Returning to a Literary *Koine*:
How Gavin Douglas Translates Repetition in the *Eneados* to Enhance Narrative Unity

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Bio

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Abstract

Gavin Douglas's 'Eneados' is notable both for being the first, direct, full translation of Virgil's 'Aeneid' and Maffeo Vegio's 'Supplement', and its extreme fidelity to Virgil's text, though this fidelity is often at odds with Douglas's poetic interpolation. As a result, scholars often describe the 'Eneados' as faithful to Virgil's meaning but not style. This paper is a study of how Douglas translates lines that are repeated in the 'Aeneid' as a means of evaluating this statement. The finding is that Douglas translates repetition accurately and adopts it as a means of correcting the 'Supplement'. This proves his interest in restoring the primacy of Virgil's text over alternative versions. Such effort amounts to a literary 'koine', but one manifested by the vernacular.

Keywords

Medieval translation, Scottish literature, corpus linguistics, quantitative analysis, digital humanities.

The *Eneados* (1513) by Gavin Douglas (1474-1522) is the first full translation of the *Aeneid* (19 BC) in both the English and Scottish traditions. This translation is not only notable for being the first, but also for its extreme fidelity to Virgil. However, at the same time, this work also includes a thirteenth book, translated from Maffeo Vegio's *Supplement* (1428), as well as a series of original prologues, and an incomplete commentary, which arguably makes it characteristic of extreme interpolation. In addition, Douglas's own characterisation of his translation method is somewhat contradictory and fuelled by concerns about other vernacular renditions of the *Aeneid* – like the Dido episode (III.924-1367) in the *Legend of Good Women* (*c*. 1386) by Geoffrey Chaucer (*c.* 1340-1400) and the *Eneydos* (1490) by William Caxton (*c.* 1422 – *c.* 1491). Consequently, the scholarly community has at times struggled to categorically describe what kind of translation Douglas produces – one that takes liberties with its source or enshrines it.

The following is a study of how Douglas translates lines that are repeated in the *Aeneid* as a means of evaluating his translation practice and aims. Throughout the *Aeneid*, Virgil often repeats lines between books. These are a frequently overlooked feature of the *Aeneid* but are a useful means of evaluating translation as their representation within a translation can indicate the translator's respect for stylistic and structural aspects of the text. This paper examines whether Douglas recognises repeated lines and what conditions his recognition. It also investigates original repetitions in the *Eneados* and their purpose –

especially in Douglas's translation of the *Supplement*. This research is one of the main components of the author's doctoral thesis.[1]

The analysis discovers that Douglas is more aware of Virgilian repetition than is anticipated by claims that he is insensitive to stylistic matters. Not only does he preserve Virgilian repetition on many occasions, but also creates original repetitions in the Virgilian style and uses them to amend the *Supplement*, which he considers to be a less authoritative text. In this way, Douglas proves to be – in some respects – more stylistically faithful to Virgil than has been granted previously. Moreover, it suggests that Douglas desires to rectify the *Aeneid*'s diverse textual tradition and restore the primacy of Virgil's text over the many alternative versions. He essentially attempts to restore the text to a literary *koine* by emphasising the importance of the original text as the ultimate source from which all other versions of the text are derived.

The Eneados

The *Eneados* is impressive for its meticulous approach to its source text. Douglas's source is Jodocus Badius Ascensius's edition of the complete works of Virgil printed in Paris in 1501, as determined by Bawcutt based on how closely Douglas adheres to this text and preserves its variations.[2] In addition, Douglas very rarely elides or paraphrases content when translating. In the example below describing Aeneas's first glimpse of Italy, there is only one paraphrase where 'inter fluuio […] ameono' – 'amid the pleasant flood' – is taken as 'the flude […] flowand soft and esely', changing a noun-adjective pair into a particle phrase. However, this is not a substantial change and everything else is translated almost verbatim. While the word order is not perfectly preserved, there is clearly some effort to follow it. Such translation is typical of the *Eneados*.

Atque hic aeneas ingentem ex aequore lucum	And suddanly heir from the stabillit see
Prospicit: hunc inter fluuio tiberinus amoeno[3]	A large semly schaw beheld Enee,
	Amyddis quham the flude he gan aspy
	Of Tybir flowand soft and esely, […][4]

However, while Douglas is an extremely faithful translator in certain respects, he also makes some large interventions in the text. Not only does he translate a thirteenth book that is not original to the *Aeneid*, but he also includes original prologues to each book which act as a poetic *accessus* to the text. He also makes some significant structural changes to the text, like changing book boundaries and dividing each book into chapters.[5] Most importantly, Douglas does not obviously imitate Virgil's style. He does not attempt to replicate dactylic hexameter,

[1] Bushnell, Megan, 'Equivalency, Page Design, and Corpus Linguistics: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Gavin Douglas's *Eneados*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford 2021).

[2] *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, ed. by Jodocus Badius Ascensius (Paris: Jodocus Badius Ascensius and Jean Petit, 1501), Freiburg, UB Freiburg, Ink 4. D 7672, consulted in *Freiburger historiche Bestände – digital* <http://dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/diglit/vergilius1500> [accessed 8 January 2021]; Bawcutt, Priscilla, 'Gavin Douglas and the Text of Virgil', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, 4.6 (1973), 213-31 (p. 221).

[3] Virgil, 'Aeneidos', *Opera*, VII.29-30.

[4] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil's 'Aeneid' Translated into Scottish Verse by Gavin Douglas*, ed. by David F.C. Coldwell, Scottish Text Society, 3rd Series, 30, 25, 27, 28, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1957-64), VII.i.9-12.

[5] Royan, Nicola, 'Gavin Douglas's Humanist Identities', *Medievalia et Humanistica: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture*, n.s., 41, 119-36.

nor does he capture Virgil's succinctness. Rather, his translation method involves the subtle addition of material that is not necessarily unmotivated by the source but is also unrepresentativeness of the shape and size of the poem. In the example above, Douglas adds 'suddanly', 'stabillit', and 'semly', which are not inappropriate to the text but are not derived directly from it. He also translates some content twice – like 'aeneas […] Prospicit', which is rendered both as 'beheld Enee' and 'he gan aspy'. As a result, Douglas's translation is twice longer than the original (21,047 vs. 9,867 lines).

Critics have struggled to reconcile Douglas's extreme interpolation and fidelity, resulting in several different interpretations of the quality of the *Eneados* which usually revolve around Douglas's periodisation and humanism. The insertion of the Prologues and Book XIII as well as the inflation of the poem can be seen as symptomatic of the medieval adaptative tradition where the integrity of the source's form is often not respected, which is not humanist practice.[6] On the other hand, the sheer novelty of Douglas's project – essentially the adoption of an academic mode of translation for a secular, non-academic text – makes it a herald of a new age and naturally humanist.[7] However, at the same time, some scholars are troubled by the lack of stylistic imitation in Douglas's translation, which does not match the philological impetus evident in the work of contemporary Italian humanists.[8]

Even Douglas's own ideas about nature of his translation are somewhat ambiguous. While his method is scrupulous and extremely invested in lexis – as evident in his tendency to provide multiple synonyms when translating a single word (see his double translation of 'amoeno' as 'soft' and 'esely' in the example above) – his comments in Prologue I repudiate 'word for word' translation, which can be loosely understood as literal translation. He begs that his work be noted 'nocht at euery word' – i.e., compared to Virgil's text meticulously and criticises Chaucer for thinking he 'couth follow word by word Virgill'.[9] However, these are not as straightforward repudiations of 'word for word' translation as they appear. Later, in a postscript to the *Eneados*, Douglas boasts that he follows the *Aeneid* 'al maste word by word', which completely contradicts his position in Prologue I.[10] Moreover, Chaucer never claims to be a literal translator. In fact, he 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*.[11] Douglas's critique then is not a valid complaint but rather serves to distance his work from Chaucer's.

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[6] Lewis, C.S., *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1954), p. 87; Royan, 'Gavin Douglas's Humanist Identities', p. 133.

[7] Petrina, Alessandra, 'Challenging the author: Gavin Douglas's *Eneados*', in *Abeunt studia in mores. Saggi in onore di Mario Melchionda*, ed. by Giuseppe Brunetti and Alessandra Petrina (Padova: Padova University Press, 2013), pp. 23-34 (p. 25).

[8] Blyth, Charles R., *'The Knychtlyke Stile': A Study of Gavin Douglas's 'Aeneid'* (New York: Garland, 1987), p. 109; McLaughlin, Martin L., *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Literary Imitation in Italy from Dante to Bembo*, Oxford Modern Languages and Literature Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

[9] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil's 'Aeneid'*, I.Pro.126, 345.

[10] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil's 'Aeneid'*, Direction l. 46.

[11] Geoffrey Chaucer, 'The Hous of Fame', in *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1894), III, pp. 1-64 (I.143-48), consulted in *Literature Online* <https://www.proquest.com/> [accessed 9 September 2021]; Blyth, *'The Knychtlyke Stile'*, p. 82.

Chaucer's renditions of the *Aeneid* were very much typical of the romance tradition of *Aeneid* reception. This consisted of loose adaptations that largely focused on Book IV and were heavily influenced by conflicting versions of the *Aeneid* provided by other sources, such as the historical account of Dido where she is a capable, chaste leader, Ovid's plaintive Dido, and the works of Dares and Dictys, which portray Aeneas in a negative light.[12] Douglas is not in favour of these counter narratives, 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. Douglas describes Guido as 'pevach and corrupt' in his Comment for implying Aeneas is a traitor by comparing him to Antenor and goes on to refute Guido's account by appealing to an older authority – Livy.[13] Not only is this an important example of Douglas appealing to Classical sources to refute medieval ones, but it also reveals how sensitive he is about Aeneas's reputation. A negative portrayal of Aeneas implicitly 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.[14] For Douglas, a catholic cleric from a politically important family, this would be objectionable. By attacking Guido, and Caxton and Chaucer, Douglas makes it clear that his translation is not of this ilk.[15]

Consequently, we cannot take everything that Douglas says about his translation at face value; some of it might be a conventional pose of humility; some of it might be a desire to distance himself from a tradition of Virgilian reception he finds undesirable, which only further muddies the waters for critics seeking to understand how Douglas approaches translation. This paper provides a new perspective on this issue by using Virgilian repetition as a metric for determining Douglas's translation practice.

Repetition in the *Aeneid*

Throughout the *Aeneid*, Virgil occasionally repeats lines between books. However, these repetitions are relatively rare, occurring, according to Moskalew – who understands repetitions in terms of elements (half a foot in dactylic hexameter) and defines a line length repetition as being 10-12 elements long – roughly once every 707 lines (0.1%) or 91 times (by my count).[16] Consequently, not a lot of scholarly attention has been paid to this practice. Aelius Donatus, Virgil's first biographer, discounted these repeated lines early on in his *Vita Virgilii* (*c.* 350) as being temporary lines that would have been removed in revision, had Virgil not died (Donatus 1996: ft. 21-24), and this is the critical opinion that has held sway

[12] Baswell, Christopher, *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the 'Aeneid' from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 11, 137, 185; Desmond, Marilynn, *Reading Dido: Gender, Textuality, and the Medieval 'Aeneid'*, Medieval Cultures, 8 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 24-45; Simpson, James, 'The Other Book of Troy: Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae* in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century England', *Speculum*, 73.2 (1998), 397-423 (p. 406).

[13] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil's 'Aeneid'*, I.v.28n.

[14] Hamilton, Donna B., 'Re-Engineering Virgil: *The Tempest* and the Printed English *Aeneid*', in *'The Tempest' and its Travels*, ed. by Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion, 2000), pp. 114-20 (p. 115).

[15] Petrina, 'Challenging the author', pp. 32-33.

[16] Moskalew, Walter, *Formular Language and Poetic Design in the 'Aeneid'*, Mnemosyne Supplements, 73 (Leiden: Brill, 1982), p. 25.

until relatively recently. It is only since the 1850s that classicists have started to consider these repeated lines as intentional and not just coincidental or convenient placeholders.[17]

One indicator that these repetitions are intentional is that they are imitative of Homer's repetition of formulae and epithets within his epics. Indeed, Virgil on occasion even uses Homer's repetitions as a point of origin for his own.[18] However, Virgil employs greater variety in his repetitions, because he addressed an audience of readers, rather than listeners, and thus can 'afford to carry […] systems of formulae that perform the same metrical/syntactic task', whereas Homer cannot.[19] However, this also necessitates that Virgil seize the reader's attention by other means, since he cannot rely on dramatic recitation.[20] His repetitions do this in numerous ways:

Virgil's repetitions frequently serve an allusive function, serving to connect characters and episodes that are not otherwise obviously connected, but have poetic symmetry.[21] This function is evident in 79% of Virgil's line length repetitions ($p < 0.001$). For example, the repetition 'Connubio iungam stabili[:] propriamque dicabo' ('[…] I would dedicate [Deiopea/ Dido] as a steadfast wife and devoted spouse. […]') declares Juno's intention to arrange a marriage for Aeolus in Book I and Aeneas in Book IV.[22] These marriages share many circumstances; they both involve stormy weather, where Aeolus summons a storm as a favour to Juno in return for his bride, and Aeneas and Dido take shelter from a storm in a cave, where they are, debatably, married. These marriages also draw divine censure; Neptune later chastises the winds and their master, Aeolus, for causing chaos in his realm and Jupiter sends Mercury to Aeneas to rebuke him for staying too long in Carthage. Both events also cause injury; Aeolus's storm shipwrecks the Trojans and seemingly kills them for the majority of Book I; Dido's marriage to Aeneas ultimately ends in her killing herself. In this way, the seemingly minor marriage of Aeolus to the nymph Deiopea foreshadows the far more important relationship between Dido and Aeneas by means of this repetition.

The repetitions also often create hidden narrative structures that emphasise certain themes between books. These are illustrated in Figure 1 which maps all the major repetitions in the *Aeneid*. Books V and IX dramatize the link between the chivalric competition and actual warfare.[23] Books I and IV recount the story of Dido and frame the travails of Aeneas in Books II and III. Book IV also ties to Book IX as episodes of the Trojans under siege – literally in IX and more subtly in IV, where Dido is initially a friend but gradually becomes hostile to the

[17] Wills, Jeffrey, 'Homeric and Virgilian Doublets: The Case of *Aeneid* 6.901', *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici*, 38 (1997), 185-202 (p. 186).
[18] Wills, 'Homeric and Virgilian Doublets'.
[19] Sale, Merritt, 'Virgil's Formularity and *Pius Aeneas*', in *Signs of Orality: The Oral Tradition and its Influence in the Greek and Roman World*, ed. by E. Anne Mackay, Mnemosyne Supplements, 188 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 199-220 (pp. 202-03).
[20] Minchin, Elizabeth, 'Poet, Audience, Time, and Text: Reflections on Medium and Mode in Homer and Virgil', in *Between Orality and Literacy: Communication and Adaptation in Antiquity*, ed. by Ruth Scodel, Orality and Literacy in the Ancient World, 10, Mnemosyne Supplements, 367 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 267-88 (p. 282).
[21] Wills, 'Homeric and Virgilian Doublets', p. 187.
[22] Virgil, 'Aeneidos', *Opera*, I.73/IV.126.
[23] Caughey, Anna, '"The Wild Fury of Turnus Now Lies Slain": Love, War and the Medieval Other in Gavin Douglas's *Eneados*', in *Masculinity and the Other: Historical Perspectives*, ed. by Heather Elllis and Jessica Meyer (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), pp. 261-80 (p. 270).

Trojans. Books IV and XII are also strongly linked, connecting Turnus with Dido, indicating his passionate, 'womanly' nature.[24] Books IV and XI both focus on a female character adopting a male role (Dido as king, and Camilla as warrior).[25] In this way, repetitions in the *Aeneid* form several narrative structures that help to bind the poem together and even foster 'thematic development'.[26]

[Figure 1 goes here, approximately ¾ page portrait, black and white]

followed by caption:

Figure 1: Diagram depicting which books share repeated lines in the 'Aeneid'. Figure by author.

Finally, Virgil often composes larger passages in the *Aeneid* out of repeated segments that occur within 10 lines of one another. For example, the following passage where Mercury excoriates Aeneas for staying in Carthage too long in Book IV is made up of a series of repetitions (underlined and numbered along with their translations) that connect it to other parts of Virgil's text where divine figures interfere in mortal events – like when (1) Jupiter censures Aeneas in Book IV and sends Mercury to tell Aeneas to leave Carthage, (2) Apollo vanishes after disguising himself as Butes to protect Ascanius in Book IX, (3) Turnus recoils when he sees a Fury sent by Jupiter to prevent Juturna's interference in the final battle in Book XII, (4) Aeneas worries about war and is counselled by Tiberinus in Book VIII, and (5) Aeneas summons his men to attack the Latin city, having been inspired by Venus, in Book XII. In this way, Mercury's speech serves as a subtle refrain that emphasises how Rome is divinely mandated, and that Aeneas is an agent of the gods. The thoughtful use and placement of these repetitions belies coincidence, suggesting that Virgil's repetitions are an intentional aspect of his style and worthy of study.

Mercury's speech (Book IV):	*Jupiter censures (Book IV):*
(1) Si te nulla mouet tantarum gloria rerum:	(1) Si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum:
Nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem:	Nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem:[27]
Ascanium surgentem: et spes haeredis iuli	
Respice: cui regnum italiae romanaque tellus	
Debentur. tali cyllenius ore locutus:	*Apollo vanishes (Book IX):*
(2) Mortales visus medio sermone reliquit:	(2) Mortalis medio aspectus sermone reliquit:
Et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.	Et procul in tenuem ex oculis euanuit auram.[28]
At vero aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens:	
	Turnus recoils (Book XII):
(3) Arrectaeque horrore comae: et vox faucibus haesit:	(3) Arrectaeque horrore comae: et vox faucibus haesit:[29]
Ardet abire fuga: dulcesque relinquere terras.	
Attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum:	
Heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furentem	

[24] Oliensis, Ellen, 'Sons and lovers: sexuality and gender in Virgil's poetry', in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. by Charles Martindale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 294-311.
[25] Desmond, *Reading Dido*, p. 14.
[26] Moskalew, *Formular Language and Poetic Design in the 'Aeneid'*, pp. 122-23.
[27] Virgil, 'Aeneidos', *Opera*, IV.232-33.
[28] Virgil, 'Aeneidos', *Opera*, IX.657-58.
[29] Virgil, 'Aeneidos', *Opera*, XII.868.

Audeat affatu: et quae prima exordia sumat:	*Aeneas worries (Book VIII):*
(4) Atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc diuidit illuc:	(4) Atque animum celerem nunc huc nunc diuidit illuc:
In partesque rapit varias: perque omnia versat:	In partesque rapit varias: perque omnia versat:[30]
Haec alternanti potior sententia visa est:	
	Aeneas summons his men (Book XII):
(5) Mnesthea: sergestumque vocat: fortemque cloanthum:[31]	(5) Mnesthea sergestumque vocat fortemque serestum[32]

('(1) If the glory of such things moves you/him not at all, nor if you/he will not start work for the sake of your/his 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 (2) left mortal sight in the middle of his speech 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/Serestus.)

A Corpus-Linguistic Approach to the *Eneados*

This then begs the question whether Douglas also recognised repetition as a significant aspect of Virgil's style and, if so, how he interpreted them. To investigate this, this study uses a digital version of the *Eneados* and its source that was compiled during this author's doctorate.[33] This resource contains all thirteen Books and Prologues of the *Eneados*, along with the twelve books of the *Aeneid* and the *Supplement*.[34] These texts were sourced from electronic versions of Coldwell's edition of the *Eneados*, Greenough and Kettridge's edition of the *Aeneid*, and Brinton's edition of the *Supplement*.[35] The latter two texts have also been adapted with reference to Douglas's source – Ascensius's 1501 edition – so that the content, layout, lexis, orthography, and punctuation all reflect those seen in Ascensius's text.

Such a resource has the potential to provide more detailed and unified descriptions of Douglas's translation than have been produced previously. Most criticism on the *Eneados* focuses on either the Prologues, or only one or two books, or on one type of passage.[36] There are few critics who consider the entirety of Douglas's translation and arguably they are

[30] Virgil, 'Aeneidos', *Opera*, VIII.20-21.
[31] Virgil, 'Aeneidos', *Opera*, IV.272-88.
[32] Virgil, 'Aeneidos', *Opera*, XII.561.
[33] Bushnell, 'Equivalency, Page Design, and Corpus Linguistics'.
[34] These three texts henceforth abbreviated as *Ene.*, *Aen.*, and *Sup.*
[35] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil's 'Aeneid'*, consulted in *Literature Online*; Virgil, *The Bucolics, Aeneid, and Georgics of Virgil*, ed. by J.B. Greenough (Boston: Ginn, 1900), consulted in *Perseus Digital Library* <https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/> [accessed 14 September 2021]; Maffeo Vegio, *Maphaeus Vegius and his Thirteenth Book of the 'Aeneid': A Chapter on Virgil in the Renaissance*, ed. by Anna Cox Brinton (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1930), consulted in *Virgil.org* <http://virgil.org/> [accessed 14 September 2021].
[36] Ebin, Lois, 'The Role of the Narrator in the Prologues to Gavin Douglas's *Eneados*', *The Chaucer Review*, 14.4 (1980), 353-65; Blyth, *'The Knychtlyke Stile'*; Macafee, Caroline, 'How Gavin Douglas Handled Some Well-known Passages of Virgil's *Aeneid*', in *Scots: Studies in its Literature and Language*, ed. by John Kirk and Iseabail Macleod, Scottish Cultural Review of Language and Literature, 21 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013), pp. 229-45.

sometimes forced to sacrifice detailed analysis for breadth of coverage.[37] This resource enables corpus linguistic analysis, which allows the entirety of his text to be considered using computational methods without sacrificing detail. While it is not strictly a corpus, since it is built around one text rather than several, it does include features that are available in many digital corpora – namely, various levels of annotation describing layout, narrative and speech boundaries, equivalent segments between Latin and Scots, and lexical and grammatical information.

This digital resource enables the easy discovery of repeated content across the *Aeneid*, *Supplement*, and *Eneados*. To achieve this, these digital texts were searched using *AntConc*, a freeware corpus analysis toolkit.[38] As part of its toolset, *AntConc* includes an n-gram generator, which compares every single word in the text to find strings of words that repeatedly co-occur. While its main function is to find phrases that have become lexicalised as a single unit of meaning, this tool can also be used to locate repeated segments within and across texts. Five-word repetitions were searched for, because Moskalew judged a significant repetition in the *Aeneid* to be between five and twelve elements.[39] This is approximately half a line to a line, which in Douglas's metre, iambic pentameter, equates to between five to ten one-syllable words at most.

However, given that medieval Scottish spelling is famously diverse, standardised orthography needed to be applied to Douglas's text so that repeated words with different spellings could still be identified. This process is called 'normalisation' and was achieved using a semi-automated method. *AntConc* generated a list of every word type in the *Eneados*, which was then manually assigned a normalised form with reference to the *Oxford English Dictionary* and *Dictionary of the Scots Language*.[40] An sed script then tagged each word in the Scots files with its normalised form according to the word list.[41] This tagging was then manually checked and corrected where necessary.

Once repetitions across all three texts had been located, the translation and its source were cross-referenced to determine if Douglas's repetitions were conditioned by Virgil's and Vegio's. This was facilitated by alignment annotation, which divides the *Eneados* and its source into translation units – 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 contained within whole lines. This allows the easy comparison of

[37] Watt, Lauchlan Maclean, *Douglas's 'Aeneid'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920); Bawcutt, Priscilla, *Gavin Douglas: A Critical Study* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976).
[38] Anthony, Laurence, *AntConc 3.5.8* (2019), Windows <https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/> [accessed 21 November 2021].
[39] Moskalew, *Formular Language and Poetic Design in the 'Aeneid'*, p. 22.
[40] *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) <https://www.oed.com/> [accessed 14 September 2021]; *Dictionaries of the Scots Language* (Edinburgh: Dictionaries of the Scots Language SCIO) <https://dsl.ac.uk/> [accessed 14 September].
[41] This script was written by my DPhil supervisor, Martin Wynne.

repetitions in one text to equivalent material in the other. This annotation was implemented manually.

The following focuses on analysing specific examples of repetitions. However, some statistics are also used to indicate Virgil's and Douglas's general behaviour. The chief measurement of significance used here is a *p*-value, which indicates the probability that the distribution of data is random. For the data in this study, the *p*-value should be interpreted as an indicator of whether a percentage indicates a strong behavioural preference on Douglas's part. A low *p*-value (less than 0.05) is indicative of strong results. All *p*-values in this study are calculated using the pairwise proportion test.[42]

Translation of Repetition in the *Eneados*

Using the technique outlined above, 257 repeated segments of at least five words were discovered within the *Eneados* (not including Prologues), indicating that, like Virgil, Douglas is also prone to repetition. Over half of these prove to be motivated by Virgil's text (54%, $p = 0.11$), though he only deliberately replicates 25% ($p < 0.001$) of Virgil's line-length repetitions, as in the example below (in all the following examples, repeated and equivalent material is underlined):

[…] vbi maximus atlas Axem humero torquet: stellis ardentibus aptum. Hinc mihi […] monstrata […][43]	[…] vbi coelifer atlas Axem humero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum. Huius in aduentu iam nunc […] […] horrent […][44]
'[…] quhar that the huge Atlas On schuldyr rollys the round speir in cumpaß, Full of thir lemand starnys, as we se: Thar dwellys, systir, as it is schaw to me, […]'[45]	'[…] Quhar the vpberar of the hevyn, Atlas, On schuldir rollys the round speir in cumpas, Ful of thir lemand starnys mony one. Sall, at his hyddir cummyn, ror and grone. […]'[46]

This is clearly an intentional repetition on Douglas's part, as the two translations are almost identical. Divergences between them are the result of differences in the context of each iteration of the repeated line. While Atlas is described as 'maximus' initially, the adjective changes to 'coelifer' in the line's second appearance, resulting in different translations (cf. 'huge' vs. 'vpberar of the hevyn'). Similarly, the material that follows each repetition requires different metrical filler (cf. 'as we se' to rhyme with 'schaw to me' vs. 'mony one' to rhyme with 'ror and grone'). Such practice indicates that at times Douglas recognises repetition as an element of Virgil's style that is worthy of imitation. This is not necessarily surprising; Bawcutt and Gray have both noted that at times Douglas is receptive to 'iterative imagery'.[47] However, the quality of this reception is more rigorous than either of these

[42] Ford, Clay, 'Pairwise Comparisons of Proportions', <https://data.library.virginia.edu/pairwise-comparisons-of-proportions/> [accessed 8 September 2021].
[43] Virgil, 'Aeneidos', *Opera*, IV.481-83.
[44] Virgil, 'Aeneidos', *Opera*, VI.796-99.
[45] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil's 'Aeneid'*, IV.ix.17-20.
[46] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil's 'Aeneid'*, VI.xiii.89-91.
[47] Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas*, pp. 87, 88; Gray, Douglas, 'As quha the mater beheld tofor thar e': Douglas' Treatment of Vergil's Imagery', in *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by L.A.J.R. Houwen, Alasdair A. MacDonald, Sally L. Mapstone (Leuven: Peeters), pp. 95-124 (pp. 114, 116, 120).

scholars have declared. In fact, Douglas preserves repetitions more often than later translators like Dryden (1697) or modern translators like Williams (1910; cf. 7% and 10%, respectively; vs. 25%, $p < 0.01$ and $p < 0.05$).[48] However, his recognition is by no means perfect, which begs the question: why does he represent some repetitions but not others?

The first factor to consider is Douglas's source, which contains not only the entire text of the *Aeneid* and the *Supplement*, but also commentaries by Servius and Ascensius. These are obvious resources for Douglas to draw on for information regarding repetition in the *Aeneid*, especially since he often uses Ascensius's glosses as the basis for supplementary material that he adds to his translation.[49] However, as might be expected, given the only recent interest in Virgil's repetitions, these commentaries are not especially informative in this regard, recognising Virgil's line-length repetitions only 6% of the time ($p < 0.001$). Only two instances correlate with a sourced repetition in the *Eneados*, and it is more likely that Douglas recognised these examples by other means.

For example, when translating the repetition below (braces indicate material not shared between iterations), Douglas probably responds more to the content of the line than Servius's note in the commentary, which is buried in a discussion of the term 'helicona' – 'Licet cathalogus: in quo enumerantur hi qui venerunt de Thuscia inuenit tamen aliquam varietatem quod hos nauibus venisse commemorat cum in vii' (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).[50]

Pandite nunc helicona deae: cantusque mouete {:}[51]

Ȝhe Musys now, sweit goddessis ichone,	Ȝhe Musys now, sweit goddessis ychone,
Oppyn and onschet ȝour mont of Helycone,	Oppyn and oncloß ȝour mont of Helycon,
Reveil the secretis lyand in ȝour myght,	Reveil the secretis lyand in ȝour mycht,
Addres my stile, and steir my pen go rycht,	Entone my sang, addreß my style at rycht, […][53]
Entone my sang, and til endyte me leir […][52]	

The repeated line is an invocation to the muses – an established trope of epic poetry that Douglas was likely to remember and deem important. Moreover, both iterations of this invocation occur in almost identical contexts as an introduction to a catalogue of soldiers – Latin forces in Book VII and Tuscan forces in Book X. Such mirroring of context is a common factor for Douglas's recognition of repetitions, being evident in 83% of examples, and likely facilitated their recognition.

Consequently, Douglas's recognition of repetition can be almost solely attributed to his own reading practices. While he may have been assisted by an external source, this seems unlikely, given the traditional lack of interest in Virgilian repetition. Moreover, Douglas attributes enough importance to this practice to preserve it within his own translation.

[48] John Dryden, *Aeneid*, consulted in *Perseus Digital Library*; Williams, Theodore C., *The Æneid of Virgil: Translated into English Verse* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1910), consulted in *Perseus Digital Library*.
[49] Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas*, pp. 98-127.
[50] Servius, [Commentary], *Opera*, fol. 303v.
[51] Virgil, 'Aeneidos', *Opera*, VII.641/X.163.
[52] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil's 'Aeneid'*, VII.xi.1-5.
[53] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil's 'Aeneid'*, X.iv.1-4.

However, the repetitions that he acknowledges indicate that certain themes in the *Aeneid* were of greater importance to him than others. Figure 2 illustrates which books in the *Eneados* are connected through repetition, and how strong this connection is based on how many repetitions there are between them. As in Figure 1, this indicates thematic links between Books IV, IX, and XII, which draw comparisons between Dido, Nisus, Euryalus, and Turnus and their intemperate desires. If Douglas uses such thematic links to guide his reading, it may lead him to miss repetitions in books that are not so obviously aligned – like Books IV and VIII.[54]

[Figure 2 goes here, approximately ¾ page portrait, black and white]

followed by caption:

Figure 2: Diagram depicting where repetitions in the 'Aeneid' are represented in the 'Eneados'. Figure by author.

Likewise, he may miss repetitions between obviously aligned books if they are not directly relevant to the books' thematic link. For example, Books IV and XI are obviously connected by having strong female characters who have undertaken traditionally male roles (i.e. Dido and Camilla), and in whom Douglas is inherently invested, because 'Douglas's self-fashioning as a translator of Virgil' depends on his rejection of them and the alternative versions of the *Aeneid* they represent.[55] However, the repetitions between IV and XI do not concern Dido and Camilla, but Dido and Pallas. *Aen*. IV.129/XI.1 (*Ene*. IV.iv.1/XI.i.1-2) concern the dawns that preface the hunt where Dido and Aeneas 'marry' and Pallas's funeral, while *Aen.* IV.260-64/XI.72-85 (*Ene*. IV.v.157-64/XI.ii.35-52) describes the clothes that Pallas's corpse is dressed in that Dido originally made for Aeneas. Consequently, Douglas does not recognise them.

In this way, Douglas's *Eneados* places emphasis on slightly different themes than the original. However, this is not necessarily an intentional change. Rather it is symptomatic of how the *Aeneid* was read and taught in Douglas's time and born of an impulse to produce an incredibly accurate – even imitative – translation. Indeed, there is no reason to suppose Douglas would not have preserved all the repetitions had he found them. However, again, this extreme fidelity in his translation is tempered by his tendency to invent repetitions not original to the text in addition to preserving the ones that are there.

Original Repetitions and Book XIII

On occasion, Douglas adopts Virgilian repetition as an element of his own style, creating original repetitions that are unmotivated by the source. Like Virgil's repetitions, these tend to occur in analogous contexts (79%, $p < 0.001$). For example, the repetition below (repeated and equivalent content underlined) 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:

[54] See *Aen.* IV.285-86/VIII.20-21, *Ene*. IV.vi.12-13/VIII.i.7-10.
[55] Desmond, *Reading Dido*, p. 196.

[…] fouebit Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam.[56]	Sacra deosque dabo: socer arma latinus habeto:[57]
‘[Juno] Sal […] Fostir the Romanys, lordis of al erdly geir, And Latyne pepill kepe bath in payce and weir. […]’[58]	‘[…] 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; […]’[59]

The phrase ‘peace and war’ is not a common phrase within the *Eneados* (three occurrences only, two of which are presented here, and one sourced from Virgil’s text[60]) and in both these translations it forms an unusual paraphrase. The material from Book I is rendered more literally as ‘Juno will foster the Romans as the lords of [all] things, both the high-born and the low’ and the material from Book XII is translated more exactly as ‘I will give [the Italians] rituals and gods; let my father-in-law Latinus wield power. The repetition of ’peace and war’ serves to remind the reader of Jupiter’s promise to Venus in Book I and foreshadows Jupiter’s later promise to Juno that the Trojans will not rule Latium.[61]

These original repetitions tend to appear between books that have repetitions in the Latin that Douglas has not acknowledged (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). It is as if he knows a link is there, but cannot find it, so invents his own. In fact, 23% ($p < 0.001$) of segments that form an original repetition are within 10 lines of an existing repetition in the *Aeneid*. By contrast, Douglas does not invent repetitions between books where he has recognised multiple repetitions original to Virgil (see I and III; IV and IX; IV and XII). This indicates a concerted effort to represent Virgil’s repetitions faithfully or, failing that, represent Virgil’s repetitive style. His original repetitions are a means of correction – both for his translation and for the *Supplement*.

[Figure 3 goes here, approximately ¾ page portrait, colour]

followed by caption:

Figure 3: 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). Figure by author.

Douglas’s use of original repetitions is particularly notable in Book XIII. Book XIII has the second most original repetitions in the *Eneados* – ten repetitions that link to seven books – surpassed only by Book XII (twelve repetitions, seven links). By contrast, Book XIII’s source text, the *Supplement*, features very few repeated lines from the *Aeneid* – only one instance repeated from two books.[62] It is unclear if this repetition is intentional or just a result of Vegio’s general programme of homage of Virgil, which results in almost every single line

[56] Virgil, ‘Aeneidos’, *Opera*, I.281-82.
[57] Virgil, ‘Aeneidos’, *Opera*, XII.192.
[58] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil’s ‘Aeneid’*, I.v.91-92.
[59] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil’s ‘Aeneid’*, XII.iv.79-82.
[60] See *Aen.* VII.444, *Ene.* VII.vii.83-84.
[61] See *Aen.* XII.8199-28, *Ene.* XII.xiii.69-90.
[62] See *Aen.*VII.649-50/IX.179-80 and *Sup.* ll. 271-72.

featuring vocabulary or phrasing reminiscent of the *Aeneid*, but few exact repetitions of a specific line.[63] Given that Vegio was writing in Latin in imitation of Virgil, copying lines directly from the *Aeneid* or repeating his own material within Book XIII might not have been considered skilful.[64] Vegio needed to both emulate Virgil but also showcase his own poetic ability.

Regardless of their intentionality, Douglas tends to not recognise Vegio's repetitions or stylistic echoes. This is due to several aspects of his approach to reading. First, Douglas tends to not recognise repetitions that are not at least one line long (24%, $p < 0.001$). Likewise, he is especially prone to preserving repetitions that consist of multiple lines, recognising 75% of Virgil's multi-line repetitions, but only 26% of those that consist of single lines ($p < 0.001$). This corroborates Moskalew's 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.[65] Douglas also distinctly disfavours repetitions that begin in the middle of one line and end in the middle of the next, as in the example above. He recognises zero repetitions of this quality, even though they consist of 11% of Virgil's line-length repetitions ($p < 0.001$). Such behaviour indicates that Douglas attributes special importance to the line as a unit of meaning in the *Aeneid*. As a result, he probably assumes that Vegio is unaware of Virgilian repetition, and subsequently includes many original repetitions when translating the *Supplement* to 'correct' Vegio's text.

This is especially evident in the passage below, where Aeneas addresses the Trojans in a final victory speech, which Douglas constructs out of multiple original repetitions from Books II, VII, X, and I, in imitation of Virgil's composition by repetition. Repeated content in the *Eneados* is underlined along with equivalent material in the *Aeneid* and numbered.

Aeneas's speech (Book XIII):	
Ecce inuenta quies: ecce illa extremamalorum	
Erumnis factura modum acceptissima semper	
Atque optata dies: quam dura in bella vocatus	*Latinus has no heir (Book VII):*
Saepe tibi (1) <u>diis auspicibus</u> meminisse futuram	(1) Filius huic <u>fato diuum</u>: prolesque virilis
Iam memini: nunc te cum primum aurorarubebit	Nulla fuit:[66]
Crastina sublimen rutulorum ad moenia mittam.	
	Hector address Aeneas (Book II):
Dehinc sese ad gentem iliacam voluebat: (2) <u>et alto</u>	(2) Sed grauiter gemitus <u>imo de pectore</u> ducens:[67]
<u>Pectore</u> verba trahens blando sic ore locutus.	
	Hercules mourns Pallas's imminent death (Book X):
	(2) […] magnum<u>que sub imo</u>
	Corde premit gemitum: […][68]
	Aeneas addresses the shipwrecked Trojans (Book I):
(3) <u>O socii</u> per dura ac densa pericula vecti […][69]	(3) <u>O socii</u> […][70]

[63] Brinton, *Maphaeus Vegius and his Thirteenth Book of the 'Aeneid'*, pp. 158-76
[64] Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas*, p. 89.
[65] Moskalew, *Formular Language and Poetic Design in the 'Aeneid'*, p. 22.
[66] Virgil, 'Aeneidos', *Opera*, VII.50-51.
[67] Virgil, 'Aeneidos', *Opera*, II.288.
[68] Virgil, 'Aeneidos', *Opera*, X.464-65.

‘[…] Lo, now our rest and quyet fund for ay!
Lo, now the last and maist desyrit day,
To mak end of our harmyß 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

(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 ȝe 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, […]’[74]

Latinus has no heir (Book VII):
(1) By dispositioun of the goddis dyvyn,
Son nor manchild nane had Kyng Latyn, […][71]

Hector address Aeneas (Book II):
‘[…] Bot with ane hevy murmour, as it war draw
Furth of (2) the boddum of his breste weil law, […]’[72]

Hercules mourns Pallas’s imminent death (Book X):
(2) And from the boddum of hys hart can gron,
Hydand hys smart for rewth of Pallas ȝyng,
Seand the fatys wald haue hys endyng;[73]

Aeneas addresses the shipwrecked Trojans (Book I):
(3) ‘O ȝe my feris and deir frendis’, quod he, […][75]

The books referenced here have a special significance. Book II is the most Trojan of all episodes when the Trojans are still in Troy and not refugees, while Book VII is the most Italian of all episodes, depicting the pastoral lifestyle and the grand catalogue of Italian might. By combining references to these books in this passage, Douglas foreshadows Aeneas’s request (later in the passage) that the Trojans and Italians unite. Book X is also the darkest moment of the *Aeneid*, where Pallas – Aeneas’s ward – dies, and its reference here during the epic’s ‘happy ending’ is a subtle reminder of the sacrifice the Trojans’ victory entailed. The repetition from Book I invokes the beginning of the epic at the end, bringing the story full circle.

[69] Maffeo Vegio, ‘Aeneidos Liber XIII’, *Opera*, ll. 77-85.
[70] Virgil, ‘Aeneidos’, *Opera*, I.198.
[71] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil’s ‘Aeneid’*, VII.i.57-58.
[72] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil’s ‘Aeneid’*, II.v.71-72.
[73] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil’s ‘Aeneid’*, X.viii.66-68.
[74] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil’s ‘Aeneid’*, XIII.ii.49-70.
[75] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil’s ‘Aeneid’*, I.iv.69.

The contexts of these repetitions also speak to one another. In Book II, Hector tells Aeneas to flee from Troy, while in Book VII it is revealed that King Latinus of Latium has no heir. In effect, the material from Book II tells Aeneas to run away, and the material from Book VII indicates what he should run towards. Book XIII now signals his arrival to safety. In Book X, Hercules – the patron god of Arcadia – mourns Pallas's fate. The echo of such an episode in Book XIII links Aeneas with Hercules, emphasising his role as not just the father of Ascanius and custodian of Pallas, but as guardian to all Trojans, foreshadowing his apotheosis as the 'patron god' of Rome. In Book I, Aeneas tries to buoy his companions after they are shipwrecked. In Book XIII, he aims to calm 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*. 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* an integral part of the epic.

This passage and its repetitions thus serve several functions. The fact that Douglas uses a particularly Virgilian trope when translating a work not originally written by Virgil reads as a criticism of Vegio and a chance to show off his aptitude as both a reader and translator of the *Aeneid*. While Douglas also creates similar passages made up of repetitions in the rest of the *Eneados*, this example is notable for its length and the number of repetitions involved.[76] However, at the same time, it suggests that Douglas's decision to include Book XIII within the *Eneados* was not a last-minute decision as its Prologue implies (where Vegio famously appears to Douglas in a dream and abuses him until he agrees to translate the *Supplement*), but originally conceived as part of the project. Book XIII serves a narrative purpose – namely, it contextualises and justifies Aeneas's actions in the *Aeneid* with their result: the founding of Rome. Rather than ending Aeneas's travails jarringly with the murder of a suppliant Turnus, Book XIII smooths things over with a happy ending. In this way, Douglas indirectly responds to the criticism of Aeneas in romance receptions of the *Aeneid* – which, as previously established, he objected to – by mitigating the presentation of Aeneas's misdeeds. However, for this ending to be convincing, it must be fully incorporated into the narrative structure of the *Aeneid* – hence the use of repetitions.

These two different functions – correction and contextualisation – suggest that Douglas was faced by a particularly difficult dilemma when handling the *Supplement*. How should he translate a work that he does not take seriously but that he feels is necessary for the structure of his text? His low opinion of Vegio's text is made clear in Prologue XIII, where his depiction is quite unflattering. Vegio is described as 'stern of spech' and wearing 'threidbair' clothing.[77] He is also churlish, beating Douglas on the back to get his way.[78] He is clearly not a figure of awe, unlike Virgil, who is 'Lantarn, laid stern, myrrour and A per se'.[79]

Douglas's solution is to pursue a mode of translation for the *Supplement* markedly different from that for the *Aeneid*. As previously observed, Douglas is scrupulous when

[76] See *Aen.*VII.649-50/IX.179-80 and *Sup.* ll. 271-72.
[77] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil's 'Aeneid'*, XIII.Pro.79, 84.
[78] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil's 'Aeneid'*, XIII.Pro.147-48.
[79] Gavin Douglas, *Virgil's 'Aeneid'*, I.Prol.8.

translating Virgil and prefers not to paraphrase. However, Douglas's approach to Book XIII is characterised by 'significant textual irreverence'.[80] This is evident in the previous example, where Douglas rearranges content without compunction, taking 'semper' ('for ay') with 'inuenta quies' ('our rest and quyet fund') even though they are not in the same clause or line and translating 'optata' ('maist desyrit') before 'acceptissima' ('acceptabill'), even though 'acceptissima' comes first. He also paraphrases 'erumnis factura modum' twice as 'To mak end of our harmyss and distres / Our paynful laubour passit is express', when a more exact translation would be 'the Fury being about to make an end'. He also adds larger segments of original material within the translation such as 'my derrest child, for thy behufe' and 'as victor with ovirhand / Tobe mastir and to maynteym this land'. This passage is also marked in its reference to other vernacular poets like Lydgate and Chaucer. The repetition of 'Lo', inspired in part by Vegio's repetition of 'Ecce', echoes passages from Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (*c.* 1381-86) and Lydgate's *Troy Book* (1412).[81] Likewise, the word 'dispositioun' is a prominent lexical item in *Troilus*.[82] Such echoes do not usually occur in Douglas's translation of Virgil's text, and are confined largely to Books IV and XIII.[83]

Finally, Douglas also inserts a lot of original repetitions, as previously noted. These serve to correct and distance Douglas from Vegio's text while honouring Virgil's style and narrative structure. In this way, Douglas avoids declaring implicitly that Vegio's text is as authoritative as Virgil's by differentiating the quality of his translation styles between their texts. However, at the same time, he creates a seamless transition between the two texts within his translation by means of Virgilian repetition, thus creating a version of the *Aeneid* that is naturally thirteen books long.

Douglas's Translation Method

There are several significant observations that might be made based on Douglas's behaviour concerning repetition. First and foremost is just how excellent a translator Douglas is and, in many ways, how innovative. As previously explained, Virgil's repetitions were not considered a serious stylistic feature of the *Aeneid* in early critical traditions. Despite this, Douglas recognises a quarter of Virgil's line-length repetitions. This indicates that Douglas attaches more importance to stylistic elements of Virgil's text than might be expected given claims that he does not engage in *imitatio*.

Douglas appears to be able to recognise so many repetitions because of how he reads the *Aeneid*. He potentially read and translated books in tandem, perhaps consulting translations of books he had already finished when translating others. Such behaviour is like that theorised by Bawcutt, who notes that Douglas's references to other texts within both the *Eneados* and earlier work the *Palice of Honour* (*c.* 1501) are so accurate 'as to give the

[80] Ghosh, Kantik, '"The Fift Quheill": Gavin Douglas's Maffeo Vegio', *Scottish Literary Journal*, 22.1 (1995), 5-21 (p. 7).
[81] Geoffrey Chaucer, 'Troilus and Criseyde', in *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1894), V.1949-55, consulted in *Literature Online*; John Lydgate, *Lydgate's Troy Book, AD 1412-20*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, Extra Series, 97, 103, 106, 126, 4 vols (London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1906-1935), IV.5485-90, consulted in *Literature Online*.
[82] Geoffrey Chaucer, 'Troilus and Criseyde', II.526-28, V.1-2, V.1541-44.
[83] Bawcutt, Priscilla, 'Gavin Douglas and Chaucer', *The Review of English Studies*, 21.84 (1070), 401-21 (p. 412).

impression […] of having the book open in front of him' in a procedure 'less characteristic of the poet than of the scholar'.[84] In approaching the *Aeneid* in this way, Douglas proves to be aware of the work as a narrative whole and sensitive to stylistic aspects of ancient epic. His invention of original repetitions and his use of them to better incorporate Book XIII into the narrative of the *Aeneid* indicates he acknowledges the structural importance of Virgilian repetition. The result is the rehabilitation of the *Aeneid* as a unified text.

There is a tendency in the medieval and early modern reception of the *Aeneid* for the text to be read disjointedly, where only part of the text is considered. There was a tradition of reading only the first six books, because these were often interpreted as an allegory for man's spiritual journey.[85] Likewise, the *Aeneid* was often divided into *Odyssean* and *Iliadic* halves based on how the early books resemble Odysseus's voyage across the Mediterranean, while the later books are more battle-based – though, on closer inspection, this is an oversimplification and neither the *Odyssey* or *Iliad* map onto the *Aeneid* so simply.[86] As a result, medieval commentary resources for the early books tend to be much richer than those for the later books.[87] Likewise, many medieval and early modern translations and adaptations of the *Aeneid* focus more or entirely on material from the early books, like Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, Caxton's *Eneydos*, and Surrey's translation, which only covers Books II (1557) and IV (1554).

As we know from Prologue I, Douglas was not in favour of these kinds of incomplete renderings of the *Aeneid* because they lent themselves to what he deemed to be misinterpretations of Aeneas's character. However, such texts were the only versions of the *Aeneid* available to English and Scottish lay audiences. To remedy this, Douglas presents a translation that renovates the work as a cohesive unit. Not only does he present the entirety of the *Aeneid*, including Book XIII, but he also translates Virgil's repetitions, which encourage the consideration of the wider structure of the poem, divides the books of the *Aeneid* into chapters that are structured around plot points, and translates at length to account for the entirety of meaning in Virgil's lexis. The result is a vernacular version of the *Aeneid* that insists that the reader is aware of the greater text, even if they only read a single book or chapter.

In this way, Douglas provides a means for lay readers to access the complete text of the *Aeneid* for the first time. In doing so, he recuperates what Wilson-Okamura refers to as 'six-book readers' – those who read only the first six books of the *Aeneid* or read the work as a bifurcation – and create new 'twelve-book' or rather 'thirteen-book' readers – who read the entirety of the *Aeneid* as a cohesive text.[88] This rectifies the *Aeneid*'s diverse textual tradition and restores the primacy of Virgil's text over the many translations, adaptations, excerpts,

[84] Bawcutt, Priscilla, 'The "Library" of Gavin Douglas', in *Bards and Makars: Scottish Language and Literature: Medieval and Renaissance*, ed. by Adan J. Aitken, Matthew P. McDiarmid, and Derick S. Thomson (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1977), pp. 107-26 (p. 108).
[85] Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, pp. 94, 155.
[86] Farrell, Joseph, 'The Virgilian intertext', in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. by Charles Martindale (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1977), pp. 222-38 (pp. 229-30).
[87] Wilson-Okamura, David S., *Virgil in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 191.
[88] Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance*, p. 217.

and retellings that have fostered narrative ambiguity and multiplicity. Douglas invents a mode of translation that is predicated on the aggressive displacement of alternative vernacular traditions of the source text, rather than the source itself, and this is achieved through accurate representation of the source.

Such an approach indicates an interest in the quality and preservation of his source text that is inherently humanist.[89] Moreover, it reveals an interest in imitating more formal aspects of the *Aeneid* that anticipates Renaissance experiments in recreating Virgil's prosody by Surrey and Stanyhurst.[90] At the same time, it is a remarkably prescriptive approach, with Douglas dictating what is worthy of preservation and imitation and what is not and applying that standard to all texts in the wake of the *Aeneid* – regardless if it is fit for their purpose, as in the case of the lack of repetition in the *Supplement*. It is perhaps this aspect of Douglas's approach that belies 'a medieval anxiety about [the *Aeneid*'s] incompleteness and about some of its content'.[91] However, in my opinion, it is more revelatory of Douglas's anxiety about the quality of his readers and their ability to understand a text far removed from them both temporally and culturally. In this respect, the impetus behind the *Eneados* is undoubtedly 'of the Renaissance' in that it was motivated by a humanist interest in the accurate representation of a classical text that became more standard in the Early Modern era. However, this impetus was inflected by what he deemed to be the needs and aptitude of his late Medieval audience.

[89] Royan, 'Gavin Douglas's Humanist Identities', p. 126.
[90] Brammall, Sheldon, *The English 'Aeneid': Translations of Virgil 1555-1646*, Edinburgh Critical Studies in Literary Translation (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), pp. 24, 43.
[91] Royan, Nicola, 'The Scottish Identity of Gavin Douglas', in *The Anglo-Scottish Border and the Shaping of Identity, 1300-1600*, ed. by Mark P. Bruce and Katherine H. Terrell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 195-209 (p. 203).