311</b>          |

Table 32: Number of different sized translation units in the 'Eneados' that maintain a line ratio of 2. See Dataset 1 for full data.

| Number of Scots Lines in a Translation Unit:<br>Number of Latin Lines in a Translation Unit | Frequency    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| 1 : 0.5                                                                                     | 23           |
| 2 : 1                                                                                       | 2,405        |
| 3 : 1.5                                                                                     | 9            |
| 4 : 2                                                                                       | 734          |
| 5 : 2.5                                                                                     | 1            |
| 6 : 3                                                                                       | 184          |
| 8 : 4                                                                                       | 53           |
| 10 : 5                                                                                      | 14           |
| 12 : 6                                                                                      | 4            |
| 14 : 7                                                                                      | 3            |
| 16 : 8                                                                                      | 1            |
| 18 : 9                                                                                      | 1            |
| <b>Total</b>                                                                                | <b>3,432</b> |

Table 33: Distribution of eight different translation types—the various permutations of succinct, expansive, literal, paraphrased, complete, and incomplete translation—within the most succinct and expansive translation units in the 'Eneados'. See Dataset 2 for full data.

| Translation Type | Complete |             | Incomplete |             | Total |
|------------------|----------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------|
|                  | Literal  | Paraphrased | Literal    | Paraphrased |       |
| <b>Succinct</b>  | 95       | 70          | 57         | 25          | 247   |
| <b>Expansive</b> | 146      | 37          | 4          | 7           | 194   |
| <b>Total</b>     | 241      | 107         | 61         | 32          | 441   |

Table 34: Distribution of expansion types in literal and paraphrased translation within the most expansive translation units in the 'Eneados'. See Dataset 2 for full data.

| Translation Type   | Expansion Type |                    |             |           | Total |
|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------|-----------|-------|
|                    | Addition       | Double Translation | Elaboration | Reference |       |
| <b>Literal</b>     | 50             | 43                 | 41          | 16        | 150   |
| <b>Paraphrased</b> | 16             | 3                  | 20          | 5         | 44    |
| <b>Total</b>       | 66             | 46                 | 61          | 21        | 194   |

Table 35: Distribution of expansion types in complete and incomplete translation within the most expansive translation units in the 'Eneados'. See Dataset 2 for full data.

| Translation Type  | Expansion Type |                    |             |           | Total |
|-------------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------|-----------|-------|
|                   | Addition       | Double Translation | Elaboration | Reference |       |
| <b>Complete</b>   | 61             | 46                 | 56          | 20        | 183   |
| <b>Incomplete</b> | 5              | 0                  | 5           | 1         | 11    |
| <b>Total</b>      | 66             | 46                 | 61          | 21        | 194   |

Table 36: Distribution of expansion types in the most expansive translation units in the 'Eneados'. See Dataset 2 for full data.

| Expansion Type            | Frequency |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| <b>Addition</b>           | 66        |
| <b>Double Translation</b> | 46        |
| <b>Elaboration</b>        | 61        |
| <b>Reference</b>          | 21        |
| <b>Total</b>              | 194       |

Table 37: Number of 'standard' translation units across books in the 'Eneados'. 'Standard' refers to translation units that have a line ratio of 2 and are made up of one line of Latin and two lines of Scots. See the Dataset 1 for full data.

| Book         | Standard | Not Standard | Total |
|--------------|----------|--------------|-------|
| <b>I</b>     | 117      | 277          | 394   |
| <b>II</b>    | 178      | 271          | 449   |
| <b>III</b>   | 228      | 233          | 461   |
| <b>IV</b>    | 193      | 240          | 433   |
| <b>V</b>     | 197      | 321          | 518   |
| <b>VI</b>    | 291      | 330          | 621   |
| <b>VII</b>   | 184      | 318          | 502   |
| <b>VIII</b>  | 164      | 282          | 446   |
| <b>IX</b>    | 156      | 319          | 475   |
| <b>X</b>     | 192      | 375          | 567   |
| <b>XI</b>    | 212      | 351          | 563   |
| <b>XII</b>   | 205      | 372          | 577   |
| <b>XIII</b>  | 88       | 217          | 305   |
| <b>Total</b> | 2,405    | 3,906        | 6,311 |

Table 38: Number of lines per book in the 'Aeneid', 'Supplement', and 'Eneados'. See Dataset 1 for full data.

| Book         | Number of Lines          |                      |                          |
|--------------|--------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
|              | <i>Aeneid/Supplement</i> | <i>Eneados Books</i> | <i>Eneados Prologues</i> |
| I            | 767                      | 1,346                | 511                      |
| II           | 786.5                    | 1,442                | 21                       |
| III          | 715                      | 1,401                | 45                       |
| IV           | 702.5                    | 1,398                | 270                      |
| V            | 876                      | 1,664                | 68                       |
| VI           | 916                      | 2,006                | 168                      |
| VII          | 807                      | 1,864                | 170                      |
| VIII         | 712.5                    | 1,652                | 182                      |
| IX           | 815                      | 1,876                | 98                       |
| X            | 905                      | 2,244                | 175                      |
| XI           | 914                      | 2,144                | 200                      |
| XII          | 950.5                    | 2,328                | 312                      |
| XIII         | 630                      | 1,458                | 198                      |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>10,497</b>            | <b>22,823</b>        | <b>2,418</b>             |

Table 39: Average number of Latin and Scots lines in every translation unit in every book of the 'Eneados'. See Dataset 1 for full data.

| Book | Average Number of Latin Lines per Translation Unit | Average Number of Scots Lines per Translation Unit |
|------|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| I    | 1.95                                               | 3.36                                               |
| II   | 1.75                                               | 3.16                                               |
| III  | 1.55                                               | 3.00                                               |
| IV   | 1.62                                               | 3.17                                               |
| V    | 1.69                                               | 3.16                                               |
| VI   | 1.48                                               | 3.18                                               |
| VII  | 1.61                                               | 3.66                                               |
| VIII | 1.60                                               | 3.65                                               |
| IX   | 1.72                                               | 3.89                                               |
| X    | 1.60                                               | 3.91                                               |
| XI   | 1.62                                               | 3.75                                               |
| XII  | 1.65                                               | 3.99                                               |
| XIII | 2.07                                               | 4.71                                               |

Table 40: Frequency of literal and paraphrased translation in the most succinct and expansive translation units in each book of the 'Eneados'. See Dataset 2 for full data.

| Book         | Translation Type |             | Total |
|--------------|------------------|-------------|-------|
|              | Literal          | Paraphrased |       |
| I            | 23               | 19          | 42    |
| II           | 23               | 18          | 41    |
| III          | 19               | 7           | 26    |
| IV           | 20               | 8           | 28    |
| V            | 27               | 19          | 46    |
| VI           | 30               | 12          | 42    |
| VII          | 29               | 4           | 33    |
| VIII         | 22               | 6           | 28    |
| IX           | 15               | 9           | 24    |
| X            | 34               | 9           | 43    |
| XI           | 27               | 4           | 31    |
| XII          | 22               | 17          | 39    |
| XIII         | 11               | 7           | 18    |
| <b>Total</b> | 302              | 139         | 441   |

Table 41: Frequency of complete and incomplete translation in the most succinct and expansive translation units in each book of the 'Eneados'. See Dataset 2 for full data.

| Book         | Translation Type |            | Total |
|--------------|------------------|------------|-------|
|              | Complete         | Incomplete |       |
| I            | 28               | 14         | 42    |
| II           | 27               | 14         | 41    |
| III          | 17               | 9          | 26    |
| IV           | 24               | 4          | 28    |
| V            | 30               | 16         | 46    |
| VI           | 38               | 4          | 42    |
| VII          | 31               | 2          | 33    |
| VIII         | 23               | 5          | 28    |
| IX           | 20               | 4          | 24    |
| X            | 38               | 5          | 43    |
| XI           | 28               | 3          | 31    |
| XII          | 33               | 6          | 39    |
| XIII         | 11               | 7          | 18    |
| <b>Total</b> | 348              | 93         | 441   |



Table 42: Results of a Tukey test comparing the number of Latin lines in each translation unit in every book in the 'Eneados'. 'Comp.' stands for 'Comparison'; 'p' refers to 'p-value'. Results that do not indicate a significant difference are highlighted in yellow. See Dataset 1 for full data.

| Comp.       | p       | Comp.       | p       | Comp.        | p       | Comp.         | p       |
|-------------|---------|-------------|---------|--------------|---------|---------------|---------|
| I vs. II    | 0.14    |             |         |              |         |               |         |
| I vs. III   | < 0.001 | II vs. III  | 0.08    |              |         |               |         |
| I vs. IV    | < 0.001 | II vs. IV   | 0.73    | III vs. IV   | 1.00    |               |         |
| I vs. V     | < 0.001 | II vs. V    | 1.00    | III vs. V    | 0.53    | IV vs. V      | 1.00    |
| I vs. VI    | < 0.001 | II vs. VI   | < 0.001 | III vs. VI   | 0.99    | IV vs. VI     | 0.41    |
| I vs. VII   | < 0.001 | II vs. VII  | 0.51    | III vs. VII  | 1.00    | IV vs. VII    | 1.00    |
| I vs. VIII  | < 0.001 | II vs. VIII | 0.44    | III vs. VIII | 1.00    | IV vs. VIII   | 1.00    |
| I vs. IX    | 0.02    | II vs. IX   | 1.00    | III vs. IX   | 0.29    | IV vs. IX     | 0.96    |
| I vs. X     | < 0.001 | II vs. X    | 0.33    | III vs. X    | 1.00    | IV vs. X      | 1.00    |
| I vs. XI    | < 0.001 | II vs. XI   | 0.65    | III vs. XI   | 0.99    | IV vs. XI     | 1.00    |
| I vs. XII   | < 0.001 | II vs. XII  | 0.88    | III vs. XII  | 0.93    | IV vs. XII    | 1.00    |
| I vs. XIII  | 0.92    | II vs. XIII | < 0.001 | III vs. XIII | < 0.001 | IV vs. XIII   | < 0.001 |
| Comp.       | p       | Comp.       | p       | Comp.        | p       | Comp.         | p       |
| V vs. VI    | < 0.01  |             |         |              |         |               |         |
| V vs. VII   | 0.98    | VI vs. VII  | 0.52    |              |         |               |         |
| V vs. VIII  | 0.95    | VI vs. VIII | 0.69    | VII vs. VIII | 1.00    |               |         |
| V vs. IX    | 1.00    | VI vs. IX   | < 0.01  | VII vs. IX   | 0.87    | VIII vs. IX   | 0.81    |
| V vs. X     | 0.92    | VI vs. X    | 0.61    | VII vs. X    | 1.00    | VIII vs. X    | 1.00    |
| V vs. XI    | 0.99    | VI vs. XI   | 0.28    | VII vs. XI   | 1.00    | VIII vs. XI   | 1.00    |
| V vs. XII   | 1.00    | VI vs. XII  | 0.09    | VII vs. XII  | 1.00    | VIII vs. XII  | 1.00    |
| V vs. XIII  | < 0.001 | VI vs. XIII | < 0.001 | VII vs. XIII | < 0.001 | VIII vs. XIII | < 0.001 |
| Comp.       | p       | Comp.       | p       | Comp.        | p       | Comp.         | p       |
| IX vs. X    | 0.73    |             |         |              |         |               |         |
| IX vs. XI   | 0.95    | X vs. XI    | 1.00    |              |         |               |         |
| IX vs. XII  | 1.00    | X vs. XII   | 1.00    | XI vs. XII   | 1.00    |               |         |
| IX vs. XIII | < 0.001 | X vs. XIII  | < 0.001 | XI vs. XIII  | < 0.001 | XII vs.       | < 0.001 |

Table 43: Number of consecutive and non-consecutive translation units within the most succinct and expansive translation units in the 'Eneados'. See Dataset 2 for full data.

| Translation Type | Type of unit |                 | Total |
|------------------|--------------|-----------------|-------|
|                  | Consecutive  | Not Consecutive |       |
| Succinct         | 50           | 197             | 247   |
| Expansive        | 31           | 163             | 194   |
| Total            | 81           | 360             | 441   |

Table 44: Number of consecutive translation units with the same and different translation type within the most succinct and expansive translation units in the 'Eneados'. See Dataset 2 for full data.

| Translation Type | Shares Other Translation Types |     | Total |
|------------------|--------------------------------|-----|-------|
|                  | Yes                            | No  |       |
| Succinct         | 8                              | 42  | 50    |
| Expansive        | 16                             | 15  | 31    |
| Total            | 81                             | 360 | 81    |



Table 45: Distribution of sections (as defined by Ascensius's 1501 edition and Douglas's chapter layout) across 12 context categories. The quantity of sections in each category are not significantly different from one another ( $p = 0.98$ ) according to a one sample t-test with a hypothetical mean of 37 (445/12). Continued across two pages.

| Category                 | Quantity | Section                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|--------------------------|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Authority & Punishment   | 40       | I.3.c, I.5.f, I.8.a, I.8.b, I.8.c, I.8.d, I.9.b, I.9.c, I.10.a, III.1.b, III.2.c, IV.5.b, IV.5.c, IV.5.e, IV.11.c, VI.6.a, VI.9.c, VI.9.d, VI.15.a, VII.6.b, VII.13.a, VII.11.a, IX.1.a, IX.3.c, IX.5.a, IX.5.b, IX.13.a, X.1.a, X.2.a, X.2.b, X.2.c, X.7.a, X.11.a, XI.6.a, XI.8.b, XI.10.b, XI.11.b, XI.14, XII.14.b, XIII.10                                                                                                              |
| Catalogue & Description  | 39       | I.1.c, I.2.a, I.7.a, I.7.b, III.4.a, III.10.a, IV.9.b, V.1.a, V.3.a, VI.1.a, VI.4.c, VI.5.a, VI.5.b, VI.10.a, VI.10.b, VI.10.c, VI.12.b, VII.2.b, VII.12.a, VII.12.b, VII.13.a, VII.13.b, VII.13.c, VII.14.a, VII.14.b, VII.14.c, VIII.1.c, VIII.6.c, VIII.8.a, IX.9.b, X.4.a, X.4.b, X.6.c, XI.9.b, XI.10.a, XI.12, XI.16.a, XII.3.b, XII.4.8                                                                                               |
| Competition & Prizes     | 16       | I.4.c, V.3.b, V.3.c, V.4.a, V.4.b, V.4.c, V.6.b, V.7.a, V.7.b, V.7.c, V.8.a, V.9.a, V.9.b, V.10.a, V.10.b, IX.10.b                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Death & Destruction      | 47       | I.1.d, II.4.a, II.6.a, II.7.a, II.7.c, II.8.c, II.9.a, II.9.b, II.10.c, II.11.c, III.10.c, IV.12.c, V.12.a, V.14.b, VI.3.a, VI.16, IX.6.b, IX.7.c, IX.10.a, IX.11.b, IX.12.a, IX.12.b, X.7.b, X.7.c, X.8.b, X.9, X.10.a, X.10.b, X.12.a, X.12.b, X.13.a, X.13.b, X.14.c, XI.13.a, XI.13.b, XI.15.a, XI.15.b, XI.16.b, XII.6.d, XII.7.a, XII.7.b, XII.7.c, XII.8.a, XII.10.a, XII.10.b, XII.11.b, XII.15.b                                    |
| Disguise & Deceit        | 26       | I.6.a, I.6.b, I.6.5, I.9.a, I.10.b, I.10.c, I.11.a, I.11.b, II.1.a, II.2.a, II.2.b, II.2.c, II.2.d, II.3.c, II.4.b, II.7.b, IV.6.a, IV.9.a, V.11.b, V.14.a, IX.3.b, IX.10.d, X.11.b, XII.4.b, XII.9.a, XII.12.a                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Ekphrasis & Storytelling | 34       | I.1.a, I.1.b, I.11.d, I.12.a, I.12.b, I.6.c, I.6.d, I.7.c, III.5.b, III.9.b, IV.5.a, VI.1.b, VI.8.a, VI.8.b, VI.12.a, VI.13.a, VI.13.b, VI.13.c, VI.14.a, VI.14.b, VI.15.b, VIII.4.a, VIII.4.b, VIII.4.c, VIII.6.a, VIII.7.c, VIII.10.b, VIII.11.a, VIII.11.b, VIII.11.c, VIII.12.a, VIII.12.b, VIII.12.c, XI.11.a                                                                                                                           |
| Nature & Travelling      | 34       | I.3.b, I.4.a, I.4.b, II.12.b, III.1.a, III.3.c, III.4.d, III.8.a, III.8.c, III.8.d, III.11.b, IV.4.a, IV.4.b, IV.5.d, IV.7.b, V.13.c, V.14.c, VI.1.c, VI.4.b, VI.6.b, VI.7.a, VI.9.a, VI.9.b, VI.15.c, VII.2.a, VII.4.a, IX.2.a, IX.13.b, X.3, X.4.c, X.5.b, X.6.a, XI.9.a, XI.17.a                                                                                                                                                          |
| Peace & Union            | 37       | I.3.d, I.4.d, I.4.e, I.9.d, I.11.c, III.5.a, III.5.c, III.7.a, III.9.a, IV.3.a, IV.3.b, V.1.c, V.12.c, V.13.a, VII.4.b, VII.5.a, VII.5.b, VII.5.c, VIII.1.a, VIII.3.a, VIII.3.b, VIII.3.c, VIII.4.d, VIII.8.b, VIII.9.a, VIII.9.b, XI.6.b, XI.6.c, XI.7.a, XII.14.a, XIII.1, XIII.6.a, XIII.7, XIII.8, XIII.9.a, XIII.9.b, XIII.6.b                                                                                                          |
| Pietas & Family          | 52       | I.2.b, I.2.c, I.9.e, II.3.a, II.10.b, II.11.b, III.5.e, III.7.b, III.8.b, IV.2.a, IV.6.c, IV.8, IX.3.a, IX.5.c, IX.7.d, IX.10.c, IX.10.e, V.1.b, V.2.a, V.2.b, V.5.a, V.5.b, V.6.a, V.8.b, V.13.b, VI.1.d, VI.3.b, VI.3.d, VI.4.a, VI.5.d, VI.11.a, VI.11.b, VIII.2, VIII.5.a, VIII.5.b, VIII.7.a, VIII.10.a, X.13.c, XI.1.a, XI.2, XI.3, XI.5.a, XII.2.b, XII.3.a, XII.5.a, XII.5.b, XII.8.b, XII.13.c, XIII.2, XIII.4.a, XIII.4.b, XIII.11 |

|                               |    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|-------------------------------|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Strong Emotion</b>         | 45 | I.3.a, I.5.a, I.5.b, I.6.e, II.6.c, II.10.a, II.10.d, IV.1.a, IV.1.b, IV.1.c, IV.2.b, IV.6.b, IV.7.a, IV.8.a, IV.10.a, IV.11.a, IV.11.b, IV.12.b, V.11.a, VI.5.c, VI.7.13, VII.6.a, VII.7.a, VII.7.b, VII.8.a, VII.8.b, VII.8.c, VIII.7.b, IX.8.a, IX.11.c, X.1.b, X.1.c, X.11.c, X.14.a, X.14.b, XI.1.b, XI.4, XI.5.b, XI.8.a, XI.17.b, XII.5.c, XII.6.a, XII.14.c, XIII.3, XIII.5 |
| <b>War &amp; Violence</b>     | 36 | II.3.b, II.5.a, II.8.a, II.8.b, III.4.b, IV.12.a, VI.4.d, VII.9.a, VII.9.b, VII.10.b, VII.11.b, XI.1.b, IX.2.b, IX.4.a, IX.4.b, IX.6.a, IX.7.a, IX.7.b, IX.8.b, IX.9.a, IX.11.a, X.5.c, X.6.b, X.7.d, X.8.a, XI.7.b, XII.2.a, XII.2.c, XII.3.c, XII.6.c, XII.9.b, XII.11.a, XII.12.b, XII.13.a, XII.13.b, XII.15.a                                                                  |
| <b>Warning &amp; Prophecy</b> | 39 | I.5.c, I.5.d, I.5.e, I.6.f, II.1.b, II.5.b, II.5.c, II.6.b, II.11.a, II.12.a, III.1.c, III.2.a, III.2.b, III.3.a, III.3.b, III.4.c, III.6.a, III.6.b, III.6.c, III.6.d, III.9.c, IV.10.b, V.2.c, V.12.b, VI.1.e, VI.2.a, VI.2.b, VI.2.c, VI.3.c, VI.11.c, VII.2.c, VII.2.d, VII.3.a, VII.3.b, VIII.1.b, VIII.6.b, VIII.8.c, X.5.a, XII.6.13                                         |

Table 46: Distribution of context categories across the most succinct and expansive translation units in the 'Eneados'. See Dataset 2 for full data.

| Context Category         | Translation Type |            | Total      |
|--------------------------|------------------|------------|------------|
|                          | Succinct         | Expansive  |            |
| Authority & Punishment   | 18               | 24         | 42         |
| Catalogue & Description  | 14               | 22         | 36         |
| Competition & Prizes     | 27               | 1          | 28         |
| Death & Destruction      | 24               | 15         | 39         |
| Disguise & Deceit        | 20               | 6          | 26         |
| Ekphrasis & Storytelling | 9                | 15         | 24         |
| Nature & Travelling      | 15               | 6          | 21         |
| Peace & Union            | 22               | 22         | 44         |
| Pietas & Family          | 26               | 20         | 46         |
| Strong Emotion           | 25               | 23         | 48         |
| War & Violence           | 11               | 34         | 45         |
| Warning & Prophecy       | 36               | 6          | 42         |
| <b>Total</b>             | <b>247</b>       | <b>194</b> | <b>441</b> |

Table 47: Distribution of context categories within the early (I-VI) and later (VII-XIII) books of the 'Eneados'. See Dataset 1 for full data.

| Context Category         | Early Books | Later Books | Total |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------|
| Authority & Punishment   | 227         | 353         | 580   |
| Catalogue & Description  | 183         | 296         | 479   |
| Competition & Prizes     | 223         | 17          | 240   |
| Death & Destruction      | 207         | 514         | 721   |
| Disguise & Deceit        | 230         | 138         | 368   |
| Ekphrasis & Storytelling | 260         | 173         | 433   |
| Nature & Travelling      | 281         | 150         | 431   |
| Peace & Union            | 143         | 447         | 590   |
| Pietas & Family          | 354         | 385         | 739   |
| Strong Emotion           | 288         | 369         | 657   |
| War & Violence           | 62          | 456         | 518   |
| Warning & Prophecy       | 418         | 137         | 555   |
| Total                    | 2876        | 3435        | 6311  |

Table 48: Distribution of content categories within the most succinct and expansive translation units in the 'Eneados'. See Dataset 2 for full data.

| Content Category         | Translation Type |           | Total |
|--------------------------|------------------|-----------|-------|
|                          | Succinct         | Expansive |       |
| Authority & Punishment   | 20               | 27        | 47    |
| Catalogue & Description  | 54               | 31        | 85    |
| Competition & Prizes     | 3                | 1         | 4     |
| Death & Destruction      | 18               | 8         | 26    |
| Disguise & Deceit        | 7                | 3         | 10    |
| Ekphrasis & Storytelling | 2                | 3         | 5     |
| Nature & Travelling      | 48               | 18        | 66    |
| Peace & Union            | 18               | 11        | 29    |
| Pietas & Family          | 15               | 24        | 39    |
| Strong Emotion           | 38               | 21        | 59    |
| War & Violence           | 16               | 45        | 61    |
| Warning & Prophecy       | 8                | 2         | 10    |
| Total                    | 247              | 194       | 441   |

Table 49: Comparison of segmentation in Auct. Q 4.19 and other printed editions of Virgil's works. The number of section boundaries in Auct. Q 4.19 are listed as a baseline and then the number of boundaries in other editions that match and do not match those in Auct. Q 4.19 are calculated. 'Bk' stands for 'Book', 'Tl' stands for 'Total'. See Dataset 3 for full data.

| Bk  | Printed Edition |               |    |               |    |              |    |              |    |               |    |
|-----|-----------------|---------------|----|---------------|----|--------------|----|--------------|----|---------------|----|
|     | Auct. Q 4.19    | Auct. O 1.18a |    | Auct. O 1.18b |    | Auct. P 2.15 |    | Auct. P 2.18 |    | Auct. Qinf.24 |    |
|     |                 | Match?        |    | Match?        |    | Match?       |    | Match?       |    | Match?        |    |
|     |                 | Yes           | No | Yes           | No | Yes          | No | Yes          | No | Yes           | No |
| I   | 86              | 80            | 8  | 86            | 0  | 85           | 1  | 86           | 0  | 85            | 1  |
| XI  | 50              | 48            | 0  | 48            | 2  | 48           | 2  | 48           | 2  | 48            | 0  |
| XII | 2               | 2             | 0  | 2             | 0  | 2            | 0  | 2            | 0  | 2             | 0  |
| Tl  | 138             | 130           | 8  | 136           | 2  | 135          | 3  | 136          | 2  | 135           | 1  |

Table 50: Comparison of segmentation in Ascensius's (1501) edition and other printed editions of Virgil's works. The number of section boundaries in Ascensius's edition are listed as a baseline and then the number of boundaries in other editions that match and do not match those in Ascensius's edition are calculated. 'Bk' stands for 'Book', 'Tl' stands for 'Total', 'Asc.' Stands for 'Ascensius'. See Dataset 3 for full data.

| Bk   | Printed Edition |                  |     |                  |     |                 |     |                 |     |                 |     |                     |     |
|------|-----------------|------------------|-----|------------------|-----|-----------------|-----|-----------------|-----|-----------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
|      | Asc.<br>(1501)  | Auct. O<br>1.18a |     | Auct. O<br>1.18b |     | Auct. P<br>2.15 |     | Auct. P<br>2.18 |     | Auct. Q<br>4.19 |     | Auct. Q<br>inf. 2.4 |     |
|      |                 | Match?           |     | Match?           |     | Match?          |     | Match?          |     | Match?          |     | Match?              |     |
|      |                 | Yes              | No  | Yes              | No  | Yes             | No  | Yes             | No  | Yes             | No  | Yes                 | No  |
| I    | 92              | 6                | 77  | 9                | 77  | 9               | 77  | 9               | 77  | 9               | 77  | 9                   | 77  |
| XII  | 56              | 4                | 44  | 4                | 44  | 4               | 46  | 4               | 46  | 4               | 46  | 4                   | 44  |
| XIII | 18              | 2                | 0   | 2                | 0   | 2               | 0   | 2               | 0   | 2               | 0   | 2                   | 0   |
| Tl   | 166             | 12               | 121 | 15               | 121 | 15              | 123 | 15              | 123 | 15              | 123 | 15                  | 121 |

Table 51: Number of chapters and translation units within the 'Eneados' which do or do not preserve section boundaries in Ascensius's (1501) edition of the 'Aeneid'. See Datasets 4 and 5 for full data.

| Layout Unit       | Preserves Section Boundary? |    | Total |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|----|-------|
|                   | Yes                         | No |       |
| Chapters          | 114                         | 56 | 170   |
| Translation Units | 387                         | 2  | 389   |

Table 52: Number of translation units within the 'Eneados' which do or do not preserve page boundaries in Ascensius's (1501) edition of the 'Aeneid'. See Dataset 6 for full data.

| Layout Unit       | Preserves Page Boundary? |     | Total |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-----|-------|
|                   | Yes                      | No  |       |
| Translation Units | 187                      | 120 | 307   |

Table 53: Number of breaks in 'ordinatio' in the 'Eneados' and Ascensius's (1501) edition of the 'Aeneid' that Matthew Geddes preserves in the Trinity College MS (O.3.12, University of Cambridge) See Datasets 7 and 8 for full data. See Appendix, Table 54 for the accompanying p-values.

| Break Type                        | Number Preserved by Geddes | Total Number |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|
| <i>Eneados</i>                    |                            |              |
| Book break                        | 5                          | 13           |
| Prologue break                    | 6                          | 13           |
| Content break                     | 4                          | 7            |
| Chapter break                     | 24                         | 170          |
| Stanza break                      | 29                         | 155          |
| <i>Ascensius's (1501) Edition</i> |                            |              |
| Section break                     | 25                         | 389          |
| Page break                        | 35                         | 656          |

Table 54: Results of a series of pairwise proportion tests comparing the number ‘ordinatio’ breaks in the ‘Aeneid’ and ‘Eneados’ that Geddes preserves in the Trinity College MS (O.3.12, University of Cambridge). Significant p-values are highlighted. Note that results are only significant when Douglas’s ‘ordinatio’ is compared to Ascensius’s, indicating that Geddes handles ‘ordinatio’ differently depending on its source. Data is sourced from Appendix, Table 53.

| Break Type     | Book Break | Prologue Break | Content Break | Chapter Break | Stanza Break | Section Break |
|----------------|------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| Prologue Break | 1.00       |                |               |               |              |               |
| Content Break  | 1.00       | 1.00           |               |               |              |               |
| Chapter Break  | 0.42       | 0.10           | 0.11          |               |              |               |
| Stanza Break   | 1.00       | 0.42           | 0.42          | 1.00          |              |               |
| Section Break  | < 0.01     | < 0.001        | < 0.001       | 0.06          | < 0.001      |               |
| Page Break     | < 0.001    | < 0.001        | < 0.001       | < 0.01        | < 0.001      | 1             |

Table 55: Number and type of breaks in the ‘ordinatio’ in the ‘Eneados’ and Ascensius’s (1501) edition of the ‘Aeneid’ that coincide with page breaks in the Trinity College MS (O.3.12, University of Cambridge). See Dataset 7 for full data.

| Break Type                      | Number |
|---------------------------------|--------|
| Book/Chapter/Section/Page break | 5      |
| Chapter break                   | 8      |
| Chapter/Section break           | 2      |
| Chapter/Section/Page break      | 9      |
| Content break                   | 4      |
| No break                        | 577    |
| Page break                      | 12     |
| Prologue/Stanza break           | 6      |
| Section break                   | 2      |
| Section/Page break              | 7      |
| Stanza break                    | 23     |
| Total                           | 655    |

Table 56: Distribution of the most succinct and expansive translation units in the ‘Eneados’ across different positions within sections of Ascensius’s (1501) edition of the ‘Aeneid’. See Dataset 2 for full data.

| Position in a Section | Translation Type |           | Total |
|-----------------------|------------------|-----------|-------|
|                       | Succinct         | Expansive |       |
| Beginning             | 41               | 10        | 51    |
| Top Half              | 75               | 66        | 141   |
| Middle                | 10               | 3         | 13    |
| Bottom Half           | 108              | 90        | 198   |
| End                   | 13               | 25        | 38    |
| Total                 | 247              | 194       | 441   |



Table 57: List of line ratios for translation units covering Aen. VII.458-74 and Ene. VII.8.113-54. See Dataset 1 for full data.

| Translation Unit ID | <i>Aeneid</i> | Lines | <i>Eneados</i> | Lines | Line Ratio |
|---------------------|---------------|-------|----------------|-------|------------|
| 3139                | VII.458-59    | 2     | 8.113-15       | 3     | 1.5        |
| 3140                | VII.460       | 1     | 8.116-18       | 3     | 3          |
| 3141                | VII.461       | 1     | 8.119-21       | 3     | 3          |
| 3142                | VII.462-63    | 2     | 8.122-25       | 4     | 2          |
| 3143                | VII.464-65    | 2     | 8.126-28       | 3     | 1.5        |
| 3144                | VII.466       | 1     | 8.129-32       | 4     | 4          |
| 3145                | VII.467-68    | 2     | 8.133-37       | 5     | 2.5        |
| 3146                | VII.469       | 1     | 8.138-39       | 2     | 2          |
| 3147                | VII.470       | 1     | 8.140-41       | 2     | 2          |
| 3148                | VII.471       | 1     | 8.142-43       | 2     | 2          |
| 3149                | VII.472       | 1     | 8.144-46       | 3     | 3          |
| 3150                | VII.473       | 1     | 8.147-49       | 3     | 3          |
| 3151                | VII.474       | 1     | 8.150-54       | 5     | 5          |

Table 58: Results of a Tukey test comparing the number of Scots lines in each translation unit in every book in the 'Eneados'. 'Comp.' stands for 'Comparison'; 'p' refers to 'p-value'. Results that do not indicate a significant difference are highlighted in yellow. See Dataset 1 for full data.

| Comp.       | p       | Comp.       | p       | Comp.        | p       | Comp.         | p       |
|-------------|---------|-------------|---------|--------------|---------|---------------|---------|
| I vs. II    | 0.98    |             |         |              |         |               |         |
| I vs. III   | 0.40    | II vs. III  | 1.00    |              |         |               |         |
| I vs. IV    | 0.99    | II vs. IV   | 1.00    | III vs. IV   | 0.99    |               |         |
| I vs. V     | 0.98    | II vs. V    | 1.00    | III vs. V    | 0.99    | IV vs. V      | 1.00    |
| I vs. VI    | 0.99    | II vs. VI   | 1.00    | III vs. VI   | 0.97    | IV vs. VI     | 1.00    |
| I vs. VII   | 0.64    | II vs. VII  | < 0.05  | III vs. VII  | < 0.001 | IV vs. VII    | < 0.05  |
| I vs. VIII  | 0.73    | II vs. VIII | < 0.05  | III vs. VIII | < 0.001 | IV vs. VIII   | < 0.05  |
| I vs. IX    | < 0.05  | II vs. IX   | < 0.001 | III vs. IX   | < 0.001 | IV vs. IX     | < 0.001 |
| I vs. X     | < 0.01  | II vs. X    | < 0.001 | III vs. X    | < 0.001 | IV vs. X      | < 0.001 |
| I vs. XI    | 0.20    | II vs. XI   | < 0.001 | III vs. XI   | < 0.001 | IV vs. XI     | < 0.01  |
| I vs. XII   | < 0.001 | II vs. XII  | < 0.001 | III vs. XII  | < 0.001 | IV vs. XII    | < 0.001 |
| I vs. XIII  | < 0.001 | II vs. XIII | < 0.001 | III vs. XIII | < 0.001 | IV vs. XIII   | < 0.001 |
| Comp.       | p       | Comp.       | p       | Comp.        | p       | Comp.         | p       |
| V vs. VI    | 1.00    |             |         |              |         |               |         |
| V vs. VII   | < 0.05  | VI vs. VII  | < 0.05  |              |         |               |         |
| V vs. VIII  | < 0.05  | VI vs. VIII | < 0.05  | VII vs. VIII | 1.00    |               |         |
| V vs. IX    | < 0.001 | VI vs. IX   | < 0.001 | VII vs. IX   | 0.89    | VIII vs. IX   | 0.88    |
| V vs. X     | < 0.001 | VI vs. X    | < 0.001 | VII vs. X    | 0.80    | VIII vs. X    | 0.79    |
| V vs. XI    | < 0.001 | VI vs. XI   | < 0.001 | VII vs. XI   | 1.00    | VIII vs. XI   | 1.00    |
| V vs. XII   | < 0.001 | VI vs. XII  | < 0.001 | VII vs. XII  | 0.37    | VIII vs. XII  | 0.37    |
| V vs. XIII  | < 0.001 | VI vs. XIII | < 0.001 | VII vs. XIII | < 0.001 | VIII vs. XIII | < 0.001 |
| Comp.       | p       | Comp.       | p       | Comp.        | p       | Comp.         | p       |
| IX vs. X    | 1.00    |             |         |              |         |               |         |
| IX vs. XI   | 1.00    | X vs. XI    | 0.99    |              |         |               |         |
| IX vs. XII  | 1.00    | X vs. XII   | 1.00    | XI vs. XII   | 0.80    |               |         |
| IX vs. XIII | < 0.001 | X vs. XIII  | < 0.001 | XI vs. XIII  | < 0.001 | XII vs. XIII  | < 0.001 |

Table 59: Results of a Tukey test comparing the line ratios in each translation unit in every book in the 'Eneados'. 'Comp.' stands for 'Comparison'; 'p' refers to 'p-value'. Results that do not indicate a significant difference are highlighted in yellow. See Dataset 1 for full data.

| Comp.       | p      | Comp.       | p      | Comp.        | p      | Comp.         | p      |
|-------------|--------|-------------|--------|--------------|--------|---------------|--------|
| I vs. II    | 0.73   |             |        |              |        |               |        |
| I vs. III   | < 0.01 | II vs. III  | 0.09   |              |        |               |        |
| I vs. IV    | < 0.01 | II vs. IV   | < 0.05 | III vs. IV   | 1.00   |               |        |
| I vs. V     | < 0.05 | II vs. V    | 0.95   | III vs. V    | 0.89   | IV vs. V      | 0.57   |
| I vs. VI    | < 0.01 | II vs. VI   | < 0.01 | III vs. VI   | < 0.01 | IV vs. VI     | < 0.01 |
| I vs. VII   | < 0.01 | II vs. VII  | < 0.01 | III vs. VII  | < 0.01 | IV vs. VII    | < 0.01 |
| I vs. VIII  | < 0.01 | II vs. VIII | < 0.01 | III vs. VIII | < 0.01 | IV vs. VIII   | < 0.01 |
| I vs. IX    | < 0.01 | II vs. IX   | < 0.01 | III vs. IX   | < 0.01 | IV vs. IX     | < 0.01 |
| I vs. X     | < 0.01 | II vs. X    | < 0.01 | III vs. X    | < 0.01 | IV vs. X      | < 0.01 |
| I vs. XI    | < 0.01 | II vs. XI   | < 0.01 | III vs. XI   | < 0.01 | IV vs. XI     | < 0.01 |
| I vs. XII   | < 0.01 | II vs. XII  | < 0.01 | III vs. XII  | < 0.01 | IV vs. XII    | < 0.01 |
| I vs. XIII  | < 0.01 | II vs. XIII | < 0.01 | III vs. XIII | < 0.01 | IV vs. XIII   | < 0.01 |
| Comp.       | p      | Comp.       | p      | Comp.        | p      | Comp.         | p      |
| V vs. VI    | < 0.01 |             |        |              |        |               |        |
| V vs. VII   | < 0.01 | VI vs. VII  | < 0.01 |              |        |               |        |
| V vs. VIII  | < 0.01 | VI vs. VIII | < 0.05 | VII vs. VIII | 1.00   |               |        |
| V vs. IX    | < 0.01 | VI vs. IX   | < 0.05 | VII vs. IX   | 1.00   | VIII vs. IX   | 1.00   |
| V vs. X     | < 0.01 | VI vs. X    | < 0.01 | VII vs. X    | < 0.01 | VIII vs. X    | < 0.01 |
| V vs. XI    | < 0.01 | VI vs. XI   | < 0.01 | VII vs. XI   | 1.00   | VIII vs. XI   | 1.00   |
| V vs. XII   | < 0.01 | VI vs. XII  | < 0.01 | VII vs. XII  | 0.10   | VIII vs. XII  | < 0.05 |
| V vs. XIII  | < 0.01 | VI vs. XIII | 0.21   | VII vs. XIII | 1.00   | VIII vs. XIII | 1.00   |
| Comp.       | p      | Comp.       | p      | Comp.        | p      | Comp.         | p      |
| IX vs. X    | < 0.01 |             |        |              |        |               |        |
| IX vs. XI   | 1.00   | X vs. XI    | < 0.01 |              |        |               |        |
| IX vs. XII  | < 0.05 | X vs. XII   | 0.97   | XI vs. XII   | 0.05   |               |        |
| IX vs. XIII | 1.00   | X vs. XIII  | < 0.01 | XI vs. XIII  | 1.00   | XII vs. XIII  | < 0.05 |

Table 60: Distribution of expansion types in sourced and unsourced expansions within the most expansive translation units of the 'Eneados'. See Dataset 2 for full data.

| Sourced | Expansion Type |                    |             |           | Total |
|---------|----------------|--------------------|-------------|-----------|-------|
|         | Addition       | Double Translation | Elaboration | Reference |       |
| Yes     | 52             | 43                 | 52          | 19        | 166   |
| No      | 14             | 3                  | 9           | 2         | 28    |
| Total   | 66             | 46                 | 61          | 21        | 194   |

Table 61: Distribution of expansion types in the most expansive translation units across the books in the 'Eneados'. See Dataset 2 for full data.

| Book         | Expansion Type |                    |             |           | Total |
|--------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------|-----------|-------|
|              | Addition       | Double Translation | Elaboration | Reference |       |
| I            | 0              | 0                  | 0           | 1         | 1     |
| II           | 0              | 1                  | 0           | 0         | 1     |
| III          | 2              | 1                  | 1           | 0         | 4     |
| IV           | 1              | 1                  | 0           | 0         | 2     |
| V            | 1              | 1                  | 0           | 0         | 2     |
| VI           | 7              | 3                  | 4           | 4         | 18    |
| VII          | 10             | 5                  | 7           | 4         | 26    |
| VIII         | 7              | 8                  | 2           | 3         | 20    |
| IX           | 2              | 6                  | 5           | 1         | 14    |
| X            | 11             | 10                 | 13          | 3         | 37    |
| XI           | 7              | 4                  | 10          | 2         | 23    |
| XII          | 13             | 6                  | 14          | 2         | 35    |
| XIII         | 5              | 0                  | 5           | 1         | 11    |
| <b>Total</b> | 66             | 46                 | 61          | 21        | 194   |

Table 62: Comparison of glosses from the commentary that are used and not used in the most expansive translation units in the 'Eneados' and the position of potential source material in Ascensius's (1501) edition relative to the relevant lines in the 'Aeneid'. See Dataset 2 for full data.

| Position Relative to Relevant Lines in Aeneid | Sourced |    | Total |
|-----------------------------------------------|---------|----|-------|
|                                               | Yes     | No |       |
| Same Page                                     | 68      | 12 | 80    |
| Facing Page                                   | 107     | 7  | 114   |
| Backing Page                                  | 91      | 12 | 103   |
| Different Page                                | 12      | 1  | 13    |
| <b>Total</b>                                  | 278     | 32 | 310   |

Table 63: Number of lines per Prologue in the 'Eneados'.

| Prologue     | Number of Lines |
|--------------|-----------------|
| I            | 511             |
| II           | 21              |
| III          | 45              |
| IV           | 270             |
| V            | 68              |
| VI           | 168             |
| VII          | 168             |
| VIII         | 182             |
| IX           | 98              |
| X            | 175             |
| XI           | 200             |
| XII          | 310             |
| XIII         | 198             |
| <b>Total</b> | 2,414           |



Table 64: Number of chapter rubrics that are separated from their chapters by a page break, number of chapters that start on new pages in general (with or without their rubrics), and total chapters. See Dataset 7 for full data.

| Chapter Type                             | Number |       | Total |
|------------------------------------------|--------|-------|-------|
|                                          | Verso  | Recto |       |
| Chapters that are separated from rubrics | 9      | 7     | 16    |
| Chapters that Start on New Pages         | 14     | 10    | 24    |
| Total Chapters                           | 0.64   | 0.70  | 170   |

Table 65: Passages in the 'Aeneid' that are made up of multiple repetitions of 10-12 elements and their equivalent lines in the 'Eneados'. Repetitions must be within ten lines of one another to be counted as a passage. See Dataset 9 for full data.

| Passages with Multiple Repetitions in Aeneid | Equivalent Lines in Eneados |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| I.310-13                                     | I.6.10-16                   |
| I.520-33                                     | I.8.47-71                   |
| I.559-71                                     | I.8.116-37                  |
| I.723-44                                     | I.11.57-102                 |
| II.73-76                                     | II.2.27-34                  |
| II.774-75                                    | II.12.26-29                 |
| III.153-78                                   | III.3.11-57                 |
| III.458-67                                   | III.6.197-218               |
| III.607-12                                   | III.9.37-46                 |
| IV.6-7                                       | IV.1.11-14                  |
| IV.110-29                                    | IV.3.38-4.1                 |
| IV.160-77                                    | IV.4.63-5.10                |
| IV.272-88                                    | IV.5.177-6.17               |
| IV.583-89                                    | IV.10.115-11.10             |
| V.259-67                                     | V.5.29-45                   |
| V.563-72                                     | V.10.33-48                  |
| V.775-78                                     | V.13.25-32                  |
| VII.146-49                                   | VII.3.87-4.3                |
| VII.641-50                                   | VII.12.1-25                 |
| VIII.35-46                                   | VIII.1.36-60                |
| IX.122-27                                    | IX.3.104-17                 |
| IX.523-29                                    | IX.8.151-9.10               |
| IX.649-58                                    | IX.10.136-58                |
| X.104-115                                    | X.2.115-42                  |
| X.276-78                                     | X.5.151-59                  |
| XI.28-35                                     | XI.1.66-82                  |
| XII.155-65                                   | XII.4.93-5.14               |
| XII.439-49                                   | XII.8.135-9.18              |
| XII.867-71                                   | XII.14.178-86               |

Table 66: Number of words repeated in the 'Eneados'. The number of words in each repetition is counted and multiplied by the number of times these words are repeated minus one (the first occurrence of repeated words is not counted toward repetition). The total is divided over the total number of words in the digital files (see Table 2) to get the percentage of repeated words within the digital files.

| Repeated     | Number of Repetitions | Number of Words in Repetitions | Number of Words Repeated |
|--------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| x 2          | 231                   | 1,351                          | 1,351                    |
| x 3          | 20                    | 102                            | 204                      |
| x 4          | 4                     | 20                             | 60                       |
| x 5          | 2                     | 10                             | 40                       |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>257</b>            | <b>1,483</b>                   | <b>1,655</b>             |

Table 67: Number of repetitions in the 'Eneados' that are significant or not and that are sourced from the 'Aeneid' or are original. See Dataset 10 for full data.

| Sourced from the Aeneid? | Significant Repetition? |            | Total      |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------|------------|
|                          | Yes                     | No         |            |
| Yes                      | 49                      | 89         | 138        |
| No                       | 41                      | 78         | 119        |
| <b>Total</b>             | <b>90</b>               | <b>167</b> | <b>257</b> |

Table 68: Number of repetitions of 10-11 elements in the 'Aeneid' that Douglas (1957-64), Dryden ([n.d.]), and Williams (1910) recognise in their translations. Repetitions from the 'Supplement' are not included. See Dataset 9 for full data.

| Recognised   | Author    |           |           |
|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|              | Douglas   | Dryden    | Williams  |
| No           | 22        | 6         | 9         |
| Yes          | 66        | 82        | 79        |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>88</b> | <b>88</b> | <b>88</b> |

Table 69: Number of repetitions of 10-11 elements in the 'Aeneid' and sourced repetitions in the 'Eneados' that have or do not have matching contexts. Repetitions from the 'Supplement' are not included. See Datasets 9 and 11 for full data.

| Context Matches? | Repetition of 10-12 Elements in the Aeneid | Sourced Repetitions in the Eneados |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Yes              | 69                                         | 24                                 |
| No               | 19                                         | 5                                  |
| <b>Total</b>     | <b>88</b>                                  | <b>29</b>                          |

Table 70: Number of repetitions of 10-12 elements in the 'Aeneid' and sourced repetitions in the 'Eneados' within six books and beyond. Repetitions from the 'Supplement' are not included. See Datasets 9 and 11 for full data.

| Repetition       | Repetition of 10-12 Elements in the Aeneid | Sourced Repetitions in the Eneados |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Within Six Books | 73                                         | 25                                 |
| Beyond Six Books | 15                                         | 4                                  |
| <b>Total</b>     | <b>88</b>                                  | <b>29</b>                          |

Table 71: Number of repetitions of 10-12 elements in the 'Aeneid' and sourced repetitions in the 'Eneados' within four books and beyond. Repetitions from the 'Supplement' are not included. See Datasets 9 and 11 for full data.

| Repetition        | Repetition of 10-12 Elements in the <i>Aeneid</i> | Sourced Repetitions in the <i>Eneados</i> |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Within Four Books | 61                                                | 23                                        |
| Beyond Four Books | 27                                                | 6                                         |
| Total             | 88                                                | 29                                        |

Table 72: Distribution of repetitions of 10-12 elements in the 'Aeneid' and sourced repetitions in the 'Eneados' across a range of proximities, based on book. Repetitions from the 'Supplement' are not included. 'Same' refers to a book that has shared lines within itself (Book I-Book I), 'closest' refers to books next to one another or removed by one book (Book I-Books II or III), 'closer' refers to books removed by two or three (Book I-Books IV or V), 'close' refers to books removed by four or five (Book I-Books VI or VII), 'far' refers to books removed by six or seven (Book I-Books VIII or IX), 'further' refers to books removed by eight or nine (Book I-Books X or XI), 'furthest' refers to books removed by ten or eleven (Book I-Books XII or XIII). See Datasets 9 and 11 for full data.

| Proximity | Repetition of 10-12 Elements in the <i>Aeneid</i> | Sourced Repetitions in the <i>Eneados</i> |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Same      | 8                                                 | 2                                         |
| Closest   | 34                                                | 13                                        |
| Closer    | 19                                                | 8                                         |
| Close     | 12                                                | 2                                         |
| Far       | 11                                                | 2                                         |
| Further   | 3                                                 | 1                                         |
| Furthest  | 1                                                 | 1                                         |
| Total     | 88                                                | 29                                        |

Table 73: Distribution of repetitions of 10-12 elements in the 'Aeneid' and sourced repetitions in the 'Eneados' across books. Repetitions from the 'Supplement' are not included. See Datasets 9 and 11 for full data.

| Book  | <i>Aeneid</i> | <i>Eneados</i> |
|-------|---------------|----------------|
| I     | 16            | 2              |
| II    | 8             | 3              |
| III   | 21            | 5              |
| IV    | 26            | 9              |
| V     | 16            | 4              |
| VI    | 9             | 4              |
| VII   | 14            | 7              |
| VIII  | 8             | 1              |
| IX    | 19            | 4              |
| X     | 11            | 5              |
| XI    | 13            | 4              |
| XII   | 15            | 10             |
| Total | 176           | 58             |

Table 74: Number of notes in Ascensius's (1501) and Servius's (1501) commentaries that are relevant to repetitions of 10-12 elements in the 'Aeneid' and sourced repetitions in the 'Eneados'. Repetitions from the 'Supplement' are not included. See Datasets 9 and 11 for full data.

| Reference in Commentary | Repetition of 10-12 Elements in the <i>Aeneid</i> | Sourced Repetitions in the <i>Eneados</i> |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Yes                     | 5                                                 | 2                                         |
| No                      | 83                                                | 27                                        |
| Total                   | 88                                                | 29                                        |

Table 75: Number of repetitions of 10-12 elements in the 'Aeneid' and sourced repetitions in the 'Eneados' that share or do not share layout positions in Ascensius's (1501) edition. Results are limited to only beginning/end segments in sections. Repetitions from the 'Supplement' are not included. See Datasets 9 and 11 for full data.

| Matching Layout? | Repetition of 10-12 Elements in the <i>Aeneid</i> | Sourced Repetitions in the <i>Eneados</i> |
|------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Yes              | 5                                                 | 3                                         |
| No               | 16                                                | 5                                         |
| Total            | 21                                                | 8                                         |

Table 76: Number of sourced repetitions of certain lengths in the 'Eneados'. See Dataset 11 for full data.

| Length of Repetition  | Recognised by Douglas |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 10-12 Elements        | 22                    |
| Less than 10 Elements | 7                     |
| Total                 | 29                    |

Table 77: Number of repetitions of 10-12 elements in the 'Aeneid' that Douglas recognises or does not recognise in the 'Eneados' and whether they consist of broken lines. Repetitions from the 'Supplement' are not included. See Datasets 9 and 11 for full data.

| Broken Line? | Sourced Repetitions in the <i>Eneados</i> | Repetitions Not Acknowledged by Douglas | Repetitions of 10-12 Elements in the <i>Aeneid</i> |
|--------------|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| Yes          | 0                                         | 10                                      | 10                                                 |
| No           | 22                                        | 56                                      | 78                                                 |
| Total        | 22                                        | 66                                      | 88                                                 |

Table 78: Number of repetitions of 10-12 elements in the 'Aeneid' and sourced repetitions in the 'Eneados' that include multiple lines. Repetitions from the 'Supplement' are not included. See Datasets 9 and 11 for full data.

| Number of Lines | Sourced Repetitions in the <i>Eneados</i> | Repetitions Not Acknowledged by Douglas | Repetitions of 10-12 Elements in the <i>Aeneid</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| Multiple        | 9                                         | 3                                       | 12                                                 |
| Single          | 20                                        | 56                                      | 76                                                 |
| Total           | 29                                        | 59                                      | 88                                                 |

Table 79: Number of sourced repetitions in the ‘Eneados’ that are positioned at the beginning and end of chapters that share or do not share chapter layout across their iterations. See Dataset 11 for full data.

| Matching Layout? | Sourced Repetitions in the <i>Eneados</i> |
|------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Yes              | 26                                        |
| No               | 3                                         |
| Total            | 29                                        |

Table 80: Number of original repetitions in the ‘Eneados’ that have or do not have matching contexts. Note that repetitions are counted by pairs (or more, if a repeated segment occurs more than twice). See Dataset 12 for full data.

| Matching Context? | Original Repetitions |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| Yes               | 33                   |
| No                | 9                    |
| Total             | 42                   |

Table 81: Number of original repetitions in the ‘Eneados’ that use segments that occur within 10 lines of segments that occur in repetitions in the ‘Aeneid’. Repetitions are counted by repeated segment, rather than repeated pair. See Datasets 9 and 12 for full data.

| In Proximity to an Existing Repetition? | Original Repetitions in the <i>Eneados</i> |
|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Yes                                     | 23                                         |
| No                                      | 62                                         |
| Total                                   | 85                                         |

Table 82: Passages in the ‘Eneados’ that are made up of multiple repetitions (original and sourced) and their equivalent lines in the ‘Aeneid’. Repetitions must be within ten lines of one another to be counted as a passage. Passages with an asterisk overlap with passages from the ‘Aeneid’ that are also comprised of repetitions (see Appendix, Table 65). See Datasets 11 and 12 for full data.

| Equivalent Lines in <i>Aeneid</i> | Passages with Multiple Repetitions in <i>Eneados</i> |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| I.270-75                          | II.5.37-47                                           |
| III.158-66                        | III.3.20-35                                          |
| IV.123-25                         | IV.3.62-68                                           |
| IV.584-89                         | IV.11.a-10                                           |
| V.32-36                           | V.1.57-65                                            |
| VI.866-68                         | VI.15.50-56                                          |
| VII.64-70                         | VII.2.85-99                                          |
| VII.641-45                        | VII.12.1-14                                          |
| IX.576-78                         | IX.9.114-19                                          |
| XII.688-91                        | XII.12.162-72                                        |
| XII.867-71                        | XII.14.178-86                                        |
| XII.946-52                        | XII.15.141-54                                        |
| Sup.77-84                         | XIII.2.49-66                                         |

Table 83: Number of lines spoken by Aeneas in the books of the 'Aeneid' and 'Eneados' and their average line ratio. See Dataset 13 for full data.

| Book  | Number of <i>Aeneid</i> Lines | Number of <i>Eneados</i> Lines | Average Line Ratio |
|-------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| I     | 75.5                          | 130                            | 1.78               |
| II    | 786.5                         | 1418                           | 1.86               |
| III   | 712                           | 1375                           | 1.98               |
| IV    | 34.5                          | 68                             | 2.10               |
| V     | 77                            | 146                            | 2.01               |
| VI    | 86.5                          | 184                            | 2.15               |
| VII   | 14.5                          | 31                             | 2.09               |
| VIII  | 45                            | 107                            | 2.42               |
| IX    | 0                             | 0                              | 0                  |
| X     | 25                            | 73                             | 3.27               |
| XI    | 46.5                          | 110                            | 2.40               |
| XII   | 46.5                          | 126                            | 2.73               |
| XIII  | 77.5                          | 181                            | 2.38               |
| Total | 2027                          | 3949                           | 2.01               |

Table 84: Average line ratios for translation units in books, narrative, and speech across the course of the 'Eneados'. See Dataset 13 for full data.

| Book | Narrative | Speech | Total |
|------|-----------|--------|-------|
| I    | 1.81      | 1.75   | 1.78  |
| II   |           | 1.86   | 1.86  |
| III  | 2         | 1.98   | 1.98  |
| IV   | 1.99      | 2.01   | 2     |
| V    | 1.88      | 2.00   | 1.91  |
| VI   | 2.11      | 2.26   | 2.18  |
| VII  | 2.31      | 2.4    | 2.33  |
| VIII | 2.28      | 2.35   | 2.31  |
| IX   | 2.24      | 2.46   | 2.31  |
| X    | 2.41      | 2.73   | 2.50  |
| XI   | 2.25      | 2.43   | 2.33  |
| XII  | 2.42      | 2.50   | 2.44  |
| XIII | 2.27      | 2.34   | 2.29  |

Table 85: Results of a lexical keyword analysis comparing narrative and speech in the 'Eneados'. Results are ordered by effect (read up-down, left-right). Results with an effect less than 0.5 are highlighted in grey.

| <b>Narrative</b> | <b>Effect</b> | <b>Speech</b>   | <b>Effect</b> | <b>Speech</b>     | <b>Effect</b> | <b>Speech</b> | <b>Effect</b> |
|------------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>thick</i>     | 4.5           | <i>yon</i>      | 8.0           | <i>thee</i>       | 4.3           | <i>worthy</i> | 2.4           |
| <i>rout</i>      | 3.2           | <i>hither</i>   | 7.7           | <i>ye</i>         | 4.3           | <i>never</i>  | 2.4           |
| <i>gang</i>      | 3.0           | <i>am</i>       | 7.0           | <i>O</i>          | 4.1           | <i>lo</i>     | 2.3           |
| <i>about</i>     | 2.7           | <i>my</i>       | 6.9           | <i>thou</i>       | 4.1           | <i>have</i>   | 2.3           |
| <i>syne</i>      | 2.5           | <i>think</i>    | 6.5           | <i>thine</i>      | 4.0           | <i>Troy</i>   | 2.2           |
| <i>her</i>       | 2.2           | <i>me</i>       | 6.2           | <i>friendship</i> | 3.9           | <i>be</i>     | 2.1           |
| <i>did</i>       | 2.0           | <i>swear</i>    | 6.1           | <i>sen</i>        | 3.7           | <i>Italy</i>  | 2.1           |
| <i>she</i>       | 1.9           | <i>thysel</i>   | 6.1           | <i>must</i>       | 3.4           | <i>what</i>   | 2.0           |
| <i>they</i>      | 1.7           | <i>myself</i>   | 5.9           | <i>friends</i>    | 3.3           | <i>are</i>    | 1.9           |
| <i>forth</i>     | 1.7           | <i>quoth</i>    | 5.8           | <i>gif</i>        | 3.2           | <i>is</i>     | 1.7           |
| <i>their</i>     | 1.6           | <i>us</i>       | 5.8           | <i>reign</i>      | 3.2           | <i>now</i>    | 1.7           |
| <i>his</i>       | 1.6           | <i>grant</i>    | 5.5           | <i>alas</i>       | 3.2           | <i>father</i> | 1.6           |
| <i>thus</i>      | 1.3           | <i>you</i>      | 5.5           | <i>offspring</i>  | 3.2           | <i>been</i>   | 1.6           |
| <i>then</i>      | 1.3           | <i>your</i>     | 5.4           | <i>we</i>         | 3.1           | <i>gods</i>   | 1.5           |
| <i>him</i>       | 1.2           | <i>our</i>      | 5.3           | <i>forsooth</i>   | 3.0           | <i>nor</i>    | 1.5           |
| <i>was</i>       | 1.1           | <i>shall</i>    | 5.2           | <i>souls</i>      | 2.9           | <i>not</i>    | 1.5           |
| <i>them</i>      | 1.1           | <i>render</i>   | 5.1           | <i>pray</i>       | 2.7           | <i>how</i>    | 1.4           |
| <i>on</i>        | 1.0           | <i>I</i>        | 4.7           | <i>fortune</i>    | 2.6           | <i>do</i>     | 1.4           |
| <i>a</i>         | 0.9           | <i>empire</i>   | 4.5           | <i>may</i>        | 2.6           | <i>here</i>   | 1.4           |
| <i>he</i>        | 0.9           | <i>remember</i> | 4.5           | <i>Greeks</i>     | 2.6           | <i>land</i>   | 1.4           |
| <i>the</i>       | 0.8           | <i>thy</i>      | 4.4           | <i>honour</i>     | 2.6           | <i>no</i>     | 1.2           |
| <i>with</i>      | 0.7           | <i>mine</i>     | 4.4           | <i>seek</i>       | 2.5           | <i>sa</i>     | 1.0           |
|                  |               | <i>promised</i> | 4.3           | <i>dear</i>       | 2.5           | <i>to</i>     | 0.4           |

Table 86: Results of a part-of-speech keyword analysis comparing narrative and speech in the 'Eneados'. Results are ordered by effect (read up-down, left-right). Results with effects less than 0.5 are highlighted in grey.

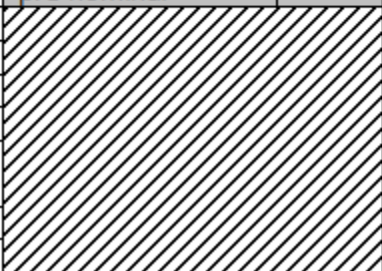
| <b>Narrative</b>                | <b>Effect</b> | <b>Speech</b>                   | <b>Effect</b> | <b>Speech</b>                                                                         | <b>Effect</b> |
|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| 'did'                           | 2.1           | quotation marks                 | 9.6           | 'not, n't'                                                                            | 1.3           |
| singular noun of direction      | 2.1           | 'am'                            | 6.5           | base form of verb                                                                     | 0.9           |
| -ing participle                 | 1.2           | 'be' (base form)                | 5.9           | wh- adverb                                                                            | 0.9           |
| 'was'                           | 1.2           | first person objective pronoun  | 5.7           | third person pronoun ('it')                                                           | 0.8           |
| 'had'                           | 1.1           | second person pronoun           | 4.2           | wh- determiner                                                                        | 0.8           |
| third person subjective pronoun | 1.0           | first person subjective pronoun | 4.1           | degree adverb                                                                         | 0.7           |
| past tense of verb              | 0.9           | 'whether' (conjunction)         | 3.3           | 'has'                                                                                 | 0.6           |
| third person objective pronoun  | 0.9           | Interjection                    | 3.0           | 'that' (conjunction)                                                                  | 0.5           |
| 'were'                          | 0.9           | 'have' (base form)              | 2.9           | infinitive                                                                            | 0.5           |
| prepositional adverb, particle  | 0.8           | modal catenative                | 2.5           | subordinating conjunction                                                             | 0.4           |
| article                         | 0.8           | wh- degree adverb               | 2.2           | infinitive marker                                                                     | 0.4           |
| cardinal number                 | 0.7           | 'be' (infinitive)               | 2.0           | determiner                                                                            | 0.3           |
| 'with, without'                 | 0.6           | 'are'                           | 2.0           | possessive pronoun, pre-nominal                                                       | 0.2           |
| 'as' (conjunction)              | 0.4           | 'have' (infinitive)             | 1.9           |  |               |
| before-determiner               | 0.3           | 'do' (base form)                | 1.9           |                                                                                       |               |
| general preposition             | 0.3           | 'is'                            | 1.7           |                                                                                       |               |
| proper noun                     | 0.2           | 'been'                          | 1.6           |                                                                                       |               |
| general adjective               | 0.2           | superlative general adverb      | 1.6           |                                                                                       |               |
| common noun                     | 0.2           | modal auxiliary                 | 1.5           |                                                                                       |               |
| general adverb                  | 0.1           | 'done'                          | 1.4           |                                                                                       |               |



Table 87: Results of a semantic keyword analysis comparing narrative and speech in the 'Eneados'. Results are ordered by effect (read up-down, left-right). Results with effects less than 0.5 are highlighted in grey.

| Narrative                                       | Effect | Speech                              | Effect |
|-------------------------------------------------|--------|-------------------------------------|--------|
| transport by air                                | 2.1    | if                                  | 3.0    |
| substances & materials generally: liquid        | 1.7    | time: general future                | 2.6    |
| music & related activities                      | 1.6    | discourse terms                     | 1.7    |
| comparing: variety                              | 1.4    | deserving                           | 1.6    |
| substances & materials generally: gas           | 1.4    | government                          | 1.6    |
| sensory: sound                                  | 1.4    | exclusivisers/particularisers       | 1.4    |
| living creatures generally                      | 1.3    | time: general present, simultaneity | 1.3    |
| shape                                           | 1.3    | permission                          | 1.3    |
| measurement: speed                              | 1.2    | crime & justice: law & order        | 1.3    |
| seeming                                         | 1.2    | obligation & necessity              | 1.3    |
| colour & colour patterns                        | 1.1    | negative                            | 1.3    |
| plants                                          | 1.0    | evaluation: true/false              | 1.2    |
| clothes & personal belongings                   | 1.0    | comparing: usual/unusual            | 1.0    |
| substances & materials generally: solid         | 1.0    | general ethics                      | 0.9    |
| linear order                                    | 1.0    | kin                                 | 0.9    |
| arts & crafts                                   | 0.9    | residence                           | 0.9    |
| transport on land                               | 0.9    | money: affluence                    | 0.8    |
| light                                           | 0.9    | wanting, planning, choosing         | 0.7    |
| food                                            | 0.9    | getting & giving: possession        | 0.6    |
| measurement: size                               | 0.8    | ability: success & failure          | 0.6    |
| objects generally                               | 0.8    | thought, belief                     | 0.6    |
| temperature                                     | 0.8    | being                               | 0.6    |
| farming & horticulture                          | 0.8    | time                                | 0.6    |
| measurement: length & height                    | 0.8    | pronouns                            | 0.5    |
| anatomy & physiology                            | 0.7    | knowledge                           | 0.5    |
| numbers                                         | 0.7    | definite & modals                   | 0.5    |
| appearance & physical properties                | 0.7    | liking                              | 0.5    |
| personal names                                  | 0.6    | geographical names                  | 0.4    |
| warfare                                         | 0.5    | religion & the supernatural         | 0.3    |
| quantities: entirety, maximum                   | 0.4    | punctuation                         | 0.3    |
| groups & affiliation                            | 0.4    |                                     |        |
| quantities                                      | 0.4    |                                     |        |
| calm/violent/angry                              | 0.3    |                                     |        |
| time: beginning & ending                        | 0.3    |                                     |        |
| transport by water                              | 0.3    |                                     |        |
| general actions                                 | 0.3    |                                     |        |
| putting, taking, pulling, pushing, transporting | 0.3    |                                     |        |
| moving, coming & going                          | 0.3    |                                     |        |
| grammatical words                               | 0.2    |                                     |        |

Table 88: Results of a lexical keyword analysis comparing Douglas's narrative and character narrative in the 'Eneados'. Results are ordered by effect (read up-down, left-right). Results with an effect less than 0.5 are highlighted in grey.

| Douglas's Narrative | Effect | Character Narrative | Effect | Character Narrative | Effect |
|---------------------|--------|---------------------|--------|---------------------|--------|
| Turnus              | 4.3    | yon                 | 8.0    | mine                | 3.3    |
| Aeneas              | 2.7    | Pyrrhus             | 6.3    | Greeks              | 3.3    |
| can                 | 1.9    | Helenus             | 6.0    | Priam               | 3.0    |
| did                 | 1.0    | my                  | 5.9    | reign               | 3.0    |
| him                 | 1.0    | torment             | 5.6    | thou                | 2.3    |
| her                 | 0.8    | Cacus               | 5.3    | ye                  | 2.3    |
| their               | 0.6    | our                 | 5.0    | thy                 | 2.2    |
| his                 | 0.6    | us                  | 5.0    | Troy                | 2.2    |
| he                  | 0.6    | me                  | 4.9    | thee                | 2.0    |
| the                 | 0.2    | shall               | 4.1    | have                | 1.5    |
|                     |        | we                  | 4.1    | is                  | 0.9    |
|                     |        | quoth               | 3.9    | of                  | 0.3    |
|                     |        | I                   | 3.7    |                     |        |

Table 89: Results of a part-of-speech keyword analysis comparing Douglas's narrative and character narrative in the 'Eneados'. Results are ordered by effect (read up-down, left-right). Results with effects less than 0.5 are highlighted in grey.

| Douglas's Narrative             | Effect | Character Narrative             | Effect | Character Narrative         | Effect |
|---------------------------------|--------|---------------------------------|--------|-----------------------------|--------|
| 'did'                           | 0.9    | quotation marks                 | 7.7    | 'be' (infinitive)           | 0.9    |
| third person objective pronoun  | 0.7    | first person objective pronoun  | 4.9    | 'is'                        | 0.9    |
| third person subjective pronoun | 0.6    | first person subjective pronoun | 3.8    | third person pronoun ('it') | 0.9    |
| -s form of verb                 | 0.4    | second person pronoun           | 2.2    | modal auxiliary             | 0.8    |
| -ing participle                 | 0.4    | interjection                    | 1.7    | subordinating conjunction   | 0.6    |
| article                         | 0.2    | 'have' (base form)              | 1.6    | base form of verb           | 0.3    |
|                                 |        | 'been'                          | 1.2    | 'of' (preposition)          | 0.3    |

Table 90: Results of a semantic keyword analysis comparing Douglas's narrative and character narrative in the 'Eneados'. Results are ordered by effect (read up-down, left-right). Results with effects less than 0.5 are highlighted in grey.

| Douglas's Narrative                   | Effect | Character Narrative          | Effect |
|---------------------------------------|--------|------------------------------|--------|
| transport by air                      | 2.2    | time: general future         | 1.9    |
| altercation (an extension of warfare) | 1.0    | crime & justice: law & order | 1.1    |
| people: female                        | 1.0    | negative                     | 0.6    |
| warfare                               | 0.6    | geographical terms           | 0.5    |
| objects generally                     | 0.5    | places                       | 0.5    |
| personal names                        | 0.5    | transport by water           | 0.4    |
| general actions                       | 0.3    | being                        | 0.4    |
|                                       |        | geographical names           | 0.4    |
|                                       |        | pronouns                     | 0.2    |

Table 91: Frequency of past tense verbs in Douglas's narrative and character narrative in the 'Eneados'. Normalised frequency is calculated by dividing the number of past tense verbs by the total number of tokens.

| Narrative | Number of Past Tense Verbs | Total Number of Tokens | Normalised Frequency |
|-----------|----------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| Douglas   | 760                        | 23,103                 | 3 out of 100 words   |
| Character | 2,978                      | 90,583                 | 3 out of 100 words   |

Table 92: Results of a series of two-sample t-tests comparing the range of effects across lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing narrative, speech, and character narrative in the 'Eneados'.

| Keyword Type      | General Narrative vs. Douglas's Narrative | Speech vs. Character Narrative |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Lexis             | 0.32                                      | 0.60                           |
| POS Category      | 0.24                                      | 0.71                           |
| Semantic Category | 0.94                                      | 0.13                           |

Table 93: Summary of a series of two-sample t-tests comparing the line ratios in character narratives to those in Douglas's narrative in respective books. Since there is barely any direct narrative in Books II and III, Aeneas's narrative is compared to Books I and IV as well. See Dataset 13 for full data.

| Narrator           | Mean | Standard error of the Mean | Number | p-value |
|--------------------|------|----------------------------|--------|---------|
| Jupiter            | 1.78 | 0.10                       | 19     | 0.77    |
| Douglas I          | 1.81 | 0.03                       | 215    |         |
| Venus              | 1.77 | 0.12                       | 16     | 0.76    |
| Douglas I          | 1.81 | 0.03                       | 215    |         |
| Aeneas             | 1.92 | 0.02                       | 933    | 0.58    |
| Douglas I, III, IV | 1.90 | 0.03                       | 440    |         |
| Deiphobe           | 2.32 | 0.09                       | 73     | < 0.01  |
| Douglas VI         | 2.11 | 0.03                       | 323    |         |
| Anchises           | 2.37 | 0.06                       | 102    | < 0.001 |
| Douglas VI         | 2.11 | 0.03                       | 323    |         |
| Evander            | 2.25 | 0.07                       | 70     | 0.68    |
| Douglas VIII       | 2.28 | 0.04                       | 241    |         |
| Cymodoce           | 2.52 | 0.14                       | 11     | 0.61    |
| Douglas X          | 2.41 | 0.03                       | 419    |         |
| Diana              | 2.17 | 0.08                       | 29     | 0.49    |
| Douglas XI         | 2.25 | 0.03                       | 323    |         |

Table 94: Results of lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to Jupiter's narrative in Book I of the 'Eneados'. Results with an effect less than 0.05 are highlighted in grey.

| Keyword Type      | Jupiter's Narrative   | Effect |
|-------------------|-----------------------|--------|
| Lexis             | <i>Lavinium</i>       | 9.4    |
|                   | <i>empire</i>         | 7.4    |
|                   | <i>Ilium</i>          | 7.4    |
|                   | <i>shall</i>          | 7.3    |
|                   | <i>Julius</i>         | 6.7    |
|                   | <i>reign</i>          | 6.6    |
|                   | <i>thou</i>           | 4.2    |
| POS Category      | quotation marks       | 8.4    |
|                   | second person pronoun | 3.6    |
|                   | modal auxiliary       | 2.5    |
| Semantic Category | time: general future  | 4.6    |
|                   | other proper names    | 4.0    |
|                   | numbers               | 2.1    |
|                   | power, organising     | 1.5    |

Table 95: Results of lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to Venus's narrative in Book I of the 'Eneados'. Results with an effect less than 0.05 are highlighted in grey.

| Keyword Type      | Venus's Narrative | Effect |
|-------------------|-------------------|--------|
| Lexis             | <i>Pigmalion</i>  | 9.6    |
|                   | <i>yon</i>        | 9.6    |
|                   | <i>Tyre</i>       | 8.0    |
|                   | <i>knife</i>      | 7.0    |
|                   | <i>deed</i>       | 6.3    |
|                   | <i>ye</i>         | 5.1    |
| POS Category      | quotation marks   | 7.6    |
| Semantic Category | use               | 6.0    |
|                   | government        | 3.9    |

Table 96: Results of lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to Aeneas's narrative in Books II and III of the 'Eneados'. Results with an effect less than 0.05 are highlighted in grey.

| Keyword Type      | Douglas's Narrative                   | Effect | Aeneas's Narrative              | Effect | Aeneas's Narrative        | Effect |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|--------|---------------------------------|--------|---------------------------|--------|
| Lexis             | <i>Aeneas</i>                         | 6.5    | <i>Pyrrhus</i>                  | 6.9    | <i>we</i>                 | 4.7    |
|                   | <i>Turnus</i>                         | 5.6    | <i>Helenus</i>                  | 6.7    | <i>I</i>                  | 4.0    |
|                   | <i>can</i>                            | 3.5    | <i>my</i>                       | 6.3    | <i>Greeks</i>             | 4.0    |
|                   | <i>him</i>                            | 1.4    | <i>Creusa</i>                   | 6.1    | <i>mine</i>               | 3.7    |
|                   | <i>her</i>                            | 1.0    | <i>Ulysses</i>                  | 6.1    | <i>Priam</i>              | 3.7    |
|                   | <i>his</i>                            | 0.9    | <i>our</i>                      | 5.6    | <i>Troy</i>               | 2.8    |
|                   | <i>he</i>                             | 0.8    | <i>belly</i>                    | 5.3    | <i>sea</i>                | 1.4    |
|                   |                                       |        | <i>us</i>                       | 5.2    | <i>when</i>               | 1.3    |
| POS Category      |                                       |        | <i>me</i>                       | 5.0    |                           |        |
|                   | 'has'                                 | 1.7    | quotation marks                 | 7.0    | subordinating conjunction | 0.7    |
|                   | third person objective pronoun        | 0.8    | first person objective pronoun  | 5.0    | past tense of verb        | 0.3    |
|                   | third person subjective pronoun       | 0.6    | first person subjective pronoun | 4.4    |                           |        |
|                   | -s form of verb                       | 0.6    | 'have' (infinitive)             | 2.0    |                           |        |
| Semantic Category | general adjective                     | 0.2    | interjection                    | 1.6    |                           |        |
|                   | transport by air                      | 2.5    | other proper names              | 1.7    |                           |        |
|                   | altercation (an extension of warfare) | 1.8    | transport by water              | 0.9    |                           |        |
|                   | warfare                               | 0.7    | geographical terms              | 0.6    |                           |        |
|                   | personal names                        | 0.6    | places                          | 0.6    |                           |        |
|                   | power, organising                     | 0.5    | religion & the supernatural     | 0.4    |                           |        |
|                   | general actions                       | 0.4    | pronouns                        | 0.2    |                           |        |

Table 97: Results of lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to Deiphobe's narrative in Book VI of the 'Eneados'. Results with an effect less than 0.05 are highlighted in grey.

| Keyword Type      | Douglas's Narrative    | Effect | Deiphobe's Narrative            | Effect | Deiphobe's Narrative | Effect |
|-------------------|------------------------|--------|---------------------------------|--------|----------------------|--------|
| Lexis             | <i>the</i>             | 0.9    | <i>yon</i>                      | 9.3    | <i>yonder</i>        | 4.6    |
|                   |                        |        | <i>torment</i>                  | 8.8    | <i>thou</i>          | 4.2    |
|                   |                        |        | <i>pit</i>                      | 6.1    | <i>thee</i>          | 3.9    |
|                   |                        |        | <i>sits</i>                     | 6.1    | <i>I</i>             | 3.6    |
|                   |                        |        | <i>quoth</i>                    | 5.5    | <i>thae</i>          | 3.2    |
|                   |                        |        | <i>shall</i>                    | 4.8    | <i>been</i>          | 2.8    |
|                   |                        |        | <i>me</i>                       | 4.6    | <i>is</i>            | 1.9    |
| POS Category      | 'was'                  | 2.2    | quotation marks                 | 8.5    | 'are'                | 2.7    |
|                   | past tense of verb     | 0.9    | first person objective pronoun  | 4.1    | 'is'                 | 1.9    |
|                   | article                | 0.7    | second person pronoun           | 3.8    | 'not, n't'           | 1.8    |
|                   |                        |        | 'been'                          | 2.8    | infinitive marker    | 1.0    |
|                   |                        |        | first person subjective pronoun | 2.8    | infinitive           | 0.7    |
|                   |                        |        |                                 |        |                      |        |
| Semantic Category | affect: modify, change | 3.9    | crime & justice: law & order    | 2.4    | negative             | 1.4    |
|                   | grammatical words      | 0.2    | time: general future            | 2.2    |                      |        |

Table 98: Results of lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to Anchises's narrative in Book VI of the 'Eneados'. Results with an effect less than 0.05 are highlighted in grey.

| Keyword Type      | Douglas's Narrative             | Effect | Anchises's Narrative           | Effect | Anchises's Narrative            | Effect |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|--------|--------------------------------|--------|---------------------------------|--------|
| Lexis             |                                 |        | <i>yon</i>                     | 9.8    | <i>souls</i>                    | 4.8    |
|                   |                                 |        | <i>Marcellus</i>               | 7.6    | <i>glory</i>                    | 4.5    |
|                   |                                 |        | <i>shall</i>                   | 6.2    | <i>reign</i>                    | 4.5    |
|                   |                                 |        | <i>empire</i>                  | 6.0    | <i>thy</i>                      | 4.1    |
|                   |                                 |        | <i>my</i>                      | 6.0    | <i>our</i>                      | 4.0    |
|                   |                                 |        | <i>Roman</i>                   | 6.0    | <i>thou</i>                     | 3.9    |
|                   |                                 |        | <i>Caesar</i>                  | 5.4    | <i>thee</i>                     | 3.6    |
|                   |                                 |        | <i>quoth</i>                   | 5.2    | <i>honour</i>                   | 3.6    |
|                   |                                 |        | <i>us</i>                      | 5.2    | <i>O</i>                        | 3.6    |
|                   |                                 |        | <i>me</i>                      | 5.1    | <i>I</i>                        | 3.2    |
|                   |                                 |        | <i>exerce</i>                  | 5.0    | <i>come</i>                     | 2.2    |
|                   |                                 |        | <i>offspring</i>               | 5.0    | <i>be</i>                       | 2.0    |
|                   |                                 |        | <i>thine</i>                   | 5.0    |                                 |        |
| POS Category      | 'was'                           | 2.3    | quotation marks                | 9.0    | first person subjective pronoun | 2.7    |
|                   | past tense of verb              | 1.3    | first person objective pronoun | 5.1    | 'been'                          | 2.3    |
|                   | third person subjective pronoun | 0.9    | wh- degree adverb              | 3.7    | 'be' (infinitive)               | 2.0    |
|                   | article                         | 0.5    | second person pronoun          | 3.6    | modal auxiliary                 | 2.0    |
|                   |                                 |        | interjection                   | 3.1    | infinitive                      | 0.9    |
|                   |                                 |        | subjective wh-pronoun          | 2.7    | base form of verb               | 0.7    |
| Semantic Category | people: female                  | 4.0    | time: general future           | 3.5    | geographical names              | 0.9    |
|                   | measurement: speed              | 1.6    | discourse terms                | 1.9    | punctuation                     | 0.3    |
|                   |                                 |        | kin                            | 1.4    |                                 |        |

Table 99: Results of lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to Evander's narrative in Book VIII of the 'Eneados'. Results with an effect less than 0.05 are highlighted in grey.

| Keyword Type      | Douglas's Narrative | Effect | Evander's Narrative            | Effect | Evander's Narrative | Effect |
|-------------------|---------------------|--------|--------------------------------|--------|---------------------|--------|
| Lexis             | <i>her</i>          | 4.8    | <i>yon</i>                     | 9.5    | <i>us</i>           | 4.7    |
|                   |                     |        | <i>Cacus</i>                   | 8.8    | <i>our</i>          | 4.2    |
|                   |                     |        | <i>gap</i>                     | 8.0    | <i>cave</i>         | 4.0    |
|                   |                     |        | <i>Hercules</i>                | 5.1    | <i>this</i>         | 1.4    |
|                   |                     |        | <i>my</i>                      | 4.7    |                     |        |
| POS Category      |                     |        | quotation marks                | 7.6    | determiner          | 0.9    |
|                   |                     |        | first person objective pronoun | 4.5    |                     |        |
| Semantic Category | warfare             | 1.7    | residence                      | 2.2    | geographical terms  | 1.2    |

Table 100: Results of lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to Cymodoce's narrative in Book X of the 'Eneados'. Results with an effect less than 0.05 are highlighted in grey.

| Keyword Type      | Douglas's Narrative | Effect | Cymodoce's Narrative           | Effect | Cymodoce's Narrative            | Effect |
|-------------------|---------------------|--------|--------------------------------|--------|---------------------------------|--------|
| Lexis             |                     |        | <i>us</i>                      | 6.3    | <i>shall</i>                    | 4.7    |
|                   |                     |        | <i>Lausus</i>                  | 5.5    | <i>thou</i>                     | 4.1    |
|                   |                     |        | <i>thy</i>                     | 5.1    |                                 |        |
| POS Category      | article             | 0.7    | quotation marks                | 7.8    | second person pronoun           | 3.3    |
| Semantic Category |                     |        | first person objective pronoun | 5.1    | first person subjective pronoun | 3.1    |
|                   |                     |        | time: general future           | 2.8    |                                 |        |

Table 101: Results of lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Douglas's narrative to Diana's narrative in Book XI of the 'Eneados'. Results with an effect less than 0.05 are highlighted in grey.

| Keyword Type      | Diana's Narrative              | Effect |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|--------|
| Lexis             | <i>Metabus</i>                 | 8.8    |
|                   | <i>babe</i>                    | 7.8    |
|                   | <i>paps</i>                    | 7.8    |
|                   | <i>me</i>                      | 5.2    |
|                   | <i>dear</i>                    | 4.6    |
|                   | <i>daughter</i>                | 4.2    |
| POS Category      | quotation marks                | 7.4    |
|                   | first person objective pronoun | 4.4    |
| Semantic Category | time: age                      | 1.8    |



Table 102: Results of a lexical key word analysis comparing general narrative (including Aeneas's narrative in Books II and III) and the Prologues in the 'Eneados'. Results with an effect less than 0.05 are highlighted in grey.

| General Narrative | Effect | Prologues         | Effect | Prologues        | Effect | Prologues     | Effect |
|-------------------|--------|-------------------|--------|------------------|--------|---------------|--------|
| <i>Turnus</i>     | 5.8    | <i>Virgil</i>     | 9.5    | <i>pleasance</i> | 4.7    | <i>gentle</i> | 2.4    |
| <i>walls</i>      | 5.4    | <i>book</i>       | 8.8    | <i>grace</i>     | 4.6    | <i>are</i>    | 2.4    |
| <i>Trojan</i>     | 5.4    | <i>text</i>       | 7.3    | <i>am</i>        | 4.5    | <i>though</i> | 2.3    |
| <i>rout</i>       | 5.1    | <i>Caxton</i>     | 7.0    | <i>language</i>  | 4.5    | <i>not</i>    | 2.3    |
| <i>huge</i>       | 5.1    | <i>books</i>      | 6.8    | <i>song</i>      | 4.5    | <i>pain</i>   | 2.3    |
| <i>coast</i>      | 5.0    | <i>think</i>      | 6.8    | <i>translate</i> | 4.5    | <i>love</i>   | 2.3    |
| <i>shield</i>     | 4.7    | <i>volume</i>     | 6.8    | <i>you</i>       | 4.5    | <i>is</i>     | 2.2    |
| <i>stout</i>      | 4.6    | <i>Christ</i>     | 6.7    | <i>perfect</i>   | 4.3    | <i>been</i>   | 2.0    |
| <i>mickle</i>     | 4.5    | <i>clerks</i>     | 6.5    | <i>thine</i>     | 4.3    | <i>be</i>     | 2.0    |
| <i>breast</i>     | 4.5    | <i>poetry</i>     | 6.5    | <i>indite</i>    | 4.3    | <i>god</i>    | 1.9    |
| <i>Trojans</i>    | 4.3    | <i>read</i>       | 6.5    | <i>style</i>     | 4.2    | <i>gif</i>    | 1.8    |
| <i>tho</i>        | 3.3    | <i>rhyme</i>      | 6.5    | <i>works</i>     | 4.2    | <i>no</i>     | 1.8    |
| <i>fast</i>       | 2.9    | <i>terms</i>      | 6.5    | <i>faith</i>     | 4.1    | <i>what</i>   | 1.7    |
| <i>anon</i>       | 2.8    | <i>eloquence</i>  | 6.3    | <i>thy</i>       | 4.0    | <i>will</i>   | 1.7    |
| <i>about</i>      | 2.7    | <i>merit</i>      | 6.3    | <i>quoth</i>     | 3.9    | <i>us</i>     | 1.7    |
| <i>she</i>        | 2.6    | <i>poets</i>      | 6.3    | <i>thou</i>      | 3.9    | <i>have</i>   | 1.7    |
| <i>amid</i>       | 2.4    | <i>sentence</i>   | 6.2    | <i>virtue</i>    | 3.8    | <i>some</i>   | 1.5    |
| <i>city</i>       | 2.3    | <i>charity</i>    | 6.1    | <i>lust</i>      | 3.8    | <i>our</i>    | 1.4    |
| <i>hand</i>       | 2.3    | <i>clerk</i>      | 6.1    | <i>must</i>      | 3.7    | <i>nought</i> | 1.3    |
| <i>gang</i>       | 2.3    | <i>comprehend</i> | 6.1    | <i>sen</i>       | 3.7    | <i>nor</i>    | 1.1    |
| <i>king</i>       | 2.2    | <i>goodness</i>   | 6.1    | <i>glory</i>     | 3.5    | <i>but</i>    | 0.8    |
| <i>onto</i>       | 1.9    | <i>loves</i>      | 6.1    | <i>than</i>      | 3.2    |               |        |
| <i>they</i>       | 1.7    | <i>ornate</i>     | 6.1    | <i>shall</i>     | 3.2    |               |        |
| <i>great</i>      | 1.6    | <i>sin</i>        | 6.1    | <i>thee</i>      | 3.2    |               |        |
| <i>Aeneas</i>     | 1.5    | <i>Tonaw</i>      | 6.1    | <i>world</i>     | 3.1    |               |        |
| <i>did</i>        | 1.5    | <i>trusts</i>     | 6.1    | <i>I</i>         | 3.1    |               |        |
| <i>down</i>       | 1.4    | <i>writes</i>     | 5.8    | <i>me</i>        | 3.1    |               |        |
| <i>her</i>        | 1.3    | <i>substance</i>  | 5.7    | <i>wit</i>       | 3.0    |               |        |
| <i>forth</i>      | 1.2    | <i>says</i>       | 5.6    | <i>reason</i>    | 2.9    |               |        |
| <i>them</i>       | 1.1    | <i>author</i>     | 5.5    | <i>my</i>        | 2.9    |               |        |
| <i>him</i>        | 1.1    | <i>welcome</i>    | 5.5    | <i>mine</i>      | 2.8    |               |        |
| <i>with</i>       | 1.1    | <i>grant</i>      | 5.3    | <i>never</i>     | 2.8    |               |        |
| <i>was</i>        | 1.0    | <i>write</i>      | 5.1    | <i>ye</i>        | 2.8    |               |        |
| <i>their</i>      | 1.0    | <i>your</i>       | 4.9    | <i>may</i>       | 2.7    |               |        |
| <i>a</i>          | 0.9    | <i>poet</i>       | 4.8    | <i>work</i>      | 2.6    |               |        |
| <i>his</i>        | 0.7    | <i>bliss</i>      | 4.7    | <i>who</i>       | 2.6    |               |        |
| <i>the</i>        | 0.6    | <i>mercy</i>      | 4.7    | <i>lord</i>      | 2.6    |               |        |
| <i>and</i>        | 0.4    | <i>nature</i>     | 4.7    | <i>follow</i>    | 2.5    |               |        |

Table 103: Results of a part-of-speech keyword analysis comparing general narrative (including Aeneas's narrative in Books II and III) and the Prologues in the 'Eneados'. Results with an effect less than 0.05 are highlighted in grey.

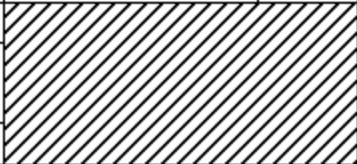
| Narrative (including Aeneas's)  | Effect | Prologues                       | Effect | Prologues                                                                             | Effect |
|---------------------------------|--------|---------------------------------|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| 'did'                           | 1.6    | wh-ever pronoun                 | 6.1    | interjection                                                                          | 1.7    |
| objective wh-pronoun            | 1.4    | 'be' (base form)                | 5.3    | 'be' (infinitive)                                                                     | 1.6    |
| third person objective pronoun  | 1.2    | 'am'                            | 4.9    | modal auxiliary                                                                       | 1.2    |
| prepositional adverb, particle  | 1.2    | quotation marks                 | 4.5    | third person pronoun ('it')                                                           | 1.1    |
| 'was'                           | 1.0    | month noun                      | 3.5    | indefinite pronoun                                                                    | 0.8    |
| third person subjective pronoun | 1.0    | second person pronoun           | 3.5    | wh- adverb                                                                            | 0.8    |
| locative adverb                 | 0.9    | 'than' (conjunction)            | 3.3    | degree adverb                                                                         | 0.7    |
| 'with, without'                 | 0.9    | modal catenative                | 3.2    | -s form of verb                                                                       | 0.7    |
| past tense of verb              | 0.9    | first person objective pronoun  | 2.5    | base form of verb                                                                     | 0.7    |
| -ing participle                 | 0.7    | 'are'                           | 2.5    | 'for' (preposition)                                                                   | 0.6    |
| quasi-nominal adverb of time    | 0.6    | subjective wh-pronoun           | 2.4    | temporal noun                                                                         | 0.5    |
| past participle                 | 0.5    | first person subjective pronoun | 2.3    | infinitive marker                                                                     | 0.5    |
| article                         | 0.5    | 'is'                            | 2.2    | infinitive                                                                            | 0.5    |
| general preposition             | 0.4    | 'not, n't'                      | 2.0    |  |        |
| coordinating conjunction        | 0.3    | 'been'                          | 1.9    |                                                                                       |        |
| general adverb                  | 0.2    | 'have' (base form)              | 1.8    |                                                                                       |        |

Table 104: Results of a semantic key word analysis comparing general narrative (including Aeneas's narrative in Books II and III) and the Prologues in the 'Eneados'. Results with an effect less than 0.05 are highlighted in grey. 'Eft' stands for 'effect'.

| General Narrative                               | Eft | Prologues                        | Eft | Prologues                    | Eft |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----|----------------------------------|-----|------------------------------|-----|
| measurement: weight                             | 4.0 | books                            | 5.9 | obligation & necessity       | 1.3 |
| warfare                                         | 2.2 | paper documents & writing        | 4.3 | plants                       | 1.0 |
| measurement: speed                              | 2.0 | attention                        | 4.3 | crime & justice: law & order | 1.0 |
| safety/danger                                   | 1.8 | nature & the environment         | 3.8 | time                         | 0.9 |
| groups & affiliation                            | 1.7 | industry                         | 2.8 | food                         | 0.8 |
| geographical names                              | 1.7 | mental actions & processes       | 2.7 | liking                       | 0.8 |
| altercation (an extension of warfare)           | 1.7 | education in general             | 2.5 | being                        | 0.8 |
| transport on land                               | 1.7 | substances & materials generally | 2.3 | time: period                 | 0.7 |
| social actions, states & processes              | 1.6 | understanding & comprehension    | 2.2 | knowledge                    | 0.7 |
| parts of buildings                              | 1.5 | language, speech & grammar       | 1.9 | judgment of appearance       | 0.7 |
| relationship: general                           | 1.3 | exclusivisers/particularisers    | 1.9 | religion & the supernatural  | 0.6 |
| places                                          | 1.2 | politeness                       | 1.9 | living creatures generally   | 0.5 |
| linear order                                    | 1.2 | ability: intelligence            | 1.9 | pronouns                     | 0.3 |
| putting, taking, pulling, pushing, transporting | 1.1 | evaluation: true/false           | 1.8 | punctuation                  | 0.2 |
| transport by water                              | 1.0 | if                               | 1.8 |                              |     |
| measurement: length & height                    | 1.0 | relationship: intimate           | 1.7 |                              |     |
| anatomy & physiology                            | 1.0 | evaluation: accuracy             | 1.6 |                              |     |
| life & living things                            | 1.0 | other proper names               | 1.6 |                              |     |
| sensory: sight                                  | 0.8 | negative                         | 1.6 |                              |     |
| sensory: sound                                  | 0.7 | sensory: taste                   | 1.5 |                              |     |
| location & direction                            | 0.7 | sensibility                      | 1.5 |                              |     |
| moving, coming & going                          | 0.6 | general ethics                   | 1.5 |                              |     |
| calm/violent/angry                              | 0.6 | music & related activities       | 1.5 |                              |     |
| geographical terms                              | 0.5 | work & employment: generally     | 1.5 |                              |     |
| personal names                                  | 0.5 | thought, belief                  | 1.4 |                              |     |
| grammatical words                               | 0.3 | time: general future             | 1.4 |                              |     |

Table 105: Results of a series of two-sample t-tests comparing the range of effects in lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses that compare general narrative (including Aeneas's narrative in Books II and III) to the Prologues, and Douglas's narrative (without Aeneas's narrative in Books II and III) to the Prologues, within the 'Eneados'.

| Keyword Type      | General Narrative vs. Narrative | Prologues vs. Prologues |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Lexis             | 0.70                            | 0.66                    |
| POS Category      | 0.94                            | 0.48                    |
| Semantic Category | 0.82                            | 0.87                    |

Table 106: Results of a series of two-sample t-tests comparing the range of effects in lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses that compare general narrative (including Aeneas's narrative in Books II and III) to the Prologues, and Aeneas's narrative (in Books II and III) to the Prologues, within the 'Eneados'.

| Keyword Type      | Aeneas's Narrative vs. Narrative | Prologues vs. Prologues |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Lexis             | 0.24                             | 0.10                    |
| POS Category      | 0.96                             | 0.69                    |
| Semantic Category | 0.99                             | 0.35                    |

Table 107: Results of a lexical keyword analysis comparing Douglas's narrative (not including Aeneas's speech in Books II and III) and the Prologues in the 'Eneados'. Results with an effect less than 0.05 are highlighted in grey.

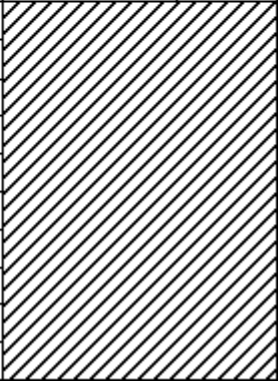
| Narrative | Effect | Prologues  | Effect | Prologues | Effect | Prologues                                                                             | Effect |
|-----------|--------|------------|--------|-----------|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Turnus    | 6.0    | Virgil     | 9.3    | grace     | 5.0    | world                                                                                 | 2.9    |
| Trojan    | 5.4    | book       | 8.6    | write     | 4.9    | never                                                                                 | 2.9    |
| walls     | 5.4    | text       | 7.1    | your      | 4.9    | may                                                                                   | 2.8    |
| rout      | 5.2    | sentence   | 7.0    | I         | 4.7    | follow                                                                                | 2.7    |
| huge      | 5.1    | Caxton     | 6.8    | poet      | 4.6    | work                                                                                  | 2.6    |
| coast     | 4.8    | books      | 6.6    | works     | 4.6    | who                                                                                   | 2.6    |
| shield    | 4.8    | think      | 6.6    | you       | 4.6    | though                                                                                | 2.5    |
| stout     | 4.7    | volume     | 6.6    | bliss     | 4.5    | are                                                                                   | 2.5    |
| mickle    | 4.6    | Christ     | 6.5    | perfect   | 4.5    | pain                                                                                  | 2.5    |
| breast    | 4.6    | am         | 6.3    | nature    | 4.5    | not                                                                                   | 2.4    |
| swift     | 4.5    | clerks     | 6.3    | pleasance | 4.5    | lord                                                                                  | 2.4    |
| Trojans   | 4.4    | my         | 6.3    | faith     | 4.3    | we                                                                                    | 2.4    |
| tho       | 3.5    | poetry     | 6.3    | language  | 4.3    | is                                                                                    | 2.3    |
| fast      | 2.9    | read       | 6.3    | offence   | 4.3    | love                                                                                  | 2.2    |
| anon      | 2.8    | rhyme      | 6.3    | song      | 4.3    | been                                                                                  | 2.1    |
| about     | 2.7    | terms      | 6.3    | translate | 4.3    | have                                                                                  | 2.0    |
| she       | 2.6    | welcome    | 6.3    | our       | 4.3    | be                                                                                    | 2.0    |
| amid      | 2.4    | eloquence  | 6.1    | mine      | 4.2    | gif                                                                                   | 1.9    |
| hand      | 2.3    | merit      | 6.1    | us        | 4.2    | what                                                                                  | 1.9    |
| gang      | 2.3    | poets      | 6.1    | quoth     | 4.2    | god                                                                                   | 1.8    |
| city      | 2.2    | charity    | 5.9    | thine     | 4.1    | no                                                                                    | 1.8    |
| king      | 2.2    | clerk      | 5.9    | indite    | 4.1    | will                                                                                  | 1.8    |
| they      | 1.8    | comprehend | 5.9    | style     | 4.0    | some                                                                                  | 1.5    |
| Aeneas    | 1.7    | goodness   | 5.9    | thy       | 4.0    | nought                                                                                | 1.3    |
| great     | 1.6    | loves      | 5.9    | must      | 4.0    | nor                                                                                   | 1.2    |
| did       | 1.6    | ornate     | 5.9    | sen       | 4.0    | it                                                                                    | 1.2    |
| her       | 1.4    | sin        | 5.9    | thou      | 3.8    | but                                                                                   | 0.8    |
| him       | 1.2    | Tonaw      | 5.9    | virtue    | 3.6    |  |        |
| them      | 1.2    | trusts     | 5.9    | lust      | 3.6    |                                                                                       |        |
| forth     | 1.2    | wealth     | 5.9    | shall     | 3.4    |                                                                                       |        |
| with      | 1.1    | writes     | 5.6    | ye        | 3.3    |                                                                                       |        |
| their     | 1.1    | mercy      | 5.5    | glory     | 3.3    |                                                                                       |        |
| was       | 1.0    | substance  | 5.5    | than      | 3.3    |                                                                                       |        |
| a         | 0.9    | me         | 5.4    | tongue    | 3.2    |                                                                                       |        |
| his       | 0.8    | says       | 5.4    | reason    | 3.1    |                                                                                       |        |
| the       | 0.6    | author     | 5.3    | thee      | 3.1    |                                                                                       |        |
| and       | 0.4    | grant      | 5.1    | wit       | 3.1    |                                                                                       |        |

Table 108: Results of a part-of-speech key word analysis comparing Douglas's narrative (not including Aeneas's speech in Books II and III) and the Prologues in the 'Eneados'. Results with an effect less than 0.05 are highlighted in grey.

| <b>Narrative</b>                | <b>Effect</b> | <b>Prologues</b>                | <b>Effect</b> | <b>Prologues</b>            | <b>Effect</b> |
|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| 'did'                           | 1.7           | quotation marks                 | 8.7           | 'have' (infinitive)         | 1.9           |
| objective wh-pronoun            | 1.5           | 'am'                            | 6.7           | 'been'                      | 1.9           |
| third person objective pronoun  | 1.3           | 'be' (base form)                | 6.1           | 'be' (infinitive)           | 1.6           |
| prepositional adverb, particle  | 1.1           | wh-ever pronoun                 | 5.9           | third person pronoun ('it') | 1.2           |
| third person subjective pronoun | 1.0           | first person objective pronoun  | 4.9           | modal auxiliary             | 1.2           |
| 'was'                           | 1.0           | first person subjective pronoun | 4.1           | wh- adverb                  | 0.8           |
| 'with, without'                 | 0.9           | month noun                      | 3.9           | indefinite pronoun          | 0.8           |
| locative adverb                 | 0.9           | second person pronoun           | 3.5           | degree adverb               | 0.7           |
| past tense of verb              | 0.8           | 'than' (conjunction)            | 3.5           | base form of verb           | 0.7           |
| -ing participle                 | 0.7           | modal catenative                | 3.3           | -s form of verb             | 0.6           |
| quasi-nominal adverb of time    | 0.6           | 'are'                           | 2.7           | 'for' (preposition)         | 0.6           |
| past participle                 | 0.5           | subjective wh-pronoun           | 2.4           | temporal noun               | 0.6           |
| article                         | 0.5           | 'is'                            | 2.3           | infinitive marker           | 0.5           |
| general preposition             | 0.4           | 'have' (base form)              | 2.1           | infinitive                  | 0.5           |
| coordinating conjunction        | 0.3           | 'not, n't'                      | 2.0           | subordinating conjunction   | 0.5           |
| general adverb                  | 0.2           | interjection                    | 2.0           |                             |               |

Table 109: Results of a semantic keyword analysis comparing Douglas's narrative (not including Aeneas's speech in Books II and III) and the Prologues in the 'Eneados'. Results with an effect less than 0.05 are highlighted in grey.

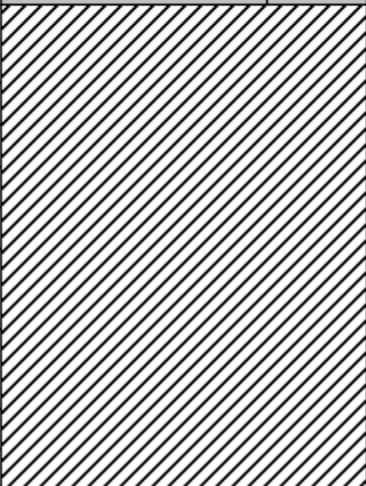
| Narrative                                       | Effect | Prologues                        | Effect | Prologues                                                                             | Effect |
|-------------------------------------------------|--------|----------------------------------|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| measurement: weight                             | 4.1    | attention                        | 6.1    | work & employment: generally                                                          | 1.4    |
| warfare                                         | 2.2    | books                            | 5.7    | comparing: usual/unusual                                                              | 1.2    |
| measurement: speed                              | 2.0    | paper documents & writing        | 4.1    | obligation & necessity                                                                | 1.2    |
| altercation (an extension of warfare)           | 1.8    | nature & the environment         | 4.0    | crime & justice: law & order                                                          | 1.1    |
| safety/danger                                   | 1.8    | industry                         | 3.0    | plants                                                                                | 1.0    |
| groups & affiliation                            | 1.8    | mental actions & processes       | 2.7    | food                                                                                  | 0.9    |
| transport on land                               | 1.7    | education in general             | 2.4    | time                                                                                  | 0.9    |
| social actions, states & processes              | 1.7    | substances & materials generally | 2.4    | being                                                                                 | 0.9    |
| geographical names                              | 1.6    | understanding & comprehension    | 2.2    | liking                                                                                | 0.8    |
| transport by air                                | 1.6    | other proper names               | 1.9    | knowledge                                                                             | 0.8    |
| parts of buildings                              | 1.4    | if                               | 1.9    | time: period                                                                          | 0.8    |
| putting, taking, pulling, pushing, transporting | 1.1    | evaluation: true/false           | 1.9    | judgment of appearance                                                                | 0.7    |
| linear order                                    | 1.1    | exclusivisers/particularisers    | 1.9    | religion & the supernatural                                                           | 0.7    |
| places                                          | 1.1    | ability: intelligence            | 1.9    | living creatures generally                                                            | 0.4    |
| measurement: length & height                    | 1.1    | language, speech & grammar       | 1.9    | pronouns                                                                              | 0.4    |
| life & living things                            | 1.0    | politeness                       | 1.9    | punctuation                                                                           | 0.2    |
| anatomy & physiology                            | 1.0    | evaluation: accuracy             | 1.7    |  |        |
| transport by water                              | 0.9    | negative                         | 1.6    |                                                                                       |        |
| sensory: sound                                  | 0.7    | relationship: intimate           | 1.6    |                                                                                       |        |
| sensory: sight                                  | 0.7    | general ethics                   | 1.6    |                                                                                       |        |
| location & direction                            | 0.7    | time: general future             | 1.5    |                                                                                       |        |
| calm/violent/angry                              | 0.7    | music & related activities       | 1.4    |                                                                                       |        |
| moving, coming & going                          | 0.6    | thought, belief                  | 1.4    |                                                                                       |        |
| personal names                                  | 0.5    | caution                          | 1.4    |                                                                                       |        |
| grammatical words                               | 0.3    | sensibility                      | 1.4    |                                                                                       |        |

Table 110: Results of a lexical key word analysis comparing Aeneas's narrative (in Books II and III) and the Prologues in the 'Eneados'. Results with an effect less than 0.05 are highlighted in grey.

| Aeneas's Narrative | Effect | Aeneas's Narrative | Effect | Prologues | Effect | Prologues | Effect |
|--------------------|--------|--------------------|--------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|
| Greeks             | 6.4    | city               | 2.7    | Virgil    | 6.6    | shall     | 2.3    |
| Priam              | 5.9    | sea                | 2.4    | book      | 5.8    | god       | 2.3    |
| walls              | 5.9    | we                 | 2.3    | your      | 5.1    | may       | 2.2    |
| coast              | 5.8    | she                | 2.1    | thine     | 5.0    | some      | 2.1    |
| temple             | 5.5    | down               | 2.0    | Aeneas    | 4.7    | be        | 1.9    |
| town               | 5.1    | when               | 1.6    | write     | 4.7    | not       | 1.7    |
| Trojan             | 5.1    | then               | 1.3    | thy       | 4.5    | no        | 1.7    |
| sacrifice          | 4.9    | our                | 1.3    | thou      | 4.3    | is        | 1.7    |
| ships              | 4.9    | they               | 1.3    | sentence  | 4.3    |           |        |
| feres              | 4.3    | a                  | 1.2    | lord      | 4.2    |           |        |
| Troy               | 3.7    | was                | 1.2    | you       | 4.1    |           |        |
| hands              | 3.5    | with               | 1.0    | love      | 3.4    |           |        |
| about              | 3.0    | the                | 0.6    | thee      | 3.4    |           |        |
| fast               | 3.0    | and                | 0.4    | never     | 2.6    |           |        |
| left               | 3.0    |                    |        | who       | 2.6    |           |        |
|                    |        |                    |        |           |        |           |        |

Table 111: Results of a grammatical key word analysis comparing Aeneas's narrative (in Books II and III) and the Prologues in the 'Eneados'. Results with an effect less than 0.05 are highlighted in grey.

| Aeneas's Narrative             | Effect | Prologues               | Effect | Prologues          | Effect |
|--------------------------------|--------|-------------------------|--------|--------------------|--------|
| prepositional adverb, particle | 1.5    | wh-determiner, genitive | 4.2    | 'be' (infinitive)  | 1.6    |
| past tense of verb             | 1.2    | wh-ever pronoun         | 4.1    | -s form of verb    | 1.2    |
| locative adverb                | 1.2    | 'do' (base form)        | 3.6    | indefinite pronoun | 1.2    |
| 'was'                          | 1.2    | second person pronoun   | 3.0    | modal auxiliary    | 1.1    |
| 'with, without'                | 0.8    | 'not, n't'              | 2.0    | infinitive         | 0.6    |
| quasi-nominal adverb of time   | 0.7    | subjective wh-pronoun   | 2.0    | base form of verb  | 0.4    |
| past participle                | 0.7    | 'been'                  | 1.9    |                    |        |
| article                        | 0.4    | 'is'                    | 1.7    |                    |        |
| general preposition            | 0.3    | 'are'                   | 1.7    |                    |        |
| coordinating conjunction       | 0.3    | quotation marks         | 1.6    |                    |        |

Table 112: Results of a semantic key word analysis comparing Aeneas's narrative (in Books II and III) and the Prologues in the 'Eneados'. Results with an effect less than 0.05 are highlighted in grey.

| Aeneas's Narrative                              | Effect | Prologues                    | Effect |
|-------------------------------------------------|--------|------------------------------|--------|
| geographical names                              | 2.0    | books                        | 7.1    |
| measurement: speed                              | 2.0    | paper documents & writing    | 5.9    |
| safety/danger                                   | 2.0    | education in general         | 3.1    |
| parts of buildings                              | 1.9    | importance: noticeability    | 3.0    |
| transport by water                              | 1.8    | sensibility                  | 2.7    |
| places                                          | 1.7    | relationship: intimate       | 2.2    |
| warfare                                         | 1.6    | work & employment: generally | 2.1    |
| seeming                                         | 1.4    | music & related activities   | 2.0    |
| linear order                                    | 1.3    | language, speech & grammar   | 2.0    |
| groups & affiliation                            | 1.3    | ability: intelligence        | 1.8    |
| sensory: sight                                  | 1.2    | obligation & necessity       | 1.7    |
| architecture & kinds of buildings               | 1.1    | evaluation: true/false       | 1.5    |
| geographical terms                              | 1.0    | general ethics               | 1.3    |
| putting, taking, pulling, pushing, transporting | 0.9    | thought, belief              | 1.3    |
| moving, coming & going                          | 0.9    | negative                     | 1.3    |
| measurement: length & height                    | 0.9    | liking                       | 1.2    |
| anatomy & physiology                            | 0.9    | plants                       | 1.0    |
| location & direction                            | 0.8    | living creatures generally   | 0.8    |
| sensory: sound                                  | 0.8    | judgment of appearance       | 0.7    |
| grammatical words                               | 0.3    | being                        | 0.5    |

Table 113: Average line ratios for translation units in books, general narrative (including Aeneas's speech in Books II and III), speech (including reported speech in Books II and III), and reported speech (including twice reported speech) across the 'Eneados'. See Dataset 13 for full data.

| Book | Narrative | Speech | Reported Speech | Total |
|------|-----------|--------|-----------------|-------|
| I    | 1.81      | 1.75   |                 | 1.78  |
| II   | 1.82      | 1.91   |                 | 1.86  |
| III  | 2.02      | 1.92   |                 | 1.98  |
| IV   | 1.99      | 2.01   | 2.00            | 2.00  |
| V    | 1.88      | 2.00   |                 | 1.91  |
| VI   | 2.11      | 2.26   | 3.00            | 2.18  |
| VII  | 2.31      | 2.40   | 2.25            | 2.33  |
| VIII | 2.28      | 2.35   | 3.50            | 2.31  |
| IX   | 2.24      | 2.46   |                 | 2.31  |
| X    | 2.41      | 2.73   |                 | 2.50  |
| XI   | 2.25      | 2.43   | 2.60            | 2.33  |
| XII  | 2.42      | 2.50   |                 | 2.44  |
| XIII | 2.27      | 2.34   |                 | 2.29  |



Table 114: Average line ratios for translation units in female and male speech and speech in general across the 'Eneados'. Reported speech in Books II and III count as speech here. See Dataset 13 for full data.

| Book | Female | Male | Speech |
|------|--------|------|--------|
| I    | 1.71   | 1.78 | 1.75   |
| II   | 1.92   | 1.91 | 1.91   |
| III  | 1.85   | 1.94 | 1.92   |
| IV   | 2.05   | 1.86 | 2.01   |
| V    | 2.08   | 1.99 | 2.00   |
| VI   | 2.25   | 2.26 | 2.26   |
| VII  | 2.46   | 2.35 | 2.40   |
| VIII | 2.18   | 2.35 | 2.35   |
| IX   | 2.50   | 2.45 | 2.46   |
| X    | 2.71   | 2.74 | 2.73   |
| XI   | 2.32   | 2.49 | 2.43   |
| XII  | 2.40   | 2.53 | 2.50   |
| XIII | 2.22   | 2.37 | 2.34   |

Table 115: Results from lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing female and male speech in the 'Eneados'. Reported speech in Books II and III is counted as speech here. Results with effects less than 0.5 are shaded in grey.

| Keyword Type      | Female                          | Effect | Male        | Effect |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|--------|-------------|--------|
| Lexis             | <i>she</i>                      | 3.2    | <i>our</i>  | 0.8    |
|                   | <i>sister</i>                   | 2.9    |             |        |
|                   | <i>her</i>                      | 1.3    |             |        |
| POS Category      | third person subjective pronoun | 0.4    |             |        |
| Semantic Category | temperature                     | 0.8    | competition | 1.00   |

Table 116: Line ratios for Aen. IV.305-30, 333-61, 365-87 and Ene. IV.6.49-99, 104-60, 7.6-51 labelled by speaker. Sourced from Dataset 13.

| <i>Aeneid</i> | Number of Lines | <i>Eneados</i> | Number of Lines | Line Ratio | Speaker |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|---------|
| IV.305-06     | 2               | IV.6.49-51     | 3               | 1.50       | Dido    |
| IV.307-08     | 2               | IV.6.52-54     | 3               | 1.50       | Dido    |
| IV.309        | 1               | IV.6.55-56     | 2               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.310        | 1               | IV.6.57-58     | 2               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.311-12     | 2               | IV.6.59-62     | 4               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.313-14     | 2               | IV.6.63-67     | 5               | 2.50       | Dido    |
| IV.315-16     | 2               | IV.6.68-70     | 3               | 1.50       | Dido    |
| IV.317-19     | 3               | IV.6.71-75     | 5               | 1.67       | Dido    |
| IV.320-23     | 4               | IV.6.76-84     | 9               | 2.25       | Dido    |
| IV.324        | 1               | IV.6.85-86     | 2               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.325-26     | 2               | IV.6.87-92     | 6               | 3.00       | Dido    |
| IV.327-29     | 3               | IV.6.93-97     | 5               | 1.67       | Dido    |
| IV.330        | 1               | IV.6.98-99     | 2               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.333-35     | 2.5             | IV.6.105-09    | 5               | 2.00       | Aeneas  |
| IV.336        | 1               | IV.6.110-11    | 2               | 2.00       | Aeneas  |
| IV.337-44     | 8               | IV.6.112-26    | 15              | 1.88       | Aeneas  |
| IV.345-46     | 2               | IV.6.127-30    | 4               | 2.00       | Aeneas  |
| IV.347        | 1               | IV.6.131-33    | 3               | 3.00       | Aeneas  |
| IV.348        | 1               | IV.6.134-36    | 3               | 3.00       | Aeneas  |
| IV.349-50     | 2               | IV.6.137-40    | 4               | 2.00       | Aeneas  |
| IV.351-54     | 4               | IV.6.141-48    | 8               | 2.00       | Aeneas  |
| IV.355        | 1               | IV.6.149-50    | 2               | 2.00       | Aeneas  |
| IV.356-59     | 4               | IV.6.151-57    | 7               | 1.75       | Aeneas  |
| IV.360        | 1               | IV.6.158-59    | 2               | 2.00       | Aeneas  |
| IV.361        | 0.5             | IV.6.160       | 1               | 2.00       | Aeneas  |
| IV.365        | 1               | IV.7.6-7       | 2               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.366-67     | 2               | IV.7.8-12      | 5               | 2.50       | Dido    |
| IV.368        | 1               | IV.7.13-14     | 2               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.369        | 1               | IV.7.15-16     | 2               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.370        | 1               | IV.7.17-18     | 2               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.371        | 1               | IV.7.19-20     | 2               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.372        | 1               | IV.7.21-22     | 2               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.373-74     | 2               | IV.7.23-26     | 4               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.375        | 1               | IV.7.27-28     | 2               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.376        | 1               | IV.7.29-30     | 2               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.377        | 1               | IV.7.31-32     | 2               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.378        | 1               | IV.7.33-34     | 2               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.379-80     | 2               | IV.7.35-37     | 3               | 1.50       | Dido    |
| IV.381        | 1               | IV.7.38-39     | 2               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.382-83     | 1.5             | IV.7.40-42     | 3               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.383-84     | 1               | IV.7.43        | 1               | 1.00       | Dido    |
| IV.384-85     | 1.5             | IV.7.44-46     | 3               | 2.00       | Dido    |
| IV.386-87     | 2               | IV.7.46-51     | 5               | 2.50       | Dido    |

Table 117: Average line ratios for translation units in divine and mortal speech and speech in general across the course of the 'Eneados'. Reported speech in Books II and III count as speech here. See Dataset 13 for full data.

| Book | Gods | Mortals | Speech |
|------|------|---------|--------|
| I    | 1.65 | 1.84    | 1.75   |
| II   | 1.82 | 1.92    | 1.91   |
| III  | 1.81 | 1.94    | 1.92   |
| IV   | 1.87 | 2.06    | 2.01   |
| V    | 2.29 | 1.92    | 2.00   |
| VI   | 2.00 | 2.26    | 2.26   |
| VII  | 2.38 | 2.43    | 2.40   |
| VIII | 2.29 | 2.36    | 2.35   |
| IX   | 2.65 | 2.42    | 2.46   |
| X    | 2.61 | 2.84    | 2.73   |
| XI   | 2.21 | 2.47    | 2.43   |
| XII  | 2.37 | 2.56    | 2.50   |
| XIII | 2.20 | 2.38    | 2.34   |

Table 118: Results from lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing divine and mortal speech in the 'Eneados'. Reported speech in Books II and III is counted as speech here. Results with effects less than 0.5 are shaded in grey.

| Keyword Type      | Gods               | Effect | Mortals                         | Effect |
|-------------------|--------------------|--------|---------------------------------|--------|
| Lexis             | <i>she</i>         | 1.4    | <i>your</i>                     | 1.2    |
|                   | <i>her</i>         | 1.2    | <i>our</i>                      | 1.2    |
| POS Category      |                    |        | interjection                    | 0.8    |
|                   |                    |        | first objective pronoun         | 0.6    |
|                   |                    |        | quotation marks                 | 0.4    |
|                   |                    |        | first person subjective pronoun | 0.4    |
| Semantic Category | geographical names | 0.4    | emotional states & processes    | 2.8    |
|                   |                    |        | happy/sad                       | 0.7    |

Table 119: Line ratios for Aen. VI.388-97, 399-406 and Ene. VI.6.7-26, 29-44 labelled by speaker. Sourced from Dataset 13.

| Aeneid    | Number of Lines | Eneados    | Number of Lines | Line Ratio | Speaker  |
|-----------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|------------|----------|
| VI.388-90 | 3               | VI.6.7-12  | 6               | 2          | Charon   |
| VI.391-93 | 3               | VI.6.13-18 | 6               | 2          | Charon   |
| VI.394    | 1               | VI.6.19-20 | 2               | 2          | Charon   |
| VI.395    | 1               | VI.6.21-22 | 2               | 2          | Charon   |
| VI.396    | 1               | VI.6.23    | 1               | 1          | Charon   |
| VI.397    | 1               | VI.6.24-26 | 3               | 3          | Charon   |
| VI.399    | 1               | VI.6.29-30 | 2               | 2          | Deiphobe |
| VI.400    | 1               | VI.6.31-33 | 3               | 3          | Deiphobe |
| VI.401    | 1               | VI.6.34    | 1               | 1          | Deiphobe |
| VI.402    | 1               | VI.6.35-37 | 3               | 3          | Deiphobe |
| VI.403    | 1               | VI.6.38-39 | 2               | 2          | Deiphobe |
| VI.404    | 1               | VI.6.40-41 | 2               | 2          | Deiphobe |
| VI.405    | 1               | VI.6.42-43 | 2               | 2          | Deiphobe |
| VI.406    | 1               | VI.6.44    | 1               | 1          | Deiphobe |

Table 120: Line ratios for Aen. X.228-45, 252-55 and Ene. X.5.32-76, 91-101 labelled by speaker. Data sourced from Dataset 13.

| <i>Aeneid</i> | Number of Lines | <i>Eneados</i> | Number of Lines | Line Ratio | Speaker  |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|----------|
| X.228         | 0.5             | X.5.32         | 1               | 2.00       | Cymodoce |
| X.229         | 1               | X.5.33-34      | 2               | 2.00       | Cymodoce |
| X.230-32      | 3               | X.5.35-41      | 7               | 2.33       | Cymodoce |
| X.233-34      | 2               | X.5.42-47      | 6               | 3.00       | Cymodoce |
| X.235         | 1               | X.5.48-50      | 3               | 3.00       | Cymodoce |
| X.236         | 1               | X.5.51-53      | 3               | 3.00       | Cymodoce |
| X.237         | 1               | X.5.54-56      | 3               | 3.00       | Cymodoce |
| X.238-40      | 3               | X.5.57-64      | 8               | 2.67       | Cymodoce |
| X.241-43      | 3               | X.5.65-72      | 8               | 2.67       | Cymodoce |
| X.244         | 1               | X.5.73-74      | 2               | 2.00       | Cymodoce |
| X.245         | 1               | X.5.75-76      | 2               | 2.00       | Cymodoce |
| X.252         | 1               | X.5.91-93      | 3               | 3.00       | Aeneas   |
| X.253         | 1               | X.5.94-96      | 3               | 3.00       | Aeneas   |
| X.254-55      | 2               | X.5.97-101     | 5               | 2.50       | Aeneas   |

Table 121: Line ratios for Aen. V.623-40, 646-52 and Ene. V.11.47-81, 91-102 labelled by speaker. Data sourced from Dataset 13.

| <i>Aeneid</i> | Number of Lines | <i>Eneados</i> | Number of Lines | Line Ratio | Speaker |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|---------|
| V.623-25      | 3               | V.11.47-52     | 6               | 2.00       | Iris    |
| V.626         | 1               | V.11.53-54     | 2               | 2.00       | Iris    |
| V.627         | 1               | V.11.55-56     | 2               | 2.00       | Iris    |
| V.628         | 1               | V.11.57-58     | 2               | 2.00       | Iris    |
| V.629         | 1               | V.11.59-60     | 2               | 2.00       | Iris    |
| V.630         | 1               | V.11.61-62     | 2               | 2.00       | Iris    |
| V.631         | 1               | V.11.63-64     | 2               | 2.00       | Iris    |
| V.632-34      | 3               | V.11.65-69     | 5               | 1.67       | Iris    |
| V.635-36      | 2               | V.11.70-73     | 4               | 2.00       | Iris    |
| V.637-38      | 2               | V.11.74-77     | 4               | 2.00       | Iris    |
| V.639         | 1               | V.11.78-79     | 2               | 2.00       | Iris    |
| V.640         | 1               | V.11.80-81     | 2               | 2.00       | Iris    |
| V.646-47      | 2               | V.11.91-93     | 3               | 1.50       | Pirgo   |
| V.648         | 1               | V.11.94-95     | 2               | 2.00       | Pirgo   |
| V.649         | 1               | V.11.96-97     | 2               | 2.00       | Pirgo   |
| V.650         | 1               | V.11.98        | 1               | 1.00       | Pirgo   |
| V.651-52      | 2               | V.11.99-102    | 4               | 2.00       | Pirgo   |

Table 122: Line ratios for Aen. IX.625-29, 633-35, 641-44, 653-56 and Ene. IX.10.82-92, 99-104, 117-27, 145-54 labelled by speaker. Data sourced from Dataset 13.

| <i>Aeneid</i> | Number of Lines | <i>Eneados</i> | Number of Lines | Line Ratio | Speaker  |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|----------|
| IX.625        | 1               | 10.82-83       | 2               | 2.00       | Ascanius |
| IX.626        | 1               | 10.84-85       | 2               | 2.00       | Ascanius |
| IX.627-28     | 2               | 10.86-90       | 5               | 2.50       | Ascanius |
| IX.629        | 1               | 10.91-92       | 2               | 2.00       | Ascanius |
| IX.633-34     | 1.5             | 10.100-02      | 3               | 2.00       | Ascanius |
| IX.635        | 1               | 10.103-04      | 2               | 2.00       | Ascanius |
| IX.641        | 1               | 10.117-19      | 3               | 3.00       | Apollo   |
| IX.642-43     | 2               | 10.120-25      | 6               | 3.00       | Apollo   |
| IX.644        | 0.5             | 10.126-27      | 2               | 4.00       | Apollo   |
| IX.653-55     | 3               | 10.145-52      | 8               | 2.67       | Apollo   |
| IX.656        | 0.5             | 10.153-54      | 2               | 4.00       | Apollo   |

Table 123: Average line ratios for translation units in Italian and Trojan speech and speech in general across the 'Eneados'. Reported speech in Books II and III count as speech here. Italy consists of numerous 'nationalities', including: Arcadia, Ardea, Etruria, Italy, Latium, Liguria, and Volsci. See Dataset 13 for full data.

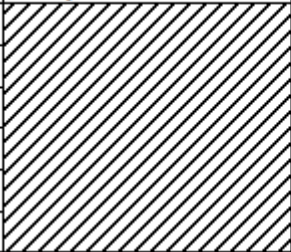
| Book | Italy                                                                               | Troy | Speech |
|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|--------|
| I    |  | 1.81 | 1.75   |
| II   |                                                                                     | 1.96 | 1.91   |
| III  |                                                                                     | 1.98 | 1.92   |
| IV   |                                                                                     | 2.10 | 2.01   |
| V    |                                                                                     | 1.92 | 2.00   |
| VI   |                                                                                     | 2.26 | 2.26   |
| VII  | 2.57                                                                                | 2.24 | 2.40   |
| VIII | 2.34                                                                                | 2.42 | 2.35   |
| IX   | 2.43                                                                                | 2.42 | 2.46   |
| X    | 2.72                                                                                | 2.97 | 2.73   |
| XI   | 2.48                                                                                | 2.40 | 2.43   |
| XII  | 2.64                                                                                | 2.50 | 2.50   |
| XIII | 2.37                                                                                | 2.40 | 2.34   |

Table 124: Results from lexical, part-of-speech, and semantic keyword analyses comparing Italian and Trojan speech in the 'Eneados'. Reported speech in Books II and III is counted as speech here. Results with effects less than 0.5 are shaded in grey.

| Keyword Type      | Italy                  | Effect | Troy                        | Effect |
|-------------------|------------------------|--------|-----------------------------|--------|
| Lexis             |                        |        | Greeks                      | 4.4    |
| POS Category      |                        |        | quotation marks             | 0.6    |
|                   |                        |        | proper noun                 | 0.4    |
| Semantic Category | farming & horticulture | 1.3    | other proper names          | 4.3    |
|                   | warfare                | 0.8    | transport by water          | 1.2    |
|                   |                        |        | geographical terms          | 0.6    |
|                   |                        |        | religion & the supernatural | 0.5    |
|                   |                        |        | punctuation                 | 0.1    |
|                   |                        |        |                             |        |

Table 125: Line ratios for Aen. X.524-29, 531-34 and Ene. X.9.43-58, 61-70 labelled by speaker. Data sourced from Dataset 13.

| <i>Aeneid</i> | Number of Lines | <i>Eneados</i> | Number of Lines | Line Ratio | Speaker |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|---------|
| X.524-25      | 2               | X.9.43-47      | 5               | 2.50       | Mago    |
| X.526         | 1               | X.9.48-49      | 2               | 2.00       | Mago    |
| X.527-29      | 3               | X.9.50-58      | 9               | 3.00       | Mago    |
| X.531         | 1               | X.9.61-62      | 2               | 2.00       | Aeneas  |
| X.532-33      | 2               | X.9.63-67      | 5               | 2.50       | Aeneas  |
| X.534         | 1               | X.9.68-70      | 3               | 3.00       | Aeneas  |

## Equations

Equation 1: How to calculate expected values for the chi-squared test. The table ( $O_i$ ) represents the actual data, with subtotals of (a) for Category A, (b) for Category B, (c) for Category C, and (d) for Category D, with a grand total of (F). The table ( $E_i$ ) represents the expected data, which calculates the value of each cell in the table based on the subtotals and grand total from table ( $O_i$ ). The values should add up so that the subtotals and grand total are the same between both tables.

| $O_i$      | Category A | Category B | Total |
|------------|------------|------------|-------|
| Category C | ...        | ...        | c     |
| Category D | ...        | ...        | d     |
| Total      | A          | b          | F     |

| $E_i$      | Category A             | Category B             | Total |
|------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------|
| Category C | $\frac{a \times c}{F}$ | $\frac{b \times c}{F}$ | c     |
| Category D | $\frac{a \times d}{F}$ | $\frac{b \times d}{F}$ | d     |
| Total      | a                      | b                      | F     |

Equation 2: The equation for the chi-squared test—the quotient of the square of the difference of the observed value minus the expected value, divided by the expected value, calculated for every square in the observed data table and added together. The result is then located in a chi-square distribution table with reference to the data's degree of freedom (i.e. the number of independent variables) to determine the p-value it represents (see Bobbitt 2020 for an example of such a table). Microsoft Excel's CHITEST calculates chi-squared value and looks up the equivalent p-value automatically. ( $\chi^2$ ) represents the value for the chi-squared test. ( $O_i$ ) is the observed value for each cell in a data table. ( $E_i$ ) is the expected value for each cell in a data table.

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

Equation 3: The equation for Cramér's V test—the square root of the quotient of the value of the chi-squared test (see Equation 2) divided by the product of the sample size and the difference of the lesser number of categories and one. ( $\varphi_c$ ) represents the value for Cramér's V test, a value between 0 and 1 with a higher value indicating a stronger result. ( $O_i$ ) is every observed value in the data. ( $E_i$ ) is every corresponding expected value in the data. (N) is the sample size. (k) is the lesser number of categories of either variable. Equation sourced from van den Berg (2016).

$$\varphi_c = \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N(k - 1)}}$$

Equation 4: Formula for calculating the rate of repetition in the 'Eneados' in terms of lines. The number of words repeated in the 'Eneados' divided by the total number of words in the 'Eneados', multiplied by the total number of words in the 'Eneados' divided by the total number of lines in the 'Eneados', multiplied by the number of repeated lines per repeated word in the 'Eneados', equals the approximate number of repeated lines over the total number of lines in the 'Eneados'. ( $a_1$ ) represents the number of repeated words (see Appendix, Table 66), (b) represents the total number of words in the digital files (see Table 2), (c) represents the total number of lines in the digital files (see Appendix, Table 38), ( $\frac{d}{a_2}$ ) represents the number of repeated lines per repeated word in the 'Eneados', estimated to be ( $\frac{1}{5}$ ), ( $\frac{d_a}{c}$ ) represents the approximate number of repeated lines per total number of lines in the 'Eneados'.

$$\frac{a_1}{b} \times \frac{b}{c} \times \frac{d}{a_2} = \frac{d_a}{c}$$



Figures

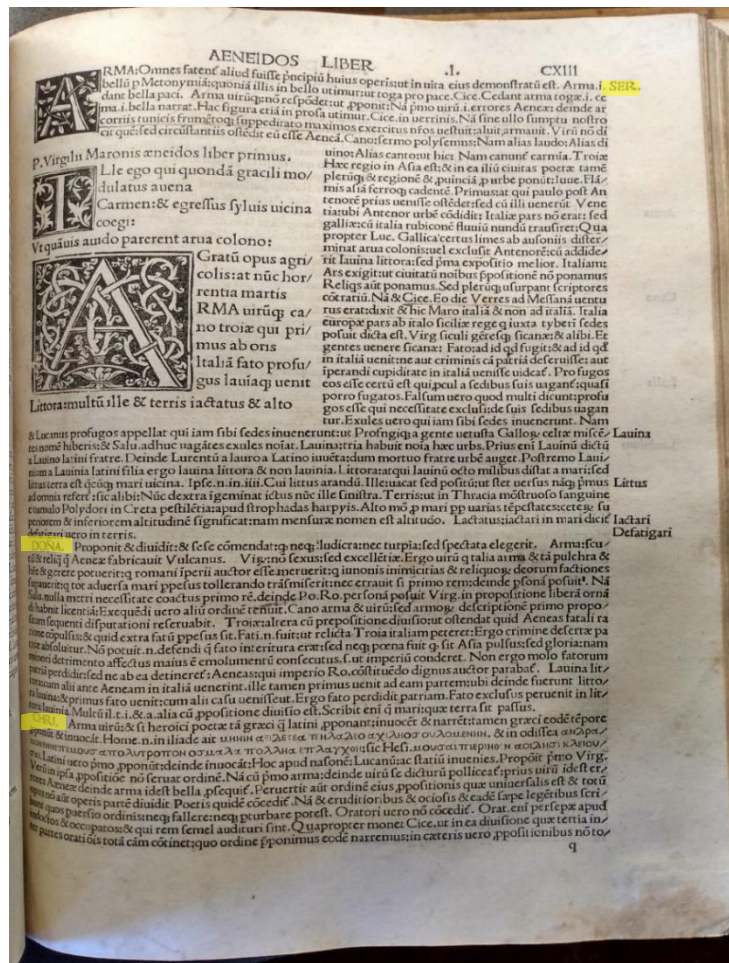


Figure 71: Bodl. Auct. O 1.18b fol. 113', featuring Aen. I.1-3. Note the lack of paraphs and rubrication. Note also the headings inside the commentary indicating the different authors. These have been highlighted (my edit).

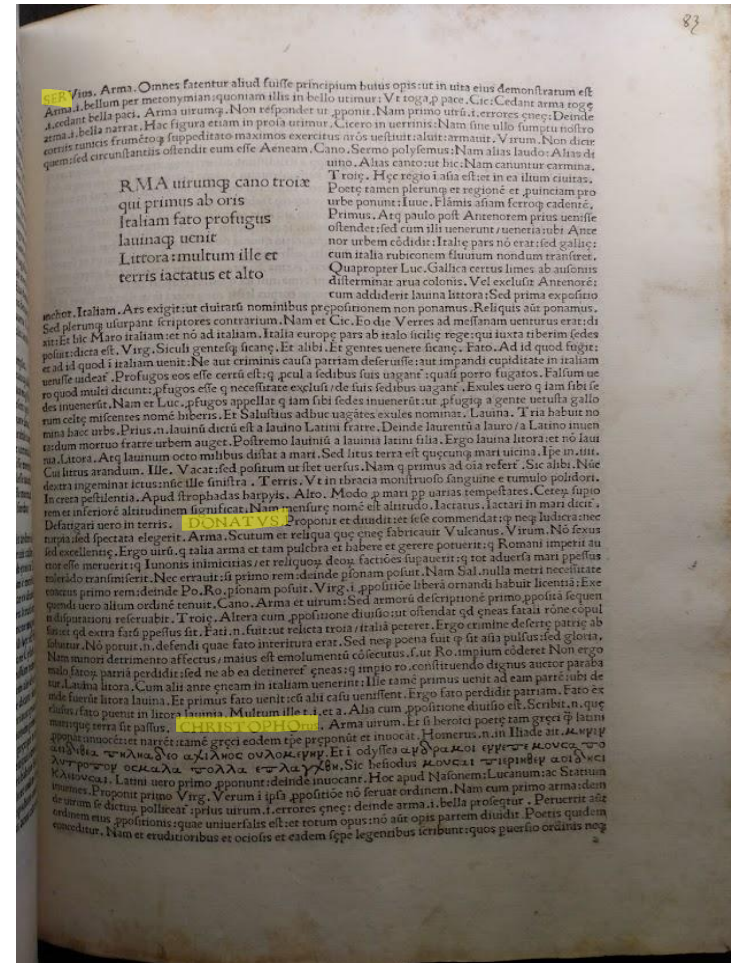


Figure 72: Bodl. Auct. P 2.15 fol. 83', featuring Aen. I.1-3. Note the lack of paraphs and rubrication. Note also the headings inside the commentary indicating the different authors. These have been highlighted (my edit).



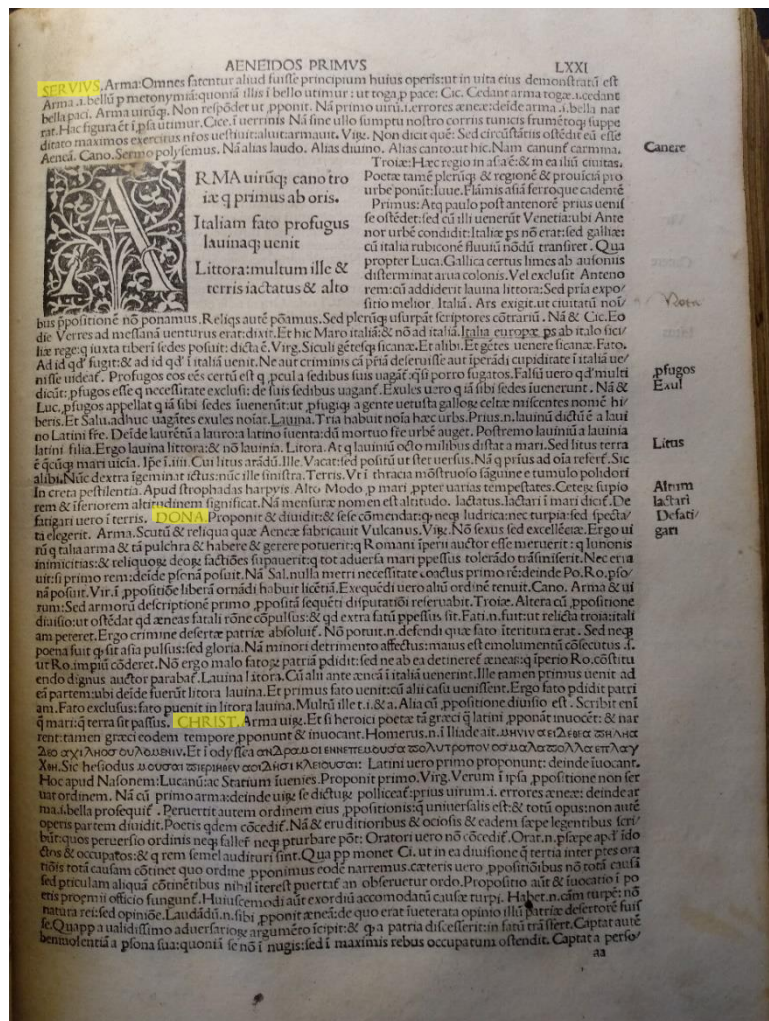


Figure 73: Bodl. Auct. P. 2.18 fol. 71', featuring Aen. I.1-3. Note the lack of paraps and rubrication. Note also the headings inside the commentary indicating the different authors. These have been highlighted (my edit).

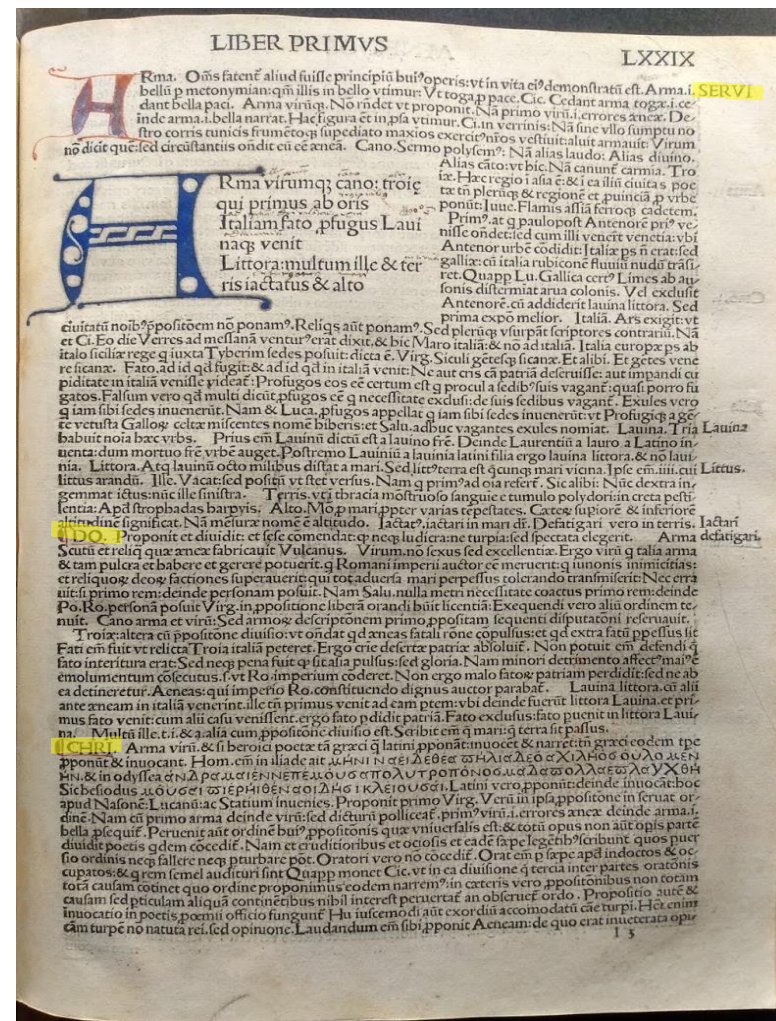


Figure 74: Bodl. Auct. Q. 4.19 fol. 79', featuring Aen. I.1-3. Note the handwritten paraps and rubrication. Note also the headings inside the commentary indicating the different authors. These have been highlighted (my edit).







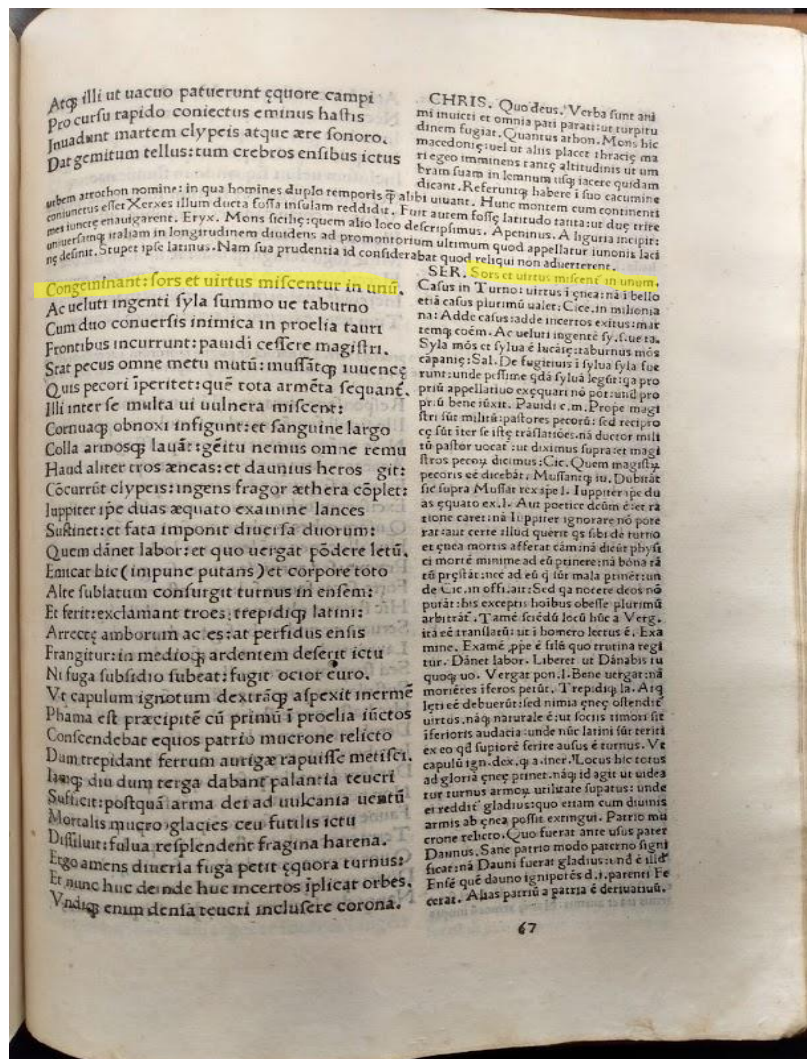


Figure 77: Bodl. Auct. P. 2.15 fol. 67, featuring Aen. XII.710-44. Note how the division in the text matches the break in the commentary. Both have been highlighted (my edit).

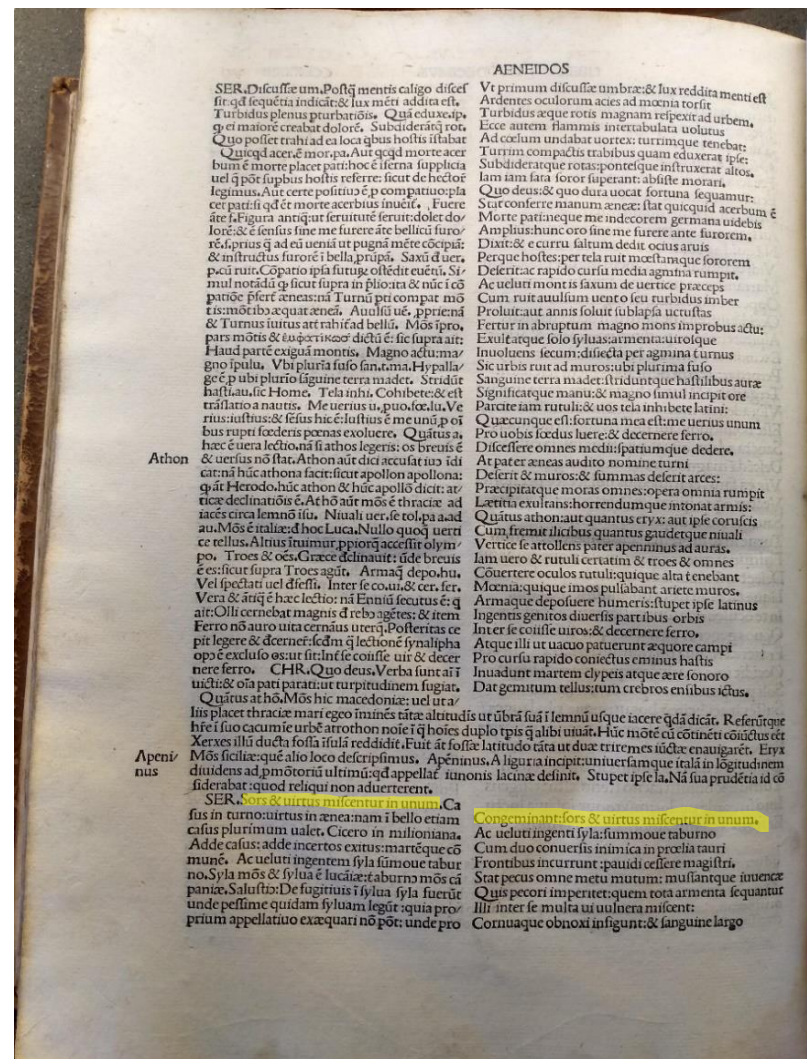


Figure 78: Bodl. Auct. P. 2.18 fol. 283r, featuring Aen. XII.669-721. Note how the division in the text matches the break in the commentary. Both have been highlighted (my edit).



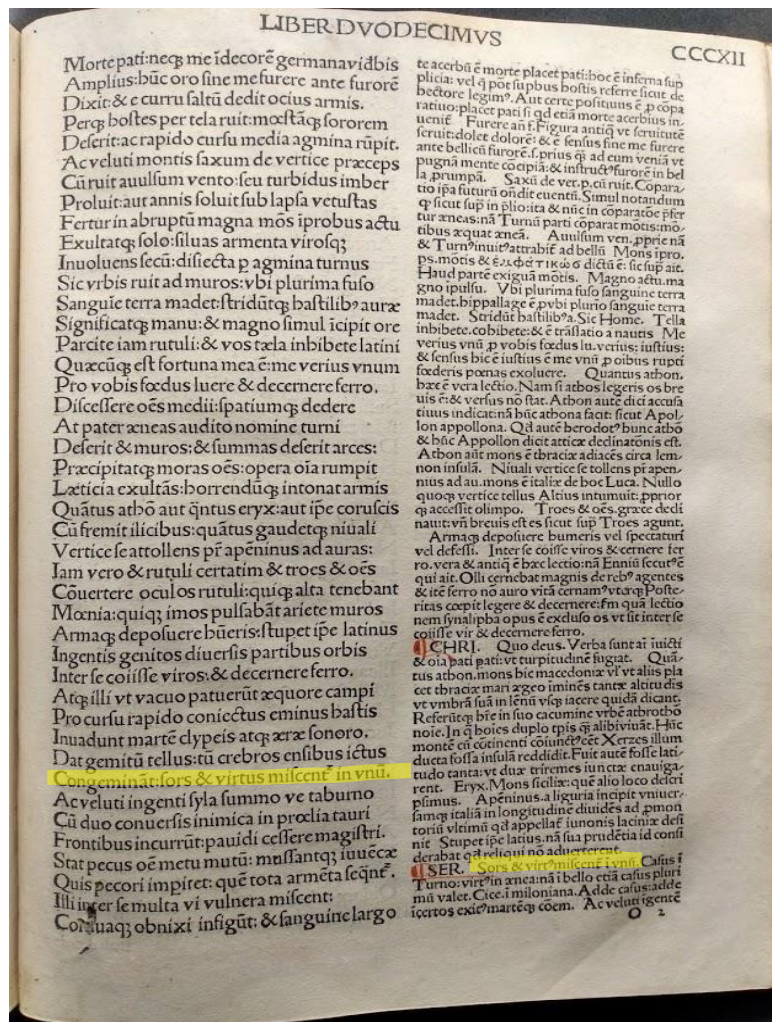


Figure 79: Bodl. Auct. Q 4.19 fol. 312', featuring Aen. XII.679-721. Note how there is no division in the text, but there is in the commentary. This break in the commentary and the corresponding content in the text has been highlighted (my edit).

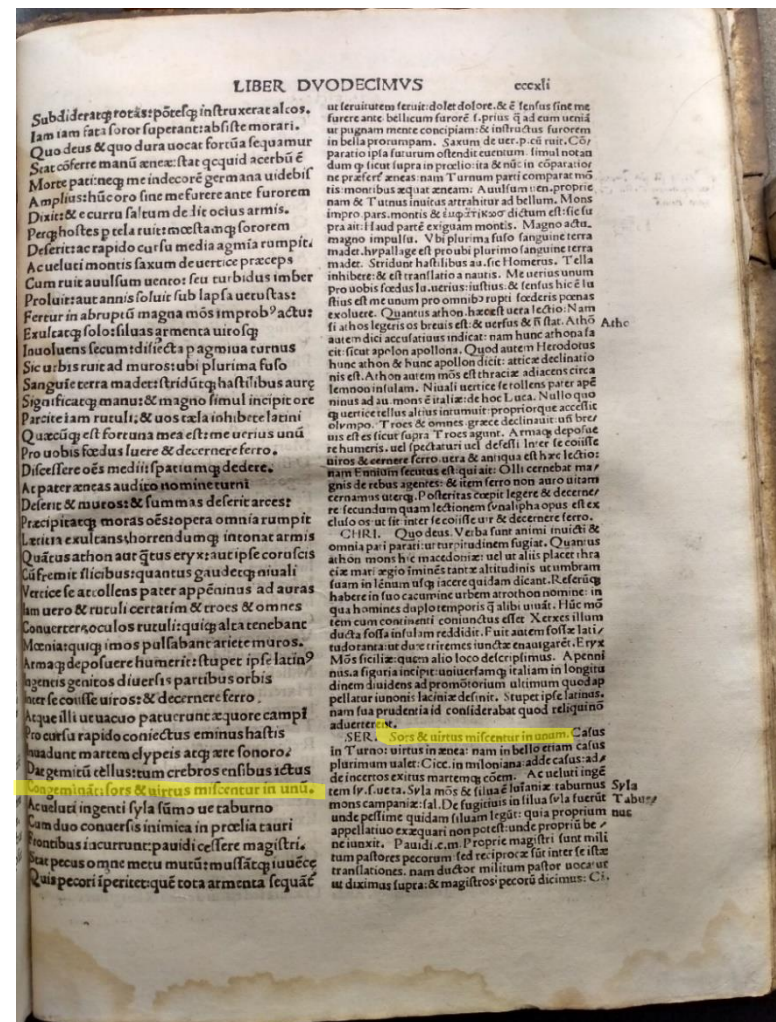


Figure 80: Bodl. Auct. Q inf fol. 341<sup>r</sup>, featuring *Aen.* XII.675-719. Note how there is no division in the text, but there is in the commentary. This break in the commentary and the corresponding content in the text has been highlighted (my edit).



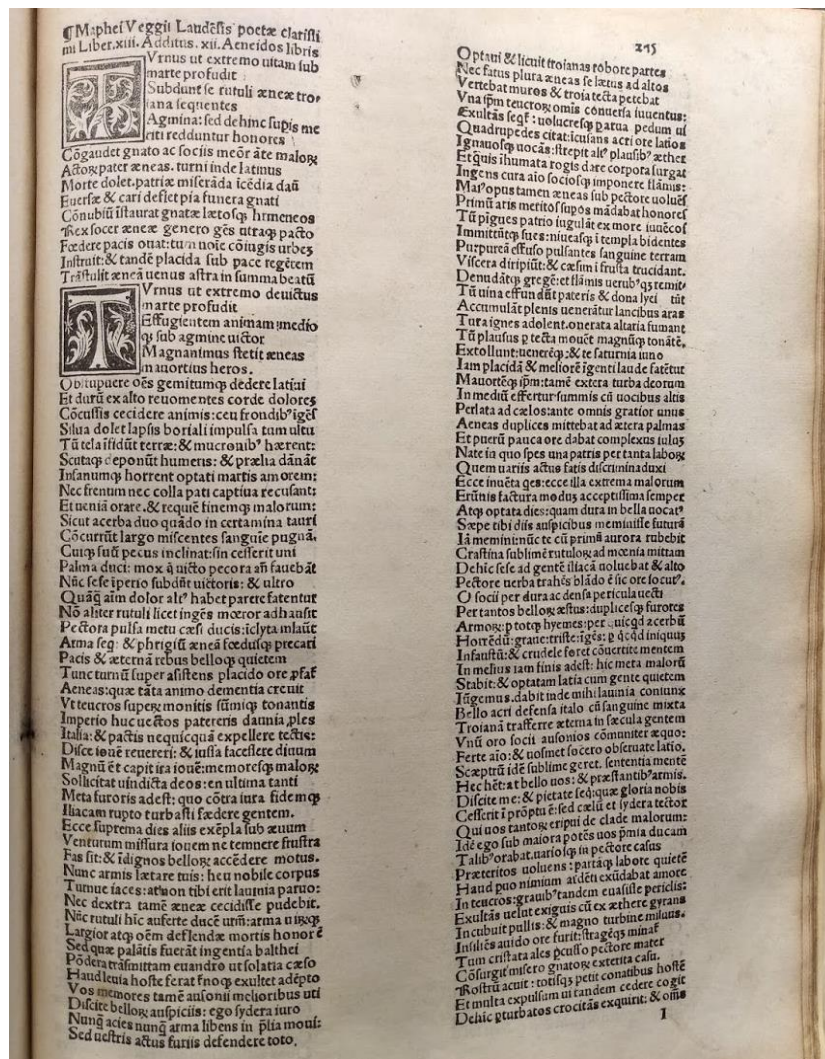


Figure 81: Bodl. Auct. O 1.18a fol. 275<sup>r</sup> featuring Sup. 1-114. Note how Vegio's text is presented in two columns and there is no commentary.

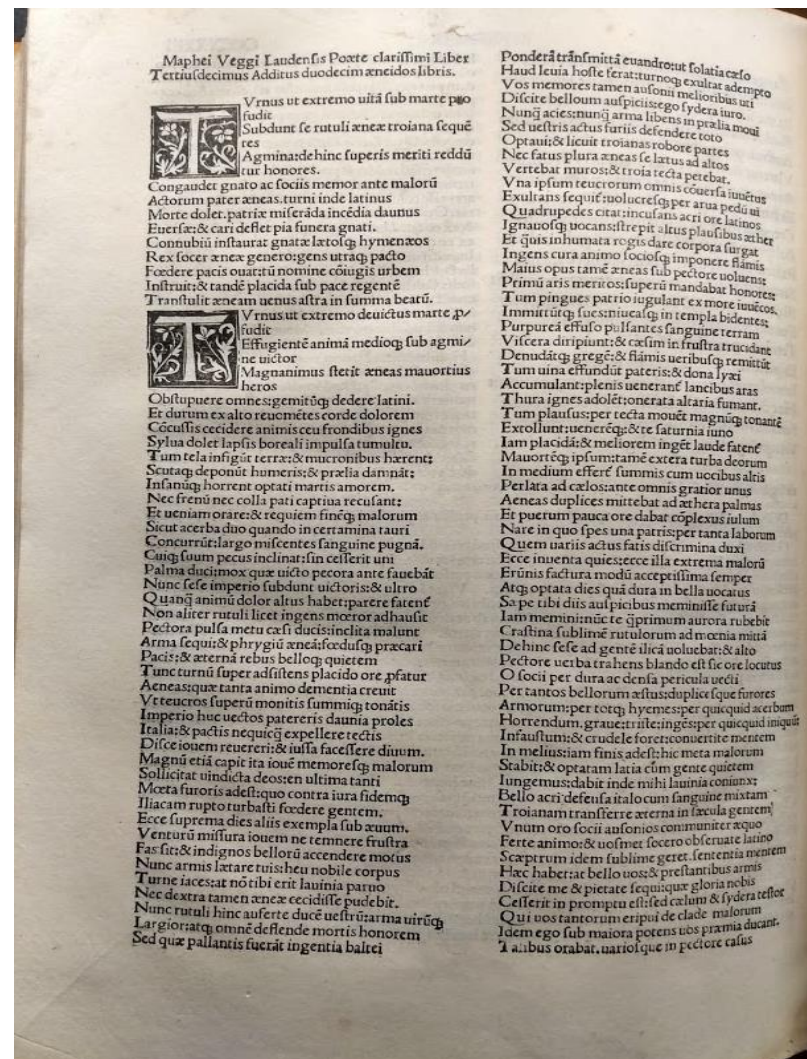


Figure 82: Bodl. Auct. O 1.18b fol. 333<sup>v</sup>, featuring Sup. 1-103. Note how Vegio's text is presented in two columns and there is no commentary.



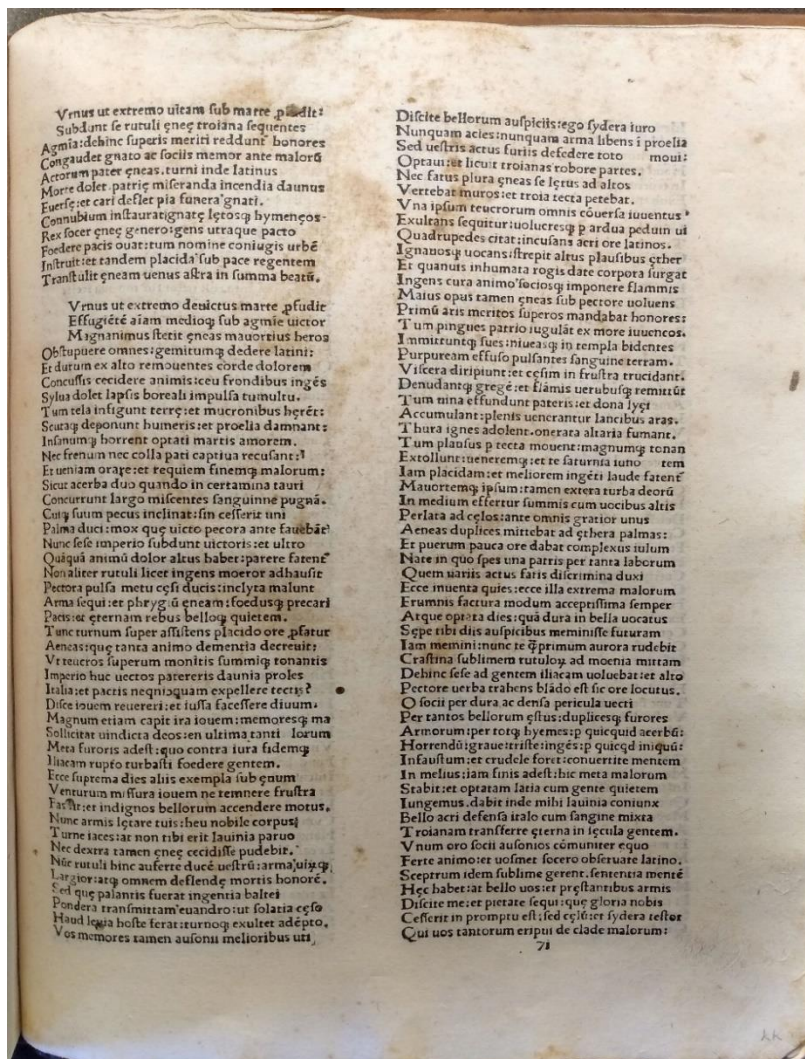


Figure 83: Bodl. Auct. P 2.15 fol. 71r, featuring Sup. 1-101. Note how Vegio's text is presented in two columns and there is no commentary.

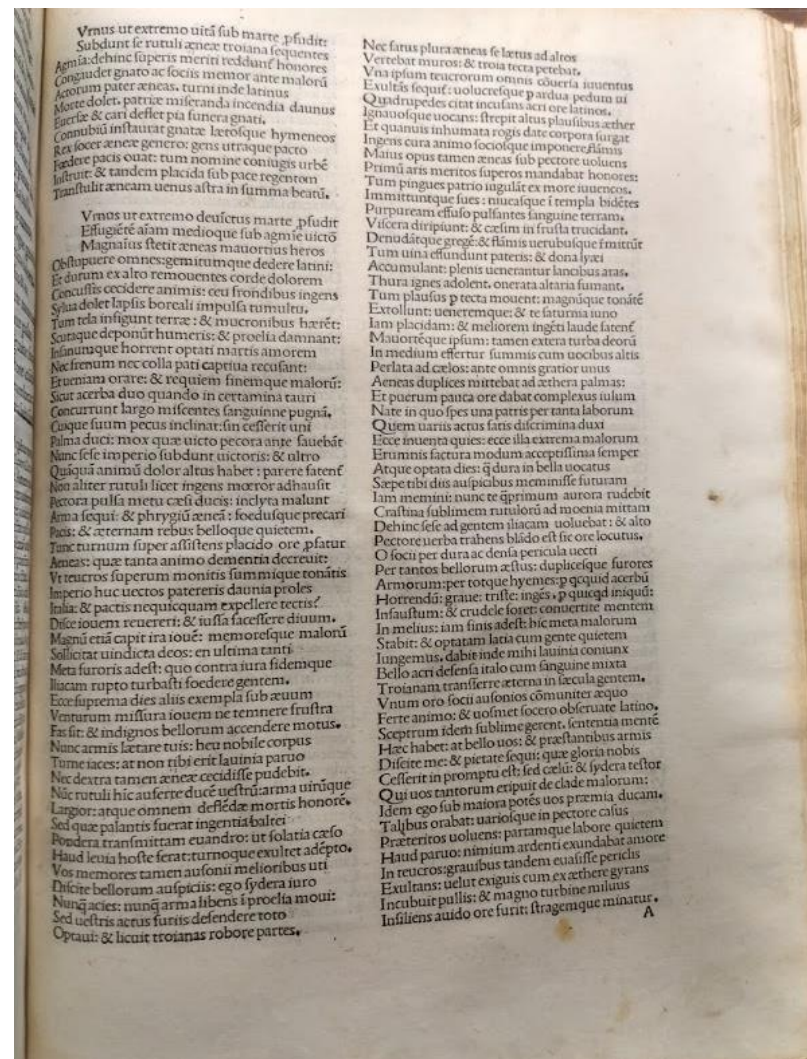


Figure 84: Bodl. Auct. P 2.18 fol. 71r, featuring Sup. 1-109. Note how Vegio's text is presented in two columns and there is no commentary.









## Examples

*Example 1: Expansive translations of content pertaining to 'strong emotion' within narrative in the 'Eneados'. Examples are annotated; bold text indicates expansion, italic text indicates paraphrasis, struck through text indicates elision, red text indicates addition, blue text indicates double translation, purple text indicates elaboration, green text indicates reference.*

- a. *Vociferans*: et enim mollis tibi sumere thyrsos: (Virgil 1501: VII.390)

**And this** *with lovd voce cryis* **and schowtis sche.**

To the, **Bacchus**, scho rasyt eik on hie

**Gret lang** speris, **as thai standartis wer,**

**With wyne tre branchis wippit on thar maner;** (Douglas 1957-64: VII.7.111-14)

- b. *Prima petit*: non illa virum: non illa pericli:

*Telorumque memor*: coelum dehinc questibus implet. (Virgil 1501: IX.479-80)

Dyd occupy **tharon** the formaste place,

Takand nane hed, **na zit na maner schame,**

Swa amangis men **to ryn, and rowp or raym;**

Na **maner feir** of perrel **seys sche,**

Nor **mynd** of dartis **cast that fast dyd fle.**

**And as that from the wall hyr sonnys hede**

**Behaldis sche, wofull, and will of rede,**

With hir **petuus rewthfull** complantis **sayr**

The hevynnys **all** scho fillyt **and the ayr.** (Douglas 1957-64: IX.8.42-45)

- c. *Dum canit*: et moestum musa solatur amorem (Virgil 1501: X.191)

Quhil that he sang **and playt, as hym behwy,**

The **dolly** tonys **and lays lamentabill,**

**With sic regrate** to comfort **and astabill**

Hys hevny amorus **thochtis ennoyus** (Douglas 1957-64: X.4.72-75)

- d. *Vltro animos tollit dictis*: atque increpat ~~vltro~~. (Virgil 1501: X.278)

**And with glaid semlant gan his folk belyve**

*Exortyng forto rayss* thar spretis on hie,

And **with hys wordis** forthirmar **eik** he

Gan thame repreif **of thar sa hasty feir.** (Douglas 1957-64: X.5.156-59)

- e. *Et furiis agitatus amor*: et conscia virtus: (Virgil 1501: X.872)

The **fervent** luf **of hys son z yng of age**

Gan catchyng hym into the **furyus** rage;

**Tharto also persuadis to the fyght**

Hys forss weil knawin, **hys hardyment and mycht;** (Douglas 1957-64: X.14.105-08)

- f. Tum drances idem infensus: quem gloria turni (Virgil 1501: XI.336)

**Ane** Drances tho **vpstud**, **and speke began**,  
**The quhilk Drances was** the self man  
That, **as we said haue laitly heir tofor**,  
Was **rycht** molest **to Turnus euermor**,  
Quham the renovn of Turnus **and glory** (Douglas 1957-64: XI.7.93-97)

- g. Ille *furens*: et saeua iouis sic numina *poscunt*: (Virgil 1501: XI.901)

He *walxis brayn* **in furor bellicall**,  
**So desyrus of dedis marciall**,  
For the hard fatys **and strang mychtis he**  
Of **the gret** love *wald that so suldbe*: (Douglas 1957-64: XI.17.73-76)

- h. Se signari oculis: ~~vltro~~ implacabilis *ardet*: (Virgil 1501: XII.3)

**Semyng as towartis hym tho euery wight**  
**To that effect** addressyt thar luke **and sycht**,  
**Than, onrequirit**, by insaciabill **desyre**  
*Langang* **to feght**, **and byrnand hait as fyre** (Douglas 1957-64: XII.2.7-10)

- i. Ardet in arma magis: paucisque affatur amatam: (Virgil 1501: XII.71)

**And all** the mair he byrnys **in desyre**  
**Of bargane** into armys, **hait as fyre**;  
Syne to **the queyn** Amata, **but abaid**,  
In few **wordis on this wyss** he said: (Douglas 1957-64: XII.3.43-46)

- j. Craterasque: focosque ferunt: fugit ipse latinus  
Pulsatos referens infecto foedere diuos. (Virgil 1501: XII.285-86)

**Full grewos grew the bargane in all stedis**:  
**Sum ran** to the wyn flaconys **for gret ire**,  
And **sum** hynt vp the furnace **full of fyre**.  
**The kyng** hym self, Latinus, **for the affray**,  
Fled **to the cite**, and tursyt **with hym away**  
**Hys goddis** **and hys mawmontis**, drevyn abak  
**With a schamefull rebute and mekill lak**,  
**Left** the concord ondone, **not brocht till end**. (Douglas 1957-64: XII.6.160-67)

- k. Obstupuere omnes: gemitumque dedere latini (Vegio 1501: 4)

**That tobehald hym apon athir handis**  
Astonyst **and agast** war all **hym saw**.  
And **tho** the Latyn **pepill haill on raw**  
A **fellon** murnyng maid **and wofull beir** (Douglas 1957-64: XIII.1.6-9)

- l. Laetitia exundant: et sese hortantur agrestes. (Vegio 1501: 459)

The **landwart** hynys **than**, **baith man and boy**,  
**For the soft session** ourflowis full of ioy,  
And athir otheris gan exhort **inhy**  
**To go to laubour of thar husbandry**— (Douglas 1957-64: XIII.8.31-34)

*Example 2: Expansive translations of content pertaining to 'strong emotion' within speech in the 'Eneados'. Examples are annotated; bold text indicates expansion, italic text indicates paraphrasis, struck through text indicates elision, red text indicates addition, blue text indicates double translation, purple text indicates elaboration, green text indicates reference.*

- a. Labitur. et longo vix tandem tempore fatur. (Virgil 1501: III.309)

'... **Quhil to the grond half mangit** fel scho down,  
And lay a lang tyme **in a dedly swown**  
**Or ony speche or word scho mycht furth bring**,  
3it thus, at last, sayd **eftir hir dwawmyng** ...': (Douglas 1957-64: III.5.52-55)

- b. Vincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido. (Virgil 1501: VI.823)

'... The **feruent** lufe of his **kynd** natyve land,  
And excedand desyre **he bar on hand**  
**Of honour and hie glory to ressaue**,  
**Mot at evil rumour** fra his lawd byvaue ...'. (Douglas 1957-64: VI.14.39-42)

- c. Tum pater aeterno fatur deuinctus amore. (Virgil 1501: VIII.394)

The fader than **Vulcanus**, **god abuf**,  
Lokkyt in the eternal **cheyn of luf**,  
Answerd **and said**: '**Quharfor, myne awin hart deir**,  
**Sa far about thou glosys thy mater?** ...' (Douglas 1957-64: VIII.7.51-54)

- d. Pectora moerentum: puerique parentibus orbi (Virgil 1501: XI.216)

**Thar mycht be hard with** duyfull breistis **greyt**  
The **zyng** babbys **walyng on the streyt**,  
That had thar faderis slane **this hynder day**,  
**Cryand, 'Ichane, allace, and weill away!'** (Douglas 1957-64: XI.5.73-76)

- e. ~~E~~ si qua est: pone hanc curam pater optime queso (Vegio 1501: 443)

'... **Tharfor**, **my** derrest fader, I **the** pray,  
Do **all sik** dowtis **of suspicioun** away,  
Gyf ony sik **thochtis** restis **in thy mynd**,  
**And trastis weill Enee afald and kynd**. ...' (Douglas 1957-64: XIII.7.87-90)

Example 3: Dido and Aeneas's argument in Book IV: Aen. IV.305-30, 333-61, 365-87 / Ene. IV. 6.49-99, 6.104-60, 7.6-51. Text is annotated; bold text indicates expansion, italic text indicates paraphrasis, struck through text indicates elision, red text indicates addition, blue text indicates double translation, purple text indicates elaboration, green text indicates reference.

Dido:

|                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Dissimulare etiam sperasti perfide tantum<br>Posse nefas.' tacitusque mea decedere terra.'                            | ' <b>With dissymulance</b> wenyth <b>thou</b> ,<br>onfaithfull <b>wight</b> ,<br>Thou mycht haue hyd <b>fra me</b> sa <b>fals</b> a slycht,<br>And, <i>myne nwyttyng</i> , steill furth of my land?                                                                                                                          |
| Nec te noster amor: nec te data dextera<br>quondam:<br>Nec moritura tenet crudeli funere dido:                        | <b>That</b> nothir our <b>gret</b> lufe, <b>promys</b> , nor<br>rycht hand<br>Gevyn <b>me</b> vmquhile, may the <b>heir</b> withhald,<br>Nor <i>cruel deth of Didois corss</i> <b>so cald</b> !                                                                                                                              |
| Quin etiam hiberno moliris sydere classem                                                                             | <b>Gif thou depart</b> (and forthir quhat wald<br>thou do,<br>In wyntir session press <b>graith thi</b> navy, <b>lo</b> !)                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Et mediis properas aquilonibus ire per altum                                                                          | And the address to pass throu the <b>wod</b> see,<br>Myd <b>tyme quhen stormys and</b> wyndis<br><b>blaw maist hie</b> —                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Crudelis: quid si non arua aliena domosque                                                                            | Art thou sa cruel? <i>I put the cace</i> , <b>also</b> ,<br><i>That to nane onkouth landis the</i> <b>list</b> go<br>Nother to fremmyt place, <b>nor stedis will</b> ,<br>Bot <i>that</i> auld Troy war <b>zyt</b> vpstandand still;                                                                                         |
| Troia per <del>videtur</del> peteretur classibus aequor<br>Mene fugis.' per ego has lachrymas:<br>dextramque tuam te: | Aucht thou, <b>zit than</b> , <b>leif this weillfair and ioy</b> ,<br><b>And in sik perrell</b> seik throu the sey to Troy?<br>Quhat! wilt thou fle from me? <b>allace! allace!</b><br>Be all thir teris <b>trygland our</b> my <b>face</b> ,<br><b>And be</b> that rycht hand <b>vmquhile</b> thou <b>me</b><br><b>gave</b> |
| (Quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil <del>ipsa</del><br>reliqui)<br>Per connubia nostra: per incoeptos<br>hymenaeos:  | (Sen to my self nocht ellis left I have,<br>Now wrachit <b>catyve</b> ), be our treuth<br>plychting <b>eyk</b> ,<br>And be our spowsage begunnyn, <b>I the beseik</b> ,                                                                                                                                                      |

Si bene quid de te merui: fuit aut tibi  
quicquam  
Dulce meum: miserere domus labentis: et  
istam  
Oro (siquis adhuc precibus locus) exue  
mentem.

Te propter lybicae gentes: numadumque  
tyranni  
Odere: infensi tyrii: te propter eundem  
Extinctus pudor: et qua ~~sola~~ sydera adibam  
Fama prior: cui me moribundam deseris  
hospes.

Hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat.

Quid moror.' An mea pygmaleon dum  
moenia frater  
Destruat. aut captam ducat getulus iarbas.

Saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset  
Ante fugam suboles: si quis mihi paruulus aula  
Luderet aeneas: qui te ~~tantum~~ ore referret:

Non equidem omnino capta ac deserta  
viderer.

Gif euer **ony** thank I deservit towart the,  
Or ocht of myne to the wes leif,' **quod sche**,  
'Haue mercy of our lynnage reddy to spill;  
Gif **tyme remanys zyt thou** heir prayeris **will**,  
This **fremmyt** mynd, I pray **zou**, do away.

For the *I haue beyn hatyt*, **this mony a day**,  
With **all** the pepill of Affrik, and with the kyng  
**That rewlys the land of** Numyda **and ryng**;  
For the **myne awyn** Tyrianys ar **with me**  
wraith;  
For the is womanheid went **and wirschip**  
**baith**,  
And **my** first fame, **lavyd and renownye**,  
Quharby *I wes rasyt* to the starnys **hie**.  
Reddy to de **and my selvyn to spill**,  
**My sweit** gest, quhamto **thou** me leif will?

**My gest, ha God! quhou al thyng now**  
**invane is**,  
Quhen of *my spowss nane othir* name  
remanys!

**Bot** quharto suld I **my ded langar** delay?  
Sal I **abyde quhile thou be went away**,  
**And** quhil myne **awyn** brothir, Pigmaleon,  
Bet down the wallis **of my cite onon**,  
Or **stern** Hyarbas, **kyng of** Getule,  
Led me **away** into captiuite?

**Bot**, at the leist, tofor thi wayfleyng,  
Had I a child consavyt of thyne ofspryng,  
Gif I had ony **zong** Eneas small,  
**Befor me** forto play within my hall,  
Quhilk representit **by symylitude** thi face,

Than semyt I nocht, thus wyss, **allace! allace!**  
Aluterly dissauyt nor dissolate.'

*Aeneas:*

Tandem pauca refert: ego te quae plurima  
fando

Enumerare vales: nunquam regina negabo  
Promeritam: nec me meminisse pigebit  
elissae.

Dum memor ipse mei: dum spiritus hos  
reges artus

Pro re pauca loquar: nec ego hanc  
abscondere furto

Speravi: ne finge fugam: nec coniugis vnquam  
Praetendi tedas: aut haec in foedera veni.

Me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam  
Auspiciis: et sponte mea componere curas  
Vrbem troianam primum dulcesque meorum  
Reliquias colerem: et priami tecta alta  
manerent.

Et recidia manu posuissem pergama victis:

Sed nunc italiam magnam grynaeus apollo:  
Italiam lyciae iussere capessere sortes:

Hic amor haec patria est: si te carthaginis arces

*Phoenissam:* lybicaeque aspectus detinet vrbis:

And, at the last, **thir** few wordis hess furth  
brocht:

'O **gentil** queyn, **that** sall I nevir deny,  
**Thy gude deid and desart** is mair worthy  
Than thou *with wordis* **or tong** may expreme;  
Nor it sal **nevir** me irk, **na 3yt mysseym**,  
The **worthy** Dido *to hald in* **fresch** memory,

So lang as that my self remembir may I,  
**Or** quhil the spreit **of lyfe** this body steris.

As *the mater requiris*, a litil heris:  
I purposyt nocht forto hyde thyftuusly  
My vayage, nor, as 3e weyn, **secretly**  
**Away to stil**; **quhat nedis zou sa tofeyn?**  
**For** I pretendit nevir, **be na meyn**,  
**With zou to mak the band of marriage**,  
Nor in that 3ok, **ne frendship in Cartage**,  
**3yt** come I **nevir**: **bot** gif the fatis, **but pled**,  
At my plesour sufferit **me** lyfe to led,  
At my fre wil my warkis to modify,  
The cite of Troy than first **agane** suld I  
**Restore**, and of *our* **deir frendis** remanys  
Gaddir **togiddir**, and to the venquist **Troianys**  
Raparal with my handis agane **thar** wallis,  
And beild **vp** Priamus palyce **at now fallis**.

Bot sen Appollo, **clepit** Gryneus,  
Gret Italy to seik commandis **wss**,  
To Itale **eik** oraclys of Lycia  
**Admonyst ws**, **but mair delay**, **to ga**;

Thar is my lust **now and delyte at hand**,  
Thar is my cuntre **and my natyve land**.  
Gif the, of Cartage the burgh **and towris swa**,

**Quhilk art** a woman of Phenycia,  
And the aspect of *citeis* Affricane  
Delytis, **and withhaldis heir toremane**,

Quae tandem ausonia teucros considerare terra  
Inuidia est: et nos fas extera quaerere regna:

Quhat wrang is it, **causs of envy or schame**,  
Thocht Troianys seik to Itale for **thar** hame?  
Or is it **nocht als** lesum **and ganand**  
That **fynaly** we seik to onkouth land?

Nox operit terras: quotiens astra ignea  
surgunt:  
Admonet insomnis: et turbida terret imago  
e puer ascanius: capitisque iniuria cari:

Als oft as **day is gone**, **and** the **dyrk** nych  
With hir donk schaddow *hydis of the erth*  
*the sycht*,  
Als oft as schynyng starnys **doith** vpryss,  
My faderis **gost**, Anchises, **als feil syss**  
Into my sleip mannasie me **tharto fast**,  
And **oft** his feirfull ymage **doith** me agast;  
**And in lyke wyss** the child Ascanyus,  
**Quhais deir** hed suffir iniurys **is hard to ws**,

Quem regno hesperiae fraudo. et fatalibus  
aruis:

Quham of the realm of Itail I defraud,  
And fra the grond **to hym** promyst  
**withhawd**.

Nunc etiam interpretes diuum ioue missus ab  
ipso:  
Testor vtrumque caput: celeres mandata  
per auras  
Detulit: ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi  
Intransem muros: vocemque his auribus hausit.

Be athir of our hedis **this** I sweir;  
Now laitly **eik** of goddis the messynger,  
From **hie** Iupiter **in hasty message** sent,  
Down throu the ayr brocht the *ilk*  
commandment:  
On fair day lycht, myne **awyn** self **dyd** I se  
**Mercur** the god entyr in **this** cite,  
And his *wordis* with thir **sam** eris *hard I*.

Desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis

With thy complayntis **ony langar, forthy**,  
Lat be to vex me, or thy self **to spyll**,

Italiam non sponte sequor.

**Sen** I seik nocht to Itale with fre will.'

*Dido:*

Nec tibi diua parens: generis nec dardanus  
auctor

'Nothir wes a goddes thy moder, **as is sayd**,  
Nor **zyt** Kyng Dardanus **cheif** stok of **thi** kyn,  
Perfide: sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens  
Caucasus: hyrcanaeque admorunt vbera  
tygres

|                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Perfide: sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens<br>Caucasus: hyrcanaeque admorunt vbera tygre   | <b>Thou</b> treuthless <b>wyght</b> , bot of a <b>cald</b> , hard<br>quhyn<br>The clekkyt <b>that horribill mont</b> , Cawcasus<br><b>hait</b> —<br><b>Thou sowkyt nevir womanis breist, weil I</b><br><b>wait,</b><br><b>Bot of sum cruel</b> tygir <b>of Araby</b><br>The pappis <b>the</b> fosterit in the <b>wod</b> Hyrcany. |
| Nam quid dissimulo: aut quae me ad maiora<br>reseruo.'                                        | To quhat effect suld I <b>hym langar</b> perswaid,<br>Or quhat bettir may beleve <b>than he hess</b><br><b>said?</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Num fletu ingemuit nostro.' Num lumina<br>flexit.'                                            | Quhiddir gif he murnyt quhen <i>we wepit</i><br><b>and walyt?</b><br>Quhiddir gif he steryt his eyn, <b>as ocht hym</b><br><b>alyt?</b>                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Num lachrymas <del>victus</del> dedit: aut miseratus<br>amantem est.'                         | Quhidder gif <b>for rewth</b> he furthzet <b>anys a</b><br><i>teyr</i><br>Or of hys lufe had piete? <b>Na, not to zeir.</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Quae quibus anteferam.' Iam iam nec<br>maxima iuno                                            | Quhou sal I begyn, <b>quhat first, quhat last</b><br><b>to say?</b><br>Now, now, nothir gretast luno, <b>wallaway,</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Nec saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis.                                               | Nor Saturnys son, <b>hie lupiter</b> , with iust eyn<br>Hess <b>our querrell</b> considerit, <b>na ourseyn;</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Nusquam tuta fides: eiectum et littore<br>egentem<br>Excepi: et regni demens in parte locaui. | <b>For</b> no quhar <b>now</b> faith nor lawte <b>is fund.</b><br>I ressavyt <b>hym</b> schypbrokkyn <b>fra the sey</b><br><b>grund,</b><br>Wilsum, <b>and mystyfull of al warldis thyng,</b><br>Syne, myndles, maid <b>hym</b> my fallow in this<br>ryng:                                                                        |
| Amissam classem: sociosque a morte reduxi:                                                    | Hys navy lost <b>reparalyt I, but fail,</b><br>And hys feris fred from the deth <b>alhaill.</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Heu furiis <del>incensa</del> feror nunc augur apollo:                                        | Allace! <i>Enragyt</i> <b>or enchantit</b> am I;<br>Quhen now Appollo, <i>with hys sossery,</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Nunc lyciae sortes: nunc et ioue missus ab ipso                                               | <b>And</b> quhilis, <b>he says</b> , the kavillys of Lycia,<br>And quhilis, fra lupiter <b>down</b> sent <b>alsswa,</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Interpres diuum: fert horrida iussa per auras:                                                | The messynger of goddis bryngis throu the<br>skyis<br><b>Sa</b> feirful charge <b>and command on this wyss:</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |



Scilicet is superis labor est: ea cura ~~quietos~~  
~~Sollicitat~~: neque te teneo: neque dicta refello.

I: sequere italiam: ventis pete regna per  
vndas.

Spero equidem mediis: si quid pia numina  
possunt:

~~Supplicia~~ hausurum scopulis: et nomine dido  
Saepe vocaturum. sequar atris ignibus absens:  
Et cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus:

Omnibus vmbra locis adero: dabis improbe  
poenas:

Audiam: et haec manes *veniet* mihi fama sub  
imos.

Lyke as the goddis abufe *nocht ellys rocht*,  
*Bot on thi passage war al thar* cuyr *and*  
*thocht*.

Nothir wil I hald the, nor thi wordis contrar:

Pass *on thi way*, towart Itale thou fair;  
Seik throu the fludis with wyndis to that ryng.

Forsuyth, gif reuthfull goddis may ony thing,  
Amyd thi way, I traist on rolkis blak  
Thou sal deir *by thy treuth thou to me brak*,  
And clep oft *my richt name*, 'Dido, Dido!'  
With fyre *infernale*, in *thine* absens *also*,  
I sal *the* follow; and, fra the cald ded  
Reif from my membris *this* sawle, *in euery*  
*sted*

My gost salbe present *the to agryss*;  
Thou salt, onworthy *wyght*, *apon this wyss*  
*Be punyst weil*; and *tharof* wald I heyr---  
The fame tharof sal cum onto myne *eyr*,  
Vndir the erth, *amang* the schaddowys *law*.'

Example 4: Charon and Deiphobe's exchange in Book VI: Aen. VI.388-97, 399-406 / Ene. VI.6.7-26, 29-44. Text is annotated; bold text indicates expansion, italic text indicates paraphrasis, struck through text indicates elision, red text indicates addition, blue text indicates double translation, purple text indicates elaboration, green text indicates reference.

Charon:

Quisquis es armatus qui nostra ad flumina tendis. 'Quhat evir thou be, that **cummys** enarmyt **so** Towart owr fludis, **quhiddir** etlys thou **go**?

Fare ~~age~~ quid venias: ~~iamque~~ istinc **For** quhat causs come thou **hyddir**? Tell me **tyte**;

Vmbrarum hic locus est: somni noctisque soporae. Stand styl thar **as thou art**, **with mekill syte**. **Press na forthir**, for this is the hald **richt Of gaistis**, schaddowys, sleip, and dovyrrit nycht:

Corpora viua nefas stygia vectare carina. Onlefull war, **and ane forbodyn thing**,  
Nec vero alciden me sum laetatus euntem Within **this** passyngear our Stix to bryng  
Accepisse lacu: nec thesea pyrithoumque: **Only** levand wight. Certis, **in myne entent**,  
I am nocht glaid **3yt** of the **last** sa went,  
**Nor that** I careyt Hercules owr **this** layk,  
Ne Thesys, and Pyrothous **hys mayk**,

Diis quamquam geniti: atque inuicti viribus essent: All thocht thai war cummyn of goddis **lynage**  
And invynsibill of strenth **and vassallage**.

Tartareum ille manu custodem in vincla petiuit: **For** this **ilk Hercules**, with **hys stalwart** handis,  
The **grym** wardane of hell strenyt in bandis,

~~Ipsius~~ a solio regis traxitque trementem: The tother twa **gret** violence wald haue done;  
And drew hym trymlyng from the kyngis trone.

Hi dominam ditis thalamo deducere adorti. **The fresch Proserpyne**, Plutois lady **gay**,  
**Furth** of hir bowr **begouth** to led away'.

Deiphobe:

Nullae hic insidiae tales: absiste ~~moueri~~: 'Do all suspicioun furth **of thy consate**;  
Heir is', **quod scho**, 'nane sik gyle **nor dissate**;

Nec vim tela ferunt: licet ingens ianitor antro Na violence **owr** wapynnys doith pretend.  
Weill lykis **ws**, **it doith ws not offend**,  
**Thocht** in **hys** cave **3our** hydduus portar

Aeternum latrans exangues terreat vmbras: Sowland affray the ded gaistis evyrmarr;

Casta licet patrui seruet proserpina limen.

**We stand content**, it sufficyth **ws alssua**,  
That **ay** remane the chaste Proserpina  
Within hir fader broderis boundis **and ryng**.

Troius aeneas pietate insignis et armis:

**Bot heir is cummyn**, of **Kyng** Troas **ofspring**,  
Eneas, full of piete and knychthed,

Ad genitorem imas erebi descendit ad  
vmbras

To **vissy hys luffit** fader, **quhilk is ded**,  
Discendit to the law skuggis of hell.

Si te nulla mouet tantae pietatis imago:

Of sa gret vertu **and piete**, **quhilk I tell**,  
Gyf na **considerance** may the move', **quod**  
**sche**,

At ramum hunc ...  
Agnoscas: ...

'**At leist** thou knawys this **goldin granyt tre**'

Example 5: Cymodoce and Aeneas's exchange in Book X: Aen. X.228-45, 252-55 / Ene. X.5.32-76, 91-101. Text is annotated; bold text indicates expansion, italic text indicates paraphrase, struck through text indicates elision, red text indicates addition, blue text indicates double translation, purple text indicates elaboration, green text indicates reference.

Cymodoce:

|                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ... vigilas ne deum gens                                                                                                                                         | 'Walkis <b>thou</b> or not, <b>thou verray</b> goddis ofspryng,                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Aenea? vigila: et velis immitte rudentes.                                                                                                                        | <b>Our prynce and master</b> Eneas? <b>Now</b> awaik,<br>Takill <b>thy</b> schippys, <b>and thy schetis</b> slaik.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Nos sumus idaeae sacro de vertice pinus:<br>Nunc pelagi nymphae classis tua: perfidus<br>vt nos<br>Praecipites ferro rutulus: flammaque<br><del>premebat</del> : | We beyn thy navy <b>and thy flote</b> ', <b>quod sche</b> ,<br>' <b>Bowyt sum tyme</b> of fyr <b>and bych tre</b> ,<br><b>Grew</b> in the haly top of <b>mont</b> Ida,<br><b>And</b> now, <b>as present thou behald ws may</b> ,<br>Nymphes <b>we beyn</b> , <b>and salbe euermor</b> .<br><b>For</b> , as <b>3on</b> faithles Turnus <b>by the schor</b><br>Invadyt ws with glavys and with fyre, |
| Rupimus inuitae tua vincula: teque per aequor<br>Quaerimus: hanc genitrix faciem miserata<br>refecit.                                                            | On forss <b>constrenyt for the flamby's schire</b> ,<br>Thy cabillys we in sundyr brak <b>in haist</b> ,<br>To seik the throw the sey, <b>as we war chaist</b> ;<br>And than the moder of <b>goddis</b> , <b>Cybele</b> ,<br>Havand of ws compassioun <b>and piete</b> ,<br>In this figour hass <b>ws</b> all translait,                                                                           |
| <del>E</del> t dedit esse deas: aeuumque agitare sub<br>vndis:                                                                                                   | For euermar <i>tobe deificat</i> ,<br>As goddessys, <b>quhar so ws lykis best</b> ,<br>Amangis the fludis forto leif <b>and lest</b> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| At puer ascanius muro fossisque tenetur                                                                                                                          | Bot <b>thy deir</b> child, <b>3yng</b> Ascanyus <b>stowt</b> ,<br><b>Besegyt</b> is, <b>and</b> closyt <b>rownd</b> abowt<br>With wallys, fowcy <b>and trynschis</b> , <b>ather syde</b> ,                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Tela inter media: atque horrentes marte<br>latinos.                                                                                                              | Amyd dartis <b>or quarrellys fast doys glyde</b> ,<br>And dreidfull <b>hostis</b> of <b>stern pepill</b> Latyne,<br>By weir <b>enforsyng to distroy all thyne</b> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>             lam loca iussa tenent forti permixtus hetrusco<br/>             Arcas eques: medias illis opponere turmas:<br/>             Ne castris iungant: certa est sententia turno:           </p>                        | <p> <b>Evandrus</b> horsmen, <b>clepyt</b> Arcadanys,<br/>             Mydlyt <b>sammyn</b> with Hetrurianys,<br/> <b>Quham</b> in <b>thy</b> help <b>thou sendis by the land</b>,<br/>             Thai placis now, <b>quhar as thou gaue</b><br/> <i>command</i>,<br/> <b>Can</b> occupy, <b>abydand thy cummyng</b>:<br/> <b>Bot</b> Turnus <i>hess determyt, as certane thing</i>,<br/> <b>Gret</b> garnysonys to send betwix thame <b>sone</b>,<br/>             That <b>3our</b> hostis sall not <b>togidder</b> ioyn.           </p>                                                                           |
| <p>             Surge age: et aurora socios veniente vocari<br/>             Primus in arma iube: et clypeum cape:<br/>             quem dedit ipse<br/>             Inuictum ignipotens: atque oras ambiit auro:           </p> | <p>             Get vp, haue done, and <b>sone in the morn yng</b>,<br/> <b>Alsswyth</b> as the <b>brycht</b> day <b>begynnys to</b><br/> <i>spr yng</i>,<br/>             Thy ferys haill thou fyrst to harnes call,<br/>             And <b>with</b> thy scheild <b>invynsibill tharwithall</b><br/> <b>Thy selvyn</b> schrowd, quham mychty god of<br/>             fyre<br/> <b>To the, as ane maist souerane lord and syre</b>,<br/>             Hass <b>wrocht and</b> gevyn, and with gold <b>sa</b><br/> <b>brycht</b><br/>             The bordouris hass ourgylt <b>and forgit at rycht</b>.           </p> |
| <p>             Crastina lux mea si non irrita dicta putaris<br/> <br/>             Ingentes rutulae spectabit caedis acervos.           </p>                                                                                    | <p>             Gyf thou belevys not my sawys invayn,<br/>             The lyght of <b>day</b> to morn, <b>I schaw the playn</b>,<br/> <br/>             Huge hepys sal behald <b>in feld dung down</b><br/>             Of Rutilianys by <b>fell</b> occisioun'.           </p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <p> <i>Aeneas:</i><br/> <br/>             Alma parens idaea deum: cui dyndima <del>cordi</del>:           </p>                                                                                                                   | <p>             'O blyssyt moder of the goddis', <b>quod he</b>,<br/>             'That hallowyt art in the <b>montane</b> Ide,<br/>             Quhamto <b>the toppys of mont</b> Dyndymanee,           </p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <p>             Turrigeraeque vrbes: biiugique ad frena<br/>             leones.           </p>                                                                                                                                  | <p>             And <b>eik</b> the towryt citeis <b>mony ane</b>,<br/>             With <b>renyt</b> lyonys 3okkyt to the char,<br/> <b>Ful tendyr bene and hartly euermar</b>;           </p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <p>             Tu mihi nunc pugnae princeps: tu rite<br/>             propinques<br/>             Augurium: phrygibusque adsis pede diua<br/>             secundo.           </p>                                               | <p>             Be thou in batall now my president,<br/> <b>Be my protectrix</b>, dewly <b>takand tent</b><br/>             At <b>this</b> orakyll be hastyt <b>to our weill</b>;<br/>             O <b>haly</b> goddess, with happy fute <b>of seill</b><br/>             Cum <b>and assistis</b> to <b>thyne awyn</b> Troianys'.           </p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |

Example 6: Exchange between Iris and Pirgo in Book V: Aen. V.623-40, 646-52 / Ene. V.11.47-81, 91-102. Text is annotated; bold text indicates expansion, italic text indicates paraphrasis, struck through text indicates elision, red text indicates addition, blue text indicates double translation, purple text indicates elaboration, green text indicates reference.

*Iris:*

|                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| O miserae: quas non manus (inquit) achaica bello                                                 | ‘O <b>woful</b> wrachit wemen <b>all</b> ’, quod sche,                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Traxerit ad laetum patriae sub moenibus: o gens                                                  | ‘Quhilk to the deth, vndir the wallys <b>hie</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Infoelix: cui te exitio fortuna reseruat?                                                        | Of 3our natyve cite <b>and kynd landis</b> ,<br>War not in batell harlyt by Grekis handis!<br>O pepill onhappy, to quhat myschewss end<br>Forton reseruys zou <b>of this world to wend</b> ?<br>Septuma post troiae excidium iam vertitur aestas: |
| Septuma post troiae excidium iam vertitur aestas:                                                | Lo! Sen the fal of Troy <b>and dolorus weir</b> ,<br>Byrunnyn is the sevynt symmyr <b>and 3eir</b> ,                                                                                                                                              |
| Cum freta cum terras omnes: tot inhospita saxa                                                   | Sen that <b>samony</b> seys, and alkyn landis,<br>Sa huge wilsum rolkis, <b>and schawd sandis</b>                                                                                                                                                 |
| Syderaue emensae ferimur: dum per mare magnum                                                    | And stormys <b>gret</b> , ourdrewyn and sufferyt<br>haue we,<br><b>Lo</b> , thus <b>saland</b> throw <b>out</b> the mekill see,                                                                                                                   |
| Italiam sequimur fugientem: et volumur vndis.                                                    | <b>Quhar that</b> we chayss Itale, that fleys <b>ay</b> ,<br>And we ly warpyt on the wallys <b>gray</b> .                                                                                                                                         |
| Hic erycis fines fraterni: <del>atque</del> hospes acestes                                       | Heir beyn the bredyrly boundis of Erix <b>stowt</b> ,<br><b>Our frend</b> Acestes is our host <b>but dowl</b> :                                                                                                                                   |
| Quis prohibet muros iacere: et dare ciuibus vrbem?                                               | Quha wil wss warn to beild <b>vp</b> wallys <b>hie</b> ,<br>And to our citesanys set <b>heir</b> a cite?                                                                                                                                          |
| O patria et rapti nequicquam ex hoste penates<br>Nulla ne iam troiae dicentur moenia.<br>nusquam | O natyve land, and kynd goddis al invane<br>Reft from our fays, sal nevir <b>nane agane</b><br>Troiane wallys be namyt <b>nor vpbeild</b> ?                                                                                                       |
| Hectoreos amnes xanthum et simoenta videbo?                                                      | Sal I nevir se, <b>allace! in all my eild</b> ,<br>Hectoriane fludis, Exanth and Symois?                                                                                                                                                          |
| Quin agite et mecum infaustas exurite puppes:                                                    | Haue done tharfor, and <b>now</b> with me, <b>I wyss</b> ,<br>Thir fey <b>onhappy</b> schippys <b>al bedene</b>                                                                                                                                   |
| Nam mihi cassandrae per somnum vatis imago                                                       | Lat ws go byrn, for in my sleip <b>3istrey</b> n,<br>The figur of Cassandra, prophetess,                                                                                                                                                          |
| Ardentes dare visa faces: hic quaerite troiam:                                                   | Gave <b>me</b> byrnand fyre brandis and said<br><b>express</b>                                                                                                                                                                                    |

|                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hic domus est inquit nobis nunc tempus agi res.                                                        | Heir suld we rest, <b>bad sey</b> k Troy <b>na forthar</b> —<br>Heir was our dwellyng place <b>for euermar</b> .<br>Now is the tyme <b>ganand</b> our wark to speyd;                                                      |
| Nec <del>tanti</del> mora prodigiis: en quattuor arae                                                  | To tary <b>ma</b> fatale syngnys <i>quhat suld neid?</i><br>Lo! <b>3ondir beyn</b> four altaris <b>byrnand schyre</b> ;                                                                                                   |
| Neptunno deus <del>ipse</del> faces: animumque ministrat.                                              | Neptune the god <b>thir hait</b> brandis <b>of fyre</b><br>Distributis <b>to ws</b> , and <b>also</b> hardyment’.                                                                                                         |
| <i>Pirgo:</i>                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Non beroe vobis: non haec rhoeteia matres:<br>Est doricli coniunx: diuini signa decoris                | ‘ <b>O</b> matronys, 3on was nevir Beroys’, <b>quod sche</b> ,<br>‘ <b>Born</b> a Troiane, <b>and</b> Doryclus spouss, <b>traist me</b> .<br><b>Considir of</b> hir bewte syngnys dyvyne:                                 |
| Ardentesque notate oculos: qui spiritus illi:                                                          | Behald <b>so brycht as baith hir</b> eyn doith schyne,<br>Quhat <b>sweit savour and</b> smel from hir <b>spryngis</b> ,                                                                                                   |
| Qui vultus vocis ve sonus: vel gressus eunti:                                                          | Quhatkyn vissage <b>hess scho</b> ; <b>quhou thynk 3e ryngis</b><br><b>Hir</b> vocis sown, or <b>quhat</b> payss goys scho <b>now?</b>                                                                                    |
| Ipsa <del>egomet</del> dudum beroen <del>digressa</del> : reliqui                                      | My self left Beroes, as I come <b>hyyddir</b> rycht now,                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Aegram indignantem: tali quod sola careret<br>Munere: nec <del>merito</del> anchisae inferret honores: | Lyand sey k <b>at hame</b> , <b>and ful ennoyit wight</b> ,<br>That scho alane suld want this <b>ryal</b> syght,<br><b>And, as scho wald</b> , mycht not mak sacryfye<br>In Anchyss <b>honour and funerale seruyce</b> ’. |

Example 7: Exchange between Ascanius and Apollo in Book IX: IX.625-29, 633-35, 641-44, 653-56 and Ene. IX.10.82-92, 100-104, 117-27, 145-54. Text is annotated; bold text indicates expansion, italic text indicates paraphrasis, struck through text indicates elision, red text indicates addition, blue text indicates double translation, purple text indicates elaboration, green text indicates reference.

Ascanius:

|                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Iuppiter omnipotens audacibus annue<br>coeptis.                                                  | ‘Omnipotent <b>hie</b> Iupiter, <b>me heir</b><br>Assist to this hardy commencement.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Ipse <del>tibi</del> ad tua templa feram solemnina dona:                                         | My self onto thy templis sal present<br>Solempnyt gyftis, <b>maste gudly may be get</b> ,                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Et statuam ante aras aurata fronte iuuenem<br>Candentem: pariterque caput cum matre<br>ferentem: | And <b>eik</b> befor <b>thyne</b> altar sall I set<br>A <b>young</b> bullok <b>of cullour</b> quhite <b>as snaw</b> ,<br>With goldin <b>schakaris hys</b> forhed <b>arrait on</b><br><b>raw</b> ;<br><b>The best</b> salbe <b>full tydy, tryg and wight</b> ,<br>With hed equale till hys moder <b>on hycht</b> ,                |
| Iam cornu petat: et pedibus qui spargat<br>harenam.                                              | <b>Can</b> all reddy with hornys fuyn <b>and put</b> ,<br>And scrape <b>or skatty</b> the <b>soft</b> sand with his<br>fut’.                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| ... i verbis <del>virtutem</del> illude superbis.                                                | ‘Hald on <b>thy ways in haist</b> ’, <b>Ascanyus said</b> ,<br><b>‘Thy self to loif</b> , knak <b>now scornfully</b><br>With prowde wordis <b>all at standis by</b> .                                                                                                                                                            |
| Bis capti phryges haec rutulis responsa<br>remittent.                                            | Sik boydword <b>heir</b> the twyss takyn Troianys<br>Sendis <b>for hansell</b> to Rutylianys’.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Apollo:                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Macte noua virtute puer: sic itur ad astra                                                       | <b>‘Eik and continew thy</b> new vailzeand dedis,<br><b>Thou zong</b> child, for that is the way <b>the ledis</b><br><b>Vp</b> to the starnys <b>and the hevynnis hie</b> ,                                                                                                                                                      |
| Diis genite et geniture deos: iure omnia bella<br>Gente sub assaraci fato ventura resident:      | <b>O thou verray</b> goddis ofspring’, <b>quod he</b> ,<br>‘That sall engendir goddis <b>of thy seyde</b> .<br><b>In the</b> , be <b>verray</b> resson <b>and of neid</b> ,<br>All batalys, <b>quhilkis</b> by werd ar destinate<br>Agane Assaracus howss <b>to move debait</b> ,<br>Salbe appasit, <b>and to quyet brocht</b> . |
| Nec te troia capit: ...                                                                          | <b>This litill town of</b> Troy, <b>that heir is wrocht</b> ,<br>May nocht withhald the <b>in sik boundis lyte</b> ’.                                                                                                                                                                                                            |