



DOUGLAS'S ÆNEID

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

London: FETTER LANE, E.C.4

C. F. CLAY, MANAGER



New York: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

Bombay, Calcutta and Madras: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

Toronto: J. M. DENT & SONS, LTD.

Tokyo: MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA

DOUGLAS'S ÆNEID

BY

LAUHLAN MACLEAN WATT

M.A., B.D., F.R.S.E., F.S.A.Scot.

AUTHOR OF

"SCOTTISH LIFE AND POETRY"

ETC. ETC.

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1920

PR 2252
. W 5

If I do borrow anything . . . you shall still find me to acknowledge it, and to thank not him only that hath digged out treasure for me, but that hath lighted me a candle to the place.

JOHN DONNE: *The Progress of the Soul*,
Introductory Epistle. 1601.

TO
SIR GEORGE DOUGLAS, BART.,
A POET AND CRITIC
OF TRUE GENTLENESS
AND PROBITY

PREFACE

THIS is an attempt to elucidate Gawain Douglas's work, and to place it in its proper setting, as a literary document, in the hope that, until something better is achieved, this may fill a blank in Scottish Literature. My excuse is that it has not before been done.

For reasons which I show in Chapter IV, I have taken the version of the Cambridge Manuscript, presented for practical purposes in the Bannatyne Club edition, as being the most authentic. This explains the differences, of spelling and sometimes of phrase in the quotations, from Small's text in his well-known edition. Small does not observe the peculiarities of the Elphynstoun Manuscript, which he professed to follow, especially in the remarkable terminations of Books V, VI, and VII, while he also interpolated certain verses, which are not in his exemplar, but taken from the Black Letter edition of 1553. I therefore make my references by the number of the Book of the *Æneid*, the chapter of Douglas's version, and the line of that chapter, *e.g.* II, 3, 35. This seems the best way to facilitate reference to the three great manuscripts of the poem, which would not have been the case had I referred to the volume of Small, with the page, and line of the page. At the same time, for the convenience of the reader, who has Small's edition at hand, I have given, where necessary, a reference also to his text.

I have to thank the Marquess of Bath, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Arthur Hirtzel, and Professor Clark of Oxford, for courtesies and opportunities of information; the Rev. W. L. Sime, of Smailholm, for help in reading proofs; and the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, for their kindness.

L. M'L. W.

1 November 1919

MANUSCRIPTS REFERRED TO :

1. CAMBRIDGE (not later than 1522).
2. ELPHYSTOUN (*circa* 1525).
3. RUTHVEN (*circa* 1535).
4. LAMBETH, dated February 1545 (1546).
5. BATH, dated 1547.

EDITIONS REFERRED TO :

1. "BLACK LETTER," 1553.
2. RUDDIMAN'S, 1710.
3. BANNATYNE CLUB'S, 1839.
4. SMALL'S, 1874.

Vide CHAPTER IV.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	ix
CHAP.	
I. THE MAN AND HIS FAME	1
II. THE MAN AND HIS WORK	25
III. THE TRANSLATION : ITS METHOD AND RESULT	69
IV. MANUSCRIPTS AND READINGS	124
V. LANGUAGE AND INFLUENCES	149
APPENDIX <i>A</i>	179
,, <i>B</i>	227
,, <i>C</i>	237
INDEX	247

DOUGLAS'S ÆNEID

I

THE MAN AND HIS FAME

His misfortunes

It is not necessary here to go into details of the life of Gawain Douglas. The piteousness of his story arises from the fact that he was drawn into the fatal vortex of ambition and faction which followed upon Flodden, with the consequent unsettlement of affairs in Scotland. The widowed queen's infatuation, which first tempted and then compelled the poet's nephew, the Earl of Angus, to marry her, lay at the root of Douglas's disaster. The opportunity of preferment drew him into the political and ecclesiastical arena, and his record became stained with place-seeking. In this, it may be, he was no worse than his neighbours, but it is not pleasant to read the poet's letter to Adam "Wyllyamson," from Perth, of date 21st January 1515, in regard to the bishopric of Dunkeld,—
"Forzet not to solyst and to convoy weyll my promotion . . . for I haf gevyn the money quhar ze bad me." He was advanced to the see by Pope Leo X, "referente reverendissimo Cardinale de Medicis," the queen supporting his claims with her brother King Henry VIII. And on 29th June 1515, he paid at Rome by hands of his proctor 450 gold florins. It must be admitted also, that he was not untouched by actual disloyalty to his country. His correspondence—in which he pleads that the English king should enter Scotland—and his method of pulling the wires at Rome through Wolsey's influence, laid him painfully open to more than suspicion, and exposed him to imprisonment and finally to exile. The duplicity of the queen, and the desertion by Angus of his own cause, were the final instruments of the shipwreck of the poet's hopes, into which, only for a little,

entered the soft light of a tender friendship in London with the Scholar Polydore Vergil, ere the darkness sank above the banished man, dying of the plague, far from home. His own letter to Wolsey¹ gives a touching glimpse of his condition. He says, "I am and haif bene so dolorus and full of vehement ennoye that I dar nocht auentor cum in your presence . . . haif compaciencie of me, desolatt and wofull wycht." And he anticipates "penuritie and distress." It was the last he wrote, and one seems to hear, in this, the pang of a proud heart breaking.

His dust sleeps in the Church of the Savoy; and Scotland should not forget the resting-place of the great poet who was the first to write her name large upon the vestibule of the new age of light and learning.

His circumstances

Though, unfortunately, we know little of his early days, when poesy was the intimate companion of his soul, before ambition drew him into strife and sorrow, everybody is aware that he was, by circumstance of birth and education, of the most prominent note. He was not only a member of the leading noble family of the Scottish realm, son of Archibald "Bell the Cat," but he was also uncle of the nobleman who had become the husband of the widow of King James the Fourth. And he was also a bishop who just missed being the primate of Scotland. A busy man, plunged in the rolling welter of his unsettled times, he drifted into overmastering sorrows and disappointments when he left the quiet shades of poesy to mix in the bitter ambitions of his peers, and to die, in 1522, as his tombstone in the Hospital Church of the Savoy puts it—"patria sua exul."

The poet is often forgotten and hidden behind the bishop, crowded and crushed out of sight by the multitudinous business involved in the hunt for preferment and the flotsam of political scramble. And those who might have fully recorded contemporary opinion regarding his poetic work, passed it for the most part over, as though in it he had not made an abiding

¹ State Papers, Scotland, MSS., vol. i. No. 85.

mark more deeply lasting than any he was destined to make in the memory of the Church by his episcopate, except for the quarrels stirred by his quest for place and profit, in the crowd which, unfortunately, were seeking for the same things at the same time as himself.

Henry VIII

The letter of Henry VIII to Pope Leo X, of 28th January 1514,¹ written to further Douglas's claims in regard to the primacy of Scotland, summed up his public character when it spoke of him as possessing "præclaram non generis solum sed etiam animi nobilitatem," and "eminentem videlicet doctrinam, prudentiæ, modestiæ, atque egregiæ probitati conjunctam: et quantopere sit communis boni studiosus," though we must remember that it is the language of a testimonial which is here used. Douglas's own letters to Wolsey and Adam Williamson are, of course, the letters of a keen candidate for a very desirable post, and few men can stand the white light of criticism under such circumstances. He doubtless maimed and stained his hands, when, instead of plucking at the chords of Apollo, he pulled the unclean wires of ecclesiastical and political influence. A very sane modern historian is thus impelled to characterize Douglas as a "man reputable as a poet, but disreputable as a politician."²

George Buchanan

But it is fine to read the summary of George Buchanan's³ residuary impression, when, writing of the poet's decease in London, he said: "Peste corruptus obiit, magno suæ virtutis apud bonos desiderio relicto. Præter enim natalium splendorem et corporis dignitatem erant in eo multæ, ut illis temporibus literæ, summa temperantia et singularis animi moderatio, atque in rebus turbulentis inter adversas factiones perpetua fides et auctoritas."⁴ There spoke the humanist, who, though a patriot, saw beyond the limit of provincial prejudice and the detriment of personal spite. He was himself to taste the

¹ *Monumenta Britannica ex autographis Romanorum Pontificum Deprompta*, vol. xxxvii., Brit. Mus.

² MacEwan: *History of the Church in Scotland*, vol. i. 403. ³ 1506-1582.

⁴ *Rerum scoticarum Historia*, lib. xiv. c. 13, A.D. 1582.

bitterness of all these, and to be able to describe his own case also, as "exul, vagus et inops."

Douglas's personal friends knew of his scholarship; but, in their view, that and his place as a Churchman were the greatest things about him, to judge at least from what they say.

Abbot Myln

Alexander Myln,¹ Abbot of Cambuskenneth, and afterwards first President of the Court of Session, seemed to think as much of Douglas's position as a bishop, and his rank as a son of the Earl of Angus, as of anything besides. True, in the dedication of his *Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld*,² Myln included the Reverend Father in Christ, the Lord Gawain, "divinas et humanas literas docto." But, in the biography, the main things that make him still remembered as a "præclarus homo" are practically overlooked.

John Major

John Major,³ the learned Doctor of the Sorbonne, who, during his regency of Glasgow University and professorship of theology there, had John Knox—and afterwards at St Andrews, Patrick Hamilton, Alexander Alesius, and George Buchanan—under his direction, dedicated to Douglas and Cockburn the Fourth Book of his commentaries on the *Sententiæ* of Peter Lombard.⁴ And yet he does not speak of Douglas's eminence as a poet, though he knew him so intimately. Perhaps that aspect of the ecclesiastic did not appeal to the scholastic mind of Major. And, perhaps, to one who, of course, lectured in Latin, and saw to it that within the University walls the students spoke together in that language, the rendering of its greatest poetry into the vulgar tongue may have seemed worthiest of silence. He dedicated the First Book of the *Sententiæ*⁵ to George Hepburn, Abbot of Arbroath; and following upon the epistle dedicatory is a pseudo dialogue "inter duos famatos viros, magistrum Gauuinum douglaiseum virum non minus eruditum quam nobilem, ecclesiæ beati Egidii edinburgensis prefectum, et

¹ 1474?–1549.

³ c. 1470–1550.

⁵ Paris, 1510, "impressum . . . per Henricum Stephanum.

² *Vide* Edition Bannatyne Club, pp. 72–5.

⁴ Paris, 1519, "impressore Iodoco Badio."

magistrum Davidem crenstonem in sacra theosophia bacchalarium formatum optime meritum." In this dialogue Major makes Douglas appear as being an opponent of the scholastic mode of thought, objecting to the darkening of knowledge by the multiplicity of positions and subtleties, and also as quoting Æneas Sylvius, who had been so venturesome as to declare that time would wither the works of Aristotle. Douglas is also made to say that it was absurd to ascribe to Aristotle an authority equivalent to that of the Doctors of the Church; and he is represented as admonishing Major to return to Scotland and scatter among the souls of the faithful, by the exercise of preaching, the best seeds of evangelical truth. This reflects the fact that there must have been some good-humoured expression of differences between Douglas and Major, the latter of whom was well-known as a reactionary, despite his learning—evidently a *laudator temporis acti*, and a staunch upholder of the old paths,¹ while Douglas is thought by his friend to be a somewhat dangerously advanced modernist. It is Douglas the Churchman whom Major admires. He either ignores the poet, or considers his poetic work not quite worthy of the notice of a grave scholastic mind.

Polydore Vergil

A third contemporary, of considerable note, and a friend of Douglas's closing days, was Polydore Vergil,² the Italian whom Rome had sent to England to collect "Peter's Pence"; and who, after holding several ecclesiastical positions, was naturalized in 1510, becoming later on a prebendary of St Paul's. He says in his *Anglicæ Historiæ*³—and in this he is the only person except Douglas himself whose hand draws the curtain, giving us a glimpse of Douglas in his exile from his native land—"Nuper enim Gaius Dunglas Duncheldensis episcopus, homo scotus, virque summa nobilitate et uirtute, nescio ob quam causam in Angliam profectus ubi audiuit dedisse me iampridem ad historiam scribendam, nos conuenit: amicitiam fecimus: . . . verum non licuit diu uti, frui amico, qui eo ipso anno,

¹ Considered by Rabelais (bk. ii. c. 7) worthy of laughter; in List of Library of St Victor as having written *de modo faciendi puddinos!*

² 1470-1555.

³ Lib. iii. pp. 50-1. 1534, Basel.

qui fuit salutis humanæ MDXXI Londini pestilentia absumptus est." Douglas died between 10th September 1522, the date of his will, and the 19th of the same month, when probate of his will was taken. The *Black Book of Taymouth* is therefore wrong in giving the date as 9th September. He had been declared rebel by Albany on 12th December 1521, and his denunciation as a traitor was confirmed under the Great Seal of Scotland on 21st February 1522.¹ It was as the scholarly Scot, "vir sane honestus," under the shadow of some mystery, eager to provide him with proofs of the antiquity of the story of his fatherland for insertion in the Italian's history, in answer to what he considered to be the heresies of Major, who had denied the fabled legends of the northern people, that Polydore knew him, and not as the poet.

These three—two of them, without question, familiar with the man of whom they wrote—do not seem to have recognized the full intent of that which was to link him on to the interest of later ages. The fact, that to Douglas were attributed "comœdiæ aliquot,"² albeit they were "sacræ," may have helped the reticence of grave ecclesiastics, as, from their point of view, being somewhat of a lapse from dignity.

Spottiswoode

Bishop Spottiswoode,³ however, though a Churchman, specially notes Douglas's poetic work with approval, while, at the same time, speaking highly also of the man. He says of him—"A man learned, wise, and given to all vertue and goodnesse: some monuments of his engenie he left in *Scottish* meeter, which are greatly esteemed, especially his translation of Virgil his books of *Æneids*."⁴

As the number of poetic writers increased in Scotland, it became the habit for each of them to record the names of his predecessors and contemporaries in catalogic eulogy. Dunbar gives his well-known list. And *The Complaynt of Scotlande* enumerates its guess-provoking poems by name.

¹ Stillingfleet erroneously dates his death 1520. *Antiquities of the British Churches*, p. lv. *Vide Art. Calendar, Encyc. Brit.*

² Cf. Dempster: *Hist. Eccles. Gentis Scot.*, p. 382.

³ 1565-1639.

⁴ *History, Church of Scotland*, ii. p. 61. 1655.

Lyndsay

David Lyndsay, in his *Testament of the Papyngo*,¹ has the acumen to observe that Douglas's really greater work was his rendering of the Latin Poet, the riving asunder of the close-set thorn-hedge of Scottish phrase, that it might permit entry of the full flower of the Roman golden age into Scottish fields. He says :

Allace ! for one quhilk lampe wes of this land
Of Eloquence the flowand balmy strand,
And in our Inglis rethorick the rose,
As of rubeis the charbuncle bene chose !
And as Phebus dois Cynthia precell,
So Gawane Douglas Byschope of Dunkell

Had quhen he wes in to this land on lyve
Abufe vulgare Poetis prerogative
Both in pratick and speculatioun.
I saye no more, gude Redaris may descryve
His worthy workis, in nowmer mo than fyve ;
And speciallye the trew Translatioun
Of Virgill, quhilk bene consolatioun,
To cunning men, to know his gret ingyne
Als weill in natural science as devyne.

Charteris

Douglas is also especially considered as the poet, in the *Adhortation of all Estaitis to the reiding of thir present warkis*, by Charteris, in his edition of Lyndsay,² wherein he declares that Douglas

in ornate metir surmount did euerilk man.

Yet Lyndsay is set in a place of honour before him, of course for his matter and his religio-political purport.

Rolland

John Rolland³ of Dalkeith, in his stodgy allegory, *The Court of Venus*,⁴ while acknowledging the difficulty, even then, of Douglas's work, refers to Douglas as

ane honest oratour,
Profound Poet and perfite Philosophour,
Into his dayis above all buir the bell.

¹ 1530. Prologue, l. 22.

³ *fl.* 1560.

² 1568. Stanza 3.

⁴ Bk. iii. l. 113.

Barnabie Googe

Of knowledge of Douglas's *Virgil* in England we find evidence in the *Eglogs Epytaphes and Sonettes* of Barnabie Googe,¹ where, in an *Epytaph of Maister Thomas Phayre* the Virgilian translator, he writes :

The Noble H. Hawarde once,
That raught eternall fame,
With mighty Style did bring a pece
Of Virgilis worke in frame,
And Grimaold gave the lyke attempt,
And Douglas wan the Ball,
Whose famous wyt in Scottysh ryme
Had made an ende of all.

Thomas Speght and Thomas Thorp

It is interesting to find Speght in his second edition of Chaucer,² speaking of "the excellent and learned Scottish poet Gawayne Douglass, Bishop of Dunkeld," and drawing attention to Douglas's reference to Chaucer, in the Preface to the translation of the *Æneid*. Yet, with regard to knowledge of Douglas across the Border, the fact that, in the *Cornucopia, Pasquils Nightcap or Antidot for the Headache*,³ printed for the famous Thomas Thorp, there is a reference to Lyndsay's *Testament of the Papyngo*, need not be pressed. The poet is writing praises of the cuckoo. He has evidently taken note of poetic ornithological references, but he has not necessarily read Lyndsay's poem, and so need not be taken as a corroborative witness to Douglas's fame mentioned therein.

Question of the Books

Among the notices of the sixteenth century unexpected glimpses are caught of what must either have been slips of memory or ignorance of facts.

Confusion appears even regarding such a simple matter as the number of Books stated to have been translated by Douglas, as though the writers either did not know, or forgot about the Book of Mapheus Vegius included in the work.

¹ London, 1563. Cf. Phaër.

² 1602.

³ London, 1612. Attributed to William L. Edited by Grosart, 1877.

Kinaston

For example, Sir Francis Kinaston, in a note about Henryson,¹ speaks of Douglas as "one of the most famous of the Scottish poets," and as author of the "learned and excellent translation of Virgil's *Æneids*, who was Bishop of Dunkeld, and made excellent prefaces to every one of the twelve books." The looseness of statement in the rest of the paragraph shews that he had no real idea of the chronology of the poets whom he mentions; and the fact that he refers only to "the twelve books" shews that this may be taken as the note, *currente calamo*, of a man who knew about literary names and works, but had not, by personal corroboration or first-hand enquiry, made direct acquaintance with the contents of that to which he referred, and did not remember the thirteenth book of Mapheus. It was just what any well-educated person was bound to know in regard to Virgil himself.

Black Letter Title

It is somewhat strange also to see on the title-page of the first printed edition² quite as curious a statement of what it purports to be. There we read:

The XIII Bukes of Eneados of the Famoso Poete Virgill Translated out of Latyne verses into Scottish Metir bi the Reuerend Father in God, Mayster Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkel, and unkil to the Erle of Angus, Every Buke having hys perticular Prologe.

This looks as though it were the product of a hand other than the author's. It was, indeed, probably by the printer himself, William Copland, who seems to have been chief editor of the work, and who may have simply counted the number of books without thinking how many were contained in the *Æneid*, and not remembering at all, when he wrote, about Mapheus Vegius's supplement. The text is often inaccurate, and differs very frequently from all the manuscripts.³

In this respect it is interesting to find also what the body of recorders, the catalogue compilers, apart from the actual

¹ Written about 1640. Printed by F. Waldron, 1796. Kinaston MS. Bodl. MS. Add. c. 287.

² Black Letter. 1553, London.

³ Vide p. 140.

historians and critical writers, have to say regarding Douglas when they mention him; and it is amazing how they seem to have "followed the lead," like sheep, jumping at the same errors.

Bale

Foremost in importance amongst these stands John Bale.¹ He had been compelled, as a consequence of his conversion to extreme Protestantism, to live for seven years an exile in Germany, till on the accession of Edward VI he returned and was made Bishop of Ossory, though on Edward's death he had again to flee, coming home again, however, in Elizabeth's reign. He was a voluminous writer, being author of as many as twenty-two religious dramas, of which only five have survived. His influence, as a source, was long and wide. He shews however, in reality, as he himself acknowledges, no direct knowledge of Douglas otherwise than what he could pluck from the page of other writers.² Nevertheless, in his *Index* he records the number of books of the translation accurately as thirteen, though without mentioning the name of Mapheus. Later he alters this to twelve,³ probably recalling how many Virgil himself had written, though again without touching on Mapheus's share. He was aware of his limitations in regard to Scottish poetry, as he was not a Scotsman: and, as himself shews, his handicap was heavy. He says: "Paucos quidem esse scriptores a me citatos fateor . . . non quod non fuerint plures, sed quod mihi extero homini non perinde sint noti. Nec enim unquam in Scotia fui, nec eorum uidi bibliothecas; sed ab externis accepi quicquid hic adductum est." In his *Summarium*, he similarly mentions Douglas's name and office as Bishop of Dunkeld and his "Commentariolum de rebus Scoticis Li. I." with the date and cause of his death. In his later work Douglas's *Palice of Honour*, and the *Æneid* are noted, with acknowledgments to Nicholas Brigham. He explicitly mentions Polydore Vergil as his authority on Douglas.

¹ 1495-1563.

² *Epistola Dedicatoria* to Alesius and Knox: Catalogue dealing with Scots writers.

³ *Scriptorum Illustrum*, Posterior Pars, 1559.

Holinshed

Holinshed¹ mentions Douglas's translation of Virgil's *Æneid* "lib. 12"—without reference to the supplementary thirteenth. When speaking of him as "a cunning Clerk and a very good Poet" he records the "rare wit and learning," with his nobility of birth, his episcopate, his strife, his flight, and death. There is, of course, no trace of actual knowledge of the work itself, but simply of the fact of Douglas having achieved it.

Gilbert Gray

Gilbert Gray, Principal of Marischal College,² Aberdeen, followed Bale's reference. He says: "Anno proximo, *scilicet* 1521, Fatis concessit vir multigenæ Eruditionis ac magnum Ecclesiæ Lumen *Galvinus Douglas*, Episcopus *Dunkeldensis*, relicto post se uberi Ingenii fœtu *scilicet* . . . et venusto Carmine Patrio Sermone fideliter redditis *Duodecim Libris Æneidôn Virgillii*." He evidently wrote from memory, in general terms, as the custom was, and not from immediate knowledge, omitting reference to the supplement, but knowing of course the number of books in Virgil's original. It is very remarkable that, being an Aberdonian, he omits mention of Barbour in his oration.

Leslie

Leslie,³ Bishop of Ross, wrote regarding Douglas: "Hic Vir, si se his tumultibus non immiscuisset, dignus profectò fuisset, propter ingenii acumen acerrimum ac memoria consecraretur nostram linguam multis eruditionis suæ monumentis illustravit; in quibus illud fuerat ingenii sui signum longè præclarissimum, quod Virgillii *Æneidos* nostro idiomate donavit, ea dexteritate, vt singulis latinis versibus singuli scotici respondeant." Here, in a matter which he ought to have known, Leslie slips—a matter which, indeed, if he had really read the work he could scarcely have forgotten. He either knew his Douglas but did not know Virgil, or knew his Virgil—which is

¹ *History of Scotland*, p. 307.

² *Oratio de Illustribus Scotiæ Scriptoribus*, 1611. See Nicolson's *Scottish Historical Library*, p. 70, ed. 1776. Also Mackenzie's *Lives and Characters of the Scottish Nation*, vol. i. p. xxx, 1708.

³ *De Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, lib. ix. p. 396. 1578.

much more likely to be certain—and followed the conventional idea about Douglas's work, namely, that the translation was a line for line rendering, though Douglas especially disclaimed that idea in his Introductions and Epilogues. Leslie knows scarcely a limit to his praise: "in Virgilio vertendo versuum suauitatem, sententiarum pondera, verborum significationes, ac singulorum penè apicum vim, nostra lingua plenè enucleateque; expresserit."

Dempster

Thomas Dempster,¹ repeats the old convention as to the conspicuous mark of Douglas's translation, an instance of the perpetuation of errors, copied and handed on as a common heritage by successive compilers—"Virgilii Opera Scotiis Rhythmis translata . . . mira ingenii felicitate, ut uersibus versus responderent, quod haud scio an exemplum habeat in antiquitate." Dempster was prone to writing without exactness or even without truth, and his *Historia* is rich in mistakes. He had a remarkable career, seeming to pick and choose professorial chairs, from Paris to Pisa, till he died at Bologna as Professor of Humanities in 1625; and he rivalled Sir Thomas Urquhart in the exaggerations and forgeries which he perpetrated in order to magnify, in his case, not his own position, but the literary glories of his native land. He apparently invented authors who never wrote, and books that never were written, so far at any rate as human knowledge goes. He quotes the authority of Polydore Vergil, Leslie, and George Buchanan, mistaking a reference of the latter as applying to Douglas, when it really applies to Gavin Dunbar.

David Buchanan

David Buchanan,² is an untrustworthy person, following all the errors of his predecessors, and adding nothing to the sum of knowledge regarding Douglas. He makes "Robert" Langland the author of *Visio Petri Aratoris*, and speaks of him as a Scotsman educated in Aberdeen, which is, perhaps, his

¹ *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, 1627, p. 221.

² 1590-1652. *De Scriptoribus Scotis*, ed. 1837, pp. 92-3.

greatest originality; and he repeats the myth of verbal literalness which had become a kind of formula when mentioning Douglas.

Hume of Godscroft

Hume of Godscroft¹ knew both Leslie and Buchanan probably better than he knew Douglas, for he paraphrases both of them. He says: "His chiefest work is the translation of *Virgil* yet extant in verse, in which he ties himself so strictly as is possible, and yet it is so well expressed that whosoever shall assay to do the like will find it a hard piece of work to go through with. In his prologues before every Book, where he hath his liberties, he showeth a naturall and ample vein of poesie, so pure, pleasant, and judicious, that I believe there is none that hath written before or since but cometh short of him. And in my opinion there is not such a piece to be found as is his Prologue to the 8 Book, beginning (of Dreams and Drivellings, etc.) at least in our language." It is remarkable that he singles out, for special note, not one of those Prologues where Nature frowns or smiles in beautifully free painting, as though a man had sat down at his window to write them, or in the meadows face to face with her; but the Prologue to the Eighth Book, which is of the most antique mould and deliberately archaic form.

Calderwood and Anderson

David Calderwood² quotes Douglas's translation with approval, even though it had been done by a Bishop, and asserts him to have been "a good Poet in the Scots meeter." And his contemporary, Patrick Anderson,³ went the full length which a man can go, and a little further than many would venture, when he says that Douglas was "the best poet in our vulgar tongue that ever was born in our nation, of any before him." Both of these must have been interested in somewhat similar degree in the Bishop, for each of them had suffered exile and persecution, and had known the hunger for native land and the voice of home.

¹ c. 1560-1630. *History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus*, ed. 1644.

² *History, Kirk of Scotland*, 1575-1650.

³ 1575-1623, nephew of Bishop Leslie.

In the seventeenth century Douglas was spoken of, borrowed from, and read by, an audience "fit though few." If Charteris had spoken of his *style*, it was his *matter* that now was his appeal to his readers.

Drummond

Thus, Drummond of Hawthornden,¹ when Charles the First came to Edinburgh in 1633, set up in the midst of the street "a mountaine dressed for Parnassus," where Apollo and the Muses appeared, and ancient Worthies of Scotland noted for learning were represented: such as "Sedullius, Joannes Duns, Bishop Elphinstoun of Aberdeen, Hector Boes, Joannes Major, Bishop Gawen Douglass, Sir David Lyndsay, Georgius Buchananus." The motto over them was "Fama super aethera noti." This shews where Drummond considered Douglas's place to be; and he was there as a poet, above everything. To him, elsewhere² Douglas was "a man noble, valient, and learned, and an excellent Poet as his works yet extant testifie." Here it is, of course, plain that he is regarding him mainly from a personal point of view. He takes his poetic quality for granted, but he looks at the man first. In fact, the majority of later writers, as opposed to the earlier ones, refer to the poet rather than to the ecclesiastical politician, and probably to the poet who looked out with tender gaze on the landscape and the customs of his native land, and who died in exile; which is almost the sum of modern knowledge regarding him.

L'isle

The seventeenth century saw a suddenly revived impulse towards the historic study of Anglo-Saxon; and William L'isle³ whose interest was in the main along the line of Church History, published in 1623 a Treatise on Ælfric's New Testament work. He tells how he wished to unearth what treasures lay hid in Old English; and, in consequence of the dearth of grammars and dictionaries, he had approached the study through "Dutch,

¹ 1585-1649. *Entertainment of the High and Mighty Monarch*, etc.

² *History of the Five Jameses*. 1655.

³ 1579-1637. Title of second edition: *Divers Ancient Monuments in the Saxon Tongue*, 1638.

both high and low"; and then he had read whatever he could find in Old English, of poetry and prose. "But the Saxon (as a bird flying in the aire farther and farther seems lesse and lesse) the older it was, became harder to bee understood. . . . At length I lighted on Virgil, Scottished by the Reverand Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld . . . the best translation of that Poet that ever I read: and though I found that dialect more hard than any of the former (as nearer the Saxon, because farther from the Norman), yet with help of the Latine I made shift to understand it, and read the book more than once from the beginning to the end. Wherby I must confesse I got more knowledge that I sought than by any of the other. For, as at the Saxon invasion, many of the Britons, so, at the Norman, many of the Saxons fled into Scotland, preserving in that Realme unconquered, as the line Royall, so also the language, better than the Inhabitants here, under conqueror's law and custom, were able." ¹

Junius

A kindred purpose induced Franciscus Junius ² to use Douglas's work in his study of Chaucer. "To the end of illustrating and so illuminating difficult and misunderstood passages, in Chaucer," he says, in a letter to Dugdale, February 1667-8—"I hold the Bishop of Dunkeld his Virgilian translation to be very much conducing . . . there is very good use to be made of him." ³ Junius left some marginal notes on a printed copy of the *Æneid* in the Bodleian Library, and a manuscript, in the same place, *Index Alphabeticus verborum obsoletorum quæ occurrunt in versione Virgilii Æneadum per Gawenum Douglas cum relatione ad Paginas.* ⁴ Ruddiman did not attach value to these. In this connection there may be mentioned an anonymous one leaf manuscript in the British Museum, bound along with Spelman's *Glossarium archaiologicum* (1644) entitled "A glossary to Gawin Douglas the famous Scottish poet, who wrote about the year 1490."

¹ *To the Reader*, sec. 9.

² 1589-1677. Brother-in-law of Vossius.

³ Letter to Dugdale, Feb. 3, 1667-8.

⁴ Nicolson's *Scottish Historical Library*, 1776, p. 28.

Gibson

In 1691, when Edmund Gibson,¹ afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, published his famous edition of the *Polemo Middinia* and *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, he did so as an exercise and aid towards Anglo-Saxon study. He treated Douglas as a classic, in a manner that conferred for the first time such a distinction upon a Scottish poet. He used these poems very largely as an excuse for hanging upon them his studies and illustrations from Gothic, Cimbrian, Icelandic, and Old English.

Hickes

Dr George Hickes, in his monumental Thesaurus of scholarly research along this line,² is emphatic when with pregnant brevity he says, of Douglas's work, "in versione *Æneidos* nunquam satis laudandâ."

Nicolson

Nicolson,³ Bishop of Carlisle, in his gatherings⁴ for his *Historia Literaria Gentis Scotorum* of 1702, refers to the *Æneid* as supporting the qualifications of Douglas to be the author of *De Rebus Scoticis*—a remarkable plea. He tells how he turned the *Æneid* in eighteen months' time "into most elegant Scotch verse, thereby wonderfully improving the language of his country and age. One that was a good judge of the work assures us that it is done in such a masculine strain of true poetry that it may justly vie with the original; every line whereof is singly rendered and every word most appositely and fully."⁴ . . . Here he is quoting Bishop Leslie, and repeating the familiar error.

Sir Robert Sibbald

Sir Robert Sibbald⁵ acknowledges that he was waiting for the publication of Nicolson's work before he completed his own account of the sixteenth century, in which he acknowledges his

¹ 1669-1748.

² *Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesauri Grammatico-Critici et Archæologici Pars Prima: seu Institutiones Grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicæ & Mæso-Gothicæ.* . . . Oxon. 1703, p. 128.

³ 1655-1727.

⁴ *Scot. Hist. Library*, ed. 1776, p. 28.

⁵ MS. *Historia Literaria Gentis Scotorum*. Advoc. Lib., Edinburgh.

indebtedness to Dempster, and to David Buchanan, whose style of Latin he calls "excellent." Unfortunately he leaned on an uncertain authority. In a letter to Wodrow he refers to an "Account of the writers of Divinity . . . done in our language for me by the Reverend Mr Lawrence Charteris to the year 1700." This may be included in a publication by James Maidment, published in 1833, from a Manuscript in Wodrow's writing, wherein is, among others, a brief notice of Douglas.

George Mackenzie

Doctor George Mackenzie,¹ lifted wherever he saw fair spoil, and included in his work a notice of Douglas, which owes an unacknowledged debt to Bishop Sage.²

Eighteenth-Century Nationalism

In the eighteenth century Douglas was still one of the Scottish classics, and was read by such select souls as were sufficiently interested in things and men of the past ages, to take such trouble.

Devotion to the Scots dialect had been a mark of patriotism at the time of the Reformation, as a protest against the "knaping of Southron," then in fashion, curiously enough, under Knox's influence, as we learn from a scornful reference by Ninian Winzet. In fact, the influence of the Reformation was really Anglic, copies of the Bible coming in from England, until the printing of the Bassandyne Edition in 1576-9, and even it is practically the Genevan scripture. In this connection John Hamilton, author of *Ane Catholik and Facile Traictise* (1581), had declared that it was actual treason even to print Scottish books in London, "in contempt of our native language." This became again prominent as a symbol of the same thing, after the Union of 1707; and with the Jacobite element of the nation was frequently, in fact, a political pose.

By a curious irony, Douglas, who had fallen on the mortal edge of his desire for the English alliance, was actually looked

¹ *Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation*, vol. ii., 1711, pp. 295-308.

² *Vide p. 19 infra.*

upon at this time as a true representative of the Scottish spirit, by those who either forgot the story of the cause of his life's disaster, or conveniently closed an eye to its record. It was to the Jacobite section of the nation that the revival of dialect poetry and the interest in the older Scottish poets were due, and principally to Allan Ramsay, Hamilton of Gilbertfield, and Thomas Ruddiman. It is of no importance, except to show the spirit of the period, that, in the "Easy Club" in Edinburgh, the members called themselves by the names of old Scottish poets, Ramsay's title being "Gawain Douglas." Ramsay, in 1716, printed *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, with a quotation from Gawain Douglas, in Greek characters,¹ at the head of it! The mistakes in printing this were regularly repeated in subsequent editions.

Ruddiman

Thomas Ruddiman's edition of Douglas's *Æneid*, in 1710, belonged also to this movement. It was the first since the Edition of 1553, on which it was based. Ruddiman, unfortunately, did not see the Ruthven Manuscript,² the only one he knew, until forty-five pages of his folio had been printed, having only then learned that any manuscripts of the poem existed. He claimed the liberty of choosing between the printed version and the manuscript, with the result that, notwithstanding the assertion in the title page that "innumerable and gross errors of the former edition have been corrected" by comparison with the Latin original and the Ruthven Manuscript, and "narrowly observing" the language of Douglas and his contemporaries, and that defects were supplied "from an excellent manuscript," he himself fell into many inaccuracies and made some readings of his own without authority. He corrected, as far as the metre allowed, the classical names which Douglas had frequently transformed. Robert Freebairn, the bookseller, took the full merit for the edition, and thanked for

¹ Κομισιδερ ιτ ναριλι ριδ αφτηνη θαν εγισ.

Ουιλ αγ εν βλικ σλι ποετρι γοτ τεν ις

Γ. Δωγλας.

The quotation is from Prol. i. 107.

² *Vide* p. 138 *infra*.

their help, Bishop Nicolson, Sir Robert Sibbald, Dr Drummond, and Urry of Christ Church, Oxford. He also mentioned his indebtedness to Thomas Ruddiman, who really was the man that had supervised the whole work. Ruddiman kept a note, which is preserved, of his charge for correcting the book, writing the glossary, etc., which amounted to forty-eight pounds Scots, or £8, 6s. 8d., a somewhat strange fee for the amount of knowledge and special attainments which he had placed at the publisher's disposal. Well might the publisher recommend him to the notice of "the patrons of virtue and letters" as meriting "all respect and encouragement," a somewhat cheap way of passing on to others some of the burden of his own obligations. Small¹ states that Urry had in some measure collated the Bath Manuscript for this edition. It is to be taken as following the printed version of 1553, in the main. Ruddiman added *General Rules for understanding the Language of Bishop Douglas's translation of Virgil's Æneids*. He also appended a Glossary, which is of note, as it was the foundation of Dr Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary of 1808.² For this vocabulary he employed the aid of Hicckes's *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus*; Ray's *Collection of Local English Words*; Menage's *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Françoise*; Junius's *Glossarium Gothicum*; Vossius's *de Vitiis Sermonis*; Du Fresne and Spelman's *Glossarium Gothicum*; and "above all" Skinner's *Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae*, on the whole a formidable body of learning and research. The Biography of the poet in this edition is by Bishop Sage, though printed anonymously. Sage's life is in regard to Douglas an *Apologia pro vita*, declaring him to have been "a wise Statesman, a faithful Counsellor, an excellent Patriot, a constant Friend, the Honour of his Country, the ornament of his Church, a Judge and Master of Polite Learning, and may be justly reckoned the best of Bishops and learnedest Man of his Age," a crescendo of praise difficult indeed to eclipse. It was based on all that was worthy before its time, except Bale's *Catalogue* of 1559; but

¹ Edition 1874.

² The copy of Ruddiman, with Jamieson's notes for his Dictionary, is in the hands of Mr Alexander Gardner, Publisher, Paisley.

Ruddiman quoted Bale's *Summarium* of 1548, along with the testimonies of Abbot Myln, Polydore Vergil, Bishop Leslie, and George Buchanan, and also used letters which were still in manuscript.

Sage's Biography

Sage, in enumerating Douglas's works, suggests that the *Aureæ Narrationes* mentioned by Dempster and Vossius as by the Bishop is the same as the *Comment* referred to by Douglas himself, and he conjectures this to have been a treatise on "Poetical fictions of the Ancients, with an Explication of their Mythology." We, of course, know that here Sage spoke in ignorance of what this *Comment* really was, as he had not either heard of or seen it. This biography was the first step towards a real, full, and modern life of the translator.

Athenian Mercury

It would be interesting if we knew who wrote, in the *Athenian Mercury*,¹ quoted by Ruddiman, the recommendation that, in regard to secular poetry, people should read "old merry Chaucer, Gawin Douglas's *Æneads* (if you can get it) the best version that ever was, or, as we believe, ever will be, of that incomparable Poem."

Fawkes

Across the Border the occasional interest in Douglas as a poet was at this time manifested when Francis Fawkes, Vicar of Orpington, in Kent, published a paraphrase of Douglas's twelfth Prologue, *A Description of May*²; and also of the seventh Prologue, *A Description of Winter*. In regard to the former, he speaks of

this flowery lay

Where Splendid Douglas paints its blooming May.

He gives also some account of the Scottish author; and he printed the text and his own paraphrases on opposite pages, with a glossary. These appeared together in his *Original Poems and Translations*,³ in the company of Anacreon, Sappho, and others.

¹ Vol. 12, No. i., 24th October 1693. Conducted by Dunton, brother-in-law of Samuel Wesley. Influenced *The Tatler*.

² London, 1752; London, 1754.

³ 1761.

Jerome Stone

In our own country, a somewhat forgotten personality interesting in connection with the Ossianic tradition, Jerome Stone, Schoolmaster at Dunkeld, did a similar work for Douglas in his *Description of a May Morning*, which appeared in *The Scots Magazine*,¹ where he designated the Twelfth Prologue as "the most pompous description of that enlivening season I ever met with." Stone stated that he had endeavoured to accommodate the delicacy of the performance to modern ears. He renders the first lines thus :

Aurora, joyful harbinger of day,
Now from the skies had chased the stars away ;
The moon was sunk beneath the western streams,
And Venus' orb was shorn of half its beams,

which may be compared with Douglas's—

Dyonea, nycht hird, and wach of day,
The starnys chasyt of the hevyn away,
Dame Cynthia down rolyng in the see,
And Venus lost the bewte of hir E.

Here one sees all the difference between the eighteenth century poetic conventions and those of the nearer fringe of the Middle Ages, where, in the compass of four lines, Venus is twice referred to, first by the Ovidian epithet, and then by her own name. Douglas makes her planet the shepherd of the stars, who, watching on the verge of night, drives them into the fold when day takes up the vigil over the awaking world, closing her own eyes then in slumber,—a far richer and more intensely beautiful bit of poesy than the modern grasped in his paraphrase.

Thomas Warton

Thomas Warton, in his *History of English Poetry*,² included certain of the Scottish poets, and printed a large part of Douglas's Prologues VII and XII, using for this the Edinburgh edition of 1710 by Ruddiman, and turning them inaccurately into English prose. He suggests that "a well-executed history of the Scotch poetry from the thirteenth century would be a valuable accession to the general literary history of Britain." He truly

¹ Vol. xvii., 1756.

² Vol ii., 1778, pp. 289-93.

says, further, "The subject is pregnant with much curious and instructive information, is highly deserving of a minute and regular search, has never yet been uniformly examined in its full extent, and the materials are both accessible and ample. Even the bare lives of the vernacular poets of Scotland have never yet been written with tolerable care: and at present are only known from the meagre outlines of Dempster and Mackenzie."

Perth Prologues

The Prologues¹ were again offered to the public in 1786, with a reprint of the *Palice of Honour*, by Morison of Perth.

Thomas Gray

But a far finer mind, and a truly great poet, was attracted to Douglas, in Thomas Gray,² who, in his *Sketch of a projected History of English poetry* which he communicated to Warton, included the names of Douglas, Lyndsay, Bellenden, and Dunbar. Speaking of Spenser's Eclogue, *August*, he says, discussing English metre, "Bishop Douglas, in his prologue to the Eighth *Æneid*, written about eighty years before Spenser's *Calendar*, has something of the same kind." This can only mean that Spenser had written a poem in dialogue with a pastoral threnody in it, under the influence of very strong alliteration, for otherwise there is not the slightest resemblance. Gray spoke from memory. Nevertheless, if the Rev. Norton Nicholls, his intimate friend, in his *Reminiscences*, records him truly, Gray also followed the usual erroneous impression, which showed that he really had read about the poet but had not read him in the full translation of Virgil. For Nicholls says of Gray, "He was much pleased with Gawen Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, the old Scotch Translator of the *Æneid*, particularly with his poetical prefaces to each book, in which he had given liberty to his muse, but has fettered himself in the translation by the obligation he has imposed on himself of translating the whole

¹ iv., vii., viii., xii., and xiii.

² 1716-1771. *Vide* Mitford's Edition, vol. v., 1843, pp. 242-53. Also Tovey's *Letters of Thomas Gray*, vol. ii. p. 280, 1904.

poem in the same number of verses contained in the original,"¹ —a purpose which, of course, never had any existence.

James Sibbald

James Sibbald,² gives abridged examples of Prologues IV, VIII, XII, and XIII, and certain specimens of the *Æneid*, with a note on the language of Douglas.

Pinkerton

John Pinkerton,³ the savage critic of all men's work but his own, declared that Prologues Seven, Twelve, and Thirteen, "yield to no descriptive poems in any language." Yet he had a painful fear of the vulgar tongue. He protested that his work amongst the relics of ancient Scottish poetry was not intended to prolong the life of the dialect,—“None can more sincerely wish the total extinction of the Scottish colloquial dialect than I do.” He speaks of Scotticisms as barbaric, and mocks at the Edinburgh idioms. He wishes Scots to be maintained as an old poetical language; and so he preserves the old spellings studiously, to take it “out of the hands of the vulgar.” He selected from the Maitland Manuscript, in his work. He proposed to issue the seven poets of Scotland whom he considered to be truly classical, namely, Dunbar, Drummond, Douglas, James I, Barbour, Lyndsay, and Blind Harry; and he intended in this project to omit all of Douglas's *Æneid* work except the Prologues.

Ritson

Joseph Ritson,⁴ his rival, agreed with him in regard to the place of Douglas, but went further than Pinkerton, for he speaks of “the admirable translations of Douglas.”

To all the writers of modern times, it is as the poet that Douglas stands out clearly in the light, and in association with Dunkeld; as when George Dyer writes—

But thou, as once the muses' favourite haunt,
Shalt live in Douglas' pure Virgilian strain.

¹ Mitford's Edition, vol. v. p. 36, 1843.

² 1745–1803. Vide *Chronicle*, vol. i., 1802; also vol. iv. pp. xlv–vi.

³ 1758–1826. Vide *Ancient Scottish Poems*, 1786.

⁴ 1752–1803.

In the anonymous poem prefixed to Alexander Ross's *Helenore* (2nd Edition, 1778), and attributed to Beattie, Douglas is spoken of as "that pawky priest."

The picture of Scott is, however, usually accepted as the portrait of the poet-bishop—

More pleased that in a barbarous age
He gave rude Scotland Virgil's page,
Than that beneath his rule he held
The bishopric of fair Dunkeld.¹

The ecclesiastic, tossed in the swelter of squabble for preferment, and the politician, wading in plots with the English Court, have dropped aside. And so a gentler thought has clothed the memory of Gawain, the Virgilian student, who in rude times brought the Roman into touch with the poetry of our Northern land.

NOTE

After Ruddiman's edition the next in point of time is that of the text only, printed from the Cambridge Manuscript in two volumes, in 1839, and published by the Bannatyne Club.

In 1874 appeared the edition of the complete works, by John Small, LL.D., Librarian of the University of Edinburgh, in four volumes, the *Aeneid* covering ii., iii. and iv. This edition is annotated, and has introductions, with fascimiles in lithograph, and certain letters printed for the first time. The Editor states that his edition is printed from the Elphinstoun Manuscript, but this is a statement of intention and not of execution.

An edition by the Scottish Text Society is being prepared.

Douglas is dealt with in David Irving's *History of Scottish Poetry* (1861), chapter xii.: in Dr John M. Ross's *Scottish History and Literature* (1884), chapter vii.: T. F. Henderson's *Scottish Vernacular Literature* (1910), chapter vii.: Gregory Smith, M.A., in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. ii., chapter x. The article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, tenth edition, is by Dr Small, that in the latest edition is by Gregory Smith; and there are brief notices in the *Imperial Dictionary of Biography*, *Chambers's Dictionary*, and others. Under this general heading fall the Introduction by Andrew Lang, in Ward's *Poets*: W. A. Neilson in *Origins and Sources*: also an introduction in Eyre Todd's *Abbotsford Poets*: and Geddie's excellently useful *Bibliography of Middle Scots* (Scottish Text Society).

¹ *Marmion*, Canto vi. st. 11.

II

THE MAN AND HIS WORK

To set a poet like Gawain Douglas in his place demands a careful glance before and after.

A man and his work are inevitably beset by the environment and circumstance of his time. A period of quick activities may snatch away his life and thought from the levels of their beginnings, and swing them forward and upward, as into a new world with farther horizons and wider vistas than he has known hitherto, if he be not an originator of those very influences. Or it may slip its hold upon him. Or himself may falter, looking over his shoulder, and he may return to the Cities of the Plain. "And his works do follow him." Or he may abide like a fossil in the centre of great growth, recording an arrest in a life's development. Erasmus the Humanist,—who raised his foot and let the tide of the Reformation run away from under, unuplifting,—and all such souls, who seem either to resist the jog and tug of a new period of fresh-thought impulse, or who seem too deeply rooted in the past to be lifted into the future that calls the awaking world to move onward, always give pause for judgment, to the estimating mind of the recorder of men and matters. Gawain Douglas had the rising waters of the new birth-time of the world all about him; and we cannot help but wonder how much of their far cry found response in his heart, and tuned the message and meaning of his thought. How does he stand in relation to it, with his life and work?

The Renaissance

The Renaissance itself is not easily defined. There had been, in different lands, episodes with its mark upon them,—grey hints of the dawn, with crimson touches on the clouds, that

faded into grey again. A partial Revival of Letters manifested itself in the twelfth century, when the works of Aristotle were discovered; and the labours of Grosteste and Roger Bacon, with the foundation of the Universities, were signs of awakening. But these fell into the hands of the Churchmen and Scholastics, whose conservatism numbed the enthusiasms and delayed the dawn.

The Renaissance is generally understood to be the outbreak of the human spirit into freedom of thought and utterance; the love of everything beautiful and true, for its own sake; the enrichment of life by the advent of the natural and spontaneous; the dissatisfaction of the mind with the cold and trite; and the protest against convention which, like a desert wind, withered thought upon its stalk. The joy of existence broke into the wilderness of stereotype with a fresh interpretation of human experience. It turned the soul toward the fountains of reality, wherein lay the deep sources of truth and poesy.

The Renaissance meant, first of all, a recognition of the life of humanity, pagan in its revulsion from mediæval mysticism, and its rebellion against the bondage of the other world, the conventions of Allegory and Theological symbolism. It demanded that knowledge of the best literary monuments of "the golden past of classical antiquity," which gave birth to the Revival of Letters, when the faith and the literature of days long dead were born again into the later day. This was what Cyriac of Ancona meant when he said, "I go to awaken the dead." It was a quest after the wisdom of the past to enrich and enlighten the present. And it passed on to an elevation of the vernacular as a literary medium. We see in Douglas's work the touch of the last set of these influences, though scarcely the mark of the first.

The Renaissance was not the clock striking a definite hour in the fifteenth century. It was a movement,—not a moment; a process rather than an explosive event. Men could not set their watches by it, but they could float their spiritual emprise upon it. It did not come like one wave. The breathing of a great, far-drawn, on-pressing tide made itself felt through long

preparation. The atmosphere and life of the period were gradually saturated by a new spiritual influence. An all-pervading general uplift was felt, and it spoke through poets as widely apart as Dante and Langland.

The Revival of Learning, consequent upon the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, which scattered the Greek scholars over Europe, with their classical treasures and erudition, is generally thought of as the Renaissance, but this was only one of the results of the vast movement.

“*The Candles of the Renaissance*”

The key to the Renaissance is naturally found in Italy. In fact it was only in Italy or Greece that a rebirth was possible. The *Commedia* of Dante Alighieri, the Sonnets of Petrarch, and the *Decamerone* of Boccaccio are the monuments of the literary awakening. Petrarch was, in an especial sense, the awakener of mediæval Europe from its sleep. Into his life came the influence of Boccaccio, whom he met in Naples when on an embassy from the Papal court in 1343; and one of his best pieces of work was a Latin version of Boccaccio's *Griselda*. Yet, though Boccaccio helped him, he also helped Boccaccio, by turning him towards ancient sources of culture.¹ His was pre-eminently the spirit of true scholarship, under the touch of which the age quickened, and found a new, fresh, sunny, and onward-moving activity. From Italy the movement spread, like a sunrise, through Germany, France, and England; and the best works of Italy were thus passed on to Scotland, with the classics.

Petrarch the Awakener

Born in 1304, Petrarch became, by deliberate choice, a man of letters and a scholar, refusing his father's solicitations to follow his own profession of law, and resisting temptations of ecclesiastical and scholastic positions which must have led to the very highest preferments in his age. Unlike Douglas, he kept himself disentangled from what might hinder his poetic and literary pursuits, avoiding thus the risks of distracting

¹ See his Epistles generally.

ambitions and the jealousies of smaller minds. In 1337 he sought the touch of Nature in solitary study and reflection. This was the quickening thing which gave its most telling impulse to the new Thought.

Nature Vision

The text of his oration, when he was laureated at the Capitol in April 1341 :

Sed me Parnasi deserta per ardua dulcis raptat amor,¹

was the keynote of the new age, whose characteristic was a "passion for Parnassus," uplifting hearts, as with the spirit of Spring, out of the hard-beaten tracts of old-time conventions. This love of the wild, combined with the expression of the sympathetic fallacy in verse, finds a kind of maxim utterance in Lorenzo de' Medici's lines :

Non di verdi giardin, ornati, e colti . . .
Ma in aspre selve, e valli ombrose colti.
Sospir d'amore . . .
L'aure son sute, e pianti d'Amor l'acque.

It was this impulse which moved Bernardo Pulci to translate, in 1470, the *Eclogues* of Virgil, the first attempt to render the classics into the Italian language. The same spirit impelled Pietro Aretino to declare, "Nature, of whose simplicity I am the secretary, dictates what I set down before me"; and stirred Politian to feel it was Nature and Youth that turned him to translate Homer's epic of the struggles of men near the world's dawn.

In Douglas's *Æneid*, also, when his own voice speaks, and especially in his *Prologues*, we find the open-air vision characteristic of the new time; though in him are found, also, some of the older framework of mediæval conventions. These things were amongst the stock materials of poetry, then; and a poet would have seemed odd amongst his fellows, not to have adopted them. He had, of course, the dialect and imagery of his predecessors and contemporaries pressing around him. And though to later generations these mediæval furnishings and materials had become trite, and worn to the bone, they

¹ Georgics iii. 291.

were in his day fresh enough to those who used them. The time came when a protest had to be made against them, as in King James VI's *Reulis and Cautelis of Scottis Poesie*,¹ which, though a juvenile work, had much good sense in it. The royal critic warns the poets: "Descryve not the morning, and rying of the Sunne, in the preface of your verse; for thir thingis are sa oft and dyverselie written upon be Poets already that gif ye do the lyke it will appeare ye bot imitate, and that it cummis not of your awin invention." This was just and sound criticism in the seventeenth century, but would have been a literary heresy in the early sixteenth.

The search for the Norm

The influence of Petrarch as a humanist was, in reality, greater than as a poet, and it touched the later day of the singers of the remoter North. For he brought the scholars of his own time into direct contact with the scholarship of classical times, and gave a guiding impact to literary enquiry. He was the pioneer in the collection of libraries, in the study and comparison of manuscripts, and in the recognition of authorities, himself receiving manuscripts of Homer and Plato from Nicolaus Syocerus of Constantinople. His influence was seen in the indefatigable restlessness of the scholars, searching everywhere for the hidden treasures of the classics,—men like Poggio,² who unearthed in the Monastery of St Gall the complete copy of Quintilian, and the first three and part of the fourth books of the *Argonautica*, "not in the library but in a dark and filthy dungeon at the bottom of a tower," succeeding also in securing for Rome, by the hands of Nicholas of Treves, the first complete copy of Plautus, and dragging out of their hiding-places Lucretius, Silius Italicus, Columella, and apparently also the poems of Statius, as commemorated in the elegy by Landinus, declaring how these notables had been brought as guests out of gloom into undying light,—

Poggius at sospes nigra e caligine tantas
Ducit ubi æternum lux sit aperta viros.

And Guarino Veronese,³ returning with his recovered wonders,

¹ 1584. Vide Arber's Reprint.

² 1380-1459.

³ 1370-1460.

himself losing all, and the world losing so much, by shipwreck, reveals but a part of the adventure of scholarship seeking after truth in this time of dawn.

The Classical Revival

The sensuously beautiful, revealed in the dawning light of the new age, was like a fresh creation. It demanded a new expression. The divine seemed to be splendidly humanized, and loved for its own sake. It required a wide channel for its exercise. *Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*¹ was the Humanist's maxim and aspiration, and it led him by the only door of escape from the anarchy of his times, torn between feudalism and ecclesiasticism, and the failure of each of these to foster the highest in the soul of man and of society. The result was an almost fevered revival of classical learning. Each land and each generation took its own way through the magic forest. The wine of the fountain of Bacchus tasted different in the mouth of every man that drank it,² but it gave each a sense of beauty; a realization of his own power, individuality, and dignity; the acknowledgment of Nature; and the re-establishment of joy in life.

The Individual Liberty

In the first burst of freedom that broke like a new creation out of the shadow-land of Thought, some men leapt into licence; and of this Poggio's *Facetiarum Liber*, with Beccadelli's *Hermaproditus* were notorious examples. In such a movement it is the new man as much, almost, as the new Letters, that becomes manifest, with the glow of anticipation on his face and the voice of the morning in his utterance. He will not be found haunting graves, but, like Adam, outside of old fenced gardens, turning over the soil of a new earth, creatingly, though it may be, revealing much that is not lovely, in the labour of it. Villon and Dunbar are perhaps as interesting in this respect as Petrarch, set up against the level of Mediævalism. In them you find the directness of outlook, the individuality of inter-

¹ Terence: *Heaut.* i. 1-25.

² Rabelais: *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, bk. v. c. 42.

pretation, the free step marching to fresh music, no longer hobbling to trite tags of conventional measures, no more a thing of ghosts, but of the living soul,—men whose every word proves how the old conventions have palled, that poesy is no longer a thing of draping lay figures in a fresh robe, or the repetition of the shibboleths of his predecessors. Though Villon was mediæval in form and knowledge he was renescent in realism and self-revelation. These went with their own basket to the table of the gods, carried their own pitcher to the well of Parnassus, and, traversing fresh ground of Nature and humanity as personal explorers, speak in the voice of the Rebirth, the Renaissance of Thought and Art, seeking for the reality of things. Such influences are seen in the light of very clear contrast in the second part of *Le Roman de la Rose*. The first part,¹ by de Lorris, 4000 lines, under the influences of Ovid and Chrétien de Troyes, was intended to be a kind of *Art of Love*, clothed in the characteristics of its time, formal, learned, and allegorical. But when Jean de Meung,² forty years later, added his 18,000 lines, he poured into this mass not only the scholastic learning of the Middle Ages, but also that encyclopædic and heterogeneous knowledge and voluminous thought characteristic of the new age, and far ahead of his own, in its intellectual tendency; while underlying it all was his doctrine of the Worship of Nature, setting him in the light as a forerunner of the Renaissance. This mental activity fell to nought amid the stormy confusions in France of the Hundred Years' War, followed by the disasters of civil war, which left the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries probably the most barren of her literary periods. This gave the classics a new significance for the hearts of men. And Douglas was one of those whose heart was turned towards that quest, as towards a land of sealed temples, and places where Truth lay waiting for the awaking touch.

The Renaissance at first led to disdain of the vernacular, believing that cultured thought could find fit clothing only in the tongue of the ancient masters, the cosmopolitan medium of literary feeling. We find Douglas's fear of the

¹ c. 1237.

² 1250-1305.

uncopiousness of the Scots mother-tongue in the author of *The Complaynt of Scotlande*, and elsewhere, a fear also which shrank as from lowering the work of the classical writers into the vulgar medium. Petrarch and Boccaccio valued their own vernacular works at a cheaper rate than those in the classical tongue, and their influence helped the contempt of the vulgar phrase. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, Lorenzo de' Medici and Politian, having absorbed the beauty and excellence of classical literature, handed it forward in the chaste and natural sweetness and power of the vernacular.

The Awakening of the Vernacular

The hunger of the classics opened the door which a dead language barred, and its influence enriched the style, the literary form, and the vernacular. It is true that at first there was a crushing and distortion of expression into Latin mould, futile for final utility, as regards literary purpose, but yet helping towards elasticity of phrase and quickening of mentality, and prompting to analysis of the records of human passion and achievement.

The influence of the *Rhetoriquères* was felt in this, in their effort to enrich and improve the mother-tongue for literary purposes by Latinisms, and they affected strongly the writing of the early sixteenth century, though they also carried forward the mediæval allegory and metrical intricate forms.

It stirred a new and deepening desire to use the vernacular as a medium of literary expression. This arose from the yearning to lead the heart of the world to the truth which heretofore had been reached only by the learned. Truth, and the joy of humanity, were to be within the right of all, and no longer the privilege of the few. More than once Douglas expresses this as his ideal in his work. Nevertheless it needed courage, and a defence.

In this respect Lorenzo de' Medici, speaking of the astonishing power of the vernacular, shows, as if it were a discovery, in Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, the three "candles of the Renaissance," how these have fully proved with what facility

the Italian tongue may be adapted to the expression of every sentiment. In Dante, he says, "we shall find in perfection those excellencies which are dispersed among the ancient Greek and Roman writers."¹ He compares Petrarch's treatment of love with that by Ovid, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, or any other of the Latin poets; while he holds Boccaccio to be unrivalled "not only on account of the invention he displays, but also for the copiousness and elegance of his style. . . . So considering, we may conclude that no language is better for the purpose of expression than our own." Leo Battista Alberti² also defended and developed his mother-tongue, from the point of view that a dead language cannot suffice for adequate expression of the living thought of a living people: and forsaking Latin as a medium he used the vernacular. In this way, and by such men, the work of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio was continued and lifted into recognition by all as employing an instrument of dignified literary utterance. We find also corroboration in a true note struck by Joachim du Bellay, in the middle of the sixteenth century, in his tractate,³ so full of the spirit of modernity, wherein he endeavours to shew that the French tongue may not only become a literary medium, but as a living thing may receive enrichment as well. If anywhere, we find in this a sense of what was the critical and creative impulse of the Renaissance, in the attempt to bring native culture into touch with that of the classical age reborn into his own time. He protests against the idea that the Greek and Latin languages were the last repositories of full utterance and of perfect taste. And he objects to culture being kept, like a curio in a casket, imprisoned in Greek and Latin books, instead of being restored as from the dead, and sent forth into the region of living utterance on words that should wing their daily course along the lips of men. He deprecates the neglect by Frenchmen of anything written in their own language, and laments the common idea that the vulgar tongue is contemptible. He pleads that in one's mother tongue are found alike the

¹ *Commento di Lorenzo*. Ed. Aldo., 1554.

² 1405-1472.

³ *La Deffense et Illustration de la Langue Françoise*. Cf. Speroni's defence of the Italian tongue. *Vide* Villey's Edition of du Bellay. 1908.

greatest freedom for the utterance of passion and the finest music for such expression. What he says here is of universal application. It had been implied in Douglas's labour, and was said, in effect, by Lyndsay, and acted upon by him.

The author of the Prologue to *The Testament of Love*¹ summed up the same cause when he wrote: "Let then clerkes enditen in Latin, for they have the propertie of science and the knowing in that facultie; and lette Frenchmen in their French also enditen their queint terms, for it is kindly in their mouths; and let us shew our fantasies in such wordes as we lerneden of our dames tongue." We find this feeling even in the letter of the Earl of March in 1400² who, writing to King Henry IV of England, had excused his use of English, as being "mare cleir to myne understanding than Latyne or Fraunche."

Douglas had the same hope as those others for his native language, though he tried to enrich it too speedily by the introduction of terms and phrases which remained aliens in their Scottish environment. In his page we find a fresh and individual attempt to create a new vehicle of utterance, though he does not shake himself away from the ancient influence, because like many in other lands in his day, he cannot quite liberate his tongue from the thought that common speech is not fit worthily to express the idea of the sublime, and the majesty of divinely passionate experience.

Douglas's Work

The translation of the *Æneid* was begun, according to Douglas's own statement, in 1512, and it was finished, as he says in his epilogue,

Apon the fest of Mary Magdelan,
Fra Crystis byrth—the dait quha list to heir,
A thousand fyve hundreth and thretteyn zeir,³

that is to say, on 22nd July 1513, two months before Flodden's sorrow. Douglas attributes the credit of the initiation of the work to his cousin Henry, Lord Sinclair, under whose protection

¹ Long attributed to Chaucer: now decided to be by Thomas Usk, executed in 1386.

² National MSS. of Scotland, 1870, vol. ii.

³ *Tyme*, etc., 2.

he places himself against carping critic and unkind backbiter. Alas! his noble patron was amongst the brave who fell at Flodden, so his book had to stand upon its own merits.

Henryson had made the same excuse in his *Dedication* of the Fables:

Nocht of my self for vane presumption,
Bot be requiest and Precept of ane Lord . . .

whether a genuine plea or a poetic shelter cannot be decided, although it was the tradition of poets, in accordance with which even Virgil himself began the *Æneid* to please a patron.

Douglas pleads that his translation, though begun on the request of his relative and patron, was in reality but the fulfilment of a promise made to Venus, in the *Palice of Honour*, when he undertook to translate a book in her name; and, in rendering the story of Æneas her son into the Scottish tongue, he had now kept his word. The poets were, of course, uniquely the devotees of Venus, love being so largely the staple of their verse,—and the singers of France, in an especial degree, were in this category. Gower, in his *Confessio Amantis*, makes the goddess herself say:

And grete wel Chaucer when ye mete,
As my disciple and my Poete.¹

And the convention had a hardy life. Douglas's reference, shorn of its poeticism, seems simply to indicate that he had kept in contemplation, at any rate, the work which now he issues to the world. In his *Dedication*, or *Dyrectioun*, he says he now fulfills his

ald promyt
Quhilk I hir maid weil twelf zheris tofor:
As wytnessith my Palyce of Honour.²

He had promised it:

Sum tim efter, quhen I hav mair lasier.³

As with John Milton, the shadow of a great purpose had floated before his imagination through the progress of his earlier labours.

He was "midway on the journey of his life" when he finished

¹ MS. Harl. 3490.

² *Dyrectioun*, 120.

³ *Palice of Honour*, Small, vol. i., p. 66, l. 20.

his translation in 1513,¹ and he bade farewell to poesy when he laid down his pen. He stakes his all upon it.

Thus vp my pen and instrumentis full zore
 On Virgillis post I fix for evirmore
 Nevir from thens syk materis to discryve.
 My muse sal now be cleyn contemplatyve,
 And solitar, as doith the byrd in cage,
 Sen fer byworn is all my childis age,
 And of my days neir passyt the half dait
 That natur suld me grantyn, weil I wait.²

He may in this have recalled the tradition that Virgil himself had also intended on the completion of his masterpiece to leave the pursuit of poetry and devote himself to philosophy.

Douglas's Apologia

He gives his pleas for having laboured as he had done. His work will give innocent pleasure to many. It will enable them to

pas the tyme and eschew idylnes.³

But it will also, he justly claims, be of use as an educational medium, at a period when the Latin tongue was, in fact, the main vehicle of instruction. It will be of advantage to those who

wald Virgill to childryn expone.⁴

And, from the Church Councils of the age in which he wrote, it may be gathered, as by an intelligent eavesdropper, that the inferior clergy had little enough grasp of the classical tongue, many of them being scarcely conversant with their liturgy, much less with the great Latin literature which was the staple of mediæval culture.⁵ He feels that he may, by right, expect gratitude from them at least.

Thank me, tharfor, masteris of grammar sculys,
 Quhar ze syt techand on zour benkis and stulys,
 Thus haue I nocht my tyme swa occupy
 That all suld had my laubour onthryfty.⁶

¹ *Conclusioun*, 19.

³ *Dyrectioun*, 40.

² *Ib.* 13.

⁴ *Ib.* 43.

⁵ See *Statutes of the Scottish Church, 1225-1559*, Scottish History Society ed. Dr Patrick, 1907, p. 84. The preamble of the Statutes of the Provincia Council held in Blackfriar's Church, Edinburgh, 27th November 1549, acknowledges "crass ignorance of literature and of the liberal arts" as one of the causes of dissensions and occasions of heresies. *Vide* Hay Fleming's *Reformation in Scotland*, 1910, c. iii.

⁶ *Dyrectioun*, 47.

It was not undertaken as a refuge from idleness, but as the task of a loving heart in scanty leisure. Douglas tells us how it

for othir gret occupatioun lay
Onsteryt clos besyd me mony day.¹

Whatever that "othir gret occupatioun" was, while he was engaged upon this work he must have used special diligence, for he tells us, also,

as God lyst len me grace
It was compylit in auchteyn moneth space.²

It may be concluded from internal evidence that he began the Seventh Prologue in June 1512: wrote the twelfth Book in May, and the Mapheus Book in June, 1513. And, gathering from his own words that he was hindered for two months,³ it would seem that he took ten months to the first Six Books, and eight to the concluding Seven of the translation. He apologizes for its unrevised and unpolished condition, feeling that

gret scant of tyme and bissy cuyr
Has maid my wark mair subtell and obscur
And nocht sa plesand as it aucht to be.⁴

The work itself does bear proofs, in many ways, of haste and lack of revision, but apologies on such grounds were the common pleas of all the poets of the time. Notwithstanding this, he has the author's pride in his own offspring, which resents, while it fears, meddlesome editing: for he appeals to writers and readers to give the book a fair chance—

nother maggil nor mysmetir my ryme,
Nor altir not my wordis I zow pray.⁵

He makes an appeal, above all, to those who are expert in poesy,—those who are entitled to claim skill in the critical art,—to authorities rather than to authority, a poet's rather than a churchman's cry—

Surs capitall in veyn poetical.⁶

He leaves the work to their judgment, *after they have read it through*. The sense of their sympathy then assured, he is

¹ *Tyme*, etc., 5.

² *Ib.* 12.

³ *Ib.* 13.

⁴ *Ib.* 17.

⁵ *Tyme*, 24. Cf. Chaucer.—Preye I to God that non myswrite the, Ne the mys-metere. *Troilus and Creseide*, V. 1809.

⁶ *Dyrectioun*, 57.

blinded to all shame in his task, and he offers himself willingly to the "weirours," or doubters and cavillers,

Quhilk in myne E fast staris a mote to spy.¹

He heeds not

Quha sa lawchis heirat, or hedis noddis,²

nor does he intend to trouble himself

quhidder fulys hald me devill or sanct.³

He has in this the spirit so fearlessly reflected in Sir John Trevisa's Epistle: "as God granteth me grace, for blame of backbiters will I not blinne; for envy of enemies, for evil spiting, and speech of evil speakers, will I not leave to do this deed." It is fine to encounter a man who has faith in himself and his work. A man dedicated to his purpose touches the world to consecration and sacrifice. There is a great inspiration in every "Ego Athanasius contra mundum."

His Critics

He had apparently plenty of harsh contemners, who censured him for wasting good time in the work; and he feels that he has suffered somewhat in consequence,—

Quhairthrow I haue wrocht myself syk dispyte.⁴

It was doubtless considered, by many, a vain and futile labour to be dallying with

fenzeit fabillys of idolatry.⁵

What dealt with gods and children of the gods fell under this category, "for all the gods are idols dumb." By this work, considered by so many to be but misdirected industry he had been, in the eyes of some, degrading his office, and making of himself, as he puts it, a butt to shoot at.

This fear of blame for spending serious time in bringing before his period what so many seemed to think lying and obsolete superstitions and myths about persons that had never existed, had quite obviously been haunting him pretty closely,

¹ *Dyrectioun*, 66.

² *Ib.* 67.

³ *Ib.* 71.

⁴ *Ib.* 20.

⁵ *Ib.* 26.

and may have had some effect in causing him to follow certain modifications of a religious kind, quite in the spirit of the scholars of other countries.

Further, for friendship's sake, and loyalty to his patron, not for reward or praise, he had laboured, for he is no "cayk fylder," no sorning minstrel strumming for a meal. He is a friend writing for a friend, and trying to liberate a poet, locked up in a scholar's language, away from the general mass of the people. He thinks these should be the better for a share in the poetic delight and the moral guidance to be derived from the loosening of his thought into the vernacular. In fact, he is making Virgil free to all who list to read him, if they be athirst for his rich spirit. And it is no inferior poet whom he has translated, bringing forward out of obscurity

Na meyn endyte, nor empty wordis vayn,
Common engyn, nor stile barbarian.¹

He has led the majestic flood of noblest eloquence, in

profund and copyus plenitude,²

over the levels of his native plains enrichingly. And here he seems to have touched Dante's

Or se' tu quel Virgilio e quella fonte
Che spande di parlar si largo fiume? . . .

Yet, while he is confident of the merits of his labour, he is prepared for the accuracy of his rendering being questioned. He knows how

detractouris intil euery place
Or evir thai reid the wark byddis byrn the buke,³

cruelly spying out deficiencies, and crowing over their discoveries of faults,

sayand in euery manis face,
Lo, heir he failzeis, sa thair he leys, luyk.⁴

These, however, he challenges to go and do better for themselves. At any rate, he declares, if in a phrase here and there he may have erred, the sense of the poet he has truly grasped.

¹ *Dyrectioun*, 53.

² *Ib.* 56.

³ *Exclamatioun*, 11.

⁴ *Ib.* 17.

The Apologies of Poets

In all this, although what he says and hints may have been quite true, he more or less followed a fashion, examples of which can be plentifully found in the current literature of his time.¹ Thus,—in the *Prologue of the Persones Tale*,—Chaucer says :

this meditacioun
I put it ay under correccioun
Of clerkes, for I am not textuel ;
I take but the sentens, trusteth wel,
Therfor I make protestacioun
That I wol stonde to correccioun.

The same kind of conventional humility is to be found in Henryson's *Prologue* to his *Fables*, where, having duly apologized for his "rudenesse," he pleads,

And if I faile, bi cause of ignorance,
That I erre in my translacioun,
Lowly of hert and feythful obeisaunce
I me submyt to theyr correccioun
To theym that have more cliere inspecioun,
In matiers that touchen poyetry
And to reforme, that they me not deny.

Wyntoun, in his *Orygynalle Chronykil*, has the same throb.

My wit I ken sa skant thartill
That I drede sair thame till offend
That can me and my work amend . . .
For as I said, rude is my wit. . . .

Even the modern translator had the same mind, and makes the same claim as Douglas, when he writes, "I acknowledge that I have not succeeded in this attempt, according to my desire; yet shall I not be wholly without praise if in some sort I may be allowed to have copied the clearness, purity, easiness, and the magnificence of his style,"²—at once an apology and an assurance of the deepest and the highest, combined; perhaps a little turned towards the "pride that apes humility," probably pardonable in poets.

A poet is, perhaps, not always to be taken exactly at his word when he speaks either of his humility or incapacity. And Douglas's protestations may very well mean, "I know what I

¹ And earlier! See the prologue of the grandson of Jesus the Son of Sirach, regarding his translation of *Ecclesiasticus* from Hebrew into Greek, 130 B.C. Cf. also Abacuc Bysset's *Rolment of Courtes*.

² Dryden's *Preface*.

have achieved. Hands off from meddling." A poet, then as now, may say, "It is a poor thing, but mine own," and so be ready to defend his offspring to the last extreme.

Genius is, of course, both modest and self-assertive. It touches the former things and is touched by them, while it must make the venture of faith into the new. And so, while it feels its wings, it must at the same time be conscious that its footing is unsteady. Even Virgil had not the self-assurance of Horace or of Douglas in regard to the abidingness of the fruit of his labour. In fact, in a letter written to Augustus, which Macrobius quotes, he spoke of his having undertaken a work so immense as the *Æneid*, in a moment of folly,—

pæne vitio mentis.

In effect, however, it is what Rossetti's plea amounts to, when that poet speaks of his own translations as "not carelessly undertaken, though produced in the spare time of other pursuits more closely followed"; while he assures the reader that "on the score of care at least he has no need to mistrust it."¹

The old proud spirit which, at a later period, made a great race² write on the walls of their dwelling-places,—

"Thai say. Quhat say thai? Lat thaim sai,"

supported Douglas as he declared,

quhen all thar reid is rong,

That wycht mon speke that can nocht hald hys tong.³

Though he has spoken somewhat doubtfully of the criticism that awaits him, and the carping time through which he has persevered, he yet has the true poet's confidence in his achievement :

now ankyrrit is our bark,

We dowl na storm, our cabillys ar sa stark.⁴

Douglas felt the labour of translation a heavy task indeed. He speaks thankfully of the finish of

the lang desparit wark.

And he was not alone in thus deploring the drudgery of it.

¹ Introduction, *Early Italian Poets*.

² *Exclamatioun*, 35.

³ The Keiths, Earls Marischal.

⁴ *Ib.* 4.

Elphynstoun, the transcriber of the manuscript called after him, in Edinburgh University, after writing

Explicit Liber Decimus tertius Eneados,

expressed his deepest feelings on finishing his transcription, in the pregnant phrase—

Quod Bocardo et Baroco.

These are the mediæval names of the two hardest forms in Logic, from which whoso was entrapped into them found utmost difficulty in escaping; and this seems to cover the emotions of the wearily thankful scribe.

Churchmen and Virgil

Alongside of Douglas's apologies we must of course remember that the only fit critics of such works as his, were Churchmen; and that, in their eyes, the Latin tongue was too sacred to be lightly touched; while there was also that ecclesiastical prejudice against the vernacular, which made a translator be looked upon as one who was casting pearls before swine.

Besides, in the Middle Ages, Virgil,—as with so many whose excelling natural abilities were explained as being due to transactions with the shady side of the other world,—had, through many strange mutations, become, in the common view a mythical philosopher and magician. An entirely false scheme of biography had rooted itself, in regard to him, in the popular imagination.¹ Tales of magic, of the most fatuous kind, obscured the character of the poet; and this distorted fame spread over Europe. Petrarch was amongst the earliest of his defenders against these ridiculous calumnies; while, in 1630, Gabriel Naude defended many of the famous men whose names had been associated with legends of the Black Art,—

¹ *Vide* Letter from Chancellor Conrad, 1194, reproduced in Arnold of Lubeck's continuation of Helmold's *Chronicon Slavicum*: John of Salisbury: Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia Imperialia*, bk. iii. (circa 1211): Alexander Neckham, 1217: Hélinand, 1227: *Gesta Romanorum*: Gower's *Confessio Amantis*: Lydgate's *Bochas*: separate romances collected circa 1499 in Chap-book, *Les Faiz Merveilleux de Virgille*: Thoms, *Early English Prose Romances*, 1853: Comparetti, *Virgilio nel Medio Evo*, 1872: Rodocanachi, *Etudes et Fantaisies Historiques*, Paris, 1919. Cf. legends of Horace at Palestrina, Thomas the Rhymer, Michael Scot, Faust, etc.

Virgil amongst them, with Aristotle and Julius Cæsar. It should not have been difficult to clear the fame of the poet from such ridiculous stories as that, a lady in Rome having slighted him, he cast a glamour over the city so that not a fire could be lighted anywhere till she had apologized: that he built a palace in Rome, in which he could hear everything which was even whispered in the city: and that he married the daughter of the Soldan of Babylon, their mutual visits being made by means of a bridge of air! The tales of his wonder, and especially of his mischief, were almost without number. A somewhat similar Puck-ish transformation was made of George Buchanan, the great poet and humanist, who, to popular imagination, was, and in some places still is, considered to have been the king's jester, the creator of many ridiculous situations, and author of innumerable vulgar jokes.¹

The Church, following Tertullian rather than Origen, was opposed to the works of the heathen authors finding a popular vogue. Gregory the Great said, "The praises of Christ cannot be fitly uttered in the same tongue as those of Jove,"² and so clinched the argument for the language of the Latin Church. St Jerome's dream, which made him lay aside his favourite classic when the voice said, "Ciceronianus es, non Christianus; ubi enim thesaurus tuus, ibi est cor tuum,"³ fully expressed the ecclesiastical attitude. Thus, also, *Græculus* was taken as equivalent to *hæreticus*: while Latin was under frequent suspicion as being the instrument of immoral teaching. And Alcuin forbade the reading of Virgil in the monastery over which he presided, as tending to sully the pious imagination, and rebuked a secret lover of the poet by the title *Virgilian*, instead of *Christian*.⁴ Douglas, therefore, probably foresaw objection to his work, in the survival of such an attitude, as well as in the envy of those who did not love him. He also argued for the contact of Virgil with Christian teaching, as we shall see.

¹ Vide Chap-book. *The Witty and Entertaining Exploits of George Buchanan, the King's Jester*. This placed Buchanan at the English Court of James, twenty-one years after his death!

² Mullinger: *Schools of Charles the Great*, p. 77.

³ *Epistola ad Eustochium*.

⁴ Mullinger, p. 110.

Virgil's Position

Among classical poets, Virgil, of course, occupied in the Middle Ages the sublimest position. Dante was steeped in Virgil, who was to him the very personification of Philosophy and Science, and therefore most suitably the guide of his pilgrimage through the world of shadow. To Petrarch, also, Virgil meant as much, as we find from the note in his copy of the Roman poet, in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, where he records the time of his first meeting with Laura, and the date of her death. "I write in this book," he says, "rather than anywhere else, because it comes more frequently under my eye." That Virgil's name was held in the very highest estimate is further proved by the admiration and reverence shewn to him, while others were neglected; and when printing came to the help of authors he was an immediate beneficiary, for ninety editions, at least, were issued from the press before the beginning of the sixteenth century. The respect awarded to him by Dante confirmed his position.

It is a little strange, in this connection, that Douglas does not mention Dante's name. He probably would be more inclined to recall the poet-exile of Florence in his own dark days of exile, when the sweet labour of his muse had, alas! become but as a dream of light, remembered from the years that were dead. Such silences are not uncommon. Even Dryden does not mention Douglas, his own great predecessor in the work of translation. Nevertheless, one should have expected otherwise of Douglas, if only under the influence of Chaucer, who spoke of the great Florentine, and shewed the remembrance of his touch, in *Troilus*, and in *The Parlement of Foules*; as well as from his own pioneer position.

Virgil in Scotland

By the period of Gawain Douglas the Roman was the favourite of all who anywhere loved lofty literature, Homer being known in Scotland only through Latin, as Greek did not penetrate to that country as an educational medium until 1534, when Erskine of Dun brought with him from his travels a teacher of the language, whom he settled at Montrose. The

story of Troy was more familiar in the now forgotten pseudo-epigraphs¹ of Dictys of Crete, and Dares the Phrygian, which were supposed to be free from Homer's anti-Trojan prejudice.

His Appeal to Douglas

Douglas was drawn to Virgil both as a Churchman and a scholar. The works of the Roman poet had, in the Middle Ages, a pseudo-philosophical character attributed to them; and the method of *Sortes Virgilianæ*² lifted them into a position almost equal to that which the Bible held in this respect amongst our forefathers. Men left serious decisions, in crises of grave moment, to the phrases which first caught their eye on a chance opening of the page. He was, in common repute, an associate of Aristotle, Euclid, Solomon, Samson, King Arthur, and many others of similar standing. Allegory moved through the alleys of the Roman's thought, with dim candle; and had long believed that it saw a kind of shadowy Christianity veiled in the noble utterance and stately phrase. It seemed as though Virgil carried a lantern which left his own path obscure but lit the path of those who followed him. This convention notably influenced Douglas in one side of his work.

Though Douglas tells us that his cousin Lord Sinclair had given him the great alternative—

With grete instance diuers tymys seir
Prayit me translait Virgill or Homeir,

he could not have attempted the Greek poet at first hand. But he naturally knew his Latin classics, and speaks as with immediate acquaintance, of

the mixt and subtyll Martial,

¹ (a) Pretended discovery in fourth century of a MS. of the Trojan War, said to have been uncovered in the tomb of Dictys of Crete, by an earthquake; written in the time of Nero, in Phœnician characters, in the Greek language, by Dictys, companion of Idomeneus, mentioned in the *Iliad*, and translated into Latin by Quintus Septimus. (b) Trojan contemporary history by Dares the Phrygian—discovered at Athens by Cornelius Nepos, who had turned it into Latin. These pseudo-historical writings had great vogue. Vide *House of Fame*, iii. 377, and *Troilus and Creseide*, i. 146, where these are set alongside of Homer. Vide M. Joly, *Roman de Troie*.

² Cf. in this respect the portent so obtained by Alexander Severus, in *Æn.* vi. 852; and Charles the First in *Æn.* iv. 615–620. Vide Rabelais, bk. iii. c. 10. Cf. the mother of Goethe, in the same spirit, pricking the Bible with a pin to discover the chances of her son's recovery! Vide Tennyson's *Enoch Arden*.

and of Horace as

the morall wise poete.

He refers again to Homer in a prose note to the Sixth Book, which appears in some copies of the Black Letter Edition, of 1553, wherein he suggests that in the preceding Books Virgil had followed the *Odyssey*, for the perils through which Æneas had passed; and in the other six Books had followed the *Iliad*, in describing battles.

Humanism and Christianity

The attempt of the scholars of the fifteenth century to reconcile Christianity and the ancient religion of Greece was probably, at root, the result of the instinct to give humanity as much as possible to feed upon,—practically the shifting of the flock of Thought to fresh grounds and virgin pastures. The ecclesiastical and feudal systems had failed, and the soul sought earlier sources for truth and life. The gods of Greece ceased to be looked upon with abhorrence; their story became a new treasure-house of untrammelled art and poetic speculation. It is true that Gemisthus Pletho¹ had declared his aim to supersede the Christian Church and religion by a neo-Platonic mysticism; but Ficino,² when, according to tradition, he kept a candle burning before a bust of Plato and another before the Virgin, is perhaps more representative of the comprehensiveness of the new Spirit, for one large section of its scholars at any rate. Douglas leaves no reader in dubiety as to his position. He admires the genius of the pagan, but he lays his work on the shrine of divine truth.³

The Appeal of Universal Truth

The Renaissance spirit awoke in man the feeling that he was a citizen of all the world of truth and beauty. Art became an integral part of religion, and no longer a mere acolyte at sacred shrines, or even a proselyte of the gate. The heathen Olympus was scaled by Christian poets; and Hippocrene became the refreshing well in the desert for the pilgrim of

¹ 1355-1450.

² 1433-99.

³ Cf. Prol. vi.

Christian thought to rest beside. All souls met on the common ground of humane thought. There entered into this new atmosphere a fresh appeal of the gods who once had deigned to tabernacle in the tents of men and talk with rustic shepherds by their desert fires. And even Churchmen were turned thus, with a freshly sympathetic interest, to the pages of the ancient authors.

The Science of Comparative Religion appeals to-day with something of the same power, to the human mind, kaleidoscopic in its intuitions, which are the touchstones of the veracity of every age. But the fifteenth century had no Theory of Evolution, or of mental progression from less to more, a process of the soul from darkness, through the dawn, to noonday. Nor had it, as the product of experience, that grasp of historic comparisons which marks modernity. Allegory was the key to the divine mystery, and a world of analogues was evolved, in the misty border land between the old light and the new. The divinities of Olympus, and their speakers, Homer and Plato, addressed the children of the Middle Ages with the same power as the patriarchs and prophets.¹ Pomponazzo² went so far as to declare that Moses, Mahomet, and Christ, were all of equal authority. The resultant process in literature was somewhat like a modern restoration of the shattered glass in an ancient ruined window, or the rekindling of extinguished fires. Incongruity, and a world of flickering and uncertain shadows, was the natural result. The Astrologers, the Cabbala, Plato, Homer, Holy Scripture, Boccaccio, and whatsoever the soul encountered in its awaking, were used as quarries for pseudo-philosophy and poesy, which sought to find, under fables of the gods of old, the substratum of universal truth. The issue was a semi-amalgam of the sacred and profane. The Revival of Learning cleared the field of its confusions, which had made Boëthius equal to Plato, and even Homer inferior to Ovid.

¹ Cf.

On loft is gone the glorius Apollo.

Dunbar: *Of the Resurrection of Christ*, l. 22.

It has been unnecessarily argued from this that the Catholic Church did not adopt the Miltonic idea that the heathen gods were evil spirits.

² 1452-1525.

The Discovery of the Age

Humanism found that a great secret of vitality had been dug out of the forgotten dust into which convention had trodden it. Whatever had touched the living interest of man had touched it vitally, and did not lose its force. No word that had spoken awakingly to a living heart had died utterly; no vision that had ever unfolded the wonder of its beauty was futile entirely. The soul of a truth went eternally marching on, through all victorious spiritual progressions. It was in this that the unchristened wisdom and beauty of Virgil made their direct appeal to Douglas. And so he clothed them in the fairest vesture he knew, and tuned their music as fitly as he could to divine melody, for the benefit and enlightenment of the heart of man.

Petrarch regarded the thinker and poet, thus, as also teachers of truth, without trammel of the dead hand. Progress towards perfect vision and utterance through the sense of individual personality using all the wisdom that lay in the words of Church father, and classical author, and, above all, in the page of Holy Scripture, was the true ideal of a living man, in his eyes. And Douglas, in his Virgilian labours, is filled and guided by the same spirit.

Petrarch and Virgil

Petrarch's deep devotion to ancient culture did not paganize him. He did not stumble into the custom and usage of later Italian humanists, whereby pagan and Christian ideals were awarded equality of reverence. Yet he says to Virgil: "Did wandering Æneas welcome thee, and hast thou gone through the ivory gate? . . . Dost thou inhabit that still expanse of heaven which receives the blessed, where the stars shine softly on the peaceful shades of the renowned? Wast thou received thither after the conquest of the Stygian abodes, on the arrival of the Highest King who, victor in the mighty conflict, crossed the unhallowed threshold with feet that were pierced, and with might indomitable beat down the bars of Hell with his wounded hands?" He plainly accepted, as an aid to the intellectual mastery of human questions, the classical writers, in their

degree, in co-operation rather than in co-ordination with the revelation of Jesus Christ. His grasp of the meaning of the true light kept him from materialistic impiety. All his work was anticipatory of the splendour, and with formative influence upon the age that succeeded him in Art and Letters.

The Result

While the awaking of the soul to expression of individual revolt from Mediævalism as a sealed and ultimate scheme of thought, prompted the flight of the spirit in reality into a world where all facts were relevant, there was at the same time an attempt to prove or discard theories by reference to their norm,—a long stride away from Allegory and ecclesiastical dogma into critical direct study of poets, historians, scriptural and patristic literatures, in their original forms. This involved, for some, escape from Aristotle to Plato, while many were turned back to the New Testament and the Fathers. For the first, it gave philosophy a chance. They found, as others had, how

povera e nuda va filosofia.¹

And Lorenzo de' Medici spoke what many felt when he made his appeal to Reason, to break her bonds, leaving false hopes, and seeking freedom, her birthright,

Leva dal collo tuo quella catena
Ch' avvolto vi tenea falsa bellezza :
E la vana speranza, che ti mena,
Leva dal cuor, e fa il governo pigli
Di te, la parte più bella e serena.

For the second, it seemed as though early Christianity were born again,—that the divine Spirit of the universe touched directly the divine which had been sleeping in the clay, or muttering in its slumber. For all, it meant enrichment of fancy, extension of knowledge, and a draught of poesy fresh from wells that had been sealed against the lips of all except the learned. And the hand of Douglas rolled away the stone for his own people. As Jebb points out, not only in Philosophy, nor in Literature nor in Art alone, but in every form of intellectual activity the Renaissance threw open “a new era for mankind.”

¹ Petrarch : Sonnet, *La gola e'l sonno, etc.*

Virgil and Christianity—Douglas's use of him—Douglas's View—Lymbus

This movement was not, however, permitted to pass without protest, Padre Pompeo Venturi¹ leading against Dante for his having mingled paganism with Christianity. In fact, throughout mediæval times Christian thought was in an almost constant grapple with the traditions of pagan antiquity and the deep reverence for the great Roman poet; but many fragments of ancient beliefs actually passed at this time, without baptism, into Christianity. Even Erasmus expressed the fear that with the revival of pagan literature would come the revival of actual paganism, and he and his fellows busied themselves with the revival of simple Christianity—"primitive apostolic sincerity." It was known that St Augustine had commended Virgil as the first and best of poets, though St Jerome condemned him. Lesser lights followed the big candles, *pro* and *con*, so that, while some monasteries treasured manuscripts of Virgil's works, others held him to be opposed to the Psalms, and protégé of the powers of evil. Douglas, however, had a far other view of his poet, and is prepared to quote the pagan as a defender of the Christian faith, or, at any rate, as a Christian evidence, though born out of due time. He was, of course, not a pioneer in this; for, in the early liturgical play, *Prophetæ*,² of about the eleventh century, we find standing among the thirteen witnesses invoked for testimony to the divine mission of Jesus Christ,—and named as having predicted His advent,—Virgil, along with John the Baptist, Nebuchadnezzar, and the Sibyl,—with direct reference, of course, in Virgil's case, to that poet's fourth Eclogue. The play itself was evolved from the pseud-epigraphic *Sermo contra Judæos*, which, attributed to St Augustine, was honoured in certain churches by having a place awarded to it in the offices for Christmas. In its earliest form it followed the *Sermo* closely, but the dialogue was expanded at a later time, and Balaam also inserted among the prophets. In this connection it is worth noting with what hardihood such a mode of thought survived, when we find that even in 1670

¹ Notable Commentator on Dante, b. 1693, d. 1752.

² *Vide* Sepet, *Les Prophètes du Christ*, Paris, 1878.

John Eachard, in his *Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy*, could write ironically, "It is usually said by those that are intimately acquainted with him, that Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* contain mystically all the Moral Law for certain, if not a great part of the Gospel." The same remark might have been made in regard to Virgil, whom Douglas very seriously quotes along these lines, insisting, in fact, in his Prologue, that the Sixth Book of the *Æneid* is an inspired allegory of the future life.¹

Schawis he nocht heir the synnys capital ?
 Schawis he nocht wikkit folk in endles pane ?
 And purgatory for synnys venyall,
 And vertuus pepil into the plesand plane ?
 Ar al sik sawis fantasy, and invane ?
 He schawis the way ever patent down to hell,
 And rycht difficil the gait to hevin agane,
 With ma gude wordis than thou or I kan tell² . . .

And, thocht our faith neid nane authorising
 Of gentiles bukis, nor by sik heithin sparkis
 Zit Virgil writis mony just claus condng,
 Strengthening our beleve, to confound payan warkis.
 Qhow oft reherisis Austyne, cheif of clarkis,
 In his gret volume of the cite of God,
 Hundreth versis of Virgil quhilk he markis
 Agane Romanys til vertu thame to brod.³

He gathers together what he considers to be the Christian teaching of Virgil's Sixth Book as to the other world :

principally the sted of fell tormentis . . .
 Ane other place quhilk purgator representis,
 And dar I say the Lymbe of faderis ald,
 With Lymbus puerorum.⁴

In support of this last-named doctrine he takes those lines of the *Æneid* as authoritative :

Continuo auditæ voces, vagitus et ingens,
 Infantumque animæ flentes, in limine primo
 Quos dulcis vitæ exsortis et ab ubere raptos
 Abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo . . .⁵

As qhow thir heithin childir thar weirdis wary,
 Wepand and waland at the first port of hell . . .⁶

Virgil seems to teach in the *Æneid* that a full term of life, ended

¹ Cf. Fenelon's Letter to Chevalier destouches: "You love Virgil . . . Well, I refer you to Horace . . . I undertake to inculcate to you almost all the Christian counsels which you need . . . or to dispoine them under lines of Horace." *Vide* Sainte-Beuve, *Causerie*, 1st April 1850.

² Prol. vi. 41

³ *Ib.* 57.

⁴ *Ib.* 89.

⁵ 426.

⁶ Prol. vi. 55.

by natural or honourable death, is necessary in order to win admission to the fields of rest in the under-world of shades. He therefore places suicides, those who have been wrongly condemned, and those who have died of love's sorrow, cut off before their time, in Limbus, next to infants. Tertullian apparently agrees with this, but has an additional idea, as to the period of termination of this state: "Aiunt et immatura morte præventas eo usque vagare istic, donec reliquatio compleatur ætatum quas pervenissent si non intempestive obiissent."

Douglas followed in regard to this¹ those who had gone before him along the same way. The first use of the word *Limbus* in its theological sense is in the *Summa* of Aquinas, and its extension was much helped by Dante's *Inferno*, Canto IV, where, in the uppermost of the nine circles into which the place of expiation and doom is divided, Virgil shews the souls, of whom himself is one, along with Homer, Horace, Ovid and Lucian, and all the figures of the great, from Scripture and from pagan writings—who, without offence, were yet of the world's period before Christ, and so being unbaptized, fell short of the full peace of the blessed. In the day after Douglas's day Archbishop Hamilton, in the *Scottish Catechism*,² expiscates the belief, shewing that it refers to the home of babes unbaptized; but, being free from actual transgression, their only penalty is deprivation of glory, in consequence of their ordinary human heritage of original sin.

The influence of Douglas in this matter of theology in literature is felt later on when Dr Farmer, in the famous *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare*, refers to him in connection with the doctrine of Purgatory thus: "Gawain Douglas really changes the Platonic hell into the punytion of soulis in purgatory."³ And he draws attention to the similarity of the phrase used by the ghost in Hamlet, to that used by Douglas. The ghost informed Hamlet of his unrestful doom,

¹ The first decree of the Church on the subject is found in the Council of Florence, 1439. Cf. Newman's *Dream of Gerontius*.

² 1552. Reprinted in facsimile 1882, with historical introduction by Professor Mitchell of St Andrews: also in 1884, with introduction by Dr T. G. Law. A copy is in the Library of Edinburgh University. It is very rare. Laing's copy in 1879 brought £148 at Sotheby's, and in 1905, £141.

³ Second Edition, 1767, p. 43.

Till the foul crimes done in my days of nature
Are burnt and purged away.¹

Douglas's explanation is,

Quhen that the lif disseueris fra the body,
Than netheles not zit ar fullyle
All harme ne cryme fra wrachit saulis separat,
Nor ald infectioun come of the body layt :
And thus aluterly it is neidfull thing
The mony vycis lang tyme induryng
Contrackit in the corps be done away
And purgit.²

It is true that all voices won their listeners at that period almost with equal weight, and were not looked upon, as now we take them, in their degree, in the natural growth of mind interpreting phenomena. But Douglas strikes out from the accepted standpoint, when he declares, as he appeals to the Virgin Mother :

All other Jove and Phebus I refus
Lat Virgill hald hys mawmentis to him self
I wirschip nowder ydoll, stok nor elf
Thocht furth I write so as myne autour dois.³

Douglas's Muse

In the light of his period, Douglas, the Churchman and Christian poet, naturally feels in his poem that he must invoke the "Prince of Poetis," who is the very King of kings, to be his gydar and laid stern.⁴

He turns also from Calliope to Mary Mother :

Thou virgyn moder and madyn be my muse . . .
Albeit my sang to thy hie maieste
Accordis nocht.⁵

And again he cries :

Thou art our Sibill, Cristis moder deir.⁶

In similar thought he calls her Son,

that hevynly Orpheus
Grond of all gude, our Saluyour Ihesus.⁷

¹ Act i. 5, 12.

³ Prol. x. 152. Mahomets, *i.e.* idols, as with early writers, used also of Satan. Cf. Burns, "Auld Mahoun."

⁴ Prol. i. 453 (Small, 459).

⁶ Prol. vi. 145.

² vi. 12, 31.

⁵ *Ib.* 462 (Small, 468).

⁷ Prol. i. 468 (Small, 474).

His Interpretations

Again, in his *Comment*, he explains, in this spirit, the meeting of Æneas with Venus his mother "in liknes of a vergyn or a mayd: by the quhilk ye sall understand that Venus was in the ascendent, and had domynation in the hevyn the tym of his natyvitie; and for that the planet Venus was the signifiar of his byrth and had domination and speciall influens towart hym. . . . And weyn nocht for this thocht poetis fenzeis Venus the planet, for the Caus foirsaid, to be Eneas mother, at thai beleve nocht he was motherles . . . and that Venus metis Eneas in form and lyknes of a maid is to be onderstood that Venus the planate that tym was in the syng of the Virgyn." All this is consonant with that borderland period of thought in which a man, one foot in the Middle Ages and the other in the dawning age of neo-classic literature, could look upon Christ as a diviner Plato, or Plato as a Christ *in posse*.

In the same spirit of semi-philosophical interpretation he follows Boccaccio's interpretation of the gods, as in the *De Genealogia Deorum* of that poet,—Juno being "the erth and the water," Jupiter "the ayr and the fyre," etc. For all kindred information he refers to "John Bocas," with the reverence of a devout follower. He also quotes Landinus,¹ "that writis morally apon Virgill," as shewing how "Eneas purposis to Italy, his land of promysion; that is to say, a just perfyte man entendis to mast soueran bonte and gudnes, quhilk, as witnessyth Plato, is contemplation of godly thingis or dyvyn warkis. His onmeysabill ennymy Juno, that is fenyet queen of realmys, entendis to dryve him from Italy to Cartage: that is Avesion or concupissance to ryng or haf wardly honouris, and draw him fra contemplation to the active lyve; quhilk quhen scho falis by hir self, tretis scho with eolus, the neddyr part of raison, quhelk sendis the storm of mony wardly consalis in the just manis mynd." And so forth.

With all his love for the heathen poet Douglas never forgets himself as "the reverend father in God . . . Bishop of Dunkeld." And herein his needle just trembles from its Renaissance polestar. But he had his Renaissance moments.

¹ b. 1424; d. about 1508.

In fact, his translation of Virgil was itself a Renaissance act. Gleams of the new day flash along his line. His invocation in the opening of his work :

Lawd, honour, praysyngis, thankis infynyte
To the and thy dulce ornate fresch endyte,
Maist reuerend Virgill, of Latyn poetis prynce,

shews his estimate of his original, as lofty as Ovid's regarding the *Æneid* :

quo nullum Latio clarius exstat opus.¹

The author of *Lancelot of the Laik* has the same phrase in regard to the poet's " fresch enditing of his laiting tounge " ;² and Douglas's invocation might well be an echo of Dante's verse :

O degli altri poeti onore e lume,
Vaghiami il lungo studio e il grande amore,
Che m'ha fatto cercar lo tuo volume,

for, over and over again, he displays a similar spirit of close devotion to his poet.

His Originality

In his work Douglas claims originality, in that he has not tried to imitate any other scholar, but that he follows

eftir my fantasy.³

And he claims no inspiration, nor the possession of aught beyond what a scholar should possess, doing his best,

Not as I suld, I wrait, bot as I couth.⁴

And when he says he passes on the spirit of the ancient poet,

new fra the berry run,⁵

not in artificial phrase, but in

haymly playn termys famyliar,⁶

he is making that personal stroke which is characteristic of the neo-classicism in its search back to sources, and its claim for the rights of the vernacular.

¹ *IL. Eleg.* xxxiv. 66; *de Art. Amor.* iii. 337.

² *Prol.* 327.

³ *Dyrectioun*, 98.

⁴ *Ib.* 110.

⁵ *Ib.* 90.

⁶ *Ib.* 94.

Douglas and Caxton

Douglas objects to Caxton's work, which Caxton described as founded on, and as being practically a translation of, "a lytyl booke in Frenche, which late was translated oute of Latyn by some noble clerk of Fraunce,¹ which booke is name Eneydos, made in Latyn by that noble poete and grete clerke Vyrgyle." His condemnation of Caxton's book is quite modern both in its reason and in its scathingly searching scorn. The original was, in reality, not at all a translation from Virgil, but from a loose French version of an Italian paraphrase of certain portions of the *Æneid*,—a kind of eclectic romance based on that poem and *The Fall of Princes* by Boccaccio. It never reached, in Caxton's rendering, a second issue, though the Printer seems to have executed a large edition, to judge by the frequency of the copies extant. Caxton himself was painfully conscious of difficulties before him in his task, owing to the diversity of English dialects, and the fact that he was not acquainted at first hand with Virgil, as he explicitly declares. For he mentions how he had submitted his work to John Skelton, skilled in English, having "late translated the epystles of Tulle, and the boke of Dyodorus Syculus, and diverse other werkes oute of Latyn in to Englyshe, not in rude and olde langage, but in polyshed and ornate termes craftely, as he had redde Vyrgyle, Ouyde, Tullye, and all the other noble poetes and oratours to me unknowen."

Douglas justly complains that it is not Virgil; that in time, place, style, spirit and character, it is wrong, and unfair to the author in whose name it is put forward. And here he is in touch with the Renaissance, and with its reverence for the norm. He mentions point after point where Caxton's book goes astray, and where it is deficient. He deplores that any one

So schamefully that story dyd pervert;
I red hys wark with harmys at my hart,
That syk a buke, but sentence or engyne,
Sud be intitillit eftir the poet dyvyne.²

He mourns that his poet should be misrepresented

With syeh a wycht, quhilk trewly, be myne entent,
Knew neuer thre wordis of all quhat Virgill ment.

¹ Guillaume de Roy.

² Prol. i. 144.

He returns to the attack in the *Proloug of the Fyft Buik*, again condemning the audacity of Caxton :

Now harkis sportis, myrthis and myrry plays,
 Full gudly pastans on mony syndry ways,
 Endyte by Virgil, and heir by me translate,
 Quhilk William Caxton knew never al hys days :
 For as I sayd befor, that man forvays,
 Hys febil proys beyn mank and mutulate.¹

It seems a very persistent and hard attack, but Caxton's phrase, written, of course, in ignorance—"made in Latyn by that noble poet and grete clerke Vyrgyle"—provoked it. And probably also Caxton's appeal, "And if any man . . . findeth such terms that he cannot understand, let him go and learne Virgil or the pistles of Ovid," only deepened the provocation. The "Good Bishop" was not, therefore, "furiously angry with Caxton for not doing what he never pretended to do with Virgil,"² but was genuinely irritated over what he felt to be a misrepresentation of the poet to whom he was honestly devoted.

Douglas and Mapheus

Yet, notwithstanding his fierce attack on Caxton as having represented as Virgil's what Virgil never wrote, he himself included in his own book, on the level of companionship with the immortal Roman, the work of Mapheus Vegius, who had written a supplement to the poem, as a thirteenth book of the *Æneid*. Mapheus was Almoner to Pope Martin the Fifth, and died in 1458, so that his fame was quite fresh, and some of his Italian countrymen esteemed him as the best of all poets who had appeared for a thousand years, not excluding even Petrarch. His works were much read, and his supplement set without scruple alongside of Virgil's in the Edition of 1480 by Rubeus, the Venetian of 1482, and hosts of others later.

Douglas whimsically explains his action in the matter by narrating, in mediæval fashion, how, in a dream, during his walk abroad in the fields, having fallen asleep in a pleasant evening in June, he encountered this poet as an aged man who is much displeased by Douglas's neglect of his poem. He asks,

¹ Prol. v. 46.

² Saintsbury: *English Prosody*, vol. i. 275.

Gyf thou has afore tyme gayn onrycht
 Followand sa lang Virgill a gentile clerk,
 Quhy schrynkis thou with my schort cristyn wark ?
 For, thocht it be bot poetry we say,
 My buke and Virgillis morall beyn, baith tway.¹

Here he looks over his shoulder from the New Light, and feels that the Christianity of Mapheus recommends his work to equal treatment with that of the pagan poet, though the Renaissance writers were inclined to reverse that plea. His Renaissance gird at Caxton is not only weakened here in regard to its influence on his position, but he steps still further back into the dark when he adds to his impeachment the complaint that Caxton does not do justice to what is veiled under "the cluddes of dirk poetry,"—the Christianizing allegory, and the shadowy spirituality of the Roman's teaching. Douglas further answers the poet's complaint by urging that the addition was unnecessary, indeed, unjustifiable, much as the fifth wheel added to a cart would only be an incumbrance. And, besides, he had probably given enough time, which might well have been more profitably employed, in the labours he had already spent :

Thus sair me dredis I sal thoill a heit
 For the grave study I haue so long forleit.²

But the old poet suddenly assailed him with his staff, and so he was glad to escape by promising to take up the supplementary translation. It is quite apparent that Douglas was too good a scholar and too true a poet to do this without proffering an excuse. He probably bowed to some external advice ; or, against his own opinion, surrendered to popular custom of his time. But he may also have been influenced by the contemporary editions of the poet, which included the supplementary Book.

Thomas Twyne, in 1584, followed Douglas in this same matter, in his completion of Phaër's translation,³ but he smilingly says, "I have not done it upon occasion of any dreame, as Gawin Douglas did it into Scottish, but mooved with the worthines of the worke, and the neirnes of the argument, verse, and stile, unto Virgil, wherein I judge the writer hath declared himself an happie imitatour."

¹ Prol. xiii. 138.

² *Ib.* 129.

³ London, 1584.

His Early Method

Douglas, in his *Palice of Honour*, following the poetic tradition, had set a mob in the salon of Minerva, all on equal terms,—the sibyl, Circe, Deborah, Judith, Jael, Solomon, Aristotle, Sallust, Livy, Socrates, Averroës, Enoch, Job, Ulysses, Cicero, and Melchizedek, while the goddess Diana is attended by the daughter of Jephthah, Polixena, Penthesilia, Iphigenia, and Virginia, and “uthir flouris of feminitie,” whom the poet does not particularize. The Court of Venus had Arcite, Palamon, Æmilia, Dido, and Æneas, Troilus and Cressida, Pyramus and Thisbe, Paris and Helen, Antony and Cleopatra; and others—

“As ane multitude thay war innumerabil.”

The poem has its own crowd of poets, and, of course, one might guess who were there, though Douglas apologizes for some omissions. Homer is the only Greek mentioned. Ovid, “digest and eloquent,” “the greit Virgilus,” Terence, Juvenal,

like ane mowar him allone
Stude scornand everie man as they gaed by!—

Martial, Poggius,

with mony girne and grone.
On Laurence Valla spittand and cryand fy :

Petrarch, Boccaccio, and other luminaries of the new learning, with Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate; and the Scots,—Kennedy, Dunbar, and Quintin Shaw.¹

Douglas is standing there on the old platform looking at the horizon of the new day. In his later poem he is the poet and priest in equal proportions; and a similar division holds a hazy balance in his page between the Old Light and the New. His *Æneid* verse is redolent of the spirit of the New, while in his earlier poem there is the pride of a scholar in his mention of the names of his poets, and something of the catholicity of the humanist in massing them together as he does.

¹ Cf. Henryson. In hell Orpheus finds Julius Cæsar, with popes, cardinals and others together.

His later Affinities—How he stands with Æneas—His Protest against Chaucer

In his Virgil, his affinities with the conventions of the Middle Ages, his mental and moral bent towards theologizing, and his feudal outlook, which makes him speak of Virgil as a baron,¹—natural enough in one whose title-page later on bears the proud statement that the Author is “Unkil to the Erle of Angus,” himself being the son of a house noble even to princeliness in Scottish annals,—load Douglas, as with a bias, away from the New Birth. His work is, in fact, the work of an old aristocrat, in birth, blood, and learning. *Noblesse oblige* is the ideal he had before him as a maxim in it. He therefore had to defend the aristocrat Æneas, asserting that he is still a “mirror for princes, verteous, sincer, gentill and liberall . . . quhais vertavis gif the Pryncis of our dayis wyll follow they schal not onely be favored of God, but also well beloved of all gud men. . . .” He is compelled, of course, in this spirit to object to Chaucer’s reference to his hero in the *Legend of Dido*,—

Glory and honour, Virgill Mantuan,
Be to thy name ! and I shal, as I can,
Folow thy lantern, as thou gost beforne,
How Eneas to Dido was forsworn.²

Douglas will have none of this, which he looks upon as a slander. For he clothes Æneas with the character of a mediæval knight, faithful to his plighted word ; and, though he excuses Chaucer as being

evir, God wait, all womanis frend,

he yet protects his hero from that poet’s very painfully candid allegation, holding Æneas up as a mirror of virtue and grace, truly serving God—a method which, of course, brought the picture before his own time with a clearer outline and a more convincing power. The following lines, six in number, most fully contain a summary for the defendant,—

He hated vice, abhorring craftineis,
He was a myrour of verteu and of grais.

¹ Cf. Chaucer, making Theseus a duke and Aristotle a clerk, etc. Cf. also Henryson: Sir Troylus and Sir Orpheus, and their knightly piety.

² *Legende of Good Women*, 925.

Just in his promys ever, and stout in mynd,
To God faithfull, and to his freyndys kynd.
Verteous, vyse, gentil and liberall,
In feates of war excelleng vderis all.¹

There is neither note nor hint given by Small as to where he got these verses, which he printed in his edition. They appear in the Black Letter Edition of 1553: and of course in Ruddiman. They are not in any of the known manuscripts except the Bath; and Small quotes no authority for the interpolation in the body of his text. Douglas was strong enough in his protest without them. He says:

My mastir Chauser gretly Virgill offendit,
All thoch I be to bald hym to reпреif,
He was fer baldar, certis, by hys leif,
Sayand he followit Virgillis lantern toforn,
Quhou Eneas to Dydo was forsworn.
Was he forsworn? Than Eneas was fals:
That he admittis, and callys hym traytour als.
Thus wenyng allane Ene to haue reпреvit
He has gretly the prynce of poctis grevit,
For as said is, Virgill dyd diligens,
But spot of cryme, reproch or ony offens,
Eneas for to loif and magnyfy,
And, gif he grantis hym maynsworn fowlely,
Than all hys cuyr and crafty engyne gais quyte,
His twelf zheris laubouris war nocht worth a myte.²

Reid the ferd buke quhar queyn Dido is wraith,
Thair sal zhe fynd Ene maid nevir aith,
Promyt nor band with hir fortill abyde;
Thus him to be maynsworn may nevir betyde.³

And so, further, in a full defence of the moral integrity of his hero.

Commentators, along with translators, have felt the same difficulty in this matter. Dryden had to write against his critics a defence of his poet "and what they have to urge against the manners of his hero" . . . He shews how Virgil, creating Æneas as a prototype of Augustus, was compelled to make him a perfect character. As such he was accepted; and Sidney, in his *Apologie for Poesie*, simply followed the traditional estimate, when he spoke of "so excellent a man as Virgil's Æneas," and called him "a virtuous man in all

¹ ProL. i. 330 (Small).

² *Ib.* i. 409 (Small, 415).

³ ProL. i. 436 (Small, 442).

fortunes." Dryden's idea was that a hero ought not to be a character of perfect virtue, for then he could not without injustice be made unhappy; nor yet altogether wicked, because he could not then be pitied.¹ Had Douglas dedicated his poem to James IV while writing it, he might have set up the King as an Augustus, or very suitably, though perilously, worked out a parallel with Æneas; but he was mindful in this, at any rate, that he was engaged on a translation, not in creating a characterization.

The hero of the Latin poem inevitably appealed to a Churchman, along a special line. For the wanderings of Æneas were not only to found a city but to inaugurate a new worship in Italy,—

"inferretque deos Latio."

He is spoken of as

"insignem pietate virum."

And he constantly displays his great faith, his trust in the guidance of the gods, with accompanying prayer, sacrifice and thanksgiving, while visions, omens, and prophecies are frequent concomitants of his experiences. Virgil set piety before valour, in his poem, and justly so, since a man may be brave enough and yet be impious and vile. So, under the circumstances, Douglas had to expatiate. But yet it is difficult to explain away Dido. "Upon the whole matter," says Dryden,² "and, humanly speaking, I doubt there was a fault somewhere: and Jupiter is better able to bear the blame than either Virgil or Æneas. . . . If the poet argued not right, we must pardon him for a poor blind heathen, who knew no better morals." A very characteristic method of "Glorious John" getting out of a difficult corner!

Casuistry

Douglas honestly tries to defend his hero. The blame had to be laid on the gods; for Æneas still loved Dido when he left Carthage, but he set the will of heaven above his own inclinations and desires.

¹ Preface to *All for Love*.

² Dedication to *Æneis*.

Certis, Virgill schawys Ene dyd na thing,
 Frome Dydo of Carthage at hys departyng,
 Bot quhilk the goddis commandit hym befor,
 And gif that thar command maid hym maynsworn
 That war reпреif to thar diuinyte,
 And na reproch onto the said Ene.¹

There is some casuistry of the Bishop here, as well as a poet's devotion to his original, even although Andrew Lang allocates his prose to the Bishop and his verse to the Humanist.

Douglas might, in this matter, have had a gird at Occleve also, who, in *The Letter of Cupid*, was quite frank in his statement regarding

the traitour Æneas,
 The faithless wretch, how he himself forswor
 To Dido.

And in *The House of Fame*, we read :

For he to her a traytour was . . .
 How he betrayed her, alas !
 And left her ful unkyndely.

Honest Chaucer, in fact, never minced matters with regard to human failings and the duty of highest honour. And whoever wrote *The Court of Love*² shewed himself too modern to care for the heroic convention, when he finely said,

Dydo, that brent her bewtie for the love
 Of fals Eneas.

The rubric in the Black Letter Edition candidly shifts the blame to the divine shoulders, and leaves it there: "God's wyl and commandement shuld ever be prefered, and have the first place in all men's actions and doynges."³ It is quite evident, however, that even Douglas himself was, in his Fourth Prologue, slightly shaky over Dido's distress, though he blames Love, and not the gallant. And in the marginal *Comment* of the Cambridge Manuscript, either from the promptings of conscience or in answer to adverse criticism, he writes later: "This argument excusis nocht the tratory of Eneas na his

¹ Prol. i. 424 (Small, 430).

² Formerly attributed to Chaucer. Printed by Stow in 1561: one late manuscript speaks of author as "Philogenet, of Cambridge, Clerk," unidentified.

³ Cf. Sainte-Beuve: Æneas is to be looked upon as possessing a virtue which must be "une haute et froide impersonalité qui fasse de lui non un homme mais un instrument les dieux." Vide *Etude sur Virgile*.

maynswering, considering quhat is said heirafoir, in the ij. c. of this prolog, that is,

Juno nor Venus goddes neuer war,
 Mercur Neptune Mars nor Jupiter.
 Of forton eik na hir necessitie,
 Sic thingis nocht attentik ar, wait we . . .

“ It follows than, that Eneas vroucht not be command of ony goddis, bot of his awyn fre wyl, be the permission of God, quhilk sufferis al thing, and stoppis nocht, na puttis nocht necessite to fre wyll. He falit than gretly to the sueit Dydo, quhilk falt reprefit nocht the goddassis diuinitie, for thai had na diuinitie, as said is befoir.” And, finally, he puts the burden on Virgil himself, as being bound by the unity of character which he is portraying, “ and Eneas no all his wark secludis from all vylle offyce.”

Of course, it must not be overlooked that such a character as that of Æneas was in reality no novelty in Epic or Ballad times. To love and ride away seemed to be recognized as one of the commonest privileges of the feudal knight. And yet it was remarkable on Virgil's part to present in a hero what was actual treachery,—only paralleled in classic writing by the meanness of Jason,—moving in us compassion for Dido rather than sympathy with Æneas; and in modern times by the unknightly forgery of Marmion. The same thing applies to Turnus, who is much more heroic than Æneas. And it is impossible to believe that this was the intention of the poet.

Douglas felt confident of having made the poem a successful defence, for he writes :

Be glaid Ene, thy bell is hiely rong,
 Thy fame is blaw, thy prowes and renown
 Dywlgat ar, and sung fra town to town
 So hardy from thens that other man or boy
 The ony mair reput traytour of Troy
 Bot as a worthy conquerour and kyng
 The honour and extoll as thou art dyng.¹

His independence

Though Douglas, of course, displays the conventional reverence for great names in his earlier labours, he, in the

¹ *Dyrrectioun*, 128.

Virgilian translation, and in the *Prologues*, frequently shews also, as we have seen, an independent outview and power of depicting Nature, reproducing it from the sensitive records of his memory and sight,—the direct vision of a poet's mind, not the echo of books. This does not deny the influence of poets and scholars with whose classical works he proves his acquaintance by tacit imitation, or deliberate naming of them.¹ But in his *Virgil* he breaks with the old fashion which now palled upon him, and, very widely, with the Chaucerian tradition of which James I and Henryson were devoted followers, to whom he was the absolute "exemplar in the craft of verse," whose page they avowedly studied with patient care, and whose methods they absorbed in absolute entirety.

It must be admitted, however, that, in his work as a whole, he naturally did not shake himself entirely free from the characteristics of his own age, and was not fully awakened to the spirit of the New Age, notwithstanding the evidence of John Major to his impatience with the methods of mediævalism. His scholarship enabled him to fill his verse with more abundant matter than his contemporaries, but he could not create an entire world of his own. He had to set his properties upon the Stage of the older craftsmen. In his poetry, anterior to his *Virgil*, he painted entirely from the gallery of the old, rather than from the direct vision of the new. He had not yet in these attained the independence which made him, in his later work, the spontaneous lover and interpreter of Nature and of life.

Even although you will find in his *Virgil* work phases of movement, interpretation and life—birds and streams singing, stillness of stars, and moonlight falling over quiet places, humanity involved in the storm and hush of the natural world, and love entering as with the tenderness of morning dew into the lips and heart of living folk, the Past and the Future finding hints of something for To-day, yet the light upon it is most frequently the light of sunset rather than of breaking dawn. In fact, Professor Saintsbury's conclusion is the only final judgment possible of Douglas, in this consideration, generally,

¹ Cf. Henryson's influence on Seventh Prologue.

as shewing "side by side with Renaissance tendency . . . the strongest symptoms of persistent mediævalism," though perhaps in regard to the *Æneid* the former clause is too weak, and the latter too strong.

William Blake said, "The ages are all equal, but genius is always above its age." And Douglas, though, in his *Virgil*, mediæval in the aggregate, stands very frequently above his own average. His view of Virgil was the view of the old Learning, as the philosopher, the semi-veiled exponent of truth; while his Christianizing of the Muse, his appeals to the holy Virgin, his lifting the Roman's teachings into evidential values and prophetic weight, have the touch that gave pathetic incongruity to the seekers on the border-land of the neo-classical world.

His *Palice of Honour* and *King Hart* have not the graciously divine gift. He is still, in them, standing deep in the earlier age, and cannot free his feet from the old convention and allegory, and from the habit of using certain epithets, like a wedding garment kept in stock to be laid on the shoulders of every guest of thought whom the poet is expected to commend.

Douglas and Dunbar

Douglas the Churchman was naturally more of a bookman than Dunbar the Cleric, who was the skilled craftsman, with the humour of a poet, rendered somewhat sardonic by the disappointments that run breathlessly at the heels of kings, and the sordid seeking that haunts courts. His theory of life, so far as it can be gathered, was on the whole the ecclesiastical and monastic, not the humane and free. It is here that he differs most from Henryson, whose sorrows and joys in verse are as modern in their moving impulses as those that still move human hearts; while Dunbar pours out of his heart all that he feels of human experience, without shame or restraint. Dunbar also, was, of course, a master-moulder of vibrant and flexible verse,—a very modern man,—a cleric with a human tongue and a very mortal heart, not a Churchman writing about passion, but a Cleric who had felt it, and could translate it into

laughter or tears. In the *Prologues* and *Epilogues* Douglas approaches that quite closely, when the poet drops his cowl and speaks as a man to men. He could not, however, like Dunbar, be "occasional" in poetry. His spirit was epic.

Though his later life shewed that his real call seemed to be towards ecclesiastical ambition and political intrigue rather than to the free literary life, yet, when he left his first love, and shut the windows which looked towards Parnassus, the rest was only the dust and heat of controversy, disappointment, exile, and death.

Professor Hume Brown,¹ speaking of Dunbar and Douglas, together, very appositely points out how, by their "larger view of life" and "more direct knowledge of the classical tradition, they show that they have been influenced by the Revival of Letters,"² while, in the moments when they remember the professions to which they both belonged, they fall back on that cloistral attitude towards men and things which is the note of mediæval Christianity." It is therefore said with much truth: "Such poetry as that of Henryson, Dunbar, and Gavin Douglas gives proof of contact with the advancing thought of Europe, even when its tone is mainly mediæval."³ This is in general most closely true of Douglas. For his prolixities and digressions shew where he stands. The Humanist is too frequently lost in the Mediævalist. He did not grasp the disparity between the classical period and his own. He was content to clothe classical characters with attributes that seemed analogous. He did not quite break with the early alliterative artifice, while he followed the Renaissance habit in the creation of "aureate terms," and in a deliberate moulding and hammering of literary phrase. He breaks away, sometimes, it is true, in his *Virgil*, into the expression of individual and national purpose, but he is not ever, by any means, fully in rebellion against the former days. Even his *Prologues* emphasize the allegory of Virgil. His modernity finds voice, it is true, for a while, in his quarrel with Caxton's work. But his own work has more of evensong than of dawn about it.

¹ *History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 278.

² Sir Walter Scott said that the genius of Dunbar and Douglas alone is sufficient to illuminate whole centuries of ignorance.

³ MacEwen's *Church History of Scotland*.

And yet his claim for the vernacular, and for the directness of his translation,

Unforlatit, not jawyn fra tun to tun,¹

was a purely Renaissance claim. These words could be written on the lintel of the new period. No fitter motto could be there. But it must be evident that it cannot be pressed beyond a certain limit in Douglas's case.

The fact of Douglas's culture kept him in tracks which his predecessors had trodden out, till at last the flame of his native inspiration heated even words and phrases of dead time and past circumstance into a white glow which they still retain. It is natural that his work should seem frequently harsh and wild in its effect upon us of to-day, accustomed as we are to the refined and polished product of the labours of Poesy through past generations,—striking us as the huge cathedrals of the Middle Ages struck those who applied the term *Gothic* to them as being expressive of vast ruggedness rather than of splendid art. But it was a work reared in a rough age, and it was the result of pioneer exploration, achieved with old-fashioned implements and imperfect charts, yet nobly achieved.

He is not, of course, as great as his master. Nor have we, because we have no right to expect, the clear silvery tinkle, as of a bell, in such lines as Chaucer's regarding Petrarch,

whos rethoryke sweete
Enlumined al Itaille of poetrye,²

or in these verses,—of which that poet has many such,—

That as an harpe obeieth to the hond,
That maketh sounne after his fyngerynge,
Ryght so mowe ye oute of myn herte bringe
Swich vois, ryght as youe lyst, to laughe or pleyne,³

wherein the stillness that is the sudden revelation of genius falls right across the soul.

¹ Prol. v. 53.

² Prol. to *The Clerkes Tale*, l. 32.

³ Prol. to the *Legende of Goode Women*, l. 90.

III

THE TRANSLATION : ITS METHOD AND RESULT

SAINTE-BEUVE said truly that Virgil "gave a new direction to taste, to the passions, and to sensibility."¹ And one must ask whether Douglas in his translation did this for his own people and time. The answer naturally involves negative and positive elements.

Question of Translation

It must be admitted frankly that his does not, any more than other translations, fully represent the sweetness of vocalic music, the aptness of articulated phrase, the frequently plangent tenderness, of his sublime original. As has been said, "No translator will satisfy himself, still less can he expect to satisfy others."² And this because the tone must be sufficiently modern to make the poems tolerable, say, as English poems, and yet sufficiently classical to be characteristic, and such as the scholar will recognize as true. Douglas does not wish that the reader should take his book to be the touchstone of the excellence of the style of the *Æneid*, but rather as a representation of the story, and a just interpretation of the sentiments of Virgil, and his characters, divine and human. His original is naturally, he feels, so highly transcending his best ability both to comprehend and to utter in fulness of excellence, that it is often easier for him to err than to succeed in his rendering, which he undertook

Non ita certandi cupidus, quam propter amorem.³

Yet, in its vigour, in its vision, in its characterization, it is almost an original epic that he creates. And its scholarship, and the intelligence of its purpose, stand the test. If it be

¹ Vide *Étude sur Virgile*.

² Sir Theodore Martin, *Horace*, vol. i. p. clxxxiv. 1881. ³ Lucret., iii. 5.

not, as Lang asserted, a "complete success," it is a success as complete as has been accomplished, or as Douglas could achieve in his day. It may be that some may challenge the statements of Courthope and of Henderson, that "no poet ever drank more deeply of the spirit of Virgil,"¹ and that "he is thoroughly interpenetrated with the Virgilian atmosphere, and succeeds in communicating this to the reader."² Nevertheless, it is true that he is imbued with the purpose of his author, and transfers thought and picture, of Nature and Humanity, to his own page as from the life, in a way that make them truly understood by his audience, and frequently, indeed, with the touch of genius. If the transference has sometimes more of Douglas than of Virgil about it, it probably is because his enthusiasm for his original speaks with the voice of the dawn. It is because he is not dealing with words only but with effects. And it promises a day beyond the makeshifts of Boëthius, Dares, Dictys, and French hashes of the Trojan story. It promises, in fact, a day of direct knowledge of the heart and mind of a classic. And in this Douglas was a pathfinder and a road-maker. He had to grope his own way, and widen it as he went forward. He could not claim the scholarly position of Erasmus or Buchanan, nor the metrical mastery which made Chaucer's *Legend of Dido* the best version of a Virgilian episode, before his time. But as in his own day Virgil embodied in himself the highest excellences of one of the world's rich ages of noble culture, so Gawain Douglas represented certainly the best culture of the period he lived in.³ It may be acknowledged that he had not what Carlyle calls Virgil's "tenderness and meek beauty," or "matchless eloquence," but he had a majesty and verve of his own. His original had, of course, what Conington describes as "marvellous grace and delicacy, the evidences of a culture most elaborate and most refined." But Douglas concentrated more upon the matter than the style, the grasp and presentation of what

¹ *Hist. of English Poetry*, i. 378.

² *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, 199, 3rd ed.

³ The boast of the Douglas clan was, "Ye find us in the stream, not in the source—in the tree, not in the twig." This pride and prestige of race, uplifted and refined by scholarship, was unique in his day.

the poet meant. And who has ever yet succeeded in conveying by translation the lambent phrase and fragrant atmosphere of the great Augustan's poesy ?

We must remember that the *Æneid* itself lacked the revising touch of the master's hand. And Douglas's work suffered from the same cause. Lang says truly : " We must not ask the impossible from Douglas. We must not expect exquisite philological accuracy : but he had the ' root of the matter,' an intense delight in Virgil's music and in Virgil's narrative, a perfect sympathy with ' sweet Dido,' and that keen sense of the human life of Greek, Trojan, and Latin, which enabled him in turn to make them live in Scottish rhyme." ¹

Influence of his Work

The influence of his *Æneid* as an actively originating force in Scotland fell into immediate abeyance, for his native country was torn by internal strife, and its homes of learning were devastated by the English invaders. The conditions of the times following Douglas's work filled the hands of the clergy with other things than studiousness ; for political energy and interests were encouraged by James the Fifth and his nobles. Churchmen were not slow to wear their hauberk as well as their cassock ; and the classics had rest while sword and spear were in activity. The struggle between the Hamilton and Douglas factions, the ambitions of himself and his house, the return of Albany from France, which upset all the Douglas schemes of aggrandizement, finally sent Gawain into England to persuade Henry VIII to intervene, even with plans of conquest. These matters, along with the devastation of the Border lands by a Southern army, made widely impossible that settlement of mind necessary for literary pursuits, and deprived the learned of opportunities for studious leisure. Wolsey wrote ² of one of those irruptions into Scotland, that there was " left neither house, fortress, village, tree, cattle, corn, or other succour for man " in Teviotdale and the Merse.

¹ Ward's *English Poets*.

² 30th August 1523. Brewer, i. 543. Vide Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*.
2) 4. Cf. Scott's Introduction, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Borders*.

The influence of the French, with the weight of Archbishop Beaton on their side, unbalanced the English influence under Wolsey, and told in every way against Douglas ; till, in 1528, came the overwhelming disaster of the House of Angus, followed by their forfeiture, exile, ruin, with vast unrest for Scotland, and a stigma on one of her greatest names. It is easy to understand how infinitely deeply all this must have weighed not only against the position of Douglas himself but also against the prestige of his work, however great in itself.

Later on, though Scottish poetry found its popular voice in Lyndsay, this was in reality because his verse, which consisted more in plainness of speech than in the spirit of poesy, was the mouthpiece of the people's dissatisfaction with the avarice of the clergy and the oppression by the Church. Lyndsay's day was on the active fringe of anti-Romanist, and that meant for a while anti-classical, propaganda ; and the work of Douglas the Churchman suffered accordingly. Of course every age does not find deepest interest in its own greatest intellectual work. And so, while men's hands were at each other's throats in Scotland, it was the time for a topical writer like Lyndsay rather than for the exile of the Douglas house, to hold the attention of his people. Further, Lyndsay was a favourite of the king, a courtier who had liberty of speech, and at the same time a country gentleman who knew the people. The king, too, could not forget and did not forgive his experiences at the hands of the Douglas family. All these considerations entered into the chances of Gawain's poetical success or failure.

Lyndsay was, like Douglas, an eager advocate for the use of the vernacular ; and especially as being the means of conveying truth directly to the national consciousness. He proclaimed himself a deliberately vernacular poet.

Quhowbeit that divers devote cunning clerkis
 In Latyne toung hes writtin syndrie bukis
 Our unlernit knawis lytill of thare werkis
 More than they do the raving of the rukis.
 Quhairfore to colyearis, cairtars and to cukis
 To Jok and Thome my rhyme sall be directit.¹

¹ *Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courtier : Ane Exclamatioun to the Redar twycheing the Wrytting of Vulgare and maternall Language*, l. 8 *et seq.*

He feels the time is past for believing that only in the ancient languages is found the vehicle of utterance of any actual truth ; and he points out that, after all, the classical writers only wrote in their own vernacular, for, says he,

Had Sanct Jerome bene borne in tyll Argyle
In to Yrische toung his bukis had done compyle.¹

Douglas's influence on later days, in his native land, was, it is true, only in reality a memory, of interest to learned men and dilettanti. And yet that memory did not fade entirely. Henryson and Dunbar may have been actually submerged in oblivion for a period, but there never was a time when the name at least of Bishop Gawain was forgotten, or the fact that he had translated Virgil into Scottish verse. Sometimes the man and sometimes the work emerges into the light, but one or other occupies the stage of Scottish remembrance, with a kind of alternating continuity.

Of course, the poetry produced in Scotland from the end of the sixteenth right into the eighteenth century was, in the main, only the poetry of the Scottish-born man writing in English verse. This was the natural result of religious and political circumstances, namely, the Reformation, the Union of the Crowns, and the transplantation of the Court to London. The development of later times necessarily and naturally followed, and Scottish poetry became a kind of moonlight reflection of English. Its golden age was past.

Douglas and Lyndsay

In the seventeenth century Dunbar and Henryson were forgotten, while Lyndsay was the popular favourite, and was known in almost every household, not so much, indeed, for his poetic power or for anything like the glamour of poesy, but because he dealt with topics of immediate moment, and spoke with the voice of the Scottish folk, in a tongue understood at the firesides. He survived practically up to the time of Burns, and was looked upon as the pure well of Scottish undefiled. If a word was not "in Dauvit Lyndsay" it was considered to

¹ *Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courtier*, 90-91.

be hybrid or exotic.¹ Douglas, however, is not quoted as an authoritative fount of Scottish. Yet Douglas was far above Lyndsay for both poesy and style. But his matter was not popular. The *Dreames* and *Visions* of the Middle Ages no longer appealed to men who had been in contact with the sweet and bitter realities of life, and who had come through the struggles and testimonies for the measure of political and religious liberties which had been secured. And while Douglas's *Virgil* appealed of course primarily to scholars, for its matter, even its language and style kept the common people at a distance, although no nation was fonder of a story of heroic adventure. For though it has words of field and fell in its pages, it is very frequently a mosaic that never was the real language of the multitude, being in many places a literary creation, for a special purpose; and itself, as we can see from every page, highly conscious of its origin and circumstances. Besides, the common folk had probably in their minds the idea of his having been a Bishop, and of the old faith; as well as having been infected with suspicion of dealings with the enemy; and did not think of his writings as being in any way for them, preferring the blunt, straight, and frequently indelicate though truly Scottish way of Lyndsay's dealing with the facts of life. He was spoken of with reverence, and that admiration which unwittingly betokens a remote respect, as for one who had achieved some great task, by many who could not or did not trouble to read him. But he was not a poet of the people. He never had been. And he never could be. Like Henryson, also, he has been condemned by later times as using a dialect "distressingly quaint and crabbed,"² although to dismiss him summarily on such a ground is only an acknowledgment of blindness and indolence. And this was not the whole reason of his missing the clutch on his own age.

Influence on Latinity

Naturally, in his own land, Douglas's influence upon Latinity

¹ Yet Lyndsay was not free from Latinizing—cf. Prepotent prince, etc., *Complaint of the Papingo, et al.*

² Henley. Cf. Courthorpe, ii. 132, "unreadable though it is on account of the dialect in which it is written," . . . "the barbarous archaism of the diction."

was also, for the time, dead.¹ He probably did not turn a single mind in Scotland toward the original poem, for that was well enough known to the scholars, and even to those who could not claim that title, but whose education, as was ordinarily the case in Scotland, was based upon Latinity. No comparison lies between his influence on Latinity and Buchanan's—the latter gave a great world impetus to Latin studies even in his lifetime, and it remained till modern times.² The educationists of the period had reasons for fighting shy of one whose unseemly and unsavoury squabbles after preferment, with the stain of actual treason against his ancient name, had cast a veil over his achievement. Yet it is clear that there was sufficient interest in his work to justify the laborious multiplication of copies which survive to our own day. Recognition was, in reality, to wait in Scotland until a later age, although even his contemporaries realized that he had completed a labour of great weight and worth, at which they wondered.

Beyond the border of his own land, however, his influence told, and almost immediately. Dunbar and Henryson did more than he for the rhythmic liberty of verse ; but not nearly so much as he for the widening of that view which is born of knowledge of the literature of another land and age. His weight was felt with telling power in the impulse which it gave in awakening across the Border a regard for Virgilian translation ; a natural issue, since the schoolmaster of England had been more French than Latin for a long time, so that the interest would be more spontaneously fresh than in the North.

The Pioneer

Douglas's *Æneid* is, in fact, an open door through which the spirit of Northern poetry walked into the wide fields of the South. *The Kingis Quair* was a window ajar, letting in the melody of the world's music, northward blown. This poem of Douglas is, however, not a passive thing but an actively

¹ Later on there were two complete translations of Virgil in Scottish literature—(a) By John Ogilby, 1650. (b) By the Fourth Earl of Lauderdale : sent in MS. to Dryden. *Vide* his dedication—"no man understood Virgil better than that learned nobleman."

² *Vide* Montaigne's references.

originating force. For the first time, Scottish poetry crosses the Borders, and stirs the sleepers. This is the earliest translation of a classic, in the true sense, into any Anglie tongue, and the Earl of Surrey's version of the second and fourth Books—the first in England—was undoubtedly inspired by and indebted to the Scotsman's verse. Surrey adopted "almost every turn of expression and combination of words that was worth preserving," says Nott, in his edition of *Surrey and Wyatt*.¹ The Earl's version, indeed, occasionally contains almost verbatim transference of lines from Douglas, as may be seen from the following examples.

I.

The Grekis chiftanys irkit of the weir
 Bypast or than sa mony langsum zeir,
 And oft rebutyt by fatale destany. . . .
*Douglas.*²

The Greeks' chieftans all irked with the war
 Wherein they wasted had so many years
 And oft repulsed by fatal destiny . . .
Surrey.

II.

With bludy crestis owtwith the wallis hie
 The remanent swam al ways vnder see
 With grisly bodeis lynkit mony fald.
*Douglas.*³

With bloody crestes aloft the waves were seen
 The hinder parte swamme hidden in the flood
 Their grisley backs were linked manifold.
Surrey.

III.

Of Priamus thus was the finale fait.
*Douglas.*⁴

Of Priamus this was the fatal fine.
Surrey.

One must remember, however, that parallelism is frequently a trap for the tail of the unwary; and that in rendering from one language to another there must be similarities among translators; but the influence of Douglas is broad and plain over Surrey's page.⁵

¹ 1815, vol. i. pp. clxiii n.; cciii-ccix.

² ii. 1, 1. ³ *Ib.* 4, 13. ⁴ *Ib.* 9, 79.

⁵ *Vide* Nott's *Surrey and Wyatt*, vol. i. pp. 225-8. 1815.

Possibility of Translation

It is very questionable, of course, whether any translation whatever can perfectly represent its original. For there is an atmosphere that cannot be transferred from one language to another; and the merely literal rendering of words and phrases egregiously fails, especially in the case of poetry. Something is always lost or missed in the achievement. Dante, in the *Convito*, says truly, "Every one should be aware that nothing harmonized by musical enchainment can be transmuted from one tongue into another without disturbing its sweetness and harmony." Even a consummate metricist and melodist like Shelley, himself a most successful translator, declares, "It is impossible to represent in another language the melody of the versification: the volatile strength and delicacy of the ideas escape in the crucible of translation." And again, in his *Defence of Poetry*, 1821, he speaks of "the vanity of translation: it were as wise to cast a violet into a crucible that you might discover the formal principle of its colour and odour, as seek to transfuse from one language into another the creations of a poet. . . . this is the burthen of the curse of Babel." Of that there can be no question. This I know to be so, for I was brought up in a bilingual household. And this fact is what makes the definition of the essentials of a real translation as elusive a pursuit as that after the definition of poetry itself.

What is Translation?

Is it to make a poem as closely as possible imbued with the spirit of the original, while yet in itself so fresh as to strike the reader with the force of an original? Or is it to preserve every peculiarity of that original, impressing on readers that it is an imitation they are reading? Du Bellay, who himself translated two books of the *Æneid* into French, held that it was impossible to carry over the beauties of one language into another with the "same grace as their author used in the original." For, he asserted, "each tongue has a distinct character of its own; and if you try to reproduce this without going beyond the author's

own limits your words will seem stiff, frigid, and graceless." Roger Bacon had no love at all for translations, as he found them in his day ; and he declared that it might have been better had Aristotle never been translated at all, so sorely had knowledge suffered at the hands of those who had neither that accurate scholarship nor that gift of exact expression so necessary for success.¹

Opinions

Translator and critic agree that the first duty of a translator is to be faithful. Charles Stuart Calverley very truly expresses this² when he affirms that the translator has a duty both to his original and to his reader, that is to say, fidelity on the one hand, and intelligibility on the other—a wholly faithful *sense* rendering, to some extent a *word* rendering, and even if possible a *form* rendering.³ But neither translator nor critic seem to be quite clear as to what exactly faithfulness is. Matthew Arnold⁴ tries to get near the matter when he says, "It is our translator's business to reproduce the effect of Homer." Du Bellay had said practically the same thing in an earlier day : "Read to me Demosthenes and Homer in Latin, Cicero and Virgil in French, and see whether they produce in you the feelings that move you when you read these authors in their original." Arnold, however, goes on to assert that the only judges competent to decide how far success has been achieved must be the great scholars of the day, who alone can say whether the translation affects them as Homer himself does. But to be a great scholar does not necessarily mean to be a great appreciator of poetry, or indeed to have any poetical feeling at all. And a scholar may, therefore, be touched only by one side of a translation, to the loss of the other entirely. Even if he listened to Homer himself to-morrow the performance might be to him more of a grammatical and linguistic than a poetical test. Homer did not sing only for the learned of his time. Sailors and fishermen, soldiers in camps, and people in market-places, who knew no grammar, and never had

¹ See Morley's *English Writers*, iii. 322.

² The *Aeneid* of Virgil. Works, p. 504, 1913 ed.

³ Works, 1913. The *Aeneid* of Virgil, p. 504.

⁴ *On Translating Homer*.

learned a verb by heart, thrilled to his verse. He always had an audience fit though far from few. And though Arnold further declares that no one can tell the translator how Homer affected the Greeks themselves, it is narrowing down the test to preciousness to assert that only if a translation gives men like "the Provost of Eton, or Professor Thompson at Cambridge, or Professor Jowett here in Oxford, at all the same feeling which to read the original gives them" is it a success. Such masters of ancient learning may not be able to get away, in regard to the classics, from their analytical point of view, and their educational habit. They have been accustomed to dissect the phrases, and anatomize the thought, of the poet—to set his every verse against a background of discussion and paradigm, and to establish canons of prosody in regard to the author. The original was not meant only, nor even mainly, nor at all, for schoolmen and grammarians, however eminent. And the test of a translation must not exclude its effect upon a crowd of common men, or a common individual, with imagination, and a heart responsive to poetry of noble deed and worthy thought.

While it is true that, when Bentley said of Pope's translation, "It is a pretty poem, but you must not call it Homer,"¹ the work, in spite of all its power and attractiveness was judged, it was only what, after all, might be said to some extent of almost every translation. It judges all. The consummate scholar is touched in one way by noble utterance; the peasant in another. But there are, even amongst commonest folk, many whom great verse moves greatly, though of course they may be stirred also in the same way by far inferior compositions, which touch some universal truths and primitive emotions in their stumbling lines. Yet a translator must not fail to convey the matter of his poet.

It is, at the same time, an obvious truth that a translator, though he must give the *matter*, must also convey the *manner* of his original. Cowper in regard to his translation asserts, "My chief boast is that I have adhered closely to my original. . . . The matter found in me, whether the reader like it or not, is found also in Homer." But this is not sufficient. For, as every

¹ Johnson's *Life of Pope*, ed. Murphy, 1824, vol. viii. p. 176 n.

man must see, if the reader is open to Homer's true influence he ought to like what Cowper, or any other, presents to him as Homer's, in the same or in a similar degree as he should like Homer. And this assertion is made apart altogether from the question whether the translation should be in rhyme, blank verse, or prose.

"A translator," said Dryden, "is to be like his author: it is not his business to excel him." But yet he himself frequently in his translations neither resembles nor excels his original. Thus, Horace's *Ode*, xxix., Book iii.,

si celeres quatit
Pennas, *resigno quæ dedit,*

is certainly not

But, if she dances in the wind,
And shake her wings, and will not stay,
I puff the prostitute away.

The figure belonged to Dryden's age, but assuredly neither to the time nor the verse of his poet. Horace is speaking soberly and gravely of a deity, and Dryden conveys a different idea entirely, and on a very different plane.

Or again, when Juvenal is speaking of the effeminate priests of Cybele, Dryden renders these as *clumsy clergymen*, and so conveys a totally different idea, just as Douglas in certain matters did in the *Æneid*. It is true that the characteristics of the original must not be lost, yet there must be conveyed the spirit that stirs and elevates the audience of the translator's day, and thus he can scarcely avoid the influence of his own environment and the necessities of his times. Nevertheless, if he be a genius, he will transcend these, according to the measure of his individuality.

Anachronisms

Sometimes with Douglas, in pursuit of his purpose, it meant in this way that offices and functions of a contemporary kind are transferred to the creations of the Latin poet, and strangest liberties taken with the text. For example, Douglas, in sympathy with the eclectic spirit of his age, on the verge of the

conquest of Scotland by the Renaissance, imparts to some of the personalities of the poem a novel character. The Bacchantes are with him "the nuns of Bacchus," an epithet adopted by Surrey along with his general appropriation of so much of Douglas's Virgilian properties. The Sibyl herself becomes a nun also, and Æneas is actually told by her to tell his beads. In this he had the authority of Henryson's lines, in the use of the word :

that sayeth your beedes beth to longe somdele,

altered by Charteris to :

And sayis your prayers bene to lang sum deill.

The Black Letter Editor of Douglas makes a similar interpretative alteration to "thi deuotioune." Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, also speaks, later, of

praying in gibberish and mumbling of beads.

Such anachronisms as Douglas's are found everywhere in literature. Gillies, in his *History of Ancient Greece*,¹ speaks, for example, of a "Bill" being proposed in the Athenian Assembly, and of the "light dragoons" of Alexander the Great; Laurence Echard, in his translation of Plautus, speaks of the "Lord Chief Justice of Athens," of bombs, and the gospel, and makes the poet of 180 B.C. refer to the French ship *Le Soleil*, beaten by Russell in A.D. 1692; while Middleton in his *Life of Cicero*² makes, among other similar statements, the assertion that Balbus was general of Cæsar's "artillery." Shakespeare's anachronisms and slips also are well known, and are the joy of critics, when, for instance, Hector quotes Aristotle, Pandarus speaks of a man born in April, and Bohemia has a seacoast bestowed upon it.³ These were, of course, writing so as to be understood by the mass for whom they wrote, giving, as Lang says, "a modern face to ancient manners," though, to later times, the results are incongruities. It was the clothing of the poet's creation in the garment of the translator's own time, in diction and phrase, so far as possible. In this

¹ 1786

² 1741.

³ Vide Douce's *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, ii. 291.

connection Dryden himself says, regarding his own translation, "I have endeavoured to make Virgil speak such English as he would himself have spoken, if he had been born in England, and in the present age."¹ And this is, so far, in line with Douglas's declared principle, which, however, goes further, and tries to make the Scottish reader feel and understand what Virgil said, and how he said it, to Romans, yet with the addition of the feeling of a Roman story told not in Italy but in a Scottish landscape—an attempt after the matter and the spirit rather than the manner of his original. Examples of such liberties may be further instanced by his rendering of the constellation of Arcturus, prompted by the similarity of name, and his own nationalness, as "Arthur's Huyfe," setting the ancient British King, in consequence of his Scottish connections in native myth, among the heavenly spheres. And under the familiar influence of Chaucer, he styles the Milky Way, "Watling Street," after the great Roman road that ran through Britain. This was, indeed, the usage of other countries.² For the Spaniard spoke of it as "Santiago Road"; and in *The Complaynt of Scotlande* we read, "It aperis oft in the quhyt circle callit circulus lacteus, the quhilk the marynalis callis Vatland Street."³ The English spoke of it as "Walsingham Way." Douglas also names the Belt of Orion "the Elwand," or "yard measure," the name by which, in Northern Scotland, it is still familiarly known, and by which he hoped his readers would recognize the constellation referred to. All this only proves that translation and expiscation are not "the same in substance, equal in power and glory."

The Danger of Gifts

Douglas and Dryden had *in excelsis* the necessary stock-in-trade of a translator, for they were both thoroughly competent Latinists, and they also knew their own language with a mastery beyond limit or mark. It was, however, just this latter weapon and their unparalleled proficiency in it, that led them frequently

¹ Dedication of the *Aeneis*, Everyman's Library, Reprint, p. 259.

² *House of Fame*, ii. 939; *vide* Skeat, *Chaucer*, iii. 263; *Langland*, ii. 8.

³ *C. of Scot.*, E.E.T.S., p. 58, ll. 14-16.

astray. For they did not wait to weigh and value every word, but, carrying with a glance the general significance of line or canto, they were too easily content to convey that impression in their own phrase. It follows that, while a translator must not be deficient in the language from which he renders, and copious in that which he uses for his rendering, or *vice versa*, indolence on the translator's part, and the endeavour to give over much ease also to the ignorant reader, are fruitful sources of error in his work. Thus Douglas, Pope, and Dryden can never satisfy the exact scholars to whom the Latin and Greek originals are familiar. To them the great classics, as sometimes clothed by those, must often justifiably seem a grotesque hybrid. Yet Douglas is not guilty of the constant metaphor of Pope, with whom no character can weep, but "from his eyes pour'd down the tender dew."

Of course, the reader for whom the classics are dead, or "as a clasped book and a sealed fountain," and for whom, indeed, they never lived, cares nothing for preservation of archaic manners. What he wishes is a conception of the "vital spirit and energy which is the soul of poetry in all languages, countries, and ages whatsoever." Of Douglas's *Æneid* it may be truly said, as of Dryden's translation, that he who sits down with the original text spread before him will be at no loss to point out passages that are faulty, indifferently understood, or imperfectly translated, and some in which dignity is lost, or mere rhetoric substituted for it. But yet the unabated vigour and spirit of the rendering more than atone for these and all its other deficiencies, and make it preferable to some versions' even of consummate scholars, which have as little of the real life of the original about them as the subject in the dissecting room has, even though it may have been searched through to its minutest material detail by anatomists unsurpassed.

Incongruities

It must, however, be remembered that the *Æneid* by its regularity and sober dignity gives no opening to licence, and no excuse for negligence. The composure and dignity of its style are as much disturbed by line upon line of Douglas as by many

a line of Dryden's dashing slang. Frequently the clean-chiselled description of a Virgilian battle becomes with Douglas, by his method, something like a Scottish street squabble, where "harnpans" get smashed. Thus Virgil's

saxo ferit ora Thoantis
ossaque dispersit cerebro permixta cruento . . .¹

becomes,

And Thoas syne sa smayt apon the hed
With a gret stane quhil mixt of blud all red
The harnys poplit furth on the brayn pan.²

The picture, also, of the wine-confused camp becomes a reproduction of a drink-sodden corner near a Scottish changehouse, where for

passim somno vinoque per herbam,³

the scene is deepened into squalor by being rendered

Apon the gyrs, ourset with sleip and wyne,
Fordoverit, fallyn down als drunk as swyne.⁴

Such expansions are, of course, as far from Virgil as can be conceived, and shew Douglas at his very worst.

This method may not be without interest, but certainly it is not by any means the interest of the original, to say the least. Similarly, a recent writer, quoting Homer's *χύντο χάμαι χόλαδες*, ventured on a rendering

His guts gushed to the ground,⁵

a hideously horrible picture—brutalizing the original—which, though it illustrated his theory, blotched his page.

One sympathizes, in the circumstances, with Politian, when he wrote of similar work,—“ I have marked through a few lines, not because I disliked them, but because, since they were only of the equestrian order, they had no right to remain in the senatorial and patrician poetry amongst which I found them.”

In fact, where the original is dignified the translation must never be grotesque, meanness must never take the place of majesty, nor bombast of eloquence. And here as translators

¹ x. 413.

² x. 7, 129.

³ ix. 316.

⁴ ix. 6, 19.

⁵ *Times Literary Supplement*, 12th Sept. 1918.

Douglas, Chapman, Dryden and Pope not infrequently err, and err quite naturally; for the thought of the first was permeated by the facts of his pioneer position, and that of the others by the forms of their own times, which were stronger and more masterful than they. While Dryden is in this without excuse, Douglas has much. For he had only the candle of his own day to guide him in a track previously untrodden, while Dryden had the uplift of a great poetic tide behind him. Douglas, by the novelty of his enterprise on the classic seas, proved himself a master mariner. Even though his lantern was frequently dim, it had truth in it burning, and though his candle guttered occasionally, it lit a way for others. He clothed what he presented with an art above his age.

It is true that he more than once is guilty of error in translation, as seen in the famous slip when he renders *viscum* as "gym or glew" instead of "mistletoe," thinking, apparently, with that quick mental glance already referred to, of the yellow berries from which bird-lime was made and not of the gleaming twigs among the green. And again, when telling of the fall of Herminius, how the "stalwart schaft of tre" that hero

Transfixit so, and persand eevery part
It dowblis and renewys the manniss smart,²

where Virgil reads

latos huic hasta per armos
acta tremit duplicatque virum transfixa dolore,³

which gives the picture of the warrior himself doubled up with agony.

In fact, out of his own mouth Dryden is judged when he declares: "Virgil is everywhere elegant, sweet, and flowing. . . . His words are not only chosen, but the places in which he ranks them, for the sound. He who removes them from the station wherein their master set them spoils the harmony. . . . They must be read as they lie." And how the modern seems to echo the ancient, when he goes on: "From the beginning of the First *Georgic* to the end of the last *Æneid*, I found the difficulty of translation growing on me, in every succeeding Book. . . .

¹ Cf. *Georgics*, i. 139.

² xi. 12, 107.

³ xi. 644.

Virgil called upon me, in every line, for some new word, and I paid so long that I was almost bankrupt." Herein lies the secret alike of his method of rendering, and his frequent slips in taste. And it covers also the case of Douglas.

Method of Douglas's Rendering—Douglas's Purpose—Paraphrase or Literalness—The Bondage of the Translator

No greater mistake could be made than that which is repeated by writer after writer,¹ that what is to be expected in Douglas's *Æneid* is a line by line rendering. He himself does not make the claim, but asserts that he seeks the conveyance and embodiment of the "sentence" or meaning in plain and popular terms, direct from the original, and independently of any other man's work; never before "in our tong endite," and not emptied from pitcher to pitcher, with much of the poet's meaning spilt in each exchange. Although in his *Dyrectioun*² he ventures on

almaste word by word,

it is, after all his protestations and acknowledgments, a very wide "almaste." His work was rather almost thought by thought, picture by picture.

Sir Walter Scott in his *Life of Dryden* bestows on that poet a credit in this respect which does not truly belong to him, when he says: "Before his distinguished success shewed that the object of the translator should be to transfuse the spirit, not to copy servilely the very words of his original, it had been required that line should be rendered by line, and almost word for word. . . . a poem was barely rendered *not Latin* instead of being made English . . . and the interpreter was sometimes the harder to be understood of the two." The fact is, as we have seen, that Dryden when he applies his own method to the task, is only too clearly understood, and his distance from his original too vividly discerned, to the detriment of both.

Douglas did not find his poet easy to render into another medium.

¹ Cf. pp. 11, etc.

² *Dyrectioun*, 46.

The hie wysdome and maist profound engyne
 Of myne author Virgile, poet dyvyne,
 To comprehend, makis me almaist forvay,
 So crafty wrocht hys wark is, lyne by lyne.
 Tharon aucht na man irk, compleyn, nor quhryne ;
 For quhy ? he altyris hys style sa mony way,
 Now dreid, now stryfe, now lufe, now wo, now play,
 Langeir in murnyng, now in melody,
 To satysfy ilk wightis fantasy.¹

In such pioneer work he was faced with many difficulties in conveying thought sublime in one medium over into another, much of which he had to create.

So profund was this wark at I haue said,
 Me semyt oft throw the deip sey to waid ;
 And sa mysty vmquhyle this poetry
 My spreit was reft half deill in extasy
 To pyke the sentens as I couth als playn
 And bryng it to my purpos,²

which was, truly to represent his poet. He intends to render, not line by line, but in accord with the sense and intention of his author,

na thing alterit in substans.³

He has, in this, the supposed sanction of Aristotle, dear to mediæval translators, namely, that accuracy, in the bare sense of the word, was not to be expected. We see an example of that in Chaucer's version of Boëthius's *De Consolatione*, which is not a translation at all, according to the modern idea. They considered that they were justified in exercising their own bent, in interpolation of discussions, episodes, and unlimited side-tracking. And Douglas quotes, in support of this :

sanct Gregor eik forbyddis ws to translait
 Word eftir word, bot sentens follow al gait.⁴

He marshals into line with the saint, Horace the Roman, who in his *Ars Poetica*, says,

Nec verbum verbo curetis reddere fidus interpres.⁵

Dryden in his Preface to the Translations from Ovid's *Epistles*⁶

¹ ProL. v. 28.

² *Dyrection*, 103.

³ *Ib.* 95.

⁴ ProL. i. 395 (Small, 401).

⁵ l. 133.

⁶ 1680.

quotes those very words as his authority for the translator to assume "the liberty not only to vary from the words and sense, but to forsake them both as he sees occasion ; and taking only some general hints from the original, to run division on the groundwork, as he pleases." Douglas gives plenty illustrations of the same scheme. In this matter he falls out again with his master Chaucer, although he tempers his censure with the conventional adulatory phrases.

Thought venerabil Chauser, principal poet but peir,
 Hevynly trumpat, orlege and reguler,
 In eloquens balmy, cundyte and dyall,
 Mylky fontane, cleir strand and roys ryall,
 Of fresch endyte, throu Albion island braid,
 In his legend of notabill Ladeis, said,
 That he couth follow word by word Virgill,
 Wisar than I may fail in lakar stile ;
 Sum tyme the text mon haue ane expositioun,
 Sum tyme the cullour will caus a litill additionn,
 And sum tyme of a word I mon mak thre.¹

Chapman, in the verse prefixed to his *Iliad*, condemns "word for word traduction." One may compare here what Dryden felt in the same matter. He says : "I have long since considered that the way to please the best judges is not to translate a poet literally, and Virgil least of any other. . . . The way I have taken is not so straight as metaphrase, nor so loose as paraphrase : some things, too, I have omitted, and sometimes have added of my own." The influence of Dryden made paraphrase the method of his time, and for a long period thereafter. When a translator chooses rhyme as his medium this applies closely on almost every line. It is a thing unavoidable. No matter how skilful an artist and consummate a scholar, the translator must, at times, expand or condense a thought or sentiment, under stress of the form which he has chosen as the mould for his work. Of course his consummate triumph comes when this is actually achieved without detriment to the meaning, or loss to the sentiment and atmosphere of his poet.

In this connection Dante Gabriel Rossetti appositely writes :² "The life-blood of rhymed translations is this—that a good

¹ *Profl.* i. 339 (Small, 345).

² *Early Italian Poets*, Introduction.

poem shall not be turned into a bad one. The only true motive for putting poetry into a fresh language must be to endow a fresh nation as far as possible with one more possession of beauty. Poetry not being an exact science, literalness of rendering is altogether secondary to this chief law. I say *literalness*, not *fidelity*, which is by no means the same thing. When literalness can be combined with what is thus the primary condition of success the translator is fortunate . . . when such an object can only be attained by paraphrase, that is his only path." Nevertheless, the paraphrase must neither present less than the original held, nor what it never conveyed. It must not make the original babble where he spoke plainly, nor crawl where he soared, croak where he sang, nor smirk in garments obviously never cut to his shape or size, or undreamed of in the age to which he was born.

Sir John Denham, in the Preface to his rendering of the Second Book of the *Aeneid*, declares that the *fidus interpres* is all right in matters of faith or fact, but that in matters of poetry his function is not to "translate language into language, but poesis into poesis," and that, as "in pouring out of one language into another," there is much of the spirit of the original that must evaporate, so "if a new spirit is not added to the transfusion there will remain nothing but a *caput mortuum*." Roscommon made it essential that the translators should become possessed by the sense and meaning of their author, and then imitate his manner and style. Denham declares that otherwise "they but preserve the ashes."¹

Lord Derby felt this in his own endeavour² "throughout to produce . . . not indeed such a translation as would satisfy with regard to each word the rigid requirements of accurate scholarship, but such as would fairly and honestly give the sense and spirit of every passage and of every line, omitting nothing, and expanding nothing, and adhering as closely as our language will allow even to every epithet which is capable of being translated, and which has in the particular passage anything of a special and distinctive character." It is a fact which has lain before every great translator who has had originality of his

¹ *Essay on Translation*. Cf. p. 131.

² *The Iliad* of Homer. 1864.

own, sometimes urging him to sin in an original way in his labour. As Philip Stanhope Worsley¹ wrote in his preface, "The great doctrine which I endeavour to observe in a poetic translation, at as little cost as I can, but to which, if necessary, I am ready to sacrifice everything else, is that true poetry in a foreign language must be represented by true poetry in our own. If this cardinal condition is to remain unfulfilled the meaning of verse is gone, and the work can be much better executed in prose." The truth of this cannot be controverted. There are innumerable instances where fidelity to the letter has meant absolute death of the spirit, and great poetry has been compelled to hobble in pitifully prosaic guise. As clear and painful an example of this is seen in the work of the Abbè des Fontaines, when Virgil's

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto

is rendered: "A peine un petit nombre de ceux qui montoient le vaisseau purent se sauver à la nage." Regarding such, Voltaire truly exclaimed with disgust, "C'est traduire Virgile en style de gazette." The *os magna sonaturum* is lost and forgotten. Words that were rich in poetic association have been emptied of their idealism: and phrases that rang like golden bells have been made to sound like broken pots. The attempt has often resulted in a hybrid production that is neither Latin nor English, a dialect neither of men nor angels. The over-conscientious translator, bound to a quest for words rather than ideas, is apt to lose the melody even of his own speech, and ruin the music of that which he labours to set to the tune of his endeavour. And so he not only fails to make his own work of intrinsic interest and harmony but also fails to prove that his original stood by native right within the category of masterpieces. Butcher and Lang,² however, say wisely and truly in the introduction to their own masterly prose translation of a superlative poem: "Without this music of verse only a . . . half truth . . . can be told, but it is the truth without embroidery. A prose translation . . . only tells the story without the song." It is a great general, in

¹ Homer's *Odyssey*. 1865.

² Homer's *Odyssey* (Macmillan).

an arm-chair instead of on his charger, and in mufti, without his decorations! Nevertheless, verse has exigencies which compel the use of periphrastic expansion on every page, with constant risk, even in the hands of a master metrist and supreme scholar.

Cotterill¹ puts the ideal extremely well, in regard to the purpose of his own work, when he tells how he longed to produce a translation which "might enable readers ignorant of Greek to follow the story with ease, and to experience something of the same pleasure as those might feel who can read the original . . . to avoid everything affected, quaint, archaic, literary, poetical—to clear my mind of cant—to ignore the jargon and the maxims of the so-called literary person, and to endeavour to use a diction natural, simple, vigorous, direct, such as Homer himself uses . . . to be literal as nearly as possible, just what Homer said, and to give it as far as possible, just as he said it, to act up to Browning's maxim,

In translation if you please
Exact! no pretty lying that improves
To suit the modern taste."

This is a fine clear chart, but hard to sail by!

It would have been easier far for Douglas to have written a poem of his own; for, while he must express things in his own phrase, he feels himself still bound to what the master wrote. As he pawkily and pithily expresses it,

Quha is attachit ontill a staik we se
May go no ferthir bot wreil about that tre.²

He is honestly up against his original for measurement, and for judgment if he go wrong, or if he choose to follow his own devices, wantonly:

to Virgillis text ybund
I may nocht fle, les than my falt be fund,
For, thocht I wald transcend and go besyde,
His wark remanys, my schame I may nocht hyde.³

But yet he holds himself at liberty to make digression, for the

¹ Homer's *Odyssey*, Introduction. London, 1911.

² Prol. i. 296.

³ *Ib.* 298.

sake of clarifying some "subtell wourd," or following the necessity or impulse of his rhyme—a universal servitude, as we have seen, of all translators into the verse of their own language, which holds them in a double bondage.

I am constrenyt als neir I may
To hald hys vers and go nane other way,
Les sum history, subtell word, or the ryme,
Causith me mak digressioun sum tyme.¹

Sir John Trevisa, in his *Epistle on translating the Polychronicon*, makes practically the same plea: "In some place I shall set word for word. . . . But in some place I must change the order of words. . . . And in some place I must set a reason for a word and tell what it meaneth. But for all such changing the meaning shall stand, and not be changed." This is in agreement with what Politian wrote in the preface to his translation of the *History* of Herodian addressed to Pope Innocent the Seventh, wherein he tells how he had endeavoured to follow his ideal of what a translator's effort should be, namely, "to render with fidelity the full meaning of the author . . . to retain in the translation the same perspicuity, and grace, as well as the meaning which he possessed, along with his characteristic features, without outraging the genius of the language into which I have rendered his work." That is what Douglas set before him. And Rossetti, with almost an echo of Douglas, somewhat poignantly declares, "He who invents is master of his thoughts and words. He can turn and vary them as he pleases . . . but the wretched translator has no such privilege, for, being tied to the thoughts, he must make what music he can in the expression." And again, "The task of the translator . . . is one of some self-denial. Often would he avail himself of any special grace of his own idiom and epoch if only his will belonged to him . . . often the beautiful turn of a stanza must be weakened to adopt some rhyme which will tally; and he sees the poet revelling in abundance of language where himself is scantily supplied. Now he would slight the matter for the music, and now the music for the matter; but no—he must deal to each alike. Sometimes, too, a flaw in the work galls him, and he

¹ Prolog. i. 303.

would fain remove it, doing for the poet that which his age denied him, but no—it is not in the bond.”¹ Herein we are reminded of the apt protest of King James, with his *Reulis and Cautelis*, advising Scots poets to “put in na wordis ather *metri causá* or yit for filling furth the number of the fete, bot that they be all sa necessare as ye sould be constrained to use them.”

There must, of course, be in an ancient poet much that is out of place in the light of modern days and duties; and the translator is tempted and sometimes compelled to touch the chord of paraphrase for these. The version that would move the Frenchman or the German, the Scot or the Englishman, must have an atmosphere here and there in it very different from that which in the early dawn of Time touched the Greek. But, just because of that morning influence of ancient life and thought, simplicity is one of the first requisites—a vocabulary and phrase easily understandable by contemporary minds. Hence the plea of Politian, censured for liberties of word and metre, in his translation of Homer,—“Ego vero tametsi rudis in primis, non adeo tamen obtusi sum pectoris in versibus maxime faciundis ut spatia ista morasque non sentiam, vero cum mihi de Græco pæne ad verbum forent antiquissima interpretanda carmina, fateor affectavi equidem ut in verbis obsoletam vetustatem, sic in mensura ipsa et numero quandam ut speravi novitatem.”

The Translator and his Age

Every age does demand some reflection of its own mood, or it loses that general interest which turns it to the poem. That is the fault of the age, and the misfortune of the poet. The Elizabethan demanded “flowers of rhetorique”; Queen Anne’s age, dignity and polish; Scott’s, the ballad gallop. Douglas’s did not know what it wished, or what it needed, for this was a new thing that he gave it. And Douglas himself only knew that he wanted to present Virgil’s story as it seemed to him, and as he understood it, in his own rugged utterance, refined, as he thought, by enrichment of words classical or French in form, with such modifications and interpolations as made the poem and its age understandable to his own times.

¹ *Early Italian Poets*, Preface.

Examples

Douglas's mode of translating by presentation of the facts rather than the mere words of his poet leads him frequently of course, as we have gathered by this time, into paraphrase. For example, Virgil compares the onset of the Greeks with Pyrrhus, forcing their way in violent irruption into Priam's Palace, to a river in flood :

Non sic aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis
Exiit, oppositasque evicit gurgite moles,
Fertur in arva furens cumulo camposque per omnis
Cum stabulis armenta trahit.¹

The Scottish heart of Douglas saw what this meant. He had seen the real thing too frequently in Scottish fields ever to forget. And he gives the picture thus :

Not sa fersly the fomy ryver or flude
Brekkiis our the bankis, on spait quhen it is wode,
And with hys brusch and fard of watir brown
The dykis and the schoris bettis down,
Ourspredand croftis and flattis with his spait,
Our al the feildis that thai may row a bayt,
Quhil howsys and the flokkis flyttis away,
The come grangis and standand stakkis of hay.²

This is translation on the verge of more than paraphrase, but it is successfully in line with his declared purpose of giving, not *verbum pro verbo*, but the idea of his original. The rendering of the same portion by Surrey may be compared :

Not so fiercely doth overflow the fields
The foaming flood, that breaks out of its banks,
Whose rage of waters bears away what heaps
Stand in his way, the cotes and eke the herds.

Douglas's verse may seem to the modern eye rugged, unkempt and uncouth, but it is stronger in conception and visuality than Surrey's, though that poet's blank verse is a great advance on Douglas for such a purpose as the translation of an epic, and it runs on easier bearings than the Scot's. He was, however, heir and beneficiary of the Northman, both in form and language.

Douglas's Descriptive Power

Douglas's poem is permeated by the glow of strong character, of imagination, warm tenderness, and intense appreciation of

¹ ii. 496.² ii. 8, 101.

natural moods. It bears also the impress of a heart and brain well-stocked with classical poetry, history and mythology ; love of folk-lore and folk-poetry ; native pith of expression ; and rich sense of phrase. His learning, it is true, sometimes makes him move with heavy foot, and tempts him to the use of foreign forms, and curious word-creations. But he can, at the same time, give a clear glance inside his own heart, and reflect, in the spirit of the new school of thought, his own psychic and emotional states. He is very winsome in his portraiture and characterization, giving an original touch even to his translation : and in his renderings of Nature he shews a wide-open eye, looking very directly into the beauty and reality of things, and understanding what his original suggests. Thus of Camilla he writes :

so spedely couth scho fle
 Our the cornys, ourtred thar croppis hie,
 That wyth hir curs na reid ne tendir stra
 Was harmyt ocht, na hurt by ony wa :
 And throu the boldnand fludis amynd the see
 Born soverly furth hald hir way mycht sche,
 The swyft solis of hir tendir feyt
 Nocht twichand onys the watir hir to weit.¹

This is the expression of a strong combination of gifts, both of rendering and of personal poetic sight.

The same power is found in the picture of the result of Juno's prayer to Aeolus :

Furth at the ilke port wyndis brade in a rout,
 And with a quhirl, blew all the erth about,
 Thai ombeset the seys bustuusly
 Quhil fra the deip, til euery cost fast by,
 The huge wallis welteris apon hie . . .
 Sone efter this, of men the clamour rays,
 The takillis graslis, cabillis can fret and frays.
 Swith the clowdis, hevyn, son and days lycht
 Hyd, and byrest furth of the Troianys sycht.
 Dyrknes as nycht beset the seys about.
 The firmament gan rummyling rair and rout,
 The skyis oft lychtnit with fyry levin,
 And schortly bath ayr, sey, and hevyn,
 And euery thing mannasit the men to de
 Schawand the ded present tofor thar E . . .²

Heich as a hill the jaw of watir brak,
 And in ane hepe cam on thame with a swak,
 Sum hesit hoverand on the wallis hycht,

¹ vii. 13, 65.

² i. 2, 51.

And sum the swowchand sey so law gart lycht,
Thame semyt the erd oppynnyt amynd the flude,
The stour up bullyrit sand as it war wode.¹

He could, even when translating closely, because of his directly observant eye and brooding sympathy with Nature, bring into an interpretative phrase or two, very strikingly, the broad effect of calm after storm, as for example :

- The swelland seys has swagit, and fra the sky
Gaderit the clowdis and chasit sone away
Brocht hame the son agane and the brycht day.²

His verbal imitations of sound are frequent, such as the following :

Tyl Eolus cuntre that wyndy regioun
A brudy land of furyus stormy sowne . . .
In gowsty cavys, the wyndis, lowde quhissilling.³

The strength of vocalic movement here is extremely difficult to eclipse in poetry before or since ; the influence of spacious loneliness, wind-searched, being uniquely conveyed in the last masterly line. Here Dryden's version may be compared to shew how personality tells in such work :

The restless regions of the storms she sought.

Douglas shews his grasp of pregnant phrase, as when Virgil's *resonant saxa* gets its full power of reiteration in his rendering,

the craggis rowt and zell.⁴

His picture of the Arcadian Menœtes is a piece of clean and clearly touched art, such as one sees standing out in Chaucer's *Prologue* : and especially pathetic in our own time of war's sorrow :

That all his days evir hatit the melle,
Bot all for nocht, for he most neid thus de.
A pyur cote hous he held.

¹ i. 3, 21.

² i. 3, 82.

Citius tumida æquora placat,
collectasque fugat nubes, solemque reducit.—i. 142, 3.

³ i. 2, 3.

in patriam loca feta furentibus Austris
Æoliam venit. Hic vasto rex Æolus antro
Luctantis ventos tempestatesque sonores.—i. 51.

⁴ iii. 6, 146.

Hys fader eyrit and sew ane peys of feld
That he in hyregang held to be his beild.¹

And there is a modern touch in his lines about the fair young Pallas, dead before his time :

As is the fresch flowris schynand bewte
Newly pullyt vp from hys stalkis small
With tendyr fyngeris of the damysaill,
Or the soft violet that doys freschly schyne.²

His description of a little bit of scenery, in a corner remote, has surely a native original for model, even though he gives a wonderfully close transcription the while :

Thar lay a valle in a crukyt glen
Ganand for slycht tyll enbusch armyt men
Quham wonder narrow apon athir syde
The bewys thik hampirris and doith hyde
With skowgis darn and full obscur perfay
Quharthrow thar strekit a rod or a strait way
Ane narrow peth baith outgang and entre
Full scharp and schrowit passage wonder sle.³

Or again,

Thar growys a gret schaw neir the chil ryver. . . .
. . . . and with deip clewchis wyde
Thys schaw is closyt apon euery syde
Ane thyk ayk wod of skowgy fyrris stowt
Belappys all the said cuthill abowt.⁴

And more than once he lingers to recall the owls that he has heard at home :

That sum tyme into gravis or stokkis of tre
Or on the waist thak or hows rufis hie.

¹ Et juvenem exosum nequiquam bella Menæten,
Arcada,

. . . pauperque domus . . .
. . . conductaque pater tellure serebat.

Æn. xii. 517.

Douglas, xii. 9, 43.

² qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem
Seu mollis violæ.

Æn. xi. 68.

Douglas, xi. 2, 26.

³ Est curvo anfractu valles, accommoda fraudi
Armorumque dolis, quam densis frondibus atrum
Urget utrimque latus, tenuis quo semita ducit.

Æn. xi. 522.

Douglas, xi. 10, 83.

⁴ Est ingens gelidum lucus prope Cæritis amnem . . .
Inclusere cavi et nigra nemus abiete cingunt.

Æn. viii. 597.

Douglas, viii. 10, 1.

E. Ms.—“and skowgy.”

Sittand by nycht syngis a sorowfull toyn
In the dyrk skowgis with serykis inoportoyrn.¹

It may be true enough that of these passages some might say,
Gyf ocht be weill, thank Virgill and nocht me.

Yet though he is translating, it is as a true poet and a master, who has fine sympathy not only with his original but with the Nature which he describes. The Pallas picture is more than a mere translation, it is a fresh thing of beauty in itself. To see this, one need only compare Dryden's version :

And looks a lovely flower
New cropt by virgin hands to dress the bower,
Unfaded yet.

And other renderings of his miss the strong personal touch of phrase and vision.

Douglas's "expositioun" methods sometimes make slight incongruities in reading, as when he puts his own "aside" into the mouth of King Evandrus, when that monarch is shewing Æneas the woods and forest :

Thir woddis and thir schawis all, quod he,
Sum tyme inhabyt war and occupyit
Wyth Nymphis and Fawneys apon euery syde,
*Quhilk fairfolkis or than elvys, cleping we.*²

This same desire to be understood fully and clearly breaks out especially in such portions of his work as are descriptive of natural scenes and human episodes.

So, also, it is a picture of a Scottish cornfield after rain which Douglas gives when he renders faithfully

purpureus veluti cum flos, succisus aratro
languescit moriens, lassove papavera collo
demisere caput pluvia cum forte gravantur. . . .³

Lyke as the purpour flour in fur or sewch
Hys stalk in two smyt newly wyth the pleuch
Dwynys away as it doith faid or de ;
Or as the chesbo hedis oft we se
Bow down thair knoppis sowpfit on thar grane
Quhan thai be chargyt with the hevvy rane.⁴

¹ quæ quondam in bustis aut culminibus desertis
nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras.
Æn. xii. 863.

Douglas, xii. 13, 169.

² viii. 6, 4.

³ ix. 435.

⁴ ix. 7, 147.

The following further examples of Nature, animate and inanimate, shew him at his best in this way ; and here we see again his clear vision and the reminiscent strength of his observation, reproducing not alone the poet's lines but his own experience. The first is the description of a horse suddenly set free ; and both the Roman and the Scot must have loved that animal, to be able to present so forcible a scene—in fact, it is perhaps the best in all poetry dealing with the subject. Says Virgil :

qualis ubi abruptis fugit præsepia vinculis
tandem liber equus, campoque potitus aperto
aut ille in pastus armentaque tendit equarum,
aut, adsuetus aquæ perfundi flumine noto,
emicat, arrectisque fremit cervicibus alte
luxurians ; luduntque iubæ per colla, per armos. . . .¹

And Douglas gives us his picture of a steed broken loose, thus—

As sum tyme dois the curser start and ryn
That brokkyn hes his band furth of his stall,
Now gois at large out our the feldis all
And haldis towart the studis in a rage
Quhar merys rakis in thar pasturage :
Or than onto the deip rynnand ryver
Quhar he was wont to drynk the watir cleir :
He sprentis furth and full provd walxis he
Heich strekand vp his hed with mony a ne :
Outour his spaldis and nek lang by and by
Hys lokkyrrit mayn schakand wantonly.²

With this may be compared also the description of a stag hunt, in the Twelfth Book, where Virgil's nine lines become twenty in Douglas's vigorous expansion.³

The second is a river scene once more,—

ceu saxa morantur
Cum rapidos amnis, fit clausa gurgite murmur
Vicinæque fremunt ripæ crepitantibus undis. . . .⁴

Lyk as the swyft watir stremys cleir
Sum tyme rowtand men on far may heir
Quhar it is stoppit with thir stanys round
That of the ryveris brute and brokkyn sound
Brystand on skelleis our thir demmyt lynnys
The bankis endlang all the fludis dynnys.⁵

Other examples will suffice to shew how, in spite of limitations laid down by the poet, he sweeps into a large freedom whenever

¹ xi. 492.

² xi. 10, 16.

³ xii. 12, 133.

⁴ xi. 18, 297.

⁵ xi. 7, 5.

an episode emerges which appeals to him. Virgil, in one very comprehensive line, describes a confused fight, and the whole episode lives in five words :

*immiscentque manus manibus pugnamque lacesunt.*¹

This one line, however, appealed apparently to Douglas's fighting blood, and he expands it into the following :

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 avantage to tak,
 He metis hym thar, and charris hym with a chak :
 He watis to spy, and smytis in al hys mycht,
 The tother keppys hym on hys burdon wycht :
 Thai foyt at othir, and eggis to bargane.²

These shew Douglas at his best, when moving along the way of the liberty which he claimed. His modes may be further seen in the following.

Virgil, in his address to the Muses, uses the one word "deæ,"³ and this becomes with Douglas a very full invocation :

*Zhe Musys now, sweit Goddassis ychone,*⁴

being exactly double, in extent, of the three words extra to which he asserts his right, in his introduction. And, again, the simple phrase.

*Audentis Fortuna iuvat,*⁵

becomes a wide maxim in

Hap helpis hardy men, be myne avys,
 That weil dar tak on hand stowt interprys.⁶

Sometimes, feeling the pregnant power of Virgil's words, and by his poetic sympathy beholding the very picture rise before him, Douglas irresistibly expands a phrase. Thus :

*Mæstum Iliades crinem de more solutæ,*⁷

becomes

dolorus Phrigyane wemen on thar gys
 With hair down schaik and petuus sprachis and cryis.⁸

He has probably before him here, as an interpretative fact, a

¹ v. 429.

² v. 8, 10.

³ x. 163.

⁴ x. 4, 1.

⁵ x. 284.

⁶ x. 5, 175.

⁷ xi. 35.

⁸ xi. 1, 81.

Scottish funeral, with the wailing of the women for their dead.
We see this again in his

woful moderis . . .
cryand, ichane, allace !¹

almost a reminiscence of the matrons lamenting in the streets of
Scottish towns, after some dire battle tidings.

So also, for the reticent yet plangent phrase

miserande puer !²

Douglas gives

O douchty child maist worthy to be menynt,³

and feels called upon to explain

pudendis vulneribus,⁴

by the words

schamefull wondis that he caught in the bak.⁵

In this respect, however, he frequently compares quite favour-
ably with Dryden. For example, in the *Æneid*, Book II. line
332, we read :

Obsedere alii telis angusta viarum
Oppositis : stat ferri acies mucrone corusco
Stricta parata neci.

Dryden renders this characteristically :

To several parts their parties they divide,
Some block the narrow streets, some scour the wide.
The bold they kill, th' unwary they surprise :
Who fights finds death, and death finds him who flies.

This is almost wholly Dryden. Douglas, on the other hand,
writes more closely :

Sum cumpanyis, with speris, lance and targe,
Walkis wachand in rewis and narow stretis :
Arrayit batalis, with drawyn swerdis at gletis,
Standis reddy forto styk, gor and sla. . . .⁶

With the woods of native land before him, Virgil's pines
become to Douglas the dark firs

rekand to the sternys on hie.⁷

¹ xi. 5, 71.

² xi. 42.

³ xi. 1, 96.

⁴ xi. 55-6.

⁵ xi. 1, 128.

⁶ ii. 6, 68.

⁷ xi. 3, 83.

And, as he reads of the busy waggons that creak through the forest under their heavy loads of tree trunks, these

plaustris gementibus¹

become

jargand wanys,²

a phrase which almost seems to visualize the very sounds of the burdened carts.

And again :

non vitæ gaudia quæro
Nec fas, sed nato manis perferre sub imos,³

becomes

Onlesum war syk plesour I set by :
Bot for a thraw desyre I to lest heir
Turnus slauchter and deth with me to beir
As glaid tithandis onto my child and barn
Amang the gostis law in skowgis dern.⁴

He was very fond of this word " dern " as an epithetic addition. It recurs again and again. Thus :

silvis insedit iniquis⁵

is rendered

Lyggis at weyt vnder the darn wod schaw.⁶

Somehow there is something in the individuality of the words that makes us see a Scottish forest here. All shadowy places have this applied to them by him as a descriptive tag.

It is evident from these examples that he sees the thing plainly, and paints his own picture, dipping his pencil however in the edge of Virgil's material.

He was wise in his choice of a dignified verse, which he got from Chaucer, the *riding rhyme*, that decasyllabic rhythm which, through the influence of Deschamps and de Machault, ousted the octosyllabic, and became the standard of English heroic poetry.⁷

Douglas was as wise as he could be expected to be in other things also, considering that he stood on the first edge of enter-

¹ xi. 138.

² xi. 3, 87.

³ xi. 180.

⁴ xi. 4, 98.

⁵ xi. 531.

⁶ xi. 10, 104.

⁷ Used first in English in Prol. to *Legende of Goode Women*.

prise in his great labour. Yet he sang, not as others ; and he had few if any to give him either the keynote or the tune.

John Nott speaks of him as being "homely, diffuse, and familiar : he brings down Virgil to the common vernacular language of his own country, instead of seeking to give him an elevation of style corresponding to the heroic style of the original."¹ Nott had, however, missed what Douglas set forth as his very purpose in his translation. His single aim was to clothe the story and the thought of Virgil in the vernacular of Lowland Scotland. Nobody was ever more conscious of the hardships of that task ; and his very effort not to lower but to lift his medium into a dignity worthy of or proportionate to his original made him lift much of his work into realms of vocabulary whither the vernacular sometimes has to follow with difficulty, and often, as it were out of breath entirely.

THE PROLOGUES

Their place

What makes Douglas's *Virgil* of interest wider than merely to scholars, and to students of the Roman poet, is the fact that he interposes between each book a piece of original verse, of varying length, interest and worth. Some of these contain valuable word pictures, done "with the eye on the object," as never before in Scottish verse, and with a uniquely vigorous touch.

The early English romantic poets were accustomed to give descriptions of landscape as introductory matter to their epic poetry. Henryson very finely uses this method in the opening of his *Testament of Cresseid*. He thinks

Ane doolie sessoun to ane carefull dyte
Suld correspond, and be equivalent
Richt sa it wes quhen I began to wryte
This tragedie.

The froist freisit, the blastis bitterly
Fra Pole Artick come quhisling loud and schill.

I mend the fyre and beikit me about
Then tuik ane drink my spreitis to comfort,

¹ Works of Surrey and Wyatt, vol. i. 1815.

And armit me weill fra the cauld thairout,
 To cut the winter nicht and mak it schort,
 I tuik ane Quair and left all uther sport.

Douglas, in more places than one, has taken a suggestion from this very quaintly conceived picture. The painters of the Renaissance had the same habit—as one may see in the beautiful backgrounds of Leonardo da Vinci.

But Douglas went in this to greater length, and gave full and perfect reflections of his own mood and environment, before he sat down to proceed with his great work. And, where he did not do this, he wrote, as introductory preparation of his readers for what was to follow, discussion and representation of the passions and circumstances of humanity, in their bearing, more or less, upon the Book of Virgil which he was next to give. The value of these Prologues, of course, varies much, but none of them can be ignored as samples of the poet's view of humanity and the world, in relation to the work he had chosen; while in more than one he shows fine skill in verse-weaving, especially in the Ninth Prologue, where an artifice, used in Celtic poetry, and forming a kind of *chain verse*, though not what is usually so called, is employed with very rich effect, differing also from other examples of internal rhyme.

The Prologues are usually discussed only in general terms, while, with the exception of the Seventh and Twelfth, their characteristics are frequently ignored. They are worthy, however, of some separate notice.

The First Prologue, in the same heroic couplets as the translation itself, has already been sufficiently dealt with in the consideration of Douglas's purposes and aims, as stated by himself therein.

The Second is a lament for the fall of Troy, written in rhyme royal, the stanza of *The King's Quair*, somewhat in the spirit of the *trouvers* :

Harkis Ladeis, zour bewte was the caws,
 Harkis knychtis, the wod fury of Mart :
 Wys men, attendis mony sorofull caws,
 And ze dyssavouris, reid heir zour proper art.
 And fynaly, to specify euery part,
 Heir verifeit is that proverbe teching so,
 All erdly glaidnes fynysith with wo.

The Third Prologue is a general introduction, of five stanzas, consisting of nine lines each, beginning with an address to Cynthia :

Hornyt Lady, pail Cynthia, not brycht,
 Quhilk from thi broder borrowis al thi licht,
 Rewlare of passage and ways mony one
 Maistres of stremys and glaider of the nycht ;
 Schipmen and pilgrymys hallowis thi mycht,
 Lemman to Pan, douchtir of Hyperion,
 That slepand kyssit the hyrd Endymyon,
 Thy strange wentis to write God gif me slycht,
 Twiching the thryd buke of Eneadon.

He again murmurs against murmurers, wondering whether it be against him or Virgil that they gird. The printer-editor has a rubric both of assault and comfort : " Inuyus personnys can do nothyng against good men but bark and chyd, and with that schaw ther awine fulyshnes. Good men with wysdom tempereth theyr tonges."

This Prologue's scheme of rhyme in the introductory stanzas, is the same as that of the first and second part of *The Palice of Honour*, namely, aab aab bab ; of Dunbar's *Goldin Targe* ; Chaucer's *Compleynt of Anelyda* ; and Henryson's beautiful lament for Eurydice. Curiously, in the third part of *The Palice of Honour* Douglas changes his rhyme scheme to aab aab bcc, which is the same as that of Chaucer's *Complaint of Mars*. He has another remarkable irregularity in the *Palice* ; in the first part, stanzas 6 and 7 are of ten lines each, with the rhyme scheme aab aab bc bc, while, in the second part, stanzas 29 and 30 have ten lines also, with a rhyme scheme, aab aab ba ba. Froissart has a nine line *Ballade de La Marguerite*, but it follows the strict scheme of its form. Douglas has no Ballades with refrain, such as Dunbar has in his *Merle and the Nyctingaill*, though Dunbar breaks the usual ballade laws of length, and uniformity of vowel rhyme, throughout. He sometimes also uses the same metre as Douglas's *Palice of Honour* with a refrain, which Douglas does not do. The remarks of Bernhard Ten Brink¹ in regard to rhyme-scheme apply only to parts 1 and 2 of Douglas's Poem.

The Fourth Prologue, in thirty-eight well-turned rhyme royal

¹ English Literature, vol. iii. (transl.).

stanzas, is well summarized in the editor's rubric—"This Prologue treatis the strength of love, the incommodytys and remead of the same." Occleve, in his *Letter of Cupid*, uses the same verse form, and also takes David, Solomon, and Samson as examples of men undone by passion, referring also to Ovid's *de Remedio Amoris*, which Douglas is said to have translated as an antidote to an early passion. Douglas speaks of Venus and Cupid as

Fosteraris of byrnyng, carnail, hait delyte . . .
 Begynnyng with a fenzeit faynt plesance,
 Continewit in lust, and endyt with pennance.

And Solomon, Samson, David, Alexander, Jacob, Hercules, Hero and Leander, and others are taken as examples of its evil mastery. And yet he shows the shadow and the glory of love in the line—

Thow plenyst paradyce, and thou heryt hell.

He passes on to Dido's tragedy, which he reminds us made Augustine himself weep, following here Ascencius, who says, in the first few lines of his Commentary on the Fourth Book of the *Aeneid*—in the edition published "anno a Virginis Partu Md VIII"—"Augustinus sese ad lachrymas compulsus Didonis querela confiteatur. Nihil enim prætermisum est quod ad amantis misere officium pertineat." And so the poet warns all to vigilance over the citadel of their heart. It is conventional, and remarkably lacking in the slightest touch or token of the lyrical cry, so beautifully found in Henryson's

"quhair art thow gone, my luve euridices?"

It is, in fact, a Churchman's treatment of a passionate theme, and, though touched with some tenderness, is cold.

The Fifth Prologue has again the nine-line stanza, with the rhyme scheme of the third part of *The Palace of Honour*, as above noted. It has eight stanzas, opening with reflections on the aims and purposes which keep the heart going forward, a kind of excuse for games and sports, especially as the Fifth Book deals with these. And he has another gird at Caxton! He puts aside the temptation to invoke Bacchus, Proserpine, or Victory, or any other

But he quhilk may ws glaid perpetuall,
 To bryng ws tyl hys blys, on hym I cry.

The Sixth Prologue is in octave verse, rhyming ababbcbc. It has been already used herein in consideration of his attitude towards the moral teaching of Virgil, regarding hell and the punishment of sin. In this he quotes Ascencius, in the light of the latter's remarks on the Fourth *Eclogue*—

As twiching hym writis Ascentyus ;
 Feil of his wordis bene like the appostilis sawis,
 He is ane hie theolog sentencyus,
 And maste profund philosophour he him schawis.
 . . . He was na cristin man, per De,
 And zit he puttis a God Fader most hie.

This eclogue, of course, had great influence in lifting Virgil in the estimation of Christian thinkers in the Middle Ages. But Hesiod and Ovid seem also to have traces of the influence of the Hebrew Scriptures. Theocritus, at the Court of Ptolemy, even borrowed Bible phrases.¹ Virgil, according to his own statement, owed the staple of this eclogue to the verses attributed to the Cumæan Sibyl, wherever these had borrowed their colour.

The Seventh Prologue follows, in one hundred and sixty-eight Chaucerian couplets, naturally upon the Sixth Book, of the Descent of Æneas into the lower world ; and is intended by Douglas to "smell new come forth of hell." It gives a description of a Scottish winter. There may be a reminiscence here, of the old northern idea of hell, as a place of chill and wretchedness, not a place of flame, still surviving in the Gaelic *ifrinn fuar*, i.e. "cold hell."² It seems, however, to have been suggested by the ghostlike aspect of objects in winter. I have seen this very thing in Flanders, with the dead lying, snow-shrouded ; and nothing can be liker the land of the shades. It depicts the fierce, snell, and gloomy features of the season, with the discomforts of the poet's time. His high window looks out over Edinburgh, and the wild geese fly screaming across the city before the wind.

This was a favourite picture for the poetic mind. And here as elsewhere it recalls Lorenzo de' Medici's *Ambra*, which opens

¹ Cf. Idyll xviii. 30, and Canticles i. 9.

² Cf. *Cosmuilius ifrinn dano and cétamus-i-gaimred 7 snechtae, sin 7 nacht, aés 7 chrine*, etc. Old Irish Homily, vide K. Meyer, *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philol.* Cf. also Michael O'Clery's MS. of 1628, i.e. Stowe MS., B. iv. 2, fo. 146^{b.1.}, for collocation of *geimreadh . . . iffern . . . bron*, etc.

with the description of an Italian winter, and has a flight of birds finely drawn :

Stridendo in ciel, i gru veggonsi a lunge
L'aere stampar di varie e belle forme :
E l'ultima col collo steso aggiunge
Ov' è quella dinanzi alle vane orme.

The Italian also, in another place,¹ appeals to Nature in his

Oda la terra, e nubliosi e foschi
Turbini, e piove, che fan l'aere oscura.
Silenzj ombrosi, e solitari boschi :

which awakes in us, as we read, a thought of Douglas also.

He reflects on human struggle and distresses. He apparently recalls scenes familiar to him ; and the wild storms of his native fields rise up before his reflective eye.²

The frosty regioun ryngis of the zer
The tyme and sesson bittir cald and pail,
Tha schort days that clerkis clepe brumail ;
Quhen brym blastis of the northyn art
Ourquhelmyt had Neptunus in his cart,
And all to schaik the levis of the treis.
The rageand storm, ourwaltrand wally seys ;
Ryveris ran reid on spait with watir brovne,
And burnys hurlys all thar bankis dovne,
And landbrist rumland rudely with sik beir,
So lowd ne rumyst wild lyoun or ber.

Thik drumly skuggis dyrknyt so the hevyn . . .
Flaggis of fire and mony felloun flaw,
Scharpe soppys of sleit and of the snyvand snaw.
The dolly dichis war all donk and wait
The law valle flodderit all with spait . . .
Laggerit lewis wallowit farnys schew,
Brovne muris kythit thar wysnyt mossy hew . . .
The wynd maid waif the red wed on the dyke . . .
Puyr lauboraris and bissy husband men
Went wait and wery, draglit in the fen.

The atmosphere, action, colour, and humanity, of this, make it uniquely powerful in its realism and pathetically modern in its touch. And so, as outside Nature was impossible for a poet to wander in, he seeks the fireside with his book again, admonishing his industry, as he was but half through with his labours—

Na thing is done, quhill ocht remanis ado.³

¹ *Orazione.*

² Cf. Henryson *The Swallow and other Birds.*

³ Cf. Nil actum credens, cum quid supercisset agendum. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, ii. 657.

The Eighth Prologue is the most remarkable, in some ways, truly an odd thing in its place in a volume of Virgilian translations. The verse is a kind of dancing rhythm, flexible and quick in action, and resilient in its bob-wheel tag. It consists of fourteen stanzas of thirteen lines each, with rhyme and alliteration together. But though he uses the semblance of antiquity he does not adhere to the ancient method, having frequently five alliterated accented words instead of three, to a line. The ancient model is shown in *Piers Plowman's* familiar

In a somer seson when soft was the sonne
I shope me in shroudes as I a shepe were.

But Douglas assumes the liberty of Dunbar, in the *Tua mariit Wemen and the Wedo*, where that poet breaks away from conventional rule in lines like

Besyd ane gudlie grein garth full of gay flouris.

Douglas's Prologue is as un-Virgilian and unclassical as any that could ever be—a most alien interpolation, which must have struck any but a Scottish reader as utterly uncouth, if not indeed as gibberish, in such lines as

Sum latyt latton, but lay, lepys in lawyd lyt,
Sum penys furth a pan boddum to prent fals plakkis,
Sum gowkis quhill the glas pyg grow full of gold zit.

A notable test of "plainness," even to Scotsmen of to-day, and many a day before now! It begins with the dream, of course.

Of dreflyng and dremys quhat dow it to endite?
For, as I lenyt in a ley in Lent this last nycht,
I slaid on a swevynnyng, slummyrand a lite:
And sone a selcouth seg I saw to my sycht,
Swownand as he swelt wald, sowpyt in syte,
Was nevir wrocht in this warld mair wofull a wycht,
Ramand: Resson and rycht is rent by fals ryte,
Frenschip flemyt is in Frans, and faith hes the flycht.
Leys, lurdanry and lust ar our laid starn;
 Peax is put owt of play,
 Welth and weifar away,
 Lufe and lawte baith tuay
 Lurkis ful darn.

The scheme of rhyme here is the same as in Henryson's *Sum Practysis of Medecyne*, Holland's *Book of the Howlat*, *Golagros and Gawane*, the *Awntyrs of Arthure at the Terne Wathelyne*, and,

with some similarity, in *Rauf Coilzear*. The *Howlat*¹ goes back to 1475 at least, and Holland tells us of course that it was composed in "the mirthfull month of May." The influence of its matter is seen in Douglas's other prologues. Thus Holland says—

This riche Revir down ran but resting or ruf
 Throwe ane forest on fold that farly was fair.
 All the brayis of the brym bair branchis abuf,
 And birdis blythest of ble on blossomes bair,
 The land lowne was and le, with lyking and luf,
 And for to lende by that laike thoct me levar
 Becaus that thir hartes in heirdis couth huf
 Pransand and prunzeand be pair and be pair
 Thus sat I in solace sekerly and sure
 Content of the fair firth
 Mekle mair of the mirth
 Als blyth of the birth
 That the ground bure

Very curiously there is a Douglas connection in this poem, as it was written for Elizabeth Dunbar, Countess of Moray, who was married first, to a Douglas, whose eldest brother was that earl whom King James II himself slew in 1452. A detailed description of the Douglas arms is introduced in its verses. It also contains what may be taken as the Douglas authorized version of the pilgrimage of Sir James with Bruce's heart, accepted apparently as official by Boece, and differing from Barbour's version, in that it represents Sir James as having fallen in Spain on his way back from the Holy Land, instead of having been slain in Spain before he had succeeded to carry the purpose of his journey further. The author seems to have shared the exile of the Douglasses in England, and was, with the banished earl, excluded from mercy and restoration in the amnesty of 1482. Bishop Gawain could not but know it, therefore, and both its rhythm and its imagery would be familiar to him.

In regard to Douglas's own peculiar verses here the printer's rubric says: "In this Prolug he schaws the stait of thys fals warld, quhou all thyng is turnit fra verteu tyl vyce." The vision tells how all men are wilful, seeking their

¹ Asloan MS. (A.D. 1515), Bannatyne MS. (1568). One leaf of Black Letter of about 1520 extant. *Vide* Appendix Pinkerton's *Scottish Poems*, reprinted from rare editions. Vol. iii., 1792; Laing, David, for Bannatyne Club; Amours, F. J., in *Scottish Alliterative Poems*, S.T.S., 1891-2.

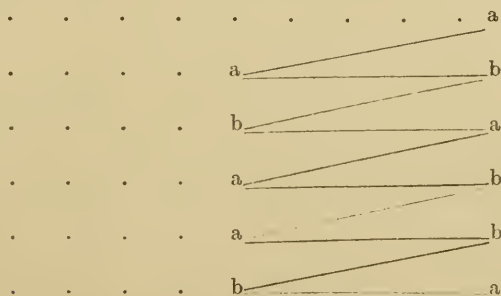
own pleasures, but Douglas resents the interference of this aged mourner, as he desires to get on with his own work. The ancient shews him the book of God, written over the stars and in the laws of Nature ; and takes him to a corner of the field to dig for a hid treasure, but he awakes and misses it. He turns, however, to seek the treasure of life by the way of industry, in the duty that is at hand. Examples of this favourite method of vision and interview could be culled at large from the Italian poetry of the Renaissance, as well as evidenced in Henryson's interview with Æsop.¹ It gave the poet an opportunity of passing on his opinions and philosophies, with the interest of a third person giving additional weight to their teaching.

The Ninth Prologue begins with three stanzas of six lines, and either was already lying by him, or he grew weary of it, for he plunges into rhyming heroic couplets for other eighty lines. The opening stanzas enunciate the general rules of honour and charity :—

Scurilyte is bot for doggis at barkis,
 Quha tharto harkis fallys in fragilyte.

Do tyll ilk wight as thou done to waldbe,
 Be nevir sle and doubill, nor zit our lycht :
 Oys not thy mycht abufe thyne awin degre,
 Clym nevir our hie, nor zit to law thow lycht ;
 Wirk no malgre thocht thou be nevir sa wycht
 Hald with the rycht, and pres the nevir to le.

In these verses he has not only *tail* rhyme but a curious artifice, like the swing of a pendulum, a kind of weaving rhyme, where the chimes move out and in as if threading the maze of a country dance, thus :



¹ Vide Fables. Proloug to *The Lyoun and the Mous.*

He elsewhere uses internal rhyme, in the *Hymn in praise of Honour*, with which his *Palice* poem concludes, but on a different scheme—a straightforward chime which rings like a dance with castanets, that chink at a foot-beat on the ground :

O hie honour sweet hevinlie flour degest . . .
Bot quhome in richt na worthie wicht may lest.

The second verse gets one extra chime :

Of grace thy face in every place sa schynis,
That sweit all spreit baith heid and feit inclynis,
Thy gloir afor for till imploir remeid. . . .

And the third rings all the way :

Hail, rois maist chois till clois thy fois greit micht,
Hail, stone quhilk schone vpone the throne of licht. . . .

It is an actual bit of deliberately created bell-and-cymbal praise, and if it be measured by the poet's intent, it is a successful piece of verbal music.

This species of internal rhyme construction was not uncommon in Renaissance verse. Henryson uses it once, in the concluding stanzas of his *Prayer for the Pest* :

Superne lucerne guberne this pestilens.
Preserve and serve that we nocht sterf tharin.
Declyne that tharin pyne be thy devyne prudens.

And Dunbar in his *Ballat of our Lady*, beginning,

Hale, sterne superne ! Hail, in eterne,
In Goddis sicht to schyne !
Lucerne in derne, for to discerne
Be glory and grace devyne.
Hodiern, modern, sempitern,
Angelicall regyne.
Our tern inferne for to dispurn,
Helpe rialest rosyne . . .¹

Neither of these has the natural swing of Douglas's verse in this *Prologue* nor in the *Hymn*.

They are not to be confused with the *Leonine verse*, found as early as the eighth century, the real origin of which is not known, in which the syllable immediately preceding the caesura of a line

¹ Cf. St Casimire's Hymn—*Omni die dic Mariæ*, etc., from Hermann Adalbert Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnologicus* II., p. 373, App. lxiv. *Vide* Dunbar, III., p. 357, S.T.S.

rhymes with the final syllable. The familiar lines are the best example :

Dæmon languēbat monachus tunc esse volebat,
' Ast ubi convaluit mansit ut ante fuit.

The following line by Ovid is also well known in this connection :

Quot cœlum *stellas* tot habet tua Roma puellas.

Douglas goes on to shew how he tries to suit his quest by clothing his work in fit phrase. And with all his apologies and acceptances of censure he smirks to acknowledge his satisfaction with his product :

mea culpa I cry,
Zit by myself I fynd this proverb perfyte,
The blak craw thinkis hir awin byrdis quhite.

His humour suggests,

So faris with me, bew Schirris, wil ze hark,
Can nocht persauē a falt in all my wark
Affectioun sa far my raysson blyndis,
Quhar I mysknaw myne errour, quha it fyndis,
For cheryte amendis it, gentil wycht,
Synē pardon me, sat sa far in my lycht,
And I sal help to smore zour falt, leif broder,
Thus, vail que vail, olk gude deid helpis other.

The Tenth Prologue is in Dunbar's five line stave—*aabba*, which came into Scots verse under the influence of France. In its other form *aabab* it is found in the envoy of Villon's *Ballade*, beginning,

En regal en arsenic rocher,

and also in the *Ballade contre les mesdisans*. Dunbar uses it frequently, with a refrain, as in the *Danger of Wryting*. It speaks, in Douglas's thirty-five verses here, of the wonders of the works of God, in an invocation, throughout, of the "Maist Hie Plasmatur."

Addresses to the highest Divinity were not unusual, at this period, under the influence of Saint Augustine's writings; and one cannot help comparing Douglas's with Lorenzo de' Medici's *Orazione* :

Spirto Dio, il verbo tuo la mente regge,,
Opifice, che spirto a ciascun dai,
Tu sol se' Dio, onde ogni cosa ha legge.

L'uomo tuo questo chiama sempre mai;
 Per fuoco, aria, acqua, e terra t'ha pregato,
 Per lo spirito, e per quel che creato hai.
 Dall' eterno ho benedizion trovato,
 E spero, come io son desideroso,
 Trovar nel tuo disio tranquillo stato :
 Fuor di te Dio, non e vero riposo.

Henryson's voice also speaks thus in the Prologue to the *Lyon and the Mous*. The suggesting source of these is evident. Douglas passes on to full statements of theological dogma, and of the Trinity, shewing how in ourselves we have understanding, reason, memory, with examples from "flame, lycht, and heyt"; concluding with an address to God on the super-excelling glory of divine love. There is no mention, in this, of purgatory. But of course he has already, in the Sixth, discussed that. Otherwise it might be taken as a very complete exhibition of the theology of his time.

The Eleventh Prologue is again an octave of twenty-five verses without refrain. The rhyme scheme is ababbccb. It speaks of the examples of nobility in prowess :

Weill auchtin eldris exemplis ws to steir.
 Tyll hie curage, all honour till ensew.
 Quhen we consider quhat wirschip tharof grew
 All vyce detest and vertu lat ws leyr.

He proceeds to argue that, though war quickens chivalry :

Our myndis suld haue just ententioun,
 The grond of batale fundyt apon rycht.

And he is quite modern in his contention :

Wrangis to reddres suld wer be vndertane
 For na conquest, reif, skat, nor pensioun.

Now he discusses fortitude and cowardice. He then turns the qualities of ordinary chivalry into the sphere of Christianity, and of course Aristotle and Boëthius are used as authorities, while the example of Æneas is appealed to, as an incentive to faithful response to the call of his destiny. St Augustine is finally quoted, against ease and fear, in the warfare of the Christian life. It is not poetry, but well-managed verse, sententious and heavy, and, like its predecessor, prolix.

The Twelfth Prologue is famous for its description of My,

vibrant with the freshness of the living air, the eager life of the world and the stir of Nature quickened ; and sweet with the sheen of sunlight on the water and the land. It describes a day lived through in every detail. Dazzling Phœbus emerges from his royal palace.

Before hys regale hie magnificens
Mysty vapour vpspryngand sweit as sens . . .
The large fludis lemand all of lycht
Bot with a blenk of hys supernale sycht,
Forto behald it was a glor to se
The stablit wyndis and the cawmyt see,
The soft sessoun, the firmament sereyn,
The lowne illumynat ayr, and fyrth ameyn . . .

The fish dart to and fro in the " cleir stremis " ; the harts and hinds stir in enclosure, park and wood :

In lyssouris and on leys litill lammys
Full tayt and tryg socht bletand to thar dammys.

All the life of meadow and loan move and browse before him, with the love of swain and quean in sunny May-time, and echoes of folk-song, full of music. If we drop his nymphs and go on, we find truth at once :

wenchis and damysellis
In gresy gravys wandrand by spryng wellis,
Of blomyt branchis and flowris quhite and red
Plettand thar lusty chaplettis for thar hed ;
Sum sang ryng sangis, dansys ledys and rövndis,
With vocis schill, quhill all the daill resoövndis . . .
Ane sang, *The schyp salys our the salt faym,*
Will bryng thir merchandis and my lemman haym.,

evidently a reference to some folksong. In the objective painting of Nature here and in the Seventh Prologue, he is the pioneer of Montgomerie, Thomson, and Scott.

He is awakened by the sunshine at four of the May morning.

For Progne had, or than, sung hir complaynt,
And eik her dreidfull systir Philomeyn,
Hyr lays endyt and in woddis greyn,
Hyd hir selvyn, eschamyt of hyr chance.

All the birds everywhere startle the sluggards.

our awyn natyve byrd, gentill dow
Syngand in hyr kynd, *I come hydder to wow.*

So he leaps to his labour.

He thought highly of his work in this poem, for he exclaims :

Explicit scitus prologus
Quharof the autour says thus :

The lusty crafty preambill, perle of May
I the entitil, crownyt quhil domysday,
And al with gold in syng of stait ryall
Most beyn illumnyt thy letteris capital,

which is as far as a poet can well go, even in regard to his own production !

This direct outlook upon Natural scenes is vibrant with the spirit of the Renaissance. One finds a good example of that in the *Ambra* of Lorenzo de' Medici himself thus :

Al dolce tempo il bon pastore informa
Lasciar le mandre, ove nel verno giaeque :
E'l lieto gregge, che ballando in torma,
Torna all' alte montagne, alle fresche acque.
L'agnel trottando pur la materna orma
Segue : ed alcun, che pur or ora nacque.
L'amorevol pastore in braccio porta :
Il fido cane a tutti fa la scorta.

At the same time it must be said that this Prologue, with all its direct observation and insight, fails in some degree because of its very completeness of detail. It is too catalogic. The poet presents a palette or a crammed sketch-book rather than a picture, and the list is apt to pall on the impatient reader of to-day.¹

The Thirteenth Prologue has already been discussed, in its place, in connection with Mapheus Vegius. But it has other claims to consideration, by right of its poetry also. In it he describes very finely a June evening in which he falls asleep, and dreams till daybreak awakes the world.

Furth quynchyng gan the starris one be one,
That now is left bot Lucifer allone.
And forthirmore to blason the new day
Quha mycht discryve the byrdis blissful bay ?
Belyve on weyng the bissy lark vpsprang
To salus the blyth morrow with hir sang
Sone our the fieldis shynys the lycht cleir
Welcum to pilgrym baith and lauberer.

¹ Cf. Minto's *Characteristics of English Poets*; *in loc.* where the critic is too impetuously scornful.

In this Prologue the influence of Dunbar may be felt in at least one glimpse, where, when Douglas tells how

Ontill a garth vndir a greyn lawrer
I walk onon . . .

we hear a distinct echo of Dunbar's episode beginning

Within ane garth undir a tre
I hard ane voice.

But yet reminiscence is a natural thing, and poetry is full of it, while the artifice was also a common one.

The "grieve" calls his workers, the herd his loon; the heu-wife wakes up "Katheryn and Gill."

The dewy greyn pulderit wyth daseis gay
Schew on the swerd a cullour dapill gray
The mysty vapouris spryngand vp full sweit
Maist confortabill to glaid all manis spreit,
Tharto thir byrdis syngis in the schawys
As menstrualis playing, the joly day now dawys.

This was a favourite melody, and is found in a collection made about 1500. Dunbar speaks of it, in his sarcastic address to *the Merchantis of Edinburgh*,¹ as a favourite worn trite :

Your common menstrales hes no tune
But Now the day daws, and Into June.

It is quoted in the *Gude and Godlie Ballads*² in 1567, and is met with in Montgomerie's Poems in 1579, while it is spoken of as being played by Habbie Simpson, the piper of Kilbarchan, in 1625.³ It is supposed to be the song commencing,

Hey now the day dawis
The jolly cock crawis,

and was sung to the melody *Hey tutti taitie*, the same to which Burns wrote *Scots wha hae*. Its identification, by Chambers,⁴ with that in the Fairfax manuscript, and the conclusion which he draws therefrom that "at the commencement of the 16th century there were songs common to the literate classes of both nations" is erroneous, being based on the similarity of the opening words. The music for three voices in the Fairfax collection is not the same as that of the Scottish bagpipe air with

¹ Stanza v.

² Edition, Irving, p. 219.

³ Watson's *Collection of Scots Poems*, 1706.

⁴ *Scottish Songs*, vol. i., Int., pp. xvi et seq.

the same name. It was, in fact, the awakening tune of the town pipers in most places in Scotland which had such an official.

It cannot be denied by all who know and love poetry, that, in these productions, unique from their connections and place, we have a bulk of visually imaginative work, which gives their poet a niche of his own.

Douglas not only sees, but he feels and understands, and humanity speaks in response to the world's appeal. A winter day, or the song of the birds in the woodlands, or the flocks spread along the meadows and hillsides, impress him with a heart-significance, and stir a deeper than merely recording note, just as in regard to human character in his greater work.

Here, and throughout the general translation, where characteristics of flood and fell are touched by him, Douglas is on his own ground as a truly descriptive poet—the forerunner of the later Nature poetry of the open world. He is leagues away from any of the descriptive work that is in his earlier poetry, where he was simply weaving conventional tapestries of mediæval design. He is here truly modern, directly personal in spirit and in purpose, a poet of the New Birth. In face of such descriptive poetry, and even remembering his faults, it is difficult to agree with Thomas Campbell, in his *Specimens of English Poets*, when, evidently feeling that he should praise and condemn at the same moment, he says of Douglas, “He was certainly a fond painter of Nature, but his imagery is redundant and tediously profuse.” This is, we feel, only a general remark of a modern in passing.

Douglas's Nature pictures are true pictures of Nature, done with an open eye, a true heart, and a full brush. There is little, if any, writing about Nature in extent, like it, till the publication of *The Seasons*.¹

¹ Prologue I., printed in Gregory Smith's *Specimens of Middle Scots* (1902).

Prologue VII. has been reprinted in Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry* (1802), i. pp. 428-457; Eyre Todd's *Abbotsford Poets*, i. pp. 249-269, Hand Browne's *Selections from the Early Scottish Poets*, Baltimore, 1896, pp. 154-165 (both of these were reprinted from Small's edition); Gregory Smith's *Specimens of Middle Scots*.

Prologue VIII. appears in Sibbald.

Prologue XIII., partly in Sibbald, and in Eyre Todd.

Cf. further, pages 20, 21, 22 *supra*.

Estimate

Douglas was frankly a Scottish poet in his intent, with little thought of a wider audience than the readers and teachers of his own land and race. Yet at times there are gleams of a larger hope, that by his work he had loosened a music bound hitherto in the chains of ancient phrase, and given an example and incentive to others. The Scottish Poet hoped by his method to make what was a world classic, a classic of the Scottish folk, and a guide to Scottish thought and action, in familiar phrase, vocabulary, and idea. Professor Henry Morley says of Chapman's translation of Homer, that in it "the *Iliad* is best read as an English book." And in this sense Douglas's is a great Scottish poem, while at the same time a translation of a very great Latin work. If, as Montaigne said, Amyot in France made Plutarch speak French, truly Douglas made the refined Augustan speak Scots, though as a dignified schoolman, with a Scottish tongue still in his mouth, might speak it, standing between the scholar of his day and the peasant, touching now the one and now the other, but never quite both together at once. Douglas himself hoped to be a popular poet, for he says,

Throwout the ile yclept Albioune
Red sall I be and sung with mony one.¹

But this, as we have shewn, could never be, both from his subject and the mode of his achievement. It has been his fate to be remembered and spoken of, rather than read. Says David Masson,² speaking of "Gavin Douglas, the most difficult of the old Scottish poets perhaps to a modern reader, but of higher quality in some respects than any of his Scottish contemporaries. What is Gavin Douglas now, for most of his own countrymen even, but a pretendedly affectionate name for an uncouth ecclesiastic that lived in Scotland at some time or other, and is said to have written verse?" Andrew Lang³ makes too wide an assertion when he says that Douglas's verse is still plain enough

¹ Cf. Occleve: *Letter of Cupid*, l. 16—

The little isle
That cleped is Albion.

² Preface, *Three Centuries of English Poetry*, xii., 1876. ³ *Ward's Poets*, i.

to a Scotch reader. It is only so if he take a very considerable amount of trouble to master it, although there are passages that with less application may be easier—but still, only for the student. Even an educated contemporary might have had difficulty in understanding fully the archaisms and neo-isms of Douglas, who deemed it necessary to paint the vernacular, and deck his phrase in strange garb. It was a manifestation of a gilding age, rather than a golden. In fact, Skeat, speaking of Douglas's Twelfth *Prologue* as compared with the selections he makes from *The Kingis Quair*, Harry the Minstrel, Dunbar, and Lyndsay, says, "Partly from his profuse employment of Northern English words, and partly from the freedom with which he introduces Latin and French terms, the worthy Bishop has succeeded in producing many lines which puzzle even the experienced . . . such lines as

moist hailsum stovys ourheldand the slak . . .

We can hardly find lines so unfamiliar in appearance as this without going back at least to the fourteenth century."¹ There are hundreds, indeed, that even a Scottish reader could make little or nothing of. How many even of the most Doric of Scots folk to-day could tell the meaning of *apirmsert*, as applied to Juno: or what a *flemyt wauengeowr* is?² And yet a word like *sewchquhand* is quite familiar still in Scottish vernacular, though its old spelling clothes it with repellent difficulty of recognition. There are multitudes of words in his pages "which are never to be revived," as Dryden says, "any more than the crowds of men who daily die, or are slain for sixpence in a battle." In fact they never really lived, and were not repeated in the world of language.

Apart from other considerations, the real test of a translation, after all, is not analytical detail but general effect. As Gladstone said, "It is not a matter of mere literary criticism, but a full study of life." And the best translation of any poem must depend on what the best poet of his period, writing at his best, can achieve. It must have hanging above it, like a fine atmo-

¹ *Specimens of Early English*.

² Cf. Cedecus al totrynschit Alcathous, x. 12, 143.

sphere, the grace of style, which, as Baldassare Castiglione¹ said nobly, is "a manner of speech which remains after a man has spoken—the life of the words," practically what Sir Philip Sidney set down as the test of poetry—allurement, and hauntingness, as well as edification. It is this haunting charm which essentially differentiates poetry from philosophy, intensifying the allurements of the tale which "holdeth the children from play, and old men from the chimney corner."² This must be in every great translation of every great poem, clothed in words that carry with them "the splendid emotion of the morn." Herein lies secretly hidden, for the translator's downfall, the temptation to over-enrichment, creation of phrase-embroideries where purest simplicities are in the original, though that belonged more naturally, of course, to the period we look at here. prompting even Machiavelli to don pompous garments as he sought the companionship, comfort, and inspiration of the sages in his library.³ Douglas in a similar way tried to clothe his great original in golden words, enriched by every artifice within his reach. And so he sometimes overloaded and incommoded his guest with his hospitable intentions. But in this he erred in the general company of his age.

The question then arises, did Douglas achieve nobly in his rendering of a noble poem? It is clear that he did, though only as far as it was possible in his time and according to his lights. The true measure of the achievement of a pioneer is perhaps not so much what he achieved as what he left behind him in his forward step. And it was a very original advance which Douglas made when he lifted Virgil's work out of the dark of a dead tongue, and at least set it clearly in the light, on the threshold of English Literature. He did what no man had done before him; and few men since have done it better, even though they have had what he had not, namely, examples both of failure and success, as warning and as examples of incentive power. That fact must not be forgotten to him for righteousness at the bar of judgment. It had the merit both of courage and achievement.

¹ 1478-1529: Stood very high among neo-Latin poets; His *Alcon* influenced Drummond's *Esequies* and Milton's *Lycidas*.

² Sidney: *Apologie for Poesie*, p. 57. Morley's Edition.

³ Cf. *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act I. sc. i. 72.

Virgil differed from Homer in that his poem was, by its nature, rather for the few than the many. Its subject was imbued with a divine philosophy, and its style was greater than its matter. Its appeal, from the beginning, was to a level far above the masses. It was a Court poem, while Homer's was a poem for the people. Where Virgil was to touch the nation all through was rather through the nation's leaders, in their conduct and outlook, moulded and coloured by his great teaching, clothed in a style and diction as great as what he taught. And though to the ear of to-day, attuned to a very different measure of modulated speech as in verse expressed, Douglas's phrase seems rugged, and his words often more than merely quaint, yet his work swung out from his world of conventional Dream and Vision, with a clang of reality that made it practically a creation. And where it was indebted poetically to those who were before it recognized as masters, its very debts were ennobled by widening vision of natural beauty, by the power of storm and the spell of calm, and by the cleaving grace of a rich humanity, which shot a shaft of light through the vagueness and shadow of Mediævalism. It was touched by the first breaking of the full wave out of the great deep along the shore of our Northern Literature. It was the rendering of a great work, greatly done, with a majesty of its own. And it remained in men's remembrance as a real achievement; while its influence undoubtedly turned others to the same task in a later day, and kept before a land frequently involved in unpoetic conflicts the fact, at least, that Virgil's verse had in it what made it worthily memorable and profitable as an incentive to elevated thought and nobility of life.

What Douglas claimed to have attempted he may be taken to have achieved, as fully as could be done by anybody at the time; and in accord with what he considered to be the principles of translation. His work remains as, on its own merits, one of the great translations of the Roman poet. Lang truly asserted that "by his *Æneid* Douglas lives, and deserves to live."

Douglas stands, it may be, far short of the peak of Parnassus. Yet it is not by right of his *Palice of Honour*, nor of his *King Hart*, that he is there at all, but as translator of Virgil; in which he displayed his keen observation of Nature, his shrewd under-

standing of humanity in itself and in relation to the external world, and by which he holds, in Scottish Literature, a position not to be taken from him, and a place of unique interest in the general Literature of the English-speaking folk.

George Buchanan's tribute can be taken as that of a man who knows—no one better—both the original, and what the shadow work should be. He does not go into detail, but gives an almost epigrammatic epitome of the man and his work, when he says, "Reliquit et ingenii et doctrinæ non vulgaria monumenta, sermone patrio conscripta."¹ This is what Douglas aimed at, and in this he did not fail—to leave in the vulgar tongue a monument that was not vulgar.

In regard to this hope his own prophecy is true, in the last line here quoted, under the direct influence of Ovid, the first love of his muse :

Quhen . . .
 endis the dait of myn oncertan eild
 The bettir part of me sal be upheild
 Abufe the starnys perpetually to ryng
 And heir my naym remane, but enparyng.²

¹ *Hist. Lib.* xiv. c. 13.

² *Conclusio*, 5. Cf.

Cum volet illa dies quæ nil nisi corporis humus
 Jus habet, inertis spatium mihi finiat ævi,
 Parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis.
 Astra ferar, nomenque erit indelibile nostrum.

Ovid, *Meta*, xv. 873.

Cf. also Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, where this claim of immortality through verse, is traced. See Pindar's *Olympic Odes*, xi. : Horace, *Odes*, iii. 30 : Virgil's *Georgics*, iii. 9 : Sidney, *Apologie for Poetrie* : Nash, *Pierce Penniless*, and throughout Elizabethan poetry.

IV

MANUSCRIPTS AND READINGS

Risks of Error—Sources of Error

ANY work circulated in manuscript is open to the risk of becoming a problem to a later age in consequence of the variety of text certain to be evolved by the fallibility of copyists. And a poem which, besides being preserved on the written page, lives also on the lips of men, is exposed to the fickleness of the memory of its reciters as well as to the slips to which scribes are prone. It is to the former that the poet is especially in peril of change, for while, of course, the sense, purpose, or drift of his work may be kept intact he is constantly at the mercy of inaccurate remembrance, the reciter retaining the meaning, while forgetting, it may be, chaste phrase or golden word. With the copyist on the other hand, the inaccurate or wearied eye or the uncertain ear of the transcriber, and it may be the unclear utterance of one dictating to him, may, by their slip, make havoc of both sense and phrase, to the grave detriment of the poet's repute, and the confusion and despair of his later readers.¹ The boldness of the careless also misleads him by his hasty guess. And the ignorantly rash redactor who thinks he knows what the poet meant better than the poet wrote his meaning, is perhaps the man most apt to tangle meaning and form alike, inextricably. Then, also, later hands of those who, ignorant of the exquisite laws of verse, or of the delicate secrets of poesy, attempt to alter

¹ That Chaucer in his lifetime suffered from this very cause is evident from his *Verses unto his own Scrivener* :—

Adam Scrivener, if ever it thee befalle
Boece or Troilus, for to write newe,
Under thy longe lockes maist thou have the scalle,
But after my making thou write more trewe !
So oft a day I mote thy werke renewe,
It to correct and eke to rubbe and scrape :
And all is thorow thy negligence and rape.

what to them seems wrong, only multiply the faults, if any. And thus the most beautiful flowers of the muses' garden are crushed and broken, and sympathetic chords are snapped, or at the least untuned, by touch of the unsophisticated. For a word which the transcriber did not understand, he has supplied another which he supposed would make the meaning clearer, though oftenest without referring, say in the matter of a translation, to the original which the poet had before him when he wrote. Or a word is inserted, impletive or expiscatory, most often to the harm of the rhythmic line. Or a usage of syntax, or a verbal form unfamiliar, perhaps, to the days before the poet or to his day, are altered into accordance with the laws of old convention still governing the redactor. And it may be that, in the archetype itself, a reading may be held, so to speak, in suspense, in the margin; which, as has frequently happened, gets incorporated by the scribe in the body of the page or line, making havoc with rhythm, and often with significance, or creating curious pleonasm, to the wonder of readers of a later age. The difficulties of dealing with these matters are much increased and intensified when the author's holograph, as with Virgil and Shakespeare, has disappeared, and there is no real norm left to be the certain arbiter in consequent inevitable discussion regarding variations that arise. In these two great poets we find ample illustration of what we have said, and the source and nature of error in their texts are exactly similar to those of Douglas's poem.

Examples in Virgil

Certain of the lines of Virgil's original in his unrevised masterpiece bear marks of the meddling of redactors—whether at the hands of his literary executors, Tucca and Varius, or of later editors, cannot be decided. In fact, one has only to turn to the text of the Roman poet to see how confusion and darkness arise. Take for example the passage from the *Georgics Book III.*, line 181 to line 214, which bristles with specimens of how manuscripts are made to differ, and how errors of reading multiply. Thus, where the accepted version has

l. 182	<i>equi,</i>	the Augustean fragment	gives	<i>etqui.</i>
„ 183	<i>bellantum,</i>	„ Vatican	„	<i>bellatantum.</i>
„ 184	<i>audire,</i>	„ Medicean Codex	„	<i>audere.</i>
„ 212	<i>in sola,</i>	„ Palatine	„	<i>insula.</i>
„ 213	<i>lata,</i>	„ Medicean	„	<i>nata.</i>

It does not require long lapse of time for such dangers to emerge. Even by the beginning of the first century questions of criticism were raised in regard to the text of Virgil, and manuscripts appealed to for true readings; while by the fourth and fifth centuries scribes who were ignorant of classical Latin had strewn the poet's page with confusion.

The difficulty attending the search after authentic sources of the text is also well illustrated by the history of the text of the Roman. The clear-eyed inspection of modern critics has displaced some manuscripts which have held positions of authority above others. Thus the Medicean manuscript, so long received with reverence, is found now to have the majority of the other uncials against it, and the texts before Heinsius, which were supposed to represent the Palatine Manuscript, and received an appropriate respect on that account, have been found to hold no such position as was awarded to them by tradition. At the same time, the readings of the Medicean Codex have been seen to arise apparently from the scribe's over-familiar remembrance of parallel passages in Virgil's poem; showing that cleverness, alike with stupidity, and knowledge as well as ignorance, may be a source of dangerous confusion, a conclusion confirmed by some of the readings in Douglas's page.

Examples in Shakespeare

From a similar cause—the loss of a holograph, or the want of a printed norm, with sanction of the author's revision—the plays of Shakespeare present a soil in which mistakes of actors and editors have flourished richly. Thus, in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, we find

I know your patience well,¹

that is, *your endurance*—which has been altered by Hanmer to “your parentage”; by Farmer, to “your passions”; and by

¹ III. i. 177.

Mason, to "I know you passing well,"—the words being all the while, in the original, used in their natural sense. Again, in the same play, the words

I have found Demetrius like a jewel.¹

have been changed by Warburton to "like a gemmel," which he interprets to signify "like a twin," because Demetrius had acted two different parts in one night, an alteration which appealed to the classicism of Dr Johnson, but which was quite unnecessary.

In the same way in Shakespeare one finds, as everybody knows, remarkable differences of reading between the quarto and folio editions; as, for example, actual contradictions, in the former, *for no cause*, becoming in the latter, *forced cause*²; and alterations to conformity with editorial ideas, as, in the quarto, the phrase *that should learn us*, altered in the folio to *teach us*.³ Then, also, we find the lines,

And, like the kind life-rendering pelican,
Repast them with my blood,⁴

where the first folio alters *pelican* to *politician*. The folios also read *Soris* for *Forres*, in *Macbeth*,⁵ readings whose source and spirit can be easily paralleled from the Black Letter Edition of Douglas.

The Case of Douglas

Thus, alike in Virgil and in Shakespeare, we see clearly illustrated not only the sources of errors and confusions in any unauthorised text, but especially in such a text as Douglas's *Æneid*.

Notwithstanding Dr Johnson's statement in his *Proposals for Printing the Dramatick Works of William Shakespeare*, that "most writers by publishing their own works prevent all various readings and preclude all conjectural criticism," it is remarkable that even the mystery of printing has not prevented the text of Shakespeare from being even more uncertain than that of Sophocles.⁶ And in Johnson's statement we see a sidelight on our own problem.

¹ IV. i. 190.

² *Hamlet*, V. ii. 367.

³ *Hamlet*, V. ii. 9.

⁴ *Hamlet*, IV. v. 125.

⁵ *Macbeth*, I. iii. 39.

⁶ *Times L.S.*, 896.

Shakespeare sold his plays to be played, not to be printed. Copied by or for the actors, "and multiplied by transcript after transcript, vitiated by the blunders of the penman, and changed by the affectation of the player . . . and printed at last without the concurrence of the author, without the consent of the proprietor, from compilations made by chance and by stealth, out of the separate parts written for the theatre : and thus thrust into the world surreptitiously and hastily, they suffered another depravation from the ignorance and negligence of the printers, as every man who knows the state of the press in that age will readily conceive." In that day no proofs were sent to the author : if errors were corrected, fresh errors were made even while the sheets were at press. Hence, no two copies of the First Folio agree. Even in later days the editors of Gray and Keats must consult the manuscripts, and editors of Wordsworth and Shelley compare the editions in the search for an authentic text. In the first five editions of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calender*, each repeats the errors of its predecessor, and makes fresh ones of its own. Even the printing press therefore does not exclude the possibilities of misreading which transmission by manuscript multiplies.

With Donne's poems, though the printed edition of 1633 is the foundation of his text yet there are earlier manuscripts not of the poet's holograph, and the later editions include two poems which are not reprints, and so the present various readings of this poet are not dependent alone on negligence or conjecture. The 1633 edition itself is frequently questionable or entirely corrupt, and, no more than the manuscripts of an ancient author, can this printed copy be taken as an authority. Hence, just as with our present author, the questions of these readings in this modern poet must be decided on the grounds of ingenuity, however perverse, on mere negligence, and on the matters of editorial or printer's alterations or misreadings. And it may be that no final decision can be reached.

Even in modern proof reading error is a constant pitfall for the author himself, for the unspecialized eye sees what it expects to see, and thinks it reads the right word when the wrong is staring at it.

Copies of the same edition may have different texts, and contemporary manuscripts present countless difficulties and varieties, owing to the copyist taking the easiest path of transcription. Douglas's *Æneid* presents every risk and every variety accordingly. That work suffers from them all, because it was exposed to the certainty of every one of them. In it we find readings which have origin in actual misinterpretation of the Latin original, in interpretation of untextual portions of the translation, in mal-transcriptions from ignorance of the meaning of archaic words, and in deliberate corrections by the scribe, the dictator, or the editor, some transcriptions having clearly been of the nature of subsequent redactions.

No holograph of Douglas's *Æneid* is extant, so far as is known; yet, unless his picture of himself, working in early mornings and late evenings, be a poetic fiction, he wrote his translation at first with his own hand. He permits us to see him rising, not unreluctantly, while the city sleeps, and turning over the volume of his author, page by page, as he transmutes the message of the Latin poet into the rugged vernacular of grey old Scotland. If only those sheets had remained to our day, all would have been easy.

For, if a poet leaves a manuscript which may be accepted as an undoubted original, being written by his own hand, that must of course be taken as the norm, and every copy of a later day must be carried to the bar of its judgment, which judgment must be accepted as final, so far as regards the poet's utterance, even though he himself may have erred. But such a happy condition is not commonly found, as we have seen; and it is therefore necessary to decide which among few or many copies is most probably nearest to the original in date, and how intimate were the relationships of the scribe to that original or to its author. By all laws of natural frailty and imperfection it is found that as each copy falls further back from the date of the first, so does it run the risk of falling away from accuracy, for the very reasons stated. So, also, it must follow that if a manuscript can be fixed as having been made by one who was closely in touch with the mind and life of the author, and if it can be

shewn that the author had handled it, leaving marks of his approval upon it, its authenticity is assured, and its authority above the others must be accepted.

MSS. of Douglas

There are certain copies of Douglas's work extant, sufficiently near the author in point of origin as to date, to justify respectful attention.

1. *The Cambridge*

The first, preserved in Trinity College, Cambridge, is of prime importance, as it seems to be closest, in relationship of time and contact, to the original transcript, for it has in its colophon the explicit statement, of intense interest, that it is "the first correck cobby nixt efter the Translatioun, wryttin be Master Matho Geddes, Scribe or Writar to the Translator." Nothing could be clearer than that claim, nor more intimate than that contact.

Its Character

It is a fine manuscript, executed with evident care and good penmanship, displaying almost loving interest on the part of the scribe, and it may be taken as the actual document, direct from Geddes's hand. Geddes was chaplain and secretary to Douglas, and esteemed by him with such intimacy of friendship as to be nominated by the Bishop in his last will and testament, as one of his executors.¹ In that document he is described—"magistrum Matheum Geddis vicarum de Tibbirmure." In fact, it was he who proved the will, when the poet's sorrows and trials were ended, in London. The manuscript is referred to by Bishop Nicolson as being in the possession of Bishop Gale while he wrote; and Gale's name is still attached to it in its catalogue description.²

What became of the precious original, after Geddes was done with it, no man can tell. Those were hard days for Scotland, when perishable things were exposed to serious risks;

¹ See Small's *Douglas*, Vol. I. cxix.

² Gale's MSS. O. 3, 12.

and the papers of an exiled Churchman, of a disgraced clan, were apt to be treated lightly. The question as to whether those laboured sheets, so priceless in our thought to-day, were passed from hand to hand, and copied, in haste and leisure, by those who were interested sufficiently in them and qualified to do so, can never be settled: but such a thing was sure to happen. That they would not always fall into the hands of the capable and wise may be taken as a certainty, and that they suffered also in their pilgrimage, even in the houses of friends, we may be sure. It was the usual fate, to be expected in such a case, before printing, under the guidance of an author himself, had fixed what could be reasonably received as his final intentions.

Perhaps, however, Geddes, with his careful mind, would prevent the original drafts from getting into circulation; and his claim as to the authenticity of his copy may mean this very thing; though it may suggest that already copies were abroad which were being looked upon as authentically representing the great work of the poet, but which were not to be taken as such, alongside of his own. Anyhow, from his position, Geddes must be accepted as having the right to make his claim, not only as having had before him the holograph of his master, but also as probably being entitled, best of any, to assert knowledge of his master's intention throughout, even allowing that like Tucca and Varius, he had the task of dealing with what his master had to leave without final personal revision.

The Comment

And, indeed, Geddes's claim finds corroboration from the fact that his copy was quite evidently approved by the author himself, who began to write upon its margins what he apparently intended to become a complete commentary on the poem, for he says:

I have also a schort comment compyld
To expone strange historeis and termis wild.¹

Whether this meant that he had a full commentary ready for transcription, but was only able to set on the margin what is found there, the original of the remainder being afterwards lost,

¹ *Dyrectioun*, 141.

or that he really overtook only what he has there written ere the great Interruption intervened, can never be known. He was at any rate only able to cover in this marginal writing the first Book in its entirety, but the notes display how fully endowed the translator was with the scholarship of his times. He deals with the meanings of Latin words ; sometimes also pretty fully with the interpretations of Landinus and Boccaccio, and with such matters as the character of Æneas and the relation of his actions to the will of the gods. There seems to be little question as to this marginal *Comment* being in Douglas's holograph, though in regard to line 36 of the First Prologue we find, "Heir he argeuis better than befoir,"—where one is for a little in doubt as to whether the reference is to Virgil or the translator. If we accept this *Comment* as being holograph, the manuscript was therefore undoubtedly written in the lifetime of the poet, and certainly not as Small says, "about the year 1525," a statement which he curiously forgets when, on the next page, he asserts that "it seems to have been in the hands of Douglas himself, as it has several marginal glosses or notes in the Bishop's handwriting,"—here overlooking the very important fact that the Bishop had died three years before the date he fixes.

In the Bibliography, volume ii, of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, p. 477, appended to chapter x, by Mr Gregory Smith, this date "c. 1525" is repeated, although Mr Smith, in his edition of Henryson (vol. i. page xx.), says of Douglas, "The latter in a holograph note on the Cambridge MS. of his *Æneid*, which must have been made not later than 1522, refers to Henryson's *Orpheus and Eurydice*." These two notes demand a remarkable spiritualistic feat on the part of Douglas.

It would be extremely curious to find when Douglas was able to do this holograph work. It implies a certain leisure, a time of close re-perusal of the fine copy of his poem. It would also be interesting to discover where Geddes was at the time of this fresh study of the subject. He most probably, of course, shared the exile of his master. And it would not be at variance with other instances in history, if the poet, in his last dark days, turned back to the great work of his brighter times for relief from the anguish of his circumstances, ere death shook the pen

from his grasp.¹ Clarendon writing his *History of the Rebellion* John Milton fulfilling the dreams of his youth, and Douglas handling again the precious fruit of his long labours of former days, when the world of each of them had crumbled about their ears, touch us with the power of literature as a sedative and minister of balm to troubled souls. It seems, however, more likely that the work may have been snapped off finally by the succession of disasters accumulating in turn upon him, before his exile.

Scheme of Spelling

It is, further, of interest to observe that this manuscript differs on the surface from those others in its scheme of spelling, which makes it look odd beside them, though it follows in this respect the scheme observable in Douglas's letters. For example, Adam Williamson is as often "Wyllyamson," and he writes to Wolsey, "The Castell of Dunbar is bayth with mwynmentis and wytallis prowidit as evyr wes ony in the yle of Bartane." . . . "I am cummyin in this realm . . . apon certan neydfull dyrectiones, and specially concernyng the weylfar and surte of his derest nevo the Kyng my Soueran . . . besekyng elyke wys the samin to pardon this my hamly wrytyn. . . ." And again, "Placyt your grace, ye had yistryday syk byssynes that I mycht not schew your grace quhat I thocht twychyng the cummyng of this Scottis prest . . . has brocht wyt hym wrytyngis and dyrectyones fra thaim bayth." It is true, of course, that "y" was interchangeable with "i" but in this manuscript it may be said practically to take its place. This is so characteristic of the Cambridge manuscript that in comparison with the others, it might be called the "Y" text throughout, and this not in obedience to linguistic rules, nor archaic fancy, nor in imitation of Chaucer, but simply as following the idiosyncrasy of the writer. For instance, we find in it, as compared with the Elphynstoun copy, *mysmetyr* for *mismetir*; *sculys* for *sculis*; *idylnes* for *idilnes*; *seys* for *seis*; *hevyn* for *hevin*; *onys* for *anis*; *luyk* for *luik*; *wyght* for *wicht*; *hys* for *his*; *cabillys* for *cabellis*; *venyall* for *veniall*; *prynce* for *prince*; *altyrris* for *alteris*. This is very

¹ He seems to have been prevented from further activity, for he offers to write anything more which his patron might desire besides the *Comment*. Vide *Dyrection*, 143.

noticeable in the *Orygnale Cronykil* where Wyntoun speaks of Barbour as having in his *Brus*

Mare wysely trefyde in to wryt
Than I can thynk with all my wyt.

Barbour himself had the same habit, *e.g.*

He levys at ess that frely levys,
Na ellys nocht . . .

And

cowplyt to foule thyrdome.

Blind Harry, or rather his scribe Ramsay, who also was the scribe of Barbour's manuscript, had the same method; and Huchoun in the *Morte Arthure*, says

He clekys outte Collbrande full clenlyche burneschte,
Graythys hym to Golapas that greuyde moste.

This may not, of course, by some be considered of essential importance, but it suffices to give a very distinctive characteristic colour to the Cambridge manuscript alongside of the others. It is, at any rate, not by any means the mark of Henryson or Dunbar in the form in which we have them.

Along with this most prominent peculiarity one finds *not* for *nocht*, and slight variations in the syllables *-ene*, *-eyn*, etc.

Its Differences

More striking is the fact, as we shall see, that, when this manuscript differs in its readings from the rest, and especially from the Ruthven copy, and when these readings are compared with the Latin original, in nine cases out of ten it is found that it has the correct translation, often the very word; and that it has observed the case, and even, sometimes, the nuance of an almost insignificant particle. In other matters of difference, where, say, in paraphrase or impletive passage, the Latin text is not the actual test except for interpretation, it secures the verdict of common sense. It seldom or never strays into unintelligibility. And it has most frequently the support of the Elphinstoun copy, the nearest in date to itself.

The Cambridge Manuscript, when it differs from the others, differs with a finer rhythmic effect. Thus, where the Elphinstoun reads:

And deip regioun of hell the behuvis se,

the Cambridge reads the better

And deip regioun of hell behuifs the se.

Again, where others read :

Na the owle resemblis the papingay,

we have in the Cambridge,

Than the nicht owl resemblis the papyngay.

And such a line as

Be thou my muse my leidar and leidsterne,

is not so good as the Cambridge

Thow be my muse, my gydar and leidsterne,

which avoids the obvious weakness of the repeated syllable.

Sometimes, however, Geddes slips, and the others overtake him to their advantage, as in such lines as

I follow the text als neir as I mai,

where he has

I follow the text als neir I may,

probably the result of simple omission. But he is more careful in matters of rhyme, where it would seem that a strange word trips the others, as when he has the good old Saxon *nummyn* which gives both rhyme and reason, while the rest have *wunnyn* to the detriment of the former. And in simple touches of style he stands higher. Thus where Elphynstoun reads *frecklit spraiklis*, Cambridge gives *frecklit sprutlis*. These may not be to our ears to-day euphonious, but it is evident that the reading of Cambridge avoids the hard repetition of word forms here in a synonymous rendering. So also with *dyrk as nycht*, where Elphynstoun reads *blak as nycht*, making thus a repetition of the word *blak* in immediate contiguity. He is also truer to fact, frequently, as with *strange Enee*, where the Elphynstoun has *strang Enee*, though the latter may well have been a slip of the scribe in consequence of the collocation of the same letters, a common enough experience with ourselves, writing hastily.

2. *The Elphynstoun*

The Elphynstoun copy stands second in point of date and value, being almost, indeed, in touch with the Cambridge copy

in regard to the former. It is in the University of Edinburgh, and is named after its transcriber, "M. Joannes Elphynstoun," who wrote his name on the last page of it. Three worthies of the name Elphynstoun appear in the Church story of the period. The first, Bishop Elphynstoun of Aberdeen, the founder of that city's University, was translated to the See of St Andrews vacant by the death of Alexander Stuart, but Elpyhnstoun having died a few months later, Douglas secured the presentation by the Queen, and so began the squabbles which finally led to his ruin. The second was John Elphynstoun, rector of Innernochy, whose son William, legitimated in 1554, was the third.¹ I wonder whether the manuscript was copied in Strathdon by one who was doubly interested through the Angus connection of its author, and the very probable Northern strain of its first authentic scribe, and whether through that Northern touch it passed along to Turriff parsonage, and by way of Aberdeen to its present resting-place. In this connection it must not be forgotten that Douglas himself had in early life the teinds, at least, of Monymusk in Aberdeenshire; and the North does not forget. Small used it as the text of his edition of the *Æneid*, though he did not faithfully adhere to it throughout. It has neither a special title nor colophon, and it contains only the first twelve lines of the quaint rhymed *Contents of Every Buik following*. It is an extremely neatly executed copy, carefully and very legibly written. Its date is early, for "1527" is written on it, along with the name of its owner in that year, "Mr Wm. Hay, Person of Turreff," in Aberdeenshire. He gifted this manuscript to "David Anderson, burgeis of Aberdene" in 1563. It was passed on to the University of Edinburgh in 1692 by Aikman of Cairnie, who in his note of gift latinizes Dunkeld into "*Castri Caledonii*," according to the commonly accepted etymology, though at variance with usual custom. Its readings are in general agreement with those of the Cambridge Manuscript. Its system of spelling differs however in a marked degree, as we

¹ The Elphinstone connection with Aberdeenshire became of note when the founder of the titled branch received the lands of Kildrummy from King James IV on his marriage. Another branch became "of Balmerino," and later "Lords Balmerino," till the catastrophe of 1745. The Strathdon connection is clearly established.

have shewn, from that copy, which makes it seem easier to read for the modern eye familiar with vernacular phrase.

Comparison

By a comparison of these two manuscripts we get what is nearest to Douglas's original. Where they essentially differ it seems to be for the most part on the ground of editorship, or occasionally in the way of eye error or clerical slip. For example, Elphynstoun had apparently commenced to transcribe Book I., but suddenly remembered and inserted the Contents of the Book after he had written the first line of the translation, which he repeats when he gets to the translation itself. He seems to have endeavoured to make his copy as full as possible. For instance, in the body of his manuscript¹ he included the explanatory lines :

Attrides beyn in Latyn clepit thus,
Thir nevois reput of King Attryus.
That in our langage ar the broder tway,
King Agamemnon and Duke Menalay.

These do not so occur in the others: but they appear as a note on the margin of the Lambeth copy. Of course this might indicate that between Geddes's copy and the date of Elphynstoun's a copy may have existed with this already done. If so, the spelling system may have been altered before the text got into Elphynstoun's hands. But this is unlikely. At the same time the copy before Elphystoun may have had the note on the margin already. If so, his transcript was not made directly from Geddes's original. They are on the face of them expiscatory and untextual, being found in the *Comment* which Douglas wrote on the margins of the Cambridge copy, where they are obviously intended to be a mere note, and not in any way to be taken as a part of the text, for he simply placed them where they are, as any other note there, without introduction. When he quotes from his text, in this *Comment*, he says so, as in that note on the relation of Æneas to the will of the gods, where he explicitly states "considering quhat is said heirafoir in the ij cap of this prologue, that is,

"Juno nor Venus goddes never wer," etc.

¹ After I. 7, 70.

3. *The Ruthven*

The third important copy is known as the Ruthven Manuscript, from the fact that it bears the signature of "W. Dns. Ruthven," who went to the block in 1584 as Earl of Gowrie. It also is in the University of Edinburgh, having been presented in 1643 "a magisterio candidatis." It is written in a large, full, and free hand, but seems to be not so carefully executed as the others mentioned, for it has several omissions, and its readings, when they differ from the Elphynstoun, differ also most frequently, and sometimes very markedly, from the Cambridge Manuscript, though on a rare occasion they agree with that copy, and more rarely still are nearer the Latin original. Ruddiman used this for the greater portion of his edition of 1710, and supported on its authority most of his amendments upon the readings of the old printed edition of the poet, though he has made some alterations of his own, with no authority. It has many readings which differ simultaneously from both the Cambridge and Elphynstoun standards, and some omissions, which are for the most part evidences of carelessness and haste, either on the part of its scribe or of the copy before him. Thus, the fine line

Schipmen and pilgrymmis hallowis thi mycht.¹

This is an eye slip, as "the nycht" concludes the preceding line. It has several similar errors, obviously both of eye and ear, from their nature leading one to conclude that it or its original was partly copied direct, and partly dictated. For example, where the Elphynstoun and Cambridge have *braid syide*, which is translation, the Ruthven has *braid saill*, which is not correct, but which finds explanation from the fact that the word *saill* occurs a few lines up the page. Again, where they have *to the werk on hie*, he has *volt*, which is the repetition of a word on the same line. He has also *rutis* for *rokkis*, the word *ruite* occurring only three lines lower down: and *hillis* for *holtis*, the word occurring in the line above. The same reason makes his reading *depe* for *dark*. Such readings as *plesand haris* for the correct *blaisand haris*; *kynrik* for *kynrent*; *send slepand* for *sound*

¹ Prol. iii. 5.

slepanð; *wyde* for *woyd*; *happy* for *Harpy*; *hatit* for *huitit*; *fare* for *fej*; *war inchasit* for *warrin chasit*; *heid* for *heit*; *grisly* for *gresy*; *awne sylly cuntre* for *onsylly cuntre*; *they fuge* for *theyffage*; *fostaris* for *foresteres*; *ane habir Johne* for a *habirgeoun*; *jellony* for *villany*; which have not originated in processes of translation, seem to be in reality errors from dictation.

He also has *reositure* for *reiosit of the ground*; *inhabitacioun* for *inhibitioun*; *beseik* for *chastise*, and similar readings which are meaningless and not easily explained, except as arising from simple carelessness.

Other readings seem to have arisen from an attempt to put words more easy of understanding or interpretative from the scribes point of view, sometimes in the place of others more difficult, or not local, as, *lowis* for *lochis*; *holtis* for *hills*; *bentis* for *feildis*; *ribbis* for *ruvis*; *the samyn fa perchance* for *the samyn mischance*; *mychty* for *wechty*; *growar* for *gevar*; *grisly* for *bludy*; *snekkis* for *chekis*; *slepery* for *sleipryfe*; *craft of weiffing* for *craft of Mynerve*; *lyghtnes* for *blythnes*, etc. Many of these upset the rhythmic scheme, making Alexandrine lines; and most of them are not in accord with the translation. Few of them shew any sign of reference having been made to Virgil's text, or to have had any real justification to plead for their existence.

A glance over the Appendixes A B and C will plentifully illustrate this.

4. *The Lambeth*

Two other well-known manuscripts are those designated the Lambeth and the Bath Manuscripts respectively, from the fact that the former is in the Library of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace, and the latter is in the Library of the Marquess of Bath.

The Lambeth copy was written by "Joannes Mudy, with Maister Thomas Bellenden of Achinoull, Justice Clerk, and endit the 2nd February anno m V^cXLV."¹ It evidently belonged to one "Edmund Ashefeyld" whose signature, with the date 1596, is written on it. Its title runs, "Heir begynnys prolog

¹ i.e. 1546 new style.

of Virgile Prince of Latin poetry, in his tuelf buke of Eneados compilit and translait furth of Latin in our Scottis language," etc., and the colophon says, "Heir endis the Buik of Virgill," etc., without in either case mentioning the fact of a thirteenth by another hand, as though begun without first examining the volume. It contains on its margin the *Atrides* lines, with the first two of the *Comment* in their places of reference. How this *Atrides* note came here is not known. It either was not in the original from which Mudy copied, and if so it was added to his own copy from another containing it, being considered an omission, or it was in his original and omitted by accident, being restored to the margin by design. But it is most likely that the scribe lifted it from the *Comment* and set it as a rubric where it is. In any case Mudy or whoever wrote it there deemed it to belong to the poem as by right, though the other manuscripts which had the marks of undoubted authenticity upon them had apparently no knowledge of it as such.

5. *The Bath*

The Bath Manuscript, written by "Henry Aytoun, Notare publick" also gives the date on which it was "endit the twenty twa day of November the zeir of God M V^o fourty sevin zeiris." This copy, according to Small, had Urry's hand upon it when he collated it with the Black Letter Edition for Ruddiman. It contains the six lines regarding the character of Æneas already referred to on page 70, which appear in the Black Letter Edition and which Small incorporated in his edition, but which are lacking in the other manuscripts. As we have seen, Small does not make any explanation as to his having inserted them in what was ostensibly a reprint of the Elphynstoun Manuscript, and he does not mention them as being in this transcript.

Black Letter Edition

The Black Letter Edition of 1553 is sufficiently close to these in date to be of interest, and it is also interesting in itself. It is the earliest printed edition of the poem. The copy in the Library of Edinburgh University bears the inscription, "given to the College of Edinburgh by Mr William Drummond, 1628."

The title-page has the same border as *The Palice of Honour*, except that at the foot, where was "God save Quene Marye", is only "Imprinted at London 1553." It has readings of its own, of a most miscellaneous kind, though many of them are of easily apparent origin. It was printed by Copland, and in respect of some of its variations it reflects his known characteristics of mind and belief, for his Press was very strongly anti-Popish in its bias. The second work which issued from it in 1548 was a translation of a book by Ulrich Zwingli, exposing "the blasphemies and errorrs" of the Mass. So we are not astonished to discover, first of all, that Douglas's appeals to the Virgin are modified and often rewritten by the printer-editor. This peculiarity has fitly given it the title of "The Protestant Edition." Thus, in the Prologues, you find the text altered as follows :

Protestant Readings

I

Throu prayer of thi moder, queyn of blys,
*Douglas.*¹

Throu Christ thy sone, bring us to hewynly blys.
Copland.

II

On the I call, and Mary Virgyn myld.
*Douglas.*²

On thee I cal, with humyl hart and milde.
Copland.

III

In Criste is all my traste, and hevynnys Queyn,
Thou Virgyne modir and madyne be my muse.
*Douglas.*³

In Christ I trest, borne of the virgine quene,
Thou saluuiour of mankind, be mye muse.
Copland.

IV

For the sweit liquour of thi pappis quhite
Fosterit that prynee, that hevynly Orpheus,
Grond of all gude, our Saluyour Jhesus.
*Douglas.*⁴

¹ ProL. I. 456 (Small, 461).

² *Ib.* 453 (Small, 464).

³ *Ib.* 461 (Small, 467).

⁴ *Ib.* 467 (Small, 473).

For thy excelland mercy and love perfite,
 Thou holy gost, confort and sanctifye
 My spreit to ende this wark to thy glory.
Copland.

V

Helpe me, Mary, for certis vail que vailze
 War at Pluto, I sal hym hunt of sty.
Douglas.¹

Help me, Christ, sone of the Vyrgyne Mary,
 To end this wark to thy lad and glorye.
Copland.

VI

ay the moder of grace in mynd enprent.
Douglas.²

aye unto his wourd thy mind be bent.
Copland.

He also apparently thought that Douglas's language sometimes required toning down; and, with reference to English and French people's feelings also, some modification to avoid offence: thus:

I

- (a) Thocht Wilzame Caxtoun of Inglis natioun,
 In proys hes prent ane buke of Inglis gros.
Douglas.³
- (b) Thocht William Caxtoun, had no compatioun
 Of Virgill in that buk, he preyt in prois.
Black Letter.

II

- (a) Durst nevir tuiche
 A twenty devill way fall hys wark atanys,
 Quhilk is na mair lyke Virgill, dar I lay,
 Na the nycht owle resemblis the papyngay.
Douglas.⁴
- (b) Durst nevir twiche this vark for laike of knalage
 Becaus he onderstude not Virgils langage,
 His buk is na mare liker Virgil, dar I say.
Black Letter.

III

- (a) Quhilk vndir cullour of sum strange Franch wycht.
Douglas.⁵
 Sum strange wycht.
Black Letter.

¹ Prol. vi. 167.² Prol. xi. 112.³ Prol. i. 138.⁴ Prol. i. 259.⁵ *Ib.* 269.

IV.

(a) For me lyst uith nane Inglis buikis flyte.
Douglas.¹

(b) For me list with no man nor buikis flyte.
Black Letter.

He also omits passages, such as lines 65 to 130, in cap. 4, Book IV.; and lines 49 to 54, in cap. 6, Book V.

Readings

He gives readings like *handand* for *hydand*; *souerane nou* for *souerane nun*, which, considering his tendency, may be on purpose, for *appetit of meit* he gives *appetit of men*—in this case quite as true a rendering as the other, so far as the original is concerned. His *quhen stane* for *queme stane* is a shot at interpretation or correction, and is, though an error, yet understandable, when we think that “whin-stane” is still well-known, while *queme*, less familiar always, describes the stone from the fact that it means *close-fitting*. He multiplies such misprints as *of sen* for *of fen*; *honorit* for *hornyt*, which may be a deliberate alteration; *eik* for *reik*; *na time* for *na thing*; *than thryis* for *than twise*; *figurate* for *sugurat*, which may well be no printer’s mistake but interpretative, as meaning metaphorical or ornate. And he changes *Beaw Schirris* to *gud readers*. There is no question also of the origin of such readings as *we ken* for *ye ken*; *quhilk* for *quhill*; *moist* for *mot*; *bene* for *kene*; *mene* for *wene*; *windis* for *wyngis*; *Dame Phebus* for *Dan Phebus* and a host of others. And yet sometimes he curiously touches a better translation than the manuscripts.

An examination of the appendixes will drive us to the conclusion that the work of this edition passed through several hands in the printing of it. In some of the readings method is clearly shown. They are not all the product of religious bias, or of haphazard, at the mercy of an ignorant typesetter. Some arise undoubtedly from a direct knowledge of the Latin text, as *strekkit in stretis* for *stickit in stretis*; *and first* for *and fast*; *hedis thre* for *bodeis thre*. Some arise from interpretations of a Scottish word, as *few saland* for *quhoyn salaris* = *rari nantes*; *grant schir*

¹ Prol. I. 272.

for *gudschir*; *utheris* for *wychtis*, and the like. Some arise also from an attempt to correct the thought or style, as *cullour* for *figur*; *fosterit* for *pasturit*. Many, however, spring from pure ignorance, as when *Mont Helicone* becomes *mouth of Elicone* because the poet invokes the gods to open it; while *Numycus* becomes *Munitus*; *O Tibyr* becomes *Of Tyber*; and *Sirtis* becomes *Certes*; arising in many cases from an attempt to make a guess at the manuscript reading. It would seem, indeed, as though the copy before the printer must have been poor and imperfect.

This edition contains, as already shewn, the six lines regarding Æneas which are not in any of the manuscripts, except the Bath, but inserted there most probably from a marginal note, and it incorporates the verses from the *Comment* previously referred to. The inner history of this edition would be a most interesting study. The editor supplied rubrics, often of a most quaint character, which are preserved in Ruddiman's and Small's editions. These are still worth reading, like the chapter headings which the early translators of Scripture prefixed to the sections of their work.

Unique Feature of C. E. and R. MSS.

The most remarkable thing, however, in connection with the copies, is that the three earliest manuscripts mentioned take the first sixteen lines of Book VI. as the closing lines of Book V.; chapter I. of Book VII. as the concluding chapter of Book VI.; and the first forty lines of Book VIII. as the closing lines of Book VII. The Lambeth Manuscript agrees in this only in regard to Book VII.; while the Bath Manuscript, the Black Letter Edition, and Ruddiman's edition follow the divisions of the traditional Latin text. Small deals somewhat remarkably with these variations. He does not print them in his edition, but he draws attention to two of them, namely, the conclusion of Books V. and VI. But the note is misleading, as though it were only in the Cambridge Manuscript that these peculiarities occur, whereas they are also in the Elphynstoun Manuscript, of which he says his edition is a reprint, but to which he does not adhere. Everybody knows, of course, on the authority of Servius, that

Virgil had concluded Book V. with the two lines with which the existing Latin text of Book VI. begins; and that Tucca and Varius removed these to their present position. But no Latin text, manuscript or printed, so far as known, is in agreement with this arrangement of Douglas's translation. I have searched and enquired everywhere, and cannot find one; and Sir Frederick Arthur Hirtzel, editor of the Oxford *Virgil*, and Professor Clark of Oxford, inform me that they have no knowledge of any, with these arrangements. One is inclined to wonder whether we are not here in the presence of a bit of textual criticism on the part of Douglas, who may have considered that the unity of the Books was helped by such an act. This might be said of the beginning of Book VII., which, in its first four lines at any rate, is sufficiently closely connected with the two lines that conclude Book VI. to prompt an alteration, in hands sufficiently bold. So also of Chapter I. of Book VIII. in relation to Book VII. It looks like an intentional liberty; and it is a poet's alteration. That it is deliberate seems proved by the fact of the Prologues having been put in between the Books. The only other explanation would be that the scribe had copied all the translation before he inserted the Prologues, or that Douglas himself had done so, and that confusion had arisen among the sheets. But this does not appeal, as the headings of the chapters are deliberate, and both Douglas and Geddes may of course be taken as having known the original, a supposition confirmed by the qualities of the manuscript itself. Conrad's theory¹ that Virgil did not write the *Æneid* in the order of Books in which he finally left them, a theory with which Ribbeck and Nettleship agree, does not help us, as it is based on internal discrepancies, such as those between the accounts of the death of Palinurus in the Fifth and Sixth Books, and not on such differences of arrangement as those referred to in Douglas. It would be of great value in fixing the Latin text used by Douglas if an edition or Codex with these peculiarities could be discovered; and it would be the only clue, as the readings of the manuscripts do not in reality point to the employment of any but the generally received text of the Latin poet.

¹ *Questiones Virgilianæ*, Treves, 1863.

From what has gone before, it would seem that Elphynstoun either

(a) had in his hand Geddes's work containing the terminal readings of Books V., VI., and VII. ; and he incorporated in the body of it the note in verse regarding the *Atrides*, from the *Comment* in the margin of the Cambridge Manuscript, or

(b) he made his copy from one which, like the Lambeth Manuscript, had the note on the margin, at its place of reference, whence he transferred it to the text, misunderstanding its intention, or never having seen Geddes's original with the *Comment* upon it.

The fact that this *Comment* is not in the Elphynstoun version, while the note is, may, of course, shew that the writer transcribed from an already modified original, and not directly from Geddes's. His readings might be taken as corroborating this, being so generally in agreement with Geddes that they point to an early transcription, very near to Geddes's. This last seems the most probable event, and, if so, it was a version in which the scribe had adapted Geddes's spelling to that of his own dialect, or that of the district in which he lived, unless Elphynstoun carried this out himself as he went along.

The scribe of the Lambeth Manuscript, or some other who handled it, had seen the *Atrides* note also,¹ not in the Elphynstoun transcription, which was not his original, but in the *Comment*, in the Geddes book, or a copy of it, and he put it in the margin, as explanatory of the reference which it was intended to clarify. There is proof that such a copy was in the hands of the Lambeth scribe, for, as we have seen, he had begun to write out the *Comment* from it, and got so far as the first two notes in it, which he set in their proper place, on the margin of his own. He corrected the terminations of Books V. and VI., but whether on his own initiative or from an already modified copy, it is difficult to decide, as the manuscript has its own share of verbal differences, like *on ye sey sand*, for *on the sand*, and *costis syde* for *schoris syde*. The Bath Manuscript, on the other hand, has either been copied from an original which had the terminational peculiarities corrected, or its scribe did this for himself. Con-

¹ Cf. p. 137.

sidering its later date the former alternatives seems the more probable. Its scribe had also seen the six lines regarding Æneas in the First Prologue, but where cannot now be told. He however incorporated it in his copy.

I have examined something like eight hundred readings in this connection, and I think the following conclusions are inevitable:

(a) The Cambridge Manuscript's readings almost invariably, with rare exceptions, are in agreement with the Virgilian text, and with common sense. It bears the stamp of authenticity upon it, in verity and style. If the words "correck copy" might imply that it is a revise, it is a revise from an original which had been written with an eye strictly on the Virgilian text, so far as general verbal accuracy is concerned, and it has the first-hand mark of Douglas's approval upon it.

(b) The Elphynstoun Manuscript, though differing from the Cambridge in simple matters of spelling, agrees most closely in reading. Where the differences are irreconcilable they seem to arise mainly from slips of the scribe, or attempts at correction. If it is a revise, it followed a source which had accepted Geddes's manuscript as a norm so far as the text stands.

(c) The Ruthven verbal differences are, on the whole, of little textual account, although in regard to form it follows its neighbour.

(d) The Lambeth and Bath readings seem to have the personal marks of correction or improvement modifications natural to later copies, being of no special value as guides to sources.

(e) Next to them are the Black Letter readings, of less value, and Ruddiman's follows this edition, for the most part.

(f) None of the various readings seem to arise from the use of different Latin texts, though occasionally Douglas would seem to touch a Latin reading which varies from the traditional form, but closer examination shews the difference to arise from his method of paraphrase or explication.

There is no doubt, therefore, that several copies of the poem were in simultaneous circulation, running the usual risks of manuscripts in such circumstances, some of which had the Æneas lines, and some probably the *Atrides* note, but none with

both of these together; and that fact explains the source of the greater number of verbal variations, as well as the gradual correction of the form of the three Books already referred to.

In the appendixes I have shewn the bases of these propositions fully, dividing the readings of the three great manuscripts and the Black Letter into

- (a) Those which can be settled from the Latin original.
- (b) Those which can only be settled by considerations of common sense, having arisen from errors of the scribes, in circumstances which afford no Virgilian verbal original, except on the ground of interpretation.
- (c) Those which can be settled by considerations of rhythm, ordinary grammar, and intelligence.

Where the Cambridge and Elphynstoun Manuscripts are quoted in combination in these, it signifies that the readings are actually the same except with regard to spelling. In this respect on these occasions the Cambridge spelling is followed.

V

LANGUAGE AND INFLUENCES

§ 1

THE language of Douglas's *Æneid* is basically, of course, that of his period, known as Middle Scots.

The early affinity between the Anglic speech of the North of the Tweed and that which stretched to the Humber is well known. Even later, allowing for inevitable accretions, mutations, and verbal invasions, such as develop provincial dialectic peculiarities, the anatomy of that speech remained unchanged. Barbour's *Brus*, written out first in the fourteenth century, has no quarrel in the matter of language with the work of Richard Rolle of Hampole, near Doncaster. One has only to look at this example to be assured—

Than es our birthe here bygynnyng
 Of the dede that es our endyng :
 For ay the mare that we wax alde
 The mare our lif may be ded talde.
 Tharfor whylles we er here lyffand
 Ilk day er we thos dyhand.¹

In this connection one must, of course, remember that the only manuscripts extant, of date 1487 and 1489 respectively, may not have been exact copies of Barbour's original; but it happens that Andrew of Wyntoun, about fifty years earlier, quoted some two hundred and eighty lines of the poem, and these support the authenticity of the existing copies. Sir J. A. H. Murray and Professor Skeat drew attention to the uniformity of the Anglic dialect which stretched along the eastern coast from the Humber to the Dee; but this is perhaps rather a wide statement if applied to other than the literary dialect. The Aberdonian and Forfarshire speech in its purity, probably fell always as alien upon Lothian ears as it does to-day. Trevisa wrote in 1387,

¹ Hampole. P. of C., p. 58.

in regard to Northumbrian, "We Southerners can scarcely understand that speech." That, of course, may have been true, then, of all Southerners, and would be true enough to-day also ; but, at the same time, we must remember that Trevisa was a Cornishman, though a scholar of Oxford, and his native district spoke, in his time, a language not English but Celtic. And such English as it did speak it spoke with a Celtic tongue. He should not, therefore, be taken in regard to Anglic dialects as a witness on the same level as one from a purely English territory.

"Scottish"

When Scotland emerged from its continuous struggle with England, and her writers in the Lowlands had taken the name *Scottish* as describing the language in which they wrote, certain Anglo-French elements were absorbed into the mass of the Teutonic Scots language, or dialect, of the Lothians ; and the literary resultant was intimately cognate with the literary English of the fifteenth century. But, from the latter half of that century onwards, a clearly discernible change took place on the Scottish literary medium. Its writers, adopting certain forms, largely from Chaucer and his school, created a web of language, purely of the pen. It was a book diction, drawn from various sources, searched out and grouped according to a clearly marked scheme. Old words were recovered, refurbished, and re-set in the written page : while new elements were amply called into active use from the store-houses of Latin and French literatures.

The Kingis Quair and *Lancelot of the Laik*, which are the earliest witnesses of the Anglo-French element in Scots poetry, illustrate the changes involved, in matters of grammar as well as of vocabulary, overflowing into the diction of Douglas. The popular idea of the direct weight and mass of French in Middle Scots is, however, greatly exaggerated ; the influence of Chaucer and legal and Court usages accounting for much.

Douglas's Statement

Douglas makes a clear statement of his necessity for drawing upon other sources than that to which, at the beginning of his labour, he had intended to adhere.

kepand na sudron bot my awyn langage
 . . . as I lernyt quhen I was page . . .
 Nor zit sa cleyn all sudron I refus
 Bot sum word I pronunce as nychtbouris doys
 Lyke as in Latyn beyn Grew termys sum,
 So me behufyt quhilum, or than be dum,
 Sum bastard Latyn, Franch, or Inglys oys
 Quhan scant was Scottis, I had nane other choys.¹

The same reason is found elsewhere—for example in *The Complaynt of Scotlande*,²—namely, the uncopiousness of the Scottish tongue in rich literary phrase, at least in the opinion of the writing scholar of the period. The idea was, in fact, quite common in other lands, in regard to the use of the vernacular, and led them into experiment to produce what is called on Henryson's title-page "eloquent and ornate Scottis meeter."

Difficulties of Literary Language—Chaucer's Influence

The same question of the literary language which was troubling Douglas in the sixteenth century had given trouble to the English writers of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth. It was a time of much recasting of literary material, remodelling of old work, and imitation of ancient forms. It meant a struggle between the drag of archaisms and the modification of existing diction, a contest between Old and New French and the growth of English forms; and it was Chaucer's achievement in this matter that won for his works that poetic acknowledgment of their position as "the well of English undefiled," from which his successors drew copiously. His influence on the poets of the Scottish Golden Age was manifold and manifest. To Douglas he is "the fount of rhetoric." This was, of course, the fashion of epithet as regards Chaucer, and poets were apt to echo the chime of their predecessors' praises, Douglas in this falling into step with those who were before him. James the First, in *The Kingis Quair*, with Henryson and Dunbar, had openly acknowledged their discipleship of the great English poet. They studied his work as the handbook of the secrets of their art. And one can easily discern how they absorbed his methods, and benefited by their assiduous analysis of his craft. They warmed themselves at his fire. They lit their candles at his flame. They

¹ ProL. I. 101.

² 1548. Prologue to the Redar, fol. 14 b.

fed from his table. To them all, he was the source of very much of the glamour that shone within and above their work. And they never failed to record their gratitude and admiration.

Verstegen's Challenge—Skinner's Protest—Ward—Trevisa

This unmitigated praise was not, however, permitted to go on unchallenged. Richard Verstegen¹ was probably the first who disagreed on this topic, telling how Chaucer, "writing his poesies in English, is of some called the first illuminator of the English tongue. Of their opinion I am not, though I reverence Chaucer as an excellent Poet for his time. He was, indeed, a great mingler of English with French, into which language (by like for that he was descended of French, or rather Walloon race) he carried a great affection." Skinner² also says: "Chaucerus pessimo exemplo, integris vocum plaustris ex eadem Gallia in nostram linguam invecit, cam, nimis antea a Normannorum victoria adulteratam, omni fere nativa gratia et nitore spoliavit." Here the schoolmaster speaks. But the poets retained their opinion. And, in fact, the charge was just only in parts. For, as Ward shows, Chaucer grew up among the last generation in England that used French as an official tongue. It was in 1363, when Chaucer was just entering manhood, that the Session of the House of Commons was first opened with an English speech. English lads in his time learned their Latin through French, for English of the people was not yet in the schools of England. It is easy, therefore, to discern how the influence of this Anglo-French remained in the literary dialect of the country. The change was coming, however. Trevisa tells us how "John Cornwaile, a maistre of grammar, chaungide the lore in grammar scole and construction of Frensch into Englisch, and Richard Pencriche lerned that maner teching of him, and other men of Pencriche. So that now, the yere of oure Lord a thousand three hundred foure score and fyve, of the secunde king Rychard after the conquest nyne, in alle the gramer scoles of Englonde children leveth Frensch and construeth and lerneth in Englisch."

¹ Died circa 1635. *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities*, chap. vii. Antwerp, 1605. London, 1653, 1674.

² *Pref. Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae*.

Dryden—Cheke—Puttenham

The discussion of linguistic importations had a long life. Thus Dryden,¹ under similar charges, says, in defence of the method adopted by himself, "If sounding words are not of our growth and manufacture, who shall hinder me to import them from a foreign nation? . . . I trade both with the living and the dead for the enrichment of our native language." But he sees clearly the necessary limitations within which this method moves: "Upon the whole matter a poet must first be certain that the word he would introduce is beautiful in the Latin, and is to consider, in the next place, whether it will agree with the English idiom . . . for, if too many foreign words are poured in upon us, it looks as if they were designed not to assist the natives, but to conquer them." And he sums up the defence against the allegation that he had latinized too much, by saying, "What I want at home, I must seek abroad." Nevertheless in this respect Cheke² had already given a warning opinion in plain terms, "Our own tung should be written clean and pure, unmixt and unmangled with borrowing of other tungen, wherein if we take not heed, by tym ever borrowing and never payeng she shall be fain to keep her house as bankrupt." And again: "borrowing if need be, should be done with bashfulness." Yet frequently, of course, these critics failed in vision, and were deficient in knowledge of the secrets of linguistic enrichment, Puttenham, for instance, objecting even to words like *audacious*, *fecundity*, and *compatible*,³ which the assent of Time has set in honoured place.

Virgil's Græcisms—Douglas's Coinage

The same charge in regard to language was in some degree made against Virgil himself, who introduced into Latin all that it could carry of the subtlety and flexibility of the Greek. And undoubtedly this modification of words and alteration of the structure of sentences, while it, of course, appealed very strongly to the literary classes of his time as an enrichment, tended to corrupt the pure current of native speech. The very titles of

¹ Dedication to *Æneis*, 1697.

² 1514-1557.

³ *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589). Arber's ed., p. 259.

his books, *Bucolica*, *Georgica*, *Æneis*, were importations, while he brought in such words as *dius*, *dædala*, *trieterica*; foreign and barbaric names; and new creations like *mulciber*, *turicremus*, *silvicola*, *nubigena*. For this he was attacked by Bavius and Maevius, Cornificius, and others, whom he answered, according to Servius and Suetonius. Posterity, however, has of course given the final reply. On the other hand, most of Douglas's new words never touched the stream of Scottish diction. His coinage never passed into active circulation. It was kept in his own page, as in an enclosed cabinet of curios—souvenir of his own learning, but not enriching the life or utterance of others. Rossetti¹ says very truly, "A translation does not suffer from such offences of dialect as may exist in its original." Nevertheless, it may suffer severely from its own.

Latin in Scotland

It must be remembered that the scholastic language of Scotland was Latin, and it was spoken by the boys in the grammar schools and their precincts.

The Scottish Education Act of 1496 provided that barons and freeholders were to send their eldest sons to school from eight to nine years old, and they were to remain there till they had acquired "perfyte Latyn."² The influence of this is seen in Ninian Winzet's remark, "Gif ze throw curiositie of novationis hes forget our auld plane Scottis quhilk zour mothir lerit zou, in times cuming I sall wryte to zou my mynd in Latin: for I am nocht acquynt with zour Southeron."³ In the eighteenth century, as in Iceland till quite recently, travellers in the Highlands of Scotland found the influence of the classical tradition helpful in communicating with those they met who did not sufficiently know English to converse in it.⁴ Professors lectured in Latin, till Hutchison of Glasgow in 1727 broke away from the convention. Indeed, when Dr Cullen of Edinburgh began

¹ Note on Jacopo da Lentino: *Early Italian Poets*.

² Acts of Parliament, ii. 238. Yet Major writes: *Liberos suos principes viri in literis et moribus non educant, in reipublicæ non parvam perniciem.*—*De Gest. Scot.* f. xv. b.

³ *Booke of four-scoir-thre Questions, etc.* Antwerp, 1563.

⁴ Stewart's *Sketches of the Highlanders*; Boswell's *Tour in the Hebrides*; Dufferin's *Letters from High Latitudes*.

to lecture on medicine, in English, though he retained Latin for his Botany class, it was asserted that he was not sufficiently erudite in the classical medium. A survival of old custom till our own day was seen in the fact that the theological students of the Church of Scotland had, amongst their prescribed exercises, to compose a Latin exegesis on a given subject or text. In the sixteenth century Latin was not only esteemed as the language of scholarship but most scholars were convinced that if one wished to have an assured vitality for his work it must be written in that tongue.¹ This conviction was nowhere stronger than in the mind of George Buchanan. Sturm and Buchanan believed that Latin was destined finally to supersede all the vernacular languages of Europe. Bishop Gardiner recommended Latin or Greek as the writer's medium, because their forms were fixed, while for two centuries English had been in a state of flux. As early as 1534, however, Elyot, in England, wrote, "If physicians be angry that I have written physicke in English let them remember that the Grekes wrote in Greke, the Romains in Latin."² Yet in 1561 Hoby, who himself had done work in the vernacular out of the classical tongues, stood on one foot of opinion, remarking that the consensus of the most learned seemed to be that "to have the sciences in the mother tongue hurteth memorie and hindereth learning." Ascham, however, held that "good writing involved the speech of the common people." Nevertheless, as we have seen, the older habit continued.

It is not at all wonderful, therefore, that the Scot, who, at school and college was as familiar with Latin as with his own tongue—a familiarity deepened by the use of Latin as the universal medium of communion among the learned of his time—should quite naturally and even with preference, turn to that language for supplement of his literary expression. It would have been wonderful otherwise, for a man's mind and tongue may even acquire alienation from his native phrase, as many of us know. Irenæus, in his work on heresies, apologizes for his "rustiness" in Greek, with the plea that he has so long been using the Celtic tongue, in the Churches of Lyons and Vienne,

¹ Hume Brown, *Buchanan*, p. 296, 1890. Vide *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*. Amsterdam, 1637.

² Elyot, *Castle of Health*. 1534. Cf. *Don Quixote*, Pt. II. cap. 17.

under his care. John of Ireland pleaded, as an excuse for his style, the fact of his having been educated at Paris, and having lost fluency in his own language, so that he had to look, for help for his writing, to that with which he had grown more familiar, "that is Latin."¹ "Thretty zeris nurist in fraunce, and in the noble study of Paris in Latin tounge, and knew nocht the gret eloquens of chauceir na colouris that men usis in this Inglis meter." So also John Craig the Reformer, on his return to Scotland, had for a while to resort to Latin in the Magdalene Chapel, Edinburgh, for his addresses and sermons, until he recovered his ease in his native dialect.² This is within the experience of every bilingualist. And a Churchman, who had steeped his ears in Latin could not easily shake off the habit of classical form in his speech and writing.

Douglas's Source

It is not difficult, then, to know where Douglas got his Latin forms in his translation. He had, first of all, the influence of the very book he was translating, the whole phrase of it ringing through his mind and heart. And he had, besides, the influence of the Scottish educational system, already referred to, by means of which, sometimes, the Latin language was as ready to his tongue and pen as his own, so that the Latin forms became naturalized to his expression. Douglas, in such uses as *preferris* for *excels*, *pretendis* for *arrives at*, shews that Latin was his most direct influence. In this he was not alone, for the Scot, in writing, often makes confession that Latin is "the tounge he knawis best." In fact, he must frequently have had to evade a Latin term, and consciously seek for a native one in his work. But like all our greatest poets, he gleaned from the wealth of every field he knew, so that he might supplement his vernacular and enrich it for the worthier clothing of the noble thought of his original. He was deliberately rhetorical and "aureate," seeking for dignity, ornament, and sententious weight, and just as antiquarian as Spenser in his eclecticism.

Though the Scottish Court poets were, of course, in directest

¹ 1490. MS., 18, 2, 8. Advoc. Lib. Edin., fol. 357 b.

² Wilson's *Memorials of Edinburgh*, ii. 255.

contact with France, yet Douglas's slighting reference to the French in his first *Prologue* and his noted English leanings shew how his inclinations ran. The French that would affect him most would be the French of the Romances, and the Chaucerian example. The period of his residence in France would have less influence than at first sight would seem, for there his association would be with scholars rather than courtiers, and Latin was the *lingua franca* of the educated men of his day.¹

Greek had practically no influence on Douglas's life or work, even although he says that his patron has suggested that he should turn his attention to the supreme poet of that language. In fact, Greek was a rare grace for his time. Even Petrarch, the prime influence of the Renaissance, though he had been taught some Greek by Barlaam, who visited Avignon in 1339 regarding the contemplated union of the Greek and Latin churches, and though he possessed a manuscript of Homer, and of some portions of Plato, yet had to depend upon a Latin gloss by Boccaccio, of 1361; and himself declared that Homer was dumb to him, and he deaf to Homer. In England, although occasional scholars had some acquaintance with it, Greek was not really known and seriously studied until after the Fall of Constantinople and the dispersal of the scholars, when Greek chairs were founded in various centres of learning in Europe. We find references to Greek scholars such as Adam Eston, a Benedictine, of Norwich, who died at Rome in 1397; John Bate, a Carmelite, of York, in 1429; Flemmyng, of Lincoln, in 1450; and John Tilly or de Sellynge, of All Souls, Oxford, who studied the language in Italy, bringing back with him MSS. for the library of his monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury.²

In England, even by 1520, as we see from a manuscript list of the books sold by John Dorne, bookseller in Oxford,³ little Greek was read. That year he sold 2383 books. Of nine of Aristophanes, amongst these, only one was in Greek; and of the

¹ Vide Ruddiman's *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum* for examples of Scots Latinity. It was in September 1513 that Louis XII issued Letters of Naturalization to every Scotsman in France. *Memoirs of Alliance between France and Scotland*, p. 53.

² Vide Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis*, ii 406, Ox. 1715. Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, 1748.

³ Library Corp. Christi, Oxon.

same number of Lucian, only one also. In Latin there were breviaries, missals, grammars and lexicons, with certain works of Cicero, Aristotle, Virgil, Ovid, etc. Cicero and Terence head the list with thirty-seven; but Aristotle is next with thirty.

It was only from about 1560, through the influence of John Row at Perth, that the knowledge of the Greek tongue spread in Scotland. Hence the arrest of Douglas on the threshold of Homer.

Douglas felt that he was doing a patriotic work,—something for Scotland's sake. And yet the fact remains that he is the first Scottish poet who was not finally Scottish, and whose work became extra-national in its influence and significance. He was the first Scot to be spoken of across the Border as a classic writer in an Anglic dialect.

He is also the first non-Gaelic writer in Scotland who regularly calls the language of the nation the "Scottish tongue."¹ Yet Don Pedro de Ayala, Spanish emissary to the Court of James IV, in a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, of date 25th July 1498, wrote of the King: "His own Scottish language is as different from English as Aragonese is from Castilian. The King speaks besides the language of the savages who dwell in some parts of Scotland and in the isles." Until the fifteenth century the tongue of the native people of the ancient kingdom was styled, in Latin, *Lingua Scotica*, meaning the Gaelic language. Reginald of Durham speaks of the people of Kirkcudbright as using the *sermo Pictorum*.² Yet at the Battle of the Standard the Gallowaymen's war-cry was *Alban*.³ Fordoun in his *Scotichronicon* mentions that in Scotland there are two tongues, namely, "*Scotica videlicet et Teutonica: cuius linguæ gens maritimas possidet et planas regiones: linguæ vero gens Scoticæ montanas inhabitat, et insulas ultiores.*"⁴ Wyntoun also deliberately makes a statement as to the language he thinks he is writing:

Aliswa set I myne intent
My wyt, my wyll, and myne talent,

¹ *Spanish Calandar*, i, No. 210, Bergenroth. *Calandar of Scottish Papers*, ii. 169-175. Cf. Hill Burton's erroneous statement: *Hist.*, i. 206.

² Twelfth century Reg. Dun. Libellus, c. lxxxiv.

³ *Vide* Henry of Huntingdon: *Hist. Angl.*, p. 253.

⁴ *Scotichronicon*, bk. i. l. 9. Cf. Ray's *Rebellion*, 1754, p. 361.

Fra that I sene had stories sere,
 In cronnyklys quhare thai wrytten were
 Thare matere in tyl fowrme to drawe
 Off Latyne in tyl Ynglis sawe.¹

It is interesting in this connection to observe how Wyntoun identifies Gaelic and Basque as belonging to the Celtic stock, and explains that, the latter having been left behind in Spain,²

Scottis thai spek hallely.

The Gaelic of Scotland was not spoken of as "Irish" or "Erse" until the fifteenth century. Barbour, Dunbar, Blind Harry, and Fordoun shew abundantly that they take the true Scottish vernacular to be the Gaelic tongue. Thus, Barbour writes:

This was the spek he maid, perfay,
 And is in Inglis toung to say . . .³

Blind Harry, speaking of Longueville, the Frenchman, remarks:

Lykely he was, manlik of countenance,
 Lyke to the Scottis be mekill governance,
 Saiff of his toung, for Ingliss had he nane.⁴

Dunbar, referring to Chaucer, styles him

Of our Inglisch all the lycht.⁵

Even in the famous, or infamous, *Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy*, where he tries to whip up the ire of the Western poet,—which he succeeds in doing, more than fairly well,—by casting his *Irishry* in his teeth, he falls back, almost unwittingly into the truth again. Kennedy had retorted:

Thow luvis nane Erische, elf, I understand,
 Bot it sowld be all trew Scottismennis leid.⁶

And Dunbar, with characteristic coarseness, answers how

ane pair of Lowthiane hippis
 Sall fairer Inglis mak and mair parfyte
 Than thow can blabbar with thy Carrik lippis.⁷

Even at the close of the fifteenth century, *Scots* was spoken of by writers of Lothian birth as the language of "broken men," savage and uncultured. Yet those writers were, in their own

¹ *Cronykyl*.

² Cf. Henry of Huntingdon, 15.

³ Bk. iv. 252.

⁴ Henry's *Wallace*, ix. 295.

⁵ *Goldin Targe*, 259.

⁶ *Flyting*, 105.

⁷ *Ib.* 246.

eyes, Scotsmen, though proud of their "Ynglis" tongue. The *Flyting* of Kennedy and Dunbar shews most forcibly the geological fissure between the East and West.

As late as 1682, Christopher Irvine in his *Historiæ Scoticæ Nomenclatura* says, "Indeed the Scoti Albini are oft-times stiled Hiberni," and "*Scoti Hibernenses* et *Scoti Ierni* are really to be interpreted of our Highlanders and Red-shanks, and not of the Irish, except in mistake."

Dr Farmer, in a footnote in his famous *Essay* quoting Douglas, says, "It is very remarkable that the Bishop is called by his countryman Sir David Lindsey, in his *Complaint of our Souerane Lordis Papingo*,—'In our Inglische rethorick the rose.' And Dunbar hath a similar expression in his beautiful poem *The Goldin Terge*." Of course this only shews that, with all his wealth of reading, there were some things Dr Farmer did not know; and this was one of them,—that, while the name of the people was the Scots, their Lowland writers were aware that they spoke and wrote a dialect of English. Farmer refers, in another place in the same *Essay*, to Douglas, among others—the only Scottish name among the known English translators.

In the Highlands even to-day the Gael speaks of a song by Burns, in the Doric, as an "English" song, and the Lowland Scots is *Beurla*, i.e. "English."

The deepened spirit of nationalism which came into the land after the Wars of Independence, and especially the deepening dislike of the "auld enemy,"¹ made the people of the Lowlands desire to claim the word *Scottish* for their language as well as for their folk-name. By the sixteenth century this was established. The word *English* was discarded: and *Irish*, with a suggestion of depreciation in it, was applied to the tongue of the older indigenous race. This usage appeared in the Edicts of the General Assembly of the Scottish Church till 1816 when *Gaelic* became the proper term (Acts of Assembly, Edinburgh, 1831). I do not agree with Gregory Smith that the Celtic influence on E. and M.Sc. would more naturally be from Strathclyde and Galloway rather than the

¹ James III was considered suspect for his leanings towards Englishmen. *Vide* the great fear of English influence in the Scots Acts of Parliament.

North. He forgets that the Court and Court writers knew Perthshire and northern districts better than probably any other through the position of Scone, Perth, Stirling and Dunfermline, the early Scottish capitals. Barbour distinguishes the *Erischry* of Ireland from the *Erischry* of Scotland.¹ Yet Lyndsay, as we have seen, later than Douglas, used the earlier term for his own literary medium, which became the model and fountain of Scots until the time of Burns.

It would be interesting to find what might have been looked for within access of such a man as Douglas to influence his work. We have of course the poem of Alcuin, with its List of the Library at York.² Fortunately, the invention of printing was coincident with the awakened hunger for classical learning which stirred the fifteenth century. In Italy, portions of Virgil were printed in 1470; but it was not till 1483 that in England appeared at Oxford the first printed classic—Cicero's *Pro Milone*, probably for school use. An edition of *Terence* followed. King James the Fourth had, under the influence of Bishop Elphynstoun, brought printing into Scotland in 1507, when the press of Chepman and Myllar had bestowed upon it the monopoly of the new art. Until 1540 the only classics, in addition to Virgil, which passed through the English press were Sallust, Cicero's *De Officiis*, and two books in Greek. French translations, of a loose kind for the most part, satisfied those who wished to listen to what the ancients had to say; and they were listened to imperfectly, or with dissatisfaction, as we see from Douglas's animadversions on Caxton, in his Virgilian translation. But Douglas left little trace except the trail of Macrobius, Boccaccio, Petrarch, Poggio, Badius Ascencius, and Landinus, with Lorenzo Valla—"Laurence of the Vail"—who, in the fifteenth century, translated the *Iliad* of Homer, Thucydides, and Herodotus into Latin; but the crowd we meet in Alcuin's List of the Library at York³ must have had meaning elsewhere. Gower would, in

¹ xiv. 9.

² *Poema de Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesie Eboracensis*, Migne, ci. 843-4.

³ Illic invenies veterum vestigia Patrum:
 Quidquid habet pro se Latio Romanus in orbe:
 Græcia vel quidquid transmisit clara Latinis:
 Hebraicus vel quod populus bibit imbre superno
 Africa luciflavo vel quidquid lumine sparsit.
 Quod Pater Hieronymus, quod sensit Hilarius atque

some form, be known to every poetic student then ; *The Roman de Troie* of Benoît de Sainte More, French Trouvère of the late twelfth century, worked up, a century later, in the *Historia de Bello Trojano* by Guido delle Colonne ; *Boëthius*, of course, the popular classic, translated by Chaucer, and by everybody who could translate anything, from Alfred to Elizabeth ; Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*—from Boccaccio—and *The Tale of Troy*, were sure to be lying about.

The commentary of Christopher Landinus, which, with others, appeared in the Venetian editions of 1495, 1499 and 1501, and likewise in Sebastian Brandt's edition of Virgil, in 1502, at Strassburg, was before Douglas in his labour. From Douglas himself we know that he sought for guidance in Landinus and Ascencius, and in Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum*. That Scotland was not cut off from the influence of new books was shewn by David Laing, who proved that the *Gesta Romanorum*, published in 1474 at Utrecht, was in a year or two in circulation in Scotland, and presented to the Fratres Predicantes of Dundee.

It has been pointed out that Octavien de St. Gelais, an early contemporary of Douglas, and a bishop, was also a translator of Virgil. He is, however, probably a coincidence rather than an influence.

The Pastons had *The Siege of Troy*, *The Book of the Seven Sages*, and the *Meditations of Chylde Ypotis*, under which title Epictetus could not have recognized himself ; while Caxton's book was only too well read by Douglas, and duly castigated.

In London in 1480 had appeared a Latin Commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* ; while, in 1495, at Oxford, had come forth an edition of Terence, and, in 1520, one of Virgil. Books from abroad were always readily imported, if they had the sanction of the Church. And in the catalogue of the Peterhouse Library in 1418, is found, above all, the *Epistles* of Petrarch,

Ambrosius, praesul, simul Augustinus, et ipse
 Sanctus Athanasius, quod Orosius edit avitus, etc. :
 mentioning—Basil, Fulgentius, Cassiodorus, Chrysostom, Aldhelm, Beda,
 Boethius, Pompeius, Pliny, Aristotle, Tullius, Sedullius, Juvencus, Aleimus,
 Clement, Lactantius, Maro Virgilius, Statius, Lucan ; and the grammarians
 Servius, Donatus, Priscian. . . .

Plurima qui claro scripsere volumina sensu,
 Nomina sed quorum praesenti in carmine scribi
 Longius est visum quam plectri postulet usus.

amongst a host of dry-as-dusts, like a candle in the dark. Of course, Douglas would know Dares Phrygius and Dictys of Crete ; the *Pinax* of Cebes, printed at Bologna in Latin in the fifteenth century ; the *Trionfi d'Amore* of Petrarch ; and, intimately, Chaucer's *House of Fame*.

Douglas's quick eye and heart, responsive to human action and the sights and sounds of nature, were, however, the best interpreters and tutors that he had. And it is to these we are indebted for all that really lives in Douglas's work.

§ 2

There are certain features of Middle Scots¹ which, while of course well-known to those who already know well the works of the Makars, are not familiar to others. And the following examples from Douglas's *Aeneid* may be considered with profit. The last word, by a native writer familiar with dialect survivals, on the living tongue, and not from hearsay, has not been said about them yet. And although they are found also in his other works, they are in place here.

Generally speaking, the ordinary Southern *o* is equivalent in power to the Scottish *a* ; while the long Southern *o* is represented by the Scottish *ae*, or *a* as in the syllable *-ame*.

The vowels *e* and short *u* in combination with *-rk terminal*, become open, with the sound of the broad Latin *a* ; e.g. *merk* is *mark* ; *clerk* is *clark* ; and *work* becomes *wark*, though written *werk*. Similarly we find *expart* for *expert* in Douglas. Morris speaks of this as having become a habit in Scotland in the eighteenth century, but there are districts in Southern Scotland where *e* in a closed syllable has always the broad sound. One finds an *a* development in such words as *star*, and *far*, from *e*, in Middle English *sterre*, and *ferre*.

I is frequent for *e*, as in *rathir*, *invy*, etc., a spoken usage still. Syllables are lengthened ordinarily

(a) by insertion of *i* ; e.g.

The soil ysowpit in to *waitter wak*.—Prol. vii. 35. (E. Ms.)
Moist forcy steid, my lovyt *foill*.—Bk. x. 14, 89.

¹ Vide Gregory Smith's *Specimens*.

Boith is, however, hybrid, the *o* being Southern, and the *i* Northern.

(b) by using equivalents in other vowels : *e.g.*
ee is represented by *y*.

Made *syk* warm stovis.—Prol. vii. 89.

(c) Frequently *kene* is written for *keen* ; *depe* for *deep*, etc.
o was used for *au*.

Semyt tobe a clos *volt*.—Bk. ix. 8, 114.

e was used for *o*, as in *appreve* = approve, widely in use in North-eastern Scotland still.

Frequently a final *d* appears, supplementary in script, though not sounded in the vernacular : *e.g.*

With rude engyne and barrand emptyve brayn.—Prol. i. 20.

Final *d* was sometimes added in Old English, *e.g.*

Ilde of Witz.—*Bevis of Hampton*, l. 1335.

This tendency to add *d* after final *n* was very general in Middle English, and in the first period of modern English, where *hine* became *hind*, and *expone* became *expound* ; especially was it used after *l*, where *vild* appears in Elizabethan writers for *vile*.

The letter *t* also occurs in the same usage in Scots, *e.g.*

The storme furtht sent be eolus.—Prol. i. 160. (E. Ms.)
 Enee maid nevir aitht.—Prol. i. 438. (*Ib.*)

In *heycht* wysnyt treis.—Prol. vii. 124.

Thocht for *though* ; *prolix*t for *prolix*.—*passim*.

This is still common after *l* final in certain districts of central Scotland, where *vennel*, meaning *alley*, is daily spoken of as *vennelt*. This final *t* appeared sometimes in proper names. I have a document before me in which Bishop Farquhar of Caithness in 1309 is spelt “Ferquhard,” and another of date 1655 where *Kemp* is spelt *Kempt*. In the Records of Inverness we find, in 1521, *Kennycht* for *Kenneth* or *Coinnich*, *M’Intoisicht* for *Mac-an-toiseach*, *Cumenycht* for *Cuminach*, *Tearlocht* for *Tearlach*, etc.

(a) *d* is used for *th* :

Cesar the eld *fader*.—Bk. vi. 14, 58.
And *gaddir* hys folkis towart the cost *togydder*.—Bk. iv. 6, 19.
Kepend na sudroun.—Prol. i. 111.

This usage is still very common in Aberdeenshire.

(b) *t*, also, is used for *th* :

Of secret materis and *attentik* thing.—Bk. viii. 8, 30.

Also *Fift*, *saxt*, etc.

Middle Scots retained hard *t* in *attar* for *author*, an etymological retention, representing *auctor*.

L in Scots is so liquid that it runs out into silence. It is used :

(a) as merely phonic :

Amang *rolkis* unsure.—Bk. iii. 6, 133.
Forfeblit *wolx* hys lemand *gyly* levyn.—Prol. vii. 10.
That *dolly* pyt of syte.—Bk. vi. 9, 80.

Sometimes its phonetic form is written :

Strippyt of thar weid in every *howt*.—Prol. vii. 66.

This usage remains in Southern Dialects, where *owd* = *old* : and in certain parts of North-eastern Scotland.

(b) with the effect of prolonging a syllable :

To graith the *chalmeris*.—Bk. i. 11, 21.
Quharof the *altar* says thus.—Prol. vii. 164.

L is, indeed, in Scots a very active liquid ; and in this respect may be compared with the Dutch *l*, which may be said to oscillate without running over into silence as in Scots. For example, take a word common to both,—*balk* = a rafter, or roof beam. In Dutch this is pronounced *ball^ak*, a kind of *sheva* slipping in between *l* and *k*, while in Scots it is pronounced *bawk*, as in Burns when he speaks of the withered leaves

Wavering like the bawky bird,

i.e. the bat, fluttering down from the beams. The poets wrote the letters in the words, but they were not sounded in reading. Burns wrote phonetically, marking his elisions by an apostrophe, e.g. *fa'*, *ha'*, for *fall* and *hall*. Henryson wrote *dully*, and Douglas most frequently *dolly* for *dowie* ; but the usage of Douglas proves the identity of the forms. David Calderwood, in his *History*, makes an explicit statement on the matter, when, speaking of

the Waldenses he says, " Their offspring were called in England *Lollards* . . . and in Scotland *Lowards*, according to our custome, in turning a double *ll* in a German *w*, as when we pronounce *Bow*, *Pow*, *Row*, *Scrow*, for *Boll*, *Poll*, *Roll*, *Scroll*." By Burns's time the Scots would have read the two *l*'s as in English, but he always wrote the word *dowie*, as it sounded on the lips of the people. It is to be remembered that the Englishman does not trill *r*, but he trills *l*. The Scot on the other hand trills *r*, but does not trill *l*. Therefore, when *l* is doubled the first only prolongs the precedent vowel, and the second *l* runs out altogether, e.g. *hall* is, in English = *hawl*; but in Scots it is *haw*, or, as Burns wrote it, *ha'*. Blind Harry¹ and others frequently used the phonetic form without marking the fact of consonantal elision with the apostrophe. Curiously in Barbour there is scarce a symptom of this Scottish characteristic, but in Wallace we find such words as *call* rhymed with *law*, and *small* written *smaw*, while *pulled* is written as *powed*. *Dolly* disappeared as a written form after 1581.

N liquid also appears in such words as the following :

In cace I faille haue me not at *disdenze*.—Prol. i. 476 (Small, 482).
Hys hair enoynt weil *prunzeit*.—Bk. iv. 5, 80.

A similar usage holds with *l*, e.g.

And into agit *failzeis*.—Prol. iv. 119.

B drops out in writing, here following the vernacular ; as :

And eik stamping of their feit maid me trembil,
My wrechit fuid wes berreis of the *brymmel*.—Bk. iii. 9, 110. (E.)

Here we have the vernacular phonetic alongside of the purely literary form, in which, of course, the *b* would be lost in reading, the rhyme proving the pronunciation. This usage is common to-day in Scotland with such proper names as *Abercromby*, which is pronounced *Abercrummy*. We find also *MacCombie* for *Mac'Omie*, i.e. the Son of Thom.

Ge for *S* :

We *clenge* ws first.—Bk. iii. 4, 132.
Ful mony carcage of thir oxin gret.—Bk. xi. 5, 35.

¹ Cf. Wallace viii. 1339 ff.

Great Julius that tribute gat aff aw.
His wynnyng was in Scotland bot full smaw.

Here we have coalescence of sibilants, following vernacular influence.

S for *Sh* :

Sal and *sud*, vernacular for *shall* and *should*, literary.—*Passim*.

The *fasson* eik and gys we lernyt thar.—Bk. iii. 2, 89.

Eftir all was fallin in puldir and in *as*.—Bk. vi. 3, 135.

This is vernacular still,—*ase* = *ashes* : and *wish* is *wis* in Aberdeenshire, and the North-East.

Similarly, *S* for *ch* :

sersand about me.—Bk. ii. 11, 123.

The reverse is not uncommon :

Of massy gold the *veschel* war furth hynt.—Bk. ii. 12, 10.

Bew schirris, haue gud day.—*Tyme*, etc., 27.

Ch for *sh* :

Chiverand for *cald*.—Prol. vii. 137.

Cf. *chop* = *shop*, *devilitch* for *devilish*, in Aberdeen and Angus.

K for *ch* :

The *benk* ybeldyt of the grene holyne.—Bk. viii. 3, 193.

Cf. *birk*, *breeks*, *kirk*, etc. in Scots usage.

Quh for *wh*.

Quha, sometimes *quho*, for *who*. *Quhen*, *quhilk*, etc.

This combination may have been suggested by the written form of *wh* or *hw*, and is to be taken, in its initial position, as of that power. But the breathing *wh* in Scots is always more guttural than with an Englishman who, e.g. pronounces *wharf* as *warf*, from old custom. Baildon says, "The combination fell out of use, and is only perpetuated in proper names." But there it does not represent *wh*. Such names as *Farquhar* represent the Gaelic strong guttural name *Fearchar*, which is pronounced *Ferrachar*, and not the modern *Farkwar*, nor *Farwhar*. In fact, in places where Gaelic has died out, that name is pronounced *Fra'har*, under the traditional influence of the old tongue. So also with the Highland name *Marquis*, which has nothing to do with the peerage but is only the genitive of Marcus. Imperfect observation persists in spelling the King's *Quair* as *Quhair* ; and

Sir Walter Scott was responsible for *quaich* for the Gaelic *cuach*, a cup ; but he meant *qu* to be sounded *kew*, and not as *kw*.

G has the power of hard *g* and *z*, the latter being equal to *y* in pronunciation e.g. *year* was always written *zeir* ; although in certain words it was equivalent to *g*.¹ The power of *z* in Scottish names and words is being forgotten, and it has generally become merely the soft English *s*. This is very strikingly seen in the name *Mackenzie*, representing the Gaelic *MacCoinnich*, i.e. the Son of Kenneth, pronounced MacConnyich. This name in Scots was, and still in the North familiar to many ears is, under Gaelic influence, called *Mackennie* or *MacKinnie*, though in certain districts *Mackenzie*, and in the seventeenth century the two forms appear on the same page. The modern pronunciation is not older than the eighteenth century. Lord Kames said it turned his stomach to hear it.² Even in Edinburgh the old habit survived till recent times in colloquial usage ; and old people tell me how the Edinburgh boys used to pelt the door of the tomb in Greyfriars Churchyard, of Sir George Mackenzie, of odious memory for Presbytery, crying out, as they ran away :

Bluidy Mackenyie, come oot, if ye daur :
Lift the sneck and draw the bar !

In the Roll of Highland Landlords and Chiefs, appended to an Act of Scottish Parliament in 1587, the name is spelt *Mackanyie* ; in the Roll of Clans, of the same year, it appears as *Clankayne*, while *Menzies* appears as *Menyess* ; in the Roll of 1594 it is *Clankenyeie*.³

H breathing, or *Cockney h*, is found, for example, in the Elphynstoun manuscript :

Hinder his chargis.—Prol. i. 442,

where in the printed text we read “under.” Blind Harry also wrote this breathing :

And witt *haboundyt* than.—Wallace, Bk. i,

while Wyntoun wrote it also.

¹ Cf. the double usage in Scotland *Mengis* and *Meenis*. Cf. also the district of the *Enzie* in Banffshire pronounced the *Engie*.

² Cf. the change in Scotland of *Forbz* for *Forbess*.

³ Cf. R. L. Stevenson's *Edinburgh*, p. 94, ed. 1914.

The *Gn* combination becomes *-ng*, as in :

Kything na syng of heyt.—Prol. vii. 5.
This vsage *condyng*.—Bk. iii. 6, 103.

V disappears in utterance, being oftenest written as *u*, approaching the power of *w*. *Deuil* = vernacular *deil*.

This is to-day habitual, as in proper names like *Purves* and *Beveridge*, which the Scots pronounce *Purris* = *Paris*, and *Burridge* or *Berridge*; while *gable*, in Scots *gavil*, is pronounced *gale*; and *shovel* = *skill* or *shool*.¹ This weak power of *v* is not a Scots peculiarity. Puttenham in *The Arte of English Poesie*, Chapter XVI, says that it was usual to contract *peradventure* into *peraunture*; *povertie* into *poortie* (Cf. Scots *poortith*), *sovereigne* into *souraigne*, etc., Queen Elizabeth herself habitually employing this mode. It may disappear in Scots script, as in *cunnand* for *covenant* = *promissa*, e.g.

This is nocht thy last cunnand.—Bk. xi. 4, 30.

V also appears in Middle Scots as *f* :

Relief our lang travail.—Bk. i., 6, 49. (E. Ms.)

Sauf is also used for *saive*: *moif* for *move*: *wyffis* for *wyvis*, etc. I found in the war, in Flanders, that the English common soldier speaks of *leave* as *leif*, probably perpetuating old habit.

A very common transliteration, common still in Scotland also to-day, is such metathetic usage as :

Scho *bryst* forth mony a teir.—Bk. iii. 5, 60.
Warpit my heid.—Prol. vii. 95.

There are districts where we still hear, "My hert's brast."²

Certain words also press themselves upon our notice in Douglas, as in the Middle Scots writers.

(a) *Alkyn*, *alkin*, is originally a genitive phrase—*omnis generis*, or *omnium generum*, which, used before a noun = *of every kind or every sort*, e.g.

With *alkyn* portage quhilk was hidder brocht.—Bk. ii. 3, 64.

¹ Cf. poem attributed to Dr Beattie, addressed to Alexander Ross, Lochlee, author of *Helenore, The Fortunate Shepherdess*. "The foremost place Gavin Douglas claims," where Gavin is = *Ga'n*.

² Cf. in Aberdeenshire in writing and in speech the peculiar metathetic form *wardle* for *world*. See Abel's *Wylins fae my Wallet*.

- (b) Allthir, is also a genitive 3rd plural. Douglas, erroneously, following late usage, writes :

Bot gret lak war to return *althar* last.—Bk. v. 4, 71.
al thar last

The ancyant kyng Acestes.—Bk. v. 9, 21.

Shakespeare uses (2 K. Henry VI i. 1) *alderbiefest* = the dearest of all—a residuum of this ancient case-ending.

- (c) *Allyris* is another form, = *al-re* = *omnium*.

our *allyris* offens.—Bk. xii. 1, 40.

- (d) *Til* = *to*. In reality it has a substantive meaning, “goal.” It appeared first as a preposition in the Northern dialect of English, in the Durham Gospels, of the eleventh century. It appears also in Scots as the mark of the simple infinitive. This form is still in vernacular use.

Hys awin myschief weill worthy *til* allow.—xiii. 6, 112.

Douglas uses *hiddirtillis* = *hitherto*.

- (e) *Into* and *ontyl* for *in*, are found, but not so often in Douglas as in *The King's Quair*.

- (f) *Suppois*, is commonly used by Douglas, for *if*; or

- (g) *except*, with *gif* or *geif* in the same sense.

The plural is in *-is* or *-ys*, where the *i* or *y*, like the Chaucerian final *e*, may be either silent or sounded according to exigency of metre. For example, in the opening line of the version one must slur *batalis*, while in the second line *boundis* must be read as a dissyllable. The same remark applies to the termination *-it*. And illustrations of these might be multiplied *ad infinitum*. But Douglas, following vernacular usage in regard to crowding sibilants, writes *burgeis* for *burgesses* :

Burgeis *bringis* hame the boithe.—Prol. viii. 85. (E. Ms.)

This does not rule his form in

sic as *mulis*, *horss*.—Prol. vii. 81. (*Ib.*)¹

which expresses a common mode of speech. In Ascham we find “Tame and well-ordered *horse*,” which was a regular usage.

In Scotland, a farm is described in regard to size, as a *four-horse farm*; and a lad will tell you that he looks after *horse and*

¹ C. text: *burgeissis*: *horssis*.

nout, and likes to work among *horse*. In Douglas we find the opposite also, in a singular sense for a plural noun, as :

to a *boundis* constrenyt.—Prol. i. 293,

a usage one which hears in America everywhere to-day, where you will be told that a certain place is “ a long ways ” distant.

A cognate usage is found in Shakespeare’s *Merry Wives of Windsor* :

Come a little nearer *this ways*.—ii. 2, 50.

The *adjective* is frequently placed after the noun, a French custom, of course, but in Douglas’s case directly from Latin influence, most naturally, that language being, to him, and every Scottish student of his time, as familiar as his own. The plural adjective agrees with the plural noun, a habit also of Latin origin, not necessarily as Murray suggests, from Latin usage, nor as others, from French influence as with Chaucer, but as probably from the fact that Scottish scholars were steeped in Latin forms from beginning to end of their scholarship, and would have followed these even if they had observed it in Chaucer’s page or heard it elsewhere. This applies to the use of *quhilk* :

For naturall lufe and frendely affectioun

Quhilkis I beir to thy warkis and endyte.—Prol. i. 37.

And mony thingis *quhilkis* Virgill dyd rehers.—*Ib.* 187.

The pressoneris . . . *quhilkis*.—xi. 2, 57. (E. Ms.)

Sometimes we find the adjective used for the noun, as :

To spy this *auld* that was als slow of spech.—Prol. xiii., 79. ¹

This same usage is found in *The Pilgrimage of the Lyf of Manhode* (early fifteenth century) :

These tweyne *olde*.

It survives in modern custom, when we speak of *shallows*, *deeps*, etc.

The article *ane* is not universal with Douglas, who as frequently uses *a*.

Douglas uses *at* for *quhilk*. *At* is also in his work for *that* by Douglas, is indeed a feature of his.

But *at* syk thynngis ar possibill this I schew.—Prol. i. 214.

¹ Cf. Wyntoun, v. 9, 14. C. reads *stern*.

At is rare in Middle Scots after 1500. In Early Scots *at* was regularly used for the relative pronoun. Douglas has *quhill at = until*.¹

Sir J. A. H. Murray says that *quha* for the relative was not used before 1540. Henryson and Dunbar used it for "he who," as in the latter poet's *Epitaph on Donald Oure* :

Quha is a tratour,
Vpoun him self turnis the mischief,

in the sense of *quisquis*. The accusative form is *quham* ; but is the following a feminine, made by the French addition of *e* to the usual form ?

On hir *quham* by Troy brynit is.—Bk. ii. 10, 50.

The King's Quair writes *quho*, *quhois*, under English influence of course. *Quhich that = which*, never occurs in Douglas. The initial *th* was, of course, unvoiced in Old and Middle English, till the close of the Middle English period. It is still common in the North, *vide* Alexander's *Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk* and George Macdonald's novels, where the dialect of Aberdeenshire is reproduced in fulness.

The undeclined possessive is common ; *e.g.*

his *fadder* brudir.

Of course, in Old English, this very word *father* had formed the genitive with *-es*, but in the first half of the sixteenth century as well as throughout the Middle English period, words which had so formed their genitive were found without that distinguishing mark of inflexion. This was especially so with proper names, as :

Urny son.—*Sir Gawayne and the Greene Knight*, 113,

but also with others, as :

for God merci.—Caxton. *The four Sonnes of Aymon*, 450.

Douglas speaks of *Nereus douchtir*, and *Tithonus spous*, and *moneth space*, where of course the sibilants control the construction. Traces of this uninflected use are still to be found in the Scots vernacular, and naturally in connection with the pronoun *it*. A woman in the North will say that a child has "bladdit it hand." Everybody knows the sound grammatical reason why—*its* not coming into use till the sixteenth century,

¹ xi. 25. i.

and not finding its way into the Authorised Version, or into Spenser's verse. It is rare in Bacon and in Shakespeare; more frequent in Milton, and common in Dryden. *His* was the genitive of *it*.

When the verb is remote from the governing subject a third personal form is occasionally used by Douglas with the first personal pronoun: as:

I *set* my bissy pane . . .
 . . . and *spekis* as I lernyt.—Prol. i. 109-111.
 Syne I defend and *forbiddis* euery wicht.—Prol. i. 283.

In the very stately Proclamation on the news of Flodden in Edinburgh, this is regular throughout *e.g.* "We wyssis . . ." It is still common in Scotland to say "I runs," etc.

Frequently also a singular verb is found with a plural noun; *e.g.*

Haldis sawlys *hoppys* fra body to body.—Prol. i. 186.

Douglas's use of the imperative, with the person unexpressed, is quaint and alien to Scots:

Beis nocht our studyus to spy a moyt in myne E.—Prol. i. 498.
Traistis me.—*Ibid*,

a modification of the English imperative plural, in *-th*. An imperative *Eschames* is employed for *Let us be ashamed*.

The past tense is usually *-it* or *-yt*, but sometimes in *-at*:

I *crosty* me, syne *bownyt* me for to sleip.—Prol. vii. 99.
 Quhou mony *crakyt* cunnand.—Prol. viii. 102.

Past-participles are frequently of such unmodified Latin form as *fatigat*, *repite*, *predestinate*, etc.

He is very prone to the use of the prefix *y-*, representing the Old English *ge-*, with the past-participle; *e.g.*

Yconquest in this batall.—Bk. xi. 2, 50.
Yplet ilk nycht.—Bk. xii. 2, 126.
Yclept, frequently.

But he also uses this prefix with the ordinary preterite, making such forms as, *y-wympyllit*; *y-loupit*; *y-fetterit*; *y-slain*: all exotics.

The present participle is of course in *-and* ; the verbal noun in *-yng* :

Forfeblit wolx hys lemand gylty levyn.

Throw the *declynyng* of his large round speire.—Prol. vii. 10.

Smale byrdis *flokkan*d throu thik ronys thrang,

In *chyrmyng* and with *cheping* changit ther sang.—Prol. vii. 69, 70.

In the earliest periods of English *-ende* was the West Saxon participial termination, *-and* the Northumbrian. Ben Jonson in his *Sad Shepherd* played upon this Northern note, just as Spenser did, with his archaic art, using *glitterand* and *trenchand*. Chaucer employs it rarely, but has frequently the French termination *-ant*. It appears in the proud motto of one of our best Scottish regiments—Bydand, i.e. *siccar, staunch, sure*.

Douglas writes the root of the verb for the past participle : as :

Quharin was *grave* maste curyus to behold.—Bk. i. 9, 110.

He is fond of taking *or than* as signifying *before*, or *rather than* ; e.g.

Or the soft violet that doys freschly schyne,

Or than the purpour flour hait jacynthyn.—Bk. xi. 2, 29.

Wyntoun has the same usage of the phrase. In *Lancelot of the Laik* the combination = *or*.

The Editor of *Lancelot of the Laik* points out that while the author of that poem, along with the author of *The Quare of Jelousy*, under the influence of Chaucer, uses the word *Soundeth* in the sense of *tends*, Douglas alone of all the Makars employs it.

The first *soundis* towart virteu sum deyll.—Prol. xi. 49.

Other rare words used by Douglas are seen in the following lines :

The dasy dyd on breid hir *crownell* smaill.—Prol. xii. 113.

This word is used in *Lancelot* 59, and also in Douglas :

His crownel picht wyth mony precyus stane.—Bk. vii. 1, 111. (Small, vii. 2).

The hevynly portis cristallyne,
Vpwarpis braid.—Prol. xii. 19.

He also employs *adew* in a pregnant sense ; as :

We wenyng thame hame passit and *adew*.—Bk. ii. 1. 22.

Trevoux's *Dictionnaire Universelle François et Latin* (Paris, 1752), says of this word : " Adieu est aussi un terme de commandement de chagrin ou de refus, = *apage te*."

Douglas also uses it in combination with the verb *to go*, e.g.

Thus he repreuis, bot sche is went *adew*.—Bk. i., 6, 173.

Talibus incusat gressumque ad mœnia tendit.—l. 410.

The author of *Lancelot* has the same figure :

Your wordly honore nedis most *adew*.—l. 518.

His use of the word *Ward* is also notable :

Apon this wys the ostis and *wardis* haill

On athir part returnyt in bataill.—Bk. xii. 9, 115.

He makes a wide use of *quhy* as a substantive, in the sense of *cause* or *reason*, a usage found also in *The Kingis Quair*, *The Quare of Jelousy*, and later on in Alexander Scot, and Stewart's *Cronichis* : e.g.

Syne zeild the to thy fa, but *ony quhy*.—Prol. xi. 138.

Frequently words that are compound are written as separate elements, as *attanyis* and *at anys* : *ouer flowys* and *ouer flowis*.

Naturally one finds also the double negative intensive, as elsewhere, with the constant usage of *unrude* for *rude*, with the same power of strengthening.

Douglas's page is a quarry from which can be dug out innumerable words which, neither beautifying nor poetic, lay where they fell. Some had really no vital spark in them to ensure continuity of life.

He had certain words which he liked to use, such as *derne*, and *sprangis* or *sprayngis*, with fine effect :

purpou *sprangis* with gold and asure ment.—Prol. xii. 22.

twynkland *sprayngis* with their giltyen glemys.—Bk. vii. 2, 82 (Small, 3).

He uses the word *acquart* as equivalent to *aversa* :

Dydo aggrevit ay quhil he his tayl tald

Wyth *acquart luke* gan towart hym behald.—Bk. iv. 7, 1.

And he has the word *Adelytit* = *debueram* :

And was *adelytit* for my mysdoing.—Bk. ix. 14, 76.

He employs freely the intensive *per*, as in *perbrakkit schippis* for *fessas navis* ; and *sailrif se*, which gives a strong picture, true enough in effect. He conveys the idea of *untimely* by *expres* ; and he uses the word *ery* in the sense of *being afraid*, rather than in the later sense of *fearsome*. One can easily grasp his *entechement* for *rudiments*, *tyrment* for *interment*, *dolf* for *dull*, and

bowand for *bent*. But words like the following can have no resurrection: *barnage* = childhood; *bawburd* = larboard; *bewauit* = wandered; *bylappit* = surrounded; *camscho* = crooked; *curbulze* = leather; *chesbow* = poppy; *hattar* = maple; *forowtin* = without; *naimcouth* = known; *kyrnellis* = battlements; *fertyrs* = biers; *bellane* = gloves; *thoilmude* = patient; *widequhair* = everywhere; *pilchis* = gowns; *surrevagus* = wanderers; *stupejak* = shocked; *haitsum* = warm; *vgsum* = ugly; *howsouris* = extemplo; *queme* = silence; *tichwriss* = spots; *wmberauch* = fire flaucht; *ourthortour* = over across; *indigest* = rash; and crowds of others like them. They are dead, and never had the secret of life in them; and we may bet hankful that they practically were still-born.

As with Chaucer there are found lines in Douglas which can only be counted regular by use of elision, or taking the steep bits at a gallop. Otherwise, by counting the syllables with the fingers, they become Alexandrines. Only, one must remember that non-classical poetry is accentual on the whole, though, with Douglas and earlier writers, it is, on occasion of exigency, purely syllabic.

Thus the lines :

Ne charge thame nother to be callyt Troianys. . . .¹
Intil hys hyddus hand thame thrymlyt and wrang,²

and many others, just as in Chaucer, may be looked upon as Alexandrines, if so counted out as by a pendulum; but it is questionable whether the translator intended them to be so read. Scottish vernacular is however rich in slurs and elisions. Certainly the following, in which *ensenzies* is not trisyllabic with Douglas, but more like its descendant "*ancients*," is not Alexandrine, for the Scot still would take "armour and" at a disyllabic canter, as "arm'r'n."

And Troiane armour and ensenzies uith me saw,
i.e. "*And Troiane arm'r'n enshens uith me saw*,"

is how it would be run through even to-day.

Some of the alterations in manuscript and in the Black Letter edition make Alexandrines, as :

Quhare at the last they of Anchises gat ane sycht

¹ xii. 13-79.

² iii. 9-67.

But the genuine text avoids this quite clearly, except in one or two instances where quite apparently a word has slipped in from the margin, where it had been kept as if being weighed against another of the same meaning.

Now and again we find localism of utterance making itself felt in the matter of rhythm, as when a syllable so receives a wave utterance which makes it dissyllabic. Thus, a line may have to be read,

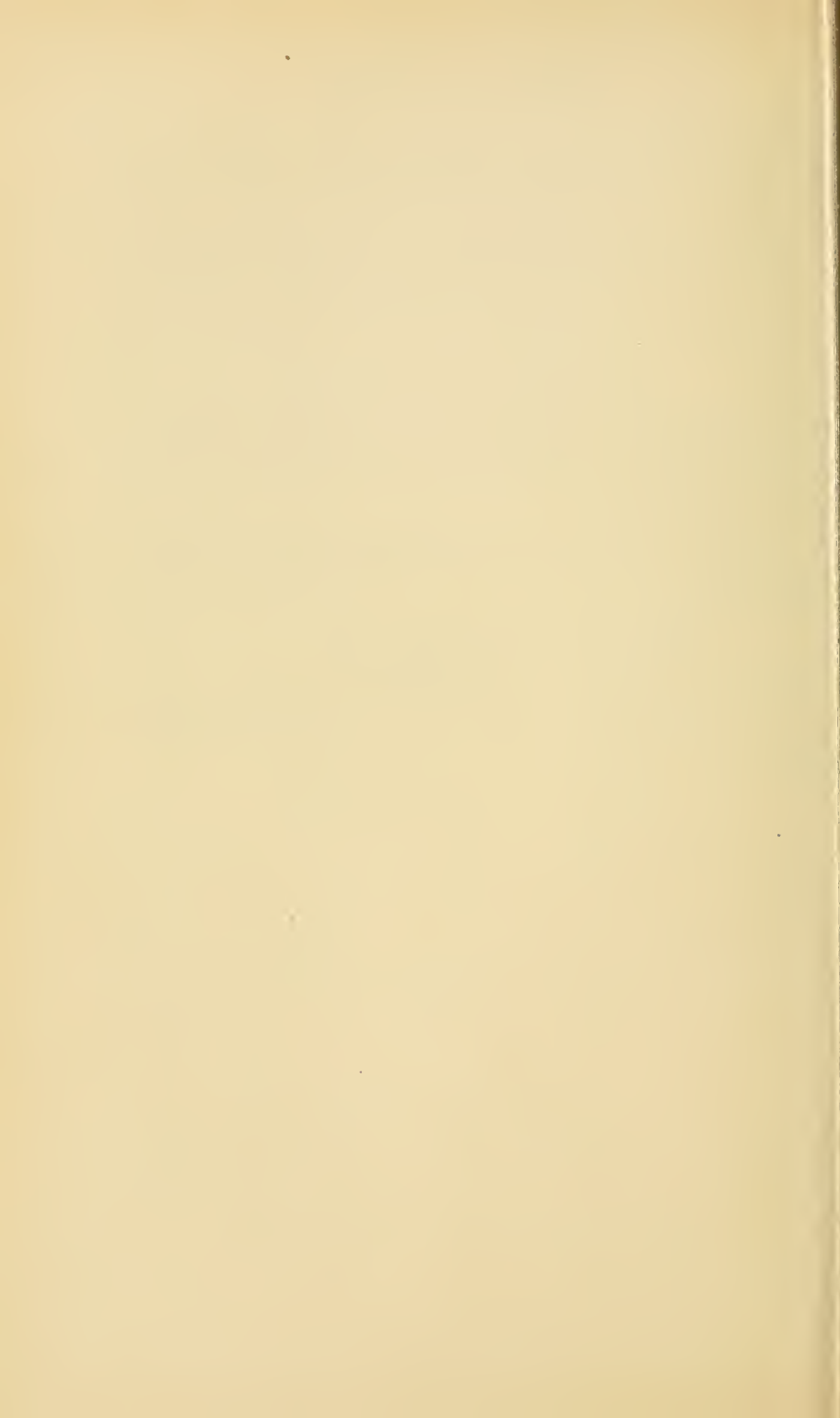
Quhil blude and *brae-an* all togiddir mixt.

This is quite common colloquially in many districts of Scotland to-day, and was carried from England to the Southern States of America where you hear such words as *him* and *hymn* pronounced somewhat like *hay-um*.

In Rhyme, he often uses the same word if it have a different meaning, as in Book XI., cap xi. 11, 91-2, where *grond* rhymes with *grund* :

And with hir solis first dyd mark the grond
With dartis keyn and hedis scharply grund.

He rhymes also *-ing* and *-ing*, *-age* and *age* frequently, while to avoid this he makes such changes as *be* for *bene*, *beforne* for *before*, etc.



APPENDIXES

READINGS

C. = Cambridge MS.
 E. = Elphynstoun MS.
 R. = Ruthven MS.
 BL. = Black Letter Edition.
 V. = Virgilian Text.

* = eye error.
 § = ear error.
 † = interpretation.
 ** = correction.
 §§ = editorial alteration.

A

READINGS DEPENDENT ON THE LATIN TEXT

Book I.

		1.	
2 : 62	C.	byrefit furth of the Troianys sycht.	
	E.	breist out " " " "	
	V.	Eripiunt / ex oculis	88-9
		2.	
3 : 20	C/E.	turnyt hir braid syde	
	*R.	" turnit braid saill.	
	V.	" " dat latus	105
		3.	
3 : 43	C.	quhoyn salaris	
	E.	quhen salaris.	
	§§BL.	few saland.	
	V.	apparent rari nantes	118
		4.	
3 : 49	C.	raif rovis	
	E.	" ruvis	
	†R.	" ribbis	
	V.	laxis laterum compagibus omnes	122

<i>Book I.</i>		5.	
3 : 69	C/E. R. V.	I sal zou chastys " " beseik mihi non similia pœna commissa luetis	136
		6.	
<i>ib.</i> 99	C. E. V.	He wyth his wordis gan slaik thar mynd and swage He wyth his wordis can slaik thar moide and swage ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulset	153
		7.	
4 : 24	C. *E. V.	goddessis goddess nympharum	168
		8.	
5 : 25	C/E. R. V.	the sammyn myschance the samyn fa perchance nunc eadem fortuna	240
		9.	
5 : 127	C. E. §BL. V.	with gret fard of weyngis " greit faird of wyngis " " " " windis remigio alarum	301
		10.	
5 : 132	C. E. V.	the quene hir self has kaucht " " " " knaucht regina / accipit	303-4
		11.	
6 : 79	C/E. †BL. V.	And of the gret luf of hys systir suyr not mouit of piete unto his sister sure Securus amorum / germanæ	350-1
		12.	
6 : 82	C. †E/R. V.	with vaynhope trumpit the wofull luffar " wanhope " " lele " ægram / vana spes lusit amantem	351-2

Book I.

		13.	
7 : 13	C.	And welt vp stanys to the wark on hie	
	E.	And wolt " " " "	
	*R.	" " " to the volt	
	V.	moliri arcem et manibus subvolvere saxa	424
		14.	
8 : 24	C.	domys and law	
	†E.	domes of law	
	V.	jura dabat legesque	507
		15.	
8 : 84	C/E/R.	Albeit the strenth of men zhe set not by	
	†BL.	" " scanth of men " "	
	V.	Si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma	542
		16.	
10 : 45	C/E.	Hym sall I sownd slepand steill away	
	†R.	Himself I send slepand to stele away	
	V.	hunc ego sopitum somno . . . recondam	680-1
		17.	
10 : 58	C/E.	Kyssand sweitly thi quhyte nek	
	*R.	" " " swete "	
	V.	amplexus atque oscula dulcia figit	687
		18.	
11 : 30	C/E.	brusyt or payntit tapetis	
	†R.	brusit and payntit carpetis	
	V.	toris . . . pictis	708
		19.	
11 : 66	C/E.	A wechty	
	†R.	ane mychty	
	V.	gravem	728
		20.	
11 : 80	C/E.	gevar of glaidnes	
	†R.	growar " "	
	V.	lætitiæ dator	734
		21.	
11 : 116	C/E.	kynd hors	
	BL.	kynd of hors	
	V.	quales . . . equi	752

Book II.

22.

1 : 77	E.	Hyd Grekis covert with irne to haue rent owt	
	†R.	The Grekis covert with joy (Cf. How Dido . . . hir perpos to covert. Heading, IV. c. 9.)	
	V.	ferro Argolicas fœdare latebras . . .	55

23.

2 : 18	C.	with eyn blent about	
	E.	with ane „ „	
	V.	oculis agmina circumspexit . . .	68

24.

2 : 60	C/E.	Hevlyl weyand my innocent frende thus slane	
	†R.	Heavlyl wittand my innocent frende thus slane	
	V.	Casum insontis mecum indignabar amici	93

25.

2 : 91	C.	The Grekis oft	
	E.	„ „ oist	
	V.	sæpe fugam, etc.	108

26.

2 : 142	C.	Amang the ryp and redis out of sycht	
	E.	„ „ rispand redis „ „	
	V.	obscurus in ulva	135

27.

3 : 45	C/E.	bludy handis	
	†R.	grisley handis	
	V.	manibusque cruentis	167

28.

ib. 58	C/E.	Thrys schyning . . .	
	†R.	„ schowing	
	V.	terque . . . emicuit	174-5

29.

4 : 32	C.	thar sprutlit skynnys	
	E.	„ spurtlet „	
	V.	squamea / terga	218-9

Book II.

30.

4 : 66	C/E.	mony bassyn raip					
	R.	„ brasyn „					
	V.	stuppea vincula	.	.	.	.	236

31.

5 : 35	C/E.	on fordoverit mortale creaturis					
	R.	„ forwalkit					
	V.	mortalibus ægris	.	„	.	.	268

32.

6 : 31	C.	trumpys blist					
	E.	trumplis „					
	V.	clangor tubarum	.	.	.	.	313

33.

7 : 8	C/E.	stekit in stretis					
	**BL.	strekit „					
	V.	perque vias sternuntur	.	.	.	.	364

34.

8 : 19	C.	gilt sperris					
	E.	„ sparris					
	R.	grete					
	V.	auratasque trabes	.	.	.	.	448

35.

8 : 72	C/E.	furth of har					
	R.	furth of hir					
	V.	a cardine vellit	.	.	.	.	480

36.

8 : 96	C/E.	zet chekis					
	R.	zettis snekkis					
	V.	postisque	.	.	.	.	480

37

8 : 104	C/E.	bettis					
	†R.	brekkis					
	V.	evicit	.	.	.	.	497

Book II.

		38.	
8 : 109	C/E.	I saw my self thair Neoptolemus	
		Mak felloun slaughter wod and furyus.	
	R.	I saw myself Neoptolemus thare	
		Mak felloun wod and furious slauchter.	
	V.	vidi ipse furentem / cæde	499-500
		39.	
8 : 117	C/E.	Fyfty chawmeris . . . quhar warryn	
	†R.	„ „ quharin was	
	V.	quinqueginta illi thalami	503
		40.	
9 : 6	C.	The auld grayth	
	**E.	The ald gray	
	V.	Senior	509
		41.	
9 : 38	C.	voyd hall	
	E.	woyd	
	§R.	wyde	
	V.	vacua atria	528
		42.	
9 : 52	C/E.	at thou has done	
	§R.	that now is done	
	V.	quæ talia curet	536
		43.	
10 : 80	C/E.	Behald ! for I	
	R.	„ for thy	
	V.	namque . . . eripiam	604-6
		44.	
10 : 81	C.	So cleir	
	**E.	sall „	
	V.	nubem eripiam	606
		45.	
10 : 100	C/E.	Fell Gorgones	
	R.	Gregiouns	
	V.	Gorgone sæva	616

Book II.

46.

10 : 143	C/E.	Remanyng alyve eftyr the cite tane	
	R.	" eftir the ciete fell plane	
	V.	excidia et captæ superavimus urbi	643

47.

11 : 3	C/E.	Quhen suddanly a wonder thing to tell	
	†R.	Wounderlie ane suddane " " "	
	V.	Cum subitum dictuque oritur mirabile	680

48.

11 : 13	C/E.	the blesand haris	
	§R.	the plesand " "	
	V.	crinemque flagrantem	685

49.

11 : 24	C/E.	begouth to rumbill and rout	
	†R.	" " rattill " "	
	V.	fragore /intonuit lævum	692-3

50.

11 : 34	C/E.	quhil al enveron rekit lyke bryntstane	
	R.	" birnstane " " "	
	V.	late circum loca sulphure fumant	698

51.

11 : 40	C/E.	zour awyn kynrent defend	
	§R.	" " kynrik " "	
	V.	servate domum " "	702

52.

12 : 75	C.	in quhat cost or cuntre	
	E.	" land " "	
	V.	in quascumque velim pelago deducere terras	800

Book III.

53.

1 : 48	C/BL.	greyn bewis doune to haille	
	E.	grene levis " "	
	V.	viridem . . . silvam . . . ramis tegerem ut frondentibus aras	25

54.

1 : 117	C.	of erd a gret fluyr	
	E.	of the erd " "	
	BL.	to the erd " "	
	V.	ingens aggeritur tumulto tellus	63

Book III.

55.

2 : 14	C.	it flet rolling from costis to and fro	
	E.	„ fleit „ „ „	
	BL.	quhen it fletit „ „	
	V.	oras et litoras circum / errantem	75-6

56.

2 : 18	C/BL.	and comptis nowthir the wynd	
	E.	„ „ „ hie wynd	
	V.	et contemnere ventos	77

57.

2 : 52	C/E.	We plat law gruflyngis on the erd	
	BL.	we plat lay „ „ „	
	V.	summissi petimus terram	93

58.

2 : 123	C/E.	The followand wynd blew strek in our tail	
	BL.	The followand wynd blew sterk in our tail	
	V.	prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis	130

59.

4 : 135	C/BL.	active gemmys	
	E.	Actiane „	
	V.	Actiaque	280

60.

6 : 27	C/E.	Harpye Celeno	
	§R.	happy „	
	V.	Harpyia Celaeno	365

61.

6 : 57	C/E.	far landis als wa	
	†R.	sere landis „	
	V.	longa procul . . . terris	383

62.

6 : 181	C.	and zet pertrubbil thus / Tha thyn leiffis	
	E.	„ perturbit „ „ „	
	V.	turbavit janua frondes	449

Book III.

63.

7 : 54	C.	with Grekis fors ourrunnyn	
	E/R.	" " " ourcumyn	
	BL.	" " " overrunnyng.	
	V.	minus obvia Graiis	499

64.

8 : 13	C/E.	or the speyre his howris rollit	
	†R.	" " " his ouris reulit	
	V.	needum orbem medium nox Horis acta subibat	512

65.

8 : 28	C/E.	syne slakis down the schetis and maid sayll	
	R.	syne schakis " " " "	
	V.	velorum pandimus alas	520

66.

8 : 41	C.	hie eft castell	
	E.	his "	
	BL.	hiest "	
	V.	celsa in puppi	527

67.

8 : 110	C/E.	Saland on bawburd towart the left syde	
	BL.	" " " " " west syde	
	V.	contorsit lævas proram . . . ad undas	562

68.

8 : 128	C/E.	The grisly Ethna dyd rummyll schudder and cry	
	R.	The grisly Ethna dyd rummyll thunder and cry	
	V.	sed horrificis iuxta tonat Aetna	571

69.

8 : 146	C/R.	his irkit syde	
	†E.	" hukit "	
	V.	fessum . . . latus	581

70.

9 : 34	C.	seys brak (=salt ?)	
	E.	seis wrak	
	V.	vastoque . . . ponto	605

Book III.

71.

9 : 62	C/E.	Hutyt to speke of and aucht not nemmyt be	
	†R.	hatit to speke of and aucht not nemmyt be	
	V.	nec visu facilis nec dictu adfabilis ulli	621

72.

9 : 89	C.	thrawyn front	
	E.	his awn figur	
	V.	torva . . . sub fronte	636

73.

10 : 20	C/E.	We far from thens affrayt	
	§R.	„ war „ „ „	
	BL.	„ fer „ „ „	
	V.	nos procul inde fugam trepidi	666

74.

10 : 78	C/E.	Undir the sey gan thyddir flow and wayd	
	§§R.	Undir the sey gan thyddir flow and glaid	
	V.	occultas egisse vias subter mare	695

75.

10 : 100	C.	Lylibe	
	E.	Libie	
	V.	Lilybeia	706

Book IV.

76.

1 : 11	C.	with hys lamp brycht	
	§§E.	„ „ bemys „	
	V.	lustrabat lampade	6

77.

1 : 17	C/E.	quhat swevynnys beyn thir	
	R.	„ schevynys „ „	
	V.	quæ . . . insomnia terrent	9

78.

1 : 66	C/E.	Ever murnand thus waist away thy zouthed	
	R.	Ever murnand waist thi womanheid	
	V.	perpetua mærens carpere juvena	32

Book IV.

79.

1 : 74	C.	Suppos thou lychtlyit than	
	E.	„ „ lychtliche thame	
	V.	nulli quondam flexere mariti	35

80.

1 : 84	C.	Heir the ondantit folk of Numyda dwell	
	E.	„ „ indowntit „ „ „ „	
	†R.	„ „ intractable „ „ „ „	
	V.	genus insuperabile bello/et Numidæ infreni	40-41

81.

1 : 87	C/BL.	. . . the desert regioun alsswa Ay full of thyrst, in barrand Libya . . . the desert regioun alsswa	
	E.	ay full of thyrst, in burnand Libya	
	V.	deserta siti regio	42

82.

2 : 9	C/BL.	thai sekyng	
	E.	thai beseik	
	V.	per aras / exquirunt	56

83.

2 : 11	C.	brytnyt	
	R.	bykynnit	
	V.	mactant	57

84.

2 : 75	C/E.	suyr of weir	
	§R.	sere of were	
	V.	bello / tuta	87

85.

3 : 38	C.	I affeir me les the fatis onstabill	
	E.	„ offer les „ „ „	
	V.	sed fatis incerta feror „	110

86.

3 : 58	C/E.	and setis set the glen	
	BL.	and sutis the glen	
	V.	saltusque indagine cingunt	121

<i>Book IV.</i>		87.	
4 : 11	C/E. †R. V.	rungeand the fomy goldyn byt gynglyng gnyppand " " " " " " ac frena . . . spumantia mandit " .	135
		88.	
4 : 18	C/E. R. V.	envolupyt war and wond involuppit war and sound crines nodantur	138
		89.	
4 : 19	C. †E. V.	quayf knafe nodantur	<i>ib.</i>
		90.	
5 : 29	C/E. R. V.	schrewit sawys schort " ficti pravique	188
		91.	
5 : 92	C. E. V.	graith the wyndis graith thi wingis voca Zephyros	223
		92.	
7 : 62	C/E. R. V.	apon rych carpettis spred " " tapettis " (Cf. No. 18) stratisque	392
		93.	
7 : 77	C/E. R. V.	saysyng half onwrocht baissyng " " infabricata	400
		94.	
8 : 8	C/E. R. V.	Dyn and resoundyng al the large see dynand " litora fervere late . . . / tantis clam- oribus æquor	409-11
		95.	
8 : 40	C/E. BL. V.	his dul ontretabill eris " " uncredyble " duras demittere in auris	428

Book IV.

96.

8 : 41	C.	Quhidder haistis he sa fast	
	E.	" " " " " salf	
	V.	quo ruit ?	429

97.

8 : 78	C/E.	stikkis to the rochis	
	*R.	" to the rutis	
	V.	ipsa hæret scopulis	445

98.

9 : 28	C/E.	sleipryfe chesbow seyð	
	†R.	slepery " "	
	V.	soponiferumque papaver	486

99.

9 : 43	C/E.	intil our innar clos	
	R.	" " inwart "	
	V.	secreta . . . tecto interiore	494

100.

10 : 8	C/E.	in the braid lochis	
	†R.	" " " lowis	
	V.	lacus late	526

101.

10 : 62	C/E.	Hecht to Sycheus assys	
	R.	" " " oft syis	
	V.	fides cineri promissa Sychæo	552

102.

11 : 20	C.	quhar am I ?	
	E.	quhair am I now ?	
	V.	ubi sum ?	595

103.

11 : 22	C.	werdis onkynd	
	E.	weirdis "	
	†R.	wourdis "	
	V.	facta impia	596

104.

11 : 27	C.	Quham as thai say.	
	E.	Quham as they see.	
	V.	quem . . . aiunt	598

Book IV.

105.

11 : 53	C/E.	Ze infernale fureys that wrekis al wrang	
	§§R.	" " " " " " " " " " " "	
	V.	Diræ ultrices	609

106.

11 : 106	C.	Se on this wys scho cum	
	§E.	" " " " scho can	
	V.	sic veniat	637

107.

11 : 112	C.	And byrn zon Troiane statw in flamb funeral	
	E.	And byrn zon Troians statw in flamb funeral	
	R.	To bring zon Troianis state in flambe funerall	
	V.	Dardaniique rogam capitis permittere flammæ	640

108.

12 : 5	C.	tythirris	
	E.	tichwris	
	†R.	with teris	
	V.	maculisque . . . interfusa	643-4

109.

12 : 44	C.	the noys ran wild out our the cite wallis	
	§§E.	" " " wyde " " " " " " "	
	V.	bacchatur Fama per urbem	666

110.

12 : 72	C.	And the self hour mycht haue tane hyne away	
	E.	And the self hour myght haue tane us away	
	R.	And the self hour myght haue tane him away	
	V.	ambas . . . eadem hora tulisset	679

111.

12 : 82	C.	To wesch hir woundis	
	E.	" " " handis	
	V.	vulnera . . . abluam	683-4

<i>Book IV.</i>		112.	
12 : 100	C/E.	of hir lang sorow and tarysum ded	
	R.	" " " " tarsone "	
	V.	longum miserata dolorem . . .	693
		113.	
12 : 109	C/E.	dubbyt hir hed	
	BL.	doublit " "	
	V.	caput damnaverat Orco	699
<i>Book V.</i>		114.	
1 : 21	C/E.	the streym wolx vgsom of the dym sky	
	R.	" storme " " " " "	
	V.	inhorruit unda tenebris	11
		115.	
1 : 40	C/E.	let ws follow tharon	
	§R.	" " " therefore	
	V.	superat quoniam Fortuna sequamur . . .	22
		116.	
1 : 42	C.	not far hens	
	E.	" " thens	
	V.	nec litora longe	23
		117.	
2 : 90	C.	freklit sprutlis	
	E.	" spraiklis	
	V.	ceruleæ cui terga notæ maculosus . . .	87
		(These are synonyms, but the C. text avoids the hard repetition of word form.)	
		118.	
2 : 102	E.	Hys faderys hie sawle queith	
	R/BL.	" " " " queinth	
	V.	genitori instaurat honores	94
		119.	
3 : 63	C.	seyttis and thoftis	
	E.	settis " thortis	
	R/BL.	" " coistis	
	V.	transtris	136

Book V.

		120.	
3 : 85	C/E.	throu the gild and red of men so zeld	
	R.	" " " the rers " " "	
	V.	tum plausu fremituque virum	148
		121.	
4 : 109	C.	not byssy weyngyt bot planand esly	
	E.	" besy wingit " " "	
	BL.	" " " " playand "	
	V.	radit iter liquidum celeris neque com- movet alas	217
		122.	
5 : 22	C.	clewis	
	E.	clukis	
	V.	uncis	255
		123.	
5 : 29	C.	a habirgyon	
	E.	a habirgeoun	
	§R.	ane habir Johne	
	V.	loricam	260
		124.	
5 : 55	C/E.	Lyke as oft happynnys	
	R.	Lyke as the oist hapnys	
	V.	qualis sæpe	273
		125.	
5 : 64	C/E.	Strekand hyr nek with hyssis	
	§R.	" " " " " hissilis	
	V.	sibila colla / arduus attolens	277-8
		126.	
5 : 76	C/E.	in the craft of Mynerve wondyr sle	
	†R.	" " " weiffing "	
	V.	haud ignara Minervæ	284
		127.	
6 : 40	C/E.	with brycht hedis . . . schort speris	
	BL.	" " " " sharp speris	
	V.	" " " " lucida / spicula	306-7
		128.	
6 : 49-54	BL.	omits	
	V.	. . . . .	311-314

<i>Book V.</i>		129.	
6 : 54	E. R. V.	And fra thai hard the takyn sone onane Quhen they had the takynnys sene by ane signoque repente	315
		130.	
6 : 92	C. E. V.	And gre Dyor has nummyn " " " wunnyn tertia palma Diores	339
		131.	
7 : 22	E. R. V.	hym avansyt of Kyng Amycus blude " avantit " " " Amyci de gente ferebat	373
		132.	
8 : 22	C. E. V.	gowsty goustly anhelitus artus	432
		133.	
8 : 113	C. **E. V.	persyt the hard pan " " harn pan inlisit in ossa cerebro	480
		134.	
10 : 52	C/E. †R. V.	blythnes lychtnes gaudentque	575
		135.	
11 : 37	C/E/R. BL. V.	in myscheif ful expart " " maist expert haud ignara nocendi	618
		136.	
11 : 40	C. E. V.	bycame agyt Beroes bycome " " fit Beroe	620
		137.	
11 : 83	C. E. V.	the peralus fyre first hynt scho forsably " " furth " " prima infensum vi corripit ignem " .	641

<i>Book V.</i>		138.	
11 : 91	C.	O matronys	
	E.	O matrouns	
	R.	Of matronis	
	V.	matres	646
139.			
11 : 105	C.	And with evil willy eyn the schippys behaldis	
	†E.	and with evil wil ane the schippys be- haldis	
	*R.	and with evil will evin the schippys behaldis	
	V.	oculisque malignis . . . /spectare rates	654-5
140.			
11 : 109-10	E.	omits	
	V.	. . . . .	656-7
141.			
12 : 2-3	C/E.	First brocht Ew molus word quhou the navy Was al infyryt	
	*R.	First brocht Ew molus word quhere the navy Was al infyryt	
	V.	incensas perfert navis	665
142.			
12 : 7	C/E.	als swyft and fersly spurris hys steid fute hoyt	
	R.	And spurris als swift and fersly his steid fute hote	
	V.	acer equo turbata petivit / castra	668-9
143.			
12 : 18'	C.	al voyd	
	E.	all wod	
	V.	inanem	673
144.			
12 : 46	C/E.	outscape	
	R.	vnskape	
	V.	evadere	689
145.			
12 : 63	C/E.	smyte with this smart cace.	
	R.	smert with his scharpe cais	
	V.	casu . . . acerbo	700

<i>Book V.</i>		146.	
12 : 141	C.	quhom fleys thou ?	
	E.	quhy fleis thow	
	V.	quem fugis ?	742
		147.	
13 : 64	C/R.	maid byrn	
	E.	gart birn	
	V.	exussit	794
		148.	
14 : 33	C/E.	ane howris rest	
	R.	„ nychtis „	
	V.	hora quieti	844
		149.	
14 : 81	C.	bewaland gretly	
	E.	beleifand weill	
	V.	multa gemens	869
<i>Book VI.¹</i>		150.	
1 : 30	C/E.	perpetually ilk zeir a sair presand.	
(Sm. 38)	BL.	and of ther lynes ther to mak ane end	
	V.	pœnas . . . quotannis	20-1
		151.	
1 : 32	C/E.	warrin draw	
(Sm. 40)	R.	mycht thai draw	
	V.	sortibus ductis	22
		152.	
1 : 44	C.	Onreturnabil dissait	
(Sm. 52)	E.	Vnreturnable desait	
	BL.	ouerturnabil „	
	V.	inextricabilis error	27
		153.	
1 : 100	C.	Of thi bedis nor the prayeris	
(Sm. 108)	E.	„ „ „ and of „	
	BL.	of thi devotioune ²	
	V.	vota precesque	51
		154.	
1 : 157	C.	forgeand hir sayngis.	
(Sm. 165)	E.	forsand „	
	V.	fingitque premeno	80

¹ *Vide* p. 144.² *Vide* p. 141.

Book VI.

			155.	
2 : 43	C/E.	In subtil wordis of obscurite		
	BL.	Involupand the trewth and verite		
	V.	obscuris vera involvens.		100
			156.	
2 : 70	C.	perellis of fluidis stremys		
	E.	of stremis seis		
	V.	omnis pelagique minas		113
			157.	
2 : 146	C.	pollutis al thi navy		
	§§E.	infekkis " "		
	V.	totamque incestat funere classem		150
			158.	
3 : 22	C.	jonand		
	E.	jouand		
	V.	obibat et hasta		167
			159.	
3 : 40	C.	for the sepulchre funerale fyre		
	E.	" " sepultur " "		
	V.	aramque sepulcro		177
			160.	
3 : 58	C/E.	zon goldyn branch		
	R.	thou " " (more probably		
		<i>Thon</i>)		
	V.	ille aureus arbore ramus		187
			161.	
3 : 61	C.	our trew, alace		
	E.	cum trew "		
	V.	vere / heu nimium		188-9
			162.	
3 : 99	C/E.	Siklyke was of this gold the figur brycht		
	BL.	" " " " " " cullour "		
	V.	talis erat species auri		208
			163.	
3 : 137	C/E.	the reliqueis and the dry ammeris syne		
	R.	and the reliquyis of the dry ameris syne		
	V.	reliquias . . . et bibulam lavere favillam		227

<i>Book VI.</i>		164.	
4 : 69	C.	waist dongion	
	E.	werst "	
	V.	vacuas	269
		165.	
4 : 70	C.	voyd boundis	
	E.	wyde	
	V.	inania regna	269
		166.	
4 : 77	C.	befor the porch	
	E.	" " port	
	V.	vestibulum ante ipsum	273
		167.	
5 : 5	C/E.	popland and bulrand	
	R.	" " bowkand	
	V.	æstuat . . . eructat	297
		168.	
5 : 35	C/E.	Quhom the cald session cachis owr the see	
	§§R.	Quhen the cald session thame cachis	
	V.	ubi frigidus annus / trans pontum fugat	311-2
		169.	
5 : 90	E.	starnys	
	BL.	stormis	
	V.	sidera	338
		170.	
5 : 182	C/E.	reiosyt of the grond hys surname bayr	
	R.	reositure " " " " "	
	V.	gaudet cognomine terra	383
		171.	
6 : 47	C/E.	The rageand hart all full of wraith and ire Than wolx appetit of this laithlie syre.	
	R.	transposes these lines.	
	V.	tumida ex ira tum corda residunt	407
		172.	
6 : 59	C/E.	byg weghty Ene	
	R.	" wourthy	
	V.	ingentem Ænean	413

Book VI.

173.

6 : 62	C.	Gan grane or geig ful fast the sewit barge	
	E.	" " " " " jonit "	
	† R.	gan grane or grank full fast the jonit or sewit barge. (Here probably a marginal explanation incorporated.)	
	V.	cumba / sutilis	413-4

174.

6 : 68	C.	Amang the fawch rispis harsk and sear	
	*E.	" " " " harsk and star	
	BL.	" " " rilsis harsk and star	
	V.	glaucaque " ulva	416

175.

7 : 42	C/E.	infectioun wastit away	
	*R.	infortoun " "	
	V.	crudeli tabe peredit	442

176.

7 : 65	C/E.	fey Dido	
	R.	fare Dido	
	V.	infelix Dido	456

177.

8 : 60	C/E.	Apon the wrethis and wandrand gaistis cryis	
	†R.	Upoun the wandring and wrachit gaistis cryis	
	V.	magna manis ter voce vocavi	506

178.

8 : 83	C.	hedis	
	†E.	ledis	
	V.	ducebat	518

179.

8 : 115	C/E.	Quhat fortoun doith the each and steyr	
	R.	" " " " teich	
	V.	quæ te fortuna fatigat	533

180.

9 : 23	C/E.	souerane nun	
	BL.	souerane now	
	V.	magna sacerdos	544

<i>Book VI.</i>		181.	
9 : 83	C/E. R. V.	skurge and bete skoure castigat / flagello	567-70
		182.	
9 : 137	C/E. BL V.	brudy bowellys bludy " fecundaque pœnis / viscera	598-9
		183.	
9 : 153	C. E. V.	langand tyl a kyngis fest (Cf. every deill langand the goddes) redy til a kingis fest epulæ . . . paratæ . . . regifico luxu	604-5
		184.	
9 : 165	C/E. §R. V.	warryn chasyt war inchasit pulsatusve parens	609
		185.	
10 : 1	C/E. *R. BL. V.	the ancyant nun of Dan Phebus " " " Deiphebus " " " Dame Phebus Phœbi longæva sacerdos	628
		186.	
10 : 25	C. E. V.	beyn swardis grene suardis amœna virecta	638
		187.	
10 : 112	C. E. V.	in the hie way " " rycht " facili iam tramite	676
		188.	
11 : 7-8	C/E. BL. V.	His tendir nevois and posterite Thare fatis and thair fortonys euery gre <i>transposes these, and for the first line reads</i> : The noble actis of ther posteritie. carosque nepotes / fataque fortunasque virum	682-3

<i>Book VI.</i>		189.	
12 : 49	C. E. V.	large feildis of Elysee " seis amplum . . . Elysium . . .	. . . . . 743-4
		190.	
12 : 78	C/E. § V. V.	rowmyt to and fro rownit (= whispered) venientum . . . . .	. . . . . 755
		191.	
13 : 16	C. E. †R. V.	Commixit of " with comptit of commixtus sanguine . . . . .	. . . . . 762
		192.	
13 : 24	C. E. V.	lordschip hald " haif dominabitur . . . . .	. . . . . 766
		193.	
13 : 30	C/E. *R. V.	of piete or in were in pecc or in were pietate vel armis . . . . .	. . . . . 769
		194.	
13 : 48	C. E. BL. V.	grandschir gudschir grant schir avo . . . . .	. . . . . 777
		195.	
13 : 90	C. E. V.	On schuldir In " umero . . . . .	. . . . . 797
		196.	
14 : 38	C/E. §R. V.	sall blason sall blissing ferent ea facta . . . . .	. . . . . 822
		197.	
14 : 80	E. C. V.	Agamemnonys realm Mycene " regioun " Agammemnoniasque Mycenass . . . . .	. . . . . 838

Book VI.

198.

14 : 101	E.	Qahilk only throw thi slycht and tareyng	
	R.	„ onely throw the sicht of cawing.	
	V.	unus qui . . . cunctando	846

199.

15 : 23	C.	deirly dycht (<i>cleirly</i> ?)	
	E.	duly dycht	
	V.	insignis spoliis . . . opimis	855

200.

15 : 50	C.	dyrk as nycht (avoids contiguity of <i>blak</i>)	
	*E.	blak as nycht	
	V.	nox atra	866

201.

15 : 67	C/E.	thou God of the flude Tyberyne	
	§R.	„ „ „ blude Tyberiene	
	V.	Tiberine	873

202.

15 : 68	C/E.	fertyrris	
	BL.	fercyns	
	V.	funera	874

203.

15 : 112	C/E.	Departis all ways	
	§R.	Dapertis all wyse.	
	V.	facilis datur exitus	894

Book VII.

204.

1 : 13	C/E.	sworland welis	
(Sm. 2 : 13)	§R.	swelland „	
	V.	verticibus rapidis	31

205.

1 : 25	C/E.	now thou	
	BL.	now now	
	V.	nunc age	37

206.

1 : 77	C/E.	blisfull bewis	
	§R.	blythfull „	
	V.	sacra comam	60

Book VII.

207.

1 : 145	C/E.	ane hundreth wollit wedderis	
	§R.	" " walit "	
	V.	centum lanigeras	93

208.

2 : 8	E.	Thar navy can thai ankyr fast and hank	
(Sm. 3)	R.	Thare navy come, they ankirrit fast and hank	
	V.	religavit . . . classem.	106

209.

2 : 46	C/E.	mesis etyn, done, and lost	
	BL.	meissis consumit ar and loist	
	V.	accisis . . . dapibus	125

210.

2 : 67	C/E.	He dyd involup and aray his hed	
	BL.	He did inuoluend " " "	
	V.	tempora / implicat	135-6

211.

3 : 22	C/E.	And fast by the ilk costis syde of the see	
(Sm. 4)		Hys first mansioun.	
	BL.	And first " "	
	V.	primasque in litore sedes	158

212.

4 : 34	C/R.	thame hard I say	
(Sm. 5)	E.	Than hard I say	
	V.	memini / Auruncos ita ferre	205-6

213.

4 : 35	C/E.	of this cuntre.	
	BL.	of this mater	
	V.	his ortus ut agris	206

214.

4 : 80	C/E.	plagis temperate	
	§R.	placis " "	
	V.	plagarum / quattuor	226-7

215.

4 : 157	C/E.	and joy	
	BL.	na ioye	
	V.	opulentia	262

<i>Book VII.</i>		216.	
4 : 166	C.	as a gaist	
	E.	as ane „	
	§R.	as agast	
	V.	exhorrescat	265
217.			
4 : 169	C/E.	turnand zour went	
	§R.	torne in your went	
	V.	mandata referte	267
218.			
4 : 193	C/E.	Thar brusyt trappuris	
	BL.	thare brusouris „	
	V.	pictisque tapetis	277
219.			
4 : 201	C.	fast sneryng owt	
	E/R.	„ swermyng „	
	BL.	fast furth snering	
	V.	spirantis naribus ignem	281
220.			
5 : 33-4	C/E.	fund / sovir way	
(Sm. 6)	R.	„ sone away	
	V.	invenere viam	297
221.			
5 : 45	C/E.	Syrtis	
	BL.	certes	
	V.	syrtes	302
222.			
6 : 17	C/E.	Thys eddir slydyng our slekit bodeis soft	
(Sm. 7)	R.	this eddir slyding oureslippit sleikit	
		bodyis soft. (Cf. No. 173)	
	V.	ille inter vestis et levia pectora lapsus .	349
223.			
7 : 21	C/E.	hyghty boundis	
(Sm. 8)	§R.	lichtlie „	
	V.	tectis . . . in altis	413

<i>Book VII.</i>		224.	
7 : 104	C/E. R. V.	consider thir syngis " thir thingis respice ad hæc	454
		225.	
7 : 115	C/E. BL. V.	lith and bane lyth and vane ossaque et artus	458
		226.	
7 : 126	C. E. V.	The licour sparklis for the heyt bulyng " lykoure sparkis " " hait buling exsultantque æstu latices	464
		227.	
7 : 127	C/E. §R. V.	the fervent bullyr violent " frawart " " furit intus aquai	464
		228.	
8 : 3-4 (Sm. 9)	C. E/R. V.	With hir infernall weyngis furth can cary Alecto towart Troianys but mair tary. transpose these Allecto in Teucros Stygiis se concitat alis	476
		229.	
8 : 15	C. E. V.	wild fosteris " forstaris animos accendit agrestis	482
		230.	
8 : 18	C. E. V.	With large hed and tyndis burnyst far " " heis " " furnest fayr. cornibus ingens	483
		231.	
8 : 22	C/E. BL. V.	gyde / of studdis flokkis bowis " " stedis folkis " cui regia parent / armenta	485-6
		232.	
8 : 43	C. **E. §R. V.	to cuyll his feit " " " heit " " " heid æstus . . . levaret	495

Book VII.

233.

8 : 75-76	C/E.	Tyrrheus / The churlys all assemlyt	
	R.	" " " carlis " "	
	V.	vocat agmina Tyrrhus	508

234.

8 : 91	C/E.	the blast was hard	
	BL.	the blaw " "	
	V.	audii et, etc.	516

235.

8 : 138	C/E.	fyve flokkis pasturyt	
	BL.	" " fosterit	
	V.	quinque greges illi	538

236.

9 : 88	C.	and rowpyt eftir batale ernystfully	
(Sm. 10)	**E.	" " " " rycht ernystly	
	§R.	and roupit efter fatale ernyst folly	
	V.	Martemque fatigant	582

237.

9 : 91	C/E.	Contrar answeris and dispositions	
	BL.	" " " disputacyounis	
	V.	contra fata deum perverso numine	584

238.

10 : 7	C/E.	quhen first thai move	
(Sm. 11)	BL.	" first euir thay move	
	V.	cum prima movent	603

239.

10 : 34	C/E.	pronounce the new weir	
	BL.	promyse " " "	
	V.	vocat pugnans	614

240.

10 : 71	C/E.	battellit about	
	R.	battelit all about	
	V.	turrigeræ	631

241.

10 : 77	C/E.	With latit sowpill siluer weil annelit	
	BL.	" " " " " ammelyt	
	V.	lento . . . argento	634

Book VII.

242.

11 : 2	C.	mont of Helycone			
(Sm. 12)	E.	mont Helicone			
	BL.	mouth of Elicone			
	V.	Pandite nunc Helicona	.	.	641

243.

11 : 41	C/BL.	in sete			
	E.	inset			
	V.	clipeoque insigne	.	.	657

244.

11 : 56	C/BL.	in his handis			
	E.	in thair handis			
	V.	manu . . . gerunt	.	.	664

245.

11 : 59	C.	poyntalis			
	E.	pynsalis			
	R.	poyntis			
	V.	tereti . . . mucrone	.	.	665

246.

12 : 38	C/E.	in the zallow corn			
(Sm. 13)	BL.	in ane zallow „			
	V.	flaventibus arvis	.	.	721

247.

12 : 71	C/E.	Nor thow			
	BL.	nor now			
	V.	nec tu	.	.	733

248.

12 : 107	C/E.	all enarmyt laubour thai thar land			
	*R.	„ „ „ „ thorn land			
	V.	armati terram exercent	.	.	748

249.

13 : 39	C/E.	O Numycus thou hallowit fresch ryver			
(Sm. 14)	BL.	Of Munitus now „ „ „			
	V.	tuos sacrumque Numice	.	.	797

<i>Book VII.</i>		250.	
14 : 78	C.	thai gove	
(Sm. 15)	E.	thai gofe	
	R.	thai gang	
	BL.	thay go	
	V.	miratur . . . et prospectat euntum . . .	813
<i>Book VIII.</i>		251.	
3 : 33	C/E.	Quham hardy Pallas did / forbyd	
	BL.	quhen " " " "	
	V.	audax quos . . . vetat 	110-1
		252.	
3 : 104	C/E.	starrit speir cumpas	
	BL.	sterrit cumpas "	
	V.	ætherios . . . orbis 	137
		253.	
3 : 126	C/E.	treuth and band	
	BL.	faith and band	
	V.	fidem 	150
		254.	
3 : 172	C/E.	adionyt in band	
	BL.	adjoit in hand	
	V.	iuncta est mihi foedere 	169
		255.	
3 : 176	C/E.	and supповell	
	BL.	and with supple	
	V.	auxilio 	171
		256.	
3 : 183	C/E.	with ws do hallow	
	BL.	" " alhallow	
	V.	celebrate / nobiscum 	173-4
		257.	
4 : 1	C/E.	Eftir that stanchit was the hungris rage	
	§R.	" " " " hungry "	
	V.	Postquam exempta fames 	18
		258.	
4 : 2	C/E.	appetit of meyt	
	BL.	appetite of men	
	V.	amor . . . edendi 	184

Book VIII.

259.

4 : 26	C/E. BL. V.	sonnys beme nevir schane sonnys beme neuer nane solis inaccessam radiis	195
--------	-------------------	---	-----

260.

4 : 32	C. †E. V.	ordur of filth stilland thar fra odour of fylth stynkand tharfra cæde tepebat humus	196
--------	-----------------	---	-----

261.

4 : 46	C/E. BL. V.	bodeis thre hedis thre tergemini	202
--------	-------------------	--	-----

262.

4 : 58	C/E. BL. V.	out from thar stand out from that land a stabulis	207
--------	-------------------	---	-----

263.

4 : 66	C/E. BL. V.	queym stane quhine stane saxo . . . opaco	211
--------	-------------------	---	-----

264.

4 : 75	C. E. V.	dynnyt dyndillit impleri . . . clamore	216
--------	----------------	--	-----

265.

4 : 128	C/E. *R. V.	demmyt wyth the rokis ran abak dynnyt quhill the rolkis " dissultant ripæ refluitque . . . amnis .	240
---------	-------------------	--	-----

266.

4 : 150	C. E. V.	warpand wappand instat	250
---------	----------------	--	-----

267.

5 : 39	C/E. R. V.	of Creit the monstreis in crete " " Cresia . . . prodigia	294-5
--------	------------------	---	-------

Book VIII.

268.

5 : 61	C/E.	In sic sangis thar fest thai sanctify	
	BL.	” ” ” ” and sacrificy	
	V.	talia carminibus celebrant . . .	303

269.

6 : 10	C.	hard runtis	
	E.	hard rutis	
	V.	duro robore	315

270.

6 : 19	C.	from the hie hevynnys	
	E.	from the hevynis	
	V.	primus ab ætherio	319

271.

6 : 22	C/E.	ontaucht pepill	
	†R.	uncouth ”	
	V.	genus indocile	321

272.

6 : 45	C/E.	hys auld trew name	
	BL.	his awin trew name	
	V.	verum vetus . . . nomen.	332

273.

6 : 84	C.	wyld beistis	
	E.	” buskis	
	V.	silvestribus horrida dumis	348

274.

7 : 106	C/E.	furth of hys bed startis	
	BL.	” ” ” steris	
	V.	e stratis . . . surgit	415

275.

8 : 190	C/E.	O Tibyr	
	BL.	Of Tyber	
	V.	Thybri pater	540

276.

9 : 17	C.	on the followand flude	
	*E.	” ” flowand ”	
	V.	secundo defluit amni	549

Book VIII.

277.

9 : 57	C/E.	enarmouris spulzeit clene.	
	BL.	„ of spulze clane	
	V.	exuit armis	567

278.

10 : 35-36	C/E.	Amyd ane holl cleuch or a dern valle	
		Off hir fre will tyll hym apperis sche	
	§§R.	Amyd ane holl or ane derne vaill	
		Of hir fre will to him scho tald ane tale	
	V.	in valle reducta talibus adfata est dictis	609-11

279.

10 : 46	C/E.	child	
	†R.	son	
	V.	nate	613

280.

10 : 80	C/E.	gresy	
	§R.	grisly	
	V.	viridi . . . in antro	630

281.

12 : 22	C/E.	stammys sic as schippis beris	
	BL.	stanis „ „ „ „	
	V.	navali . . . rostrata	684

282.

12 : 35	C/E.	ruschand	
	BL.	ruschit	
	V.	omnes ruere	689

283.

12 : 66	C/E.	in plait and mail	
	BL.	in place and male	
	V.	cælatus ferro	701

284.

12 : 69	C/E.	in went	
	BL.	inuent	
	V.	vadit	702

<i>Book VIII.</i>		285.	
12 : 73	C/E.	Actyus Apollo <i>seand</i> in the sky	
	§§R.	Of this melle the dowsom victory	
	V.	Actius Apollo <i>fleand</i> in the sky.	
		Actius hæc <i>cernens</i> , etc.	704
		286.	
12 : 83	C.	sclakand schetis	
	E.	scaland	
	V.	laxos . . . immittere funis . . .	708
<i>Book IX.</i>		287.	
1 : 30	C/E.	zour cartis	
	BL.	zone cartis	
	V.	currus	12
		288.	
2 : 47	C/E.	hys feris all ressauyt the clamour hie	
	R.	“ “ all rasit “ “ “	
	V.	clamorem excipiunt socii	54
		289.	
2 : 69	C/E.	Rasys in ire	
	§R.	raisis in the air	
	V.	ira / sævit	62-3
		290.	
3 : 45	C/E.	Enee	
	BL.	euer	
	V.	Eneas	97
		291.	
3 : 78	C/E.	gret plesand lycht	
	BL.	new plesand lycht	
	V.	nova lux . . . et ingens	110
		292.	
3 : 167	C.	O ze valzeand knychtis	
	E.	O walit “ “	
	V.	lecti	146
		293.	
4 : 5	C/E.	feill tymys	
	†R.	fyue tymes	
	V.	nec non	169

<i>Book IX.</i>		294.	
6 : 20	C/E. BL. V.	Fordoverit fordwart passim somno	316
		295.	
6 : 46	C/E. †R. V.	trake of deth straik pestem	328
		296.	
6 : 106	C/E. R. V.	lat be Lat thame be absistamus	355
		297.	
6 : 118	C/E. BL. V.	and beft (= <i>finished</i>) and neft perfecta	357
		298.	
7 : 57	C/E. BL. V.	persewit persauit sequentum	394
		299 .	
7 : 86	C. E. R. V.	or bawkis hie of bawkis hie And bawkis hie aut . . . ad fastigia	408
		300.	
7 : 97	C/E. †R. V.	hang on his bak nerehand his bak in tergum	412
		301.	
7 : 98	C. E. V.	al in schuldir brak „ schundir „ ibique / frangitur	412-3
		302.	
8 : 2	C/BL. E/R. V.	Titan Tithone Tithoni	460

Book IX.

303.

8 : 55	C.	to leif alyve					
	E/R.	to leve on live					
	BL.	to leif alase					
	V.	linquere solam	.	.	.	.	482

304.

8 : 82	C/E.	brandis					
	BL.	handis					
	V.	absumite ferro	.	.	.	.	494

305.

8 : 103	C/E.	armys					
	BL.	handis					
	V.	manus	.	.	.	.	502

306.

8 : 126	C/E.	with pikkis					
	BL.	with wappinys					
	V.	duris . . . contis	.	.	.	.	510

307.

9 : 1	C/E.	Calliope and O ze Musys all					
	R.	Calliope O thou god of musis all					
	V.	Vos, O Calliope	.	.	.	.	525

308.

9 : 52	C/BL.	evill farrand					
	E.	onfarrand					
	V.	inglorius	.	.	.	.	548

309.

9 : 57	C/E.	ragyt best					
	BL.	ragent					
	V.	ut fera . . . furit	.	.	.	.	551-2

310.

9 : 77	C.	wytles					
	E.	rackles					
	V.	demens	.	.	.	.	560

311.

9 : 118	C/E.	fulychly					
	R.	full lichtly					
	V.	demens	.	.	.	.	577

<i>Book IX</i>		312.	
10 : 22	C/E. †R. V.	wightis wretchis en qui	600
		313.	
10 : 29	C/E. BL. V.	a pepill derf and dour of nature " " " durum a stirpe genus	603
		314.	
10 : 52	C/E. §§R. V.	on hedis hair " " bare canitiem galea	612
		315.	
10 : 67	C/E. BL. V.	of turnyt buschboun tre " " buschbome buxusque	619
		316.	
10 : 80	C/E. R. V.	Iove Iovy Iovem	624
		317.	
10 : 91	C/E. †R. V.	with hornys fuynd and put " " crune " " cornu petat	629
		318.	
11 : 23	C/E. R. V.	foresteres fostaris silvestris	673
		319.	
11 : 30	C/E. BL. V.	to kepe stekit to be streikit portam . . . recludunt	675
		320.	
11 : 34	C/E. §R. V.	fors hors armis	676

Book IX.

321.

11 : 49	C/R. E. V.	Tynarus . . . menytt Tymarus fers myndyt præceps animi Tmarus	685
---------	------------------	---	-----

322.

12 : 16	C. E. BL. V.	febill bestes onstabil " " onfensabil " " miserabil pecora inter inertia	730
---------	-----------------------	---	-----

323.

12 : 54	C/E. R. V.	hevying hys swerd heving up his swerde sublatum . . . in ensem	749
---------	------------------	--	-----

324.

12 : 67	C/E. §R. V.	of dreidfull raddour (=fear) with dredful dreddour formidine	756
---------	-------------------	--	-----

325.

12 : 113	C/E. §R. BL. V.	sangis and gestis musyk and harpyng " " " musyng " " " " " musit in harpyng " " " carmina semper et citharæ cordi numerosque intendere nervis	775-6
----------	--------------------------	--	-------

326.

13 : 18	C. E. §R. V.	onselly cuntre onsylly awne sylly " infelicis patriæ	786
---------	-----------------------	---	-----

Book X.

327.

1 : 22	C/E. R/BL. V.	inhibitioun inhabitacioun contra vetitum	9
--------	---------------------	--	---

328.

1 : 23	C/E. BL. V.	thame or thame thaim or thayrs hos aut hos	9-10
--------	-------------------	--	------

<i>Book X.</i>		329.	
1 : 26	C/E. R. V.	with bludy wappynns the bludy " ferrumque lacessere	10
		330.	
1 : 36	C. E. BL. V.	glaidly do makis (<i>imperative</i>) glaidly to mak glaidly and with one mak læti componite	15
		331.	
2 : 75	C/E. BL. V.	the Phrigyane febill geir the litill Phrigiane gere fluxas Phrygiæ res	88
		332.	
4 : 78	C/E. R. V.	Led hys age " " life duxisse senectam	192
		333.	
5 : 73	C. E. R/BL. V.	Gyf thow belevys not my sawys invayn " " " nocht " in vane " " beleves ocht " " mea si non inrita dicta putaris	244
		334.	
5 : 76	C/E. BL. V.	by fell occisioun by fel occasioun cædis acervos	245
		335.	
5 : 91	C. E. V.	moder of the Goddis modir of wodis parens . . . deum	252
		336.	
5 : 95	C. E. R. V.	lyonys zokkyt to the char " " " thi chayr " lokkit in ane schare biugique ad frena leones	253
		337.	
5 : 123	C. E. V.	of crannys crowplyng " " crowping dant signa grues	265

Book X.

338.

5 : 127-8	C/E.	Thai fle the weddris blast. . . .	
		Thar glaidsum soundis followand thame	
		behynd.	
	BL.	Thar glaidsum sownes flowand thame	
		behynd.	
	V.	fugiuntque Notos clamore secundo .	266

339.

5 : 133	C/E.	towart	
	BL.	endlang	
	V.	versas ad	268

340.

5 : 175	C.	hardy men	
	E.	hardyment	
	V.	audentis	284

341.

6 : 86	C/E.	quhais zallow berd	
	BL.	zoung berd	
	V.	flaventem prima lanugine	324

342.

6 : 164	C/E.	zokkit	
	§R.	lokkit	
	V.	concurrunt	361

343.

7 : 17	C/E.	quhidder do ze fle	
	R.	do ze fle hens	
	V.	quo fugitis	369

344.

7 : 146	C/E.	that it may throw Alesus body scheir	
	R.	that I may Ilesus body bere	
	V.	viam duri per pectus Halæsi	422

345.

8 : 10	C/E.	anerly	
	BL.	enterly	
	L.	solus	442

346.

8 : 160	C/E.	plente of terys	
	§R.	playnt of teris	
	V.	multo gemitu	505

<i>Book X.</i>		347.	
9 : 73	C/E. R. V.	writh down bowit downe reflexa / cervice	535-6
		348.	
10 : 82	C/E. *R. V.	into sycht in to fecht apparuit	579
		349.	
11 : 116	C/E. BL. V.	My rycht hand sal the saynsing geif " " " " " sauyng " hac dabitur dextra tellus	650
		350.	
11 : 160	C/E. BL. V.	evir . . . se neuer se iterum . . . videbo	671
		351.	
11 : 197	C/E. §§R. V.	slydand saland labitur alta	687
		352.	
12 : 2	C/E. BL. V.	ardour furoure ardens	689
		353.	
14 : 82	C/E. R. BL. V.	revengear revengeade revengit ultor	864
		354.	
14 : 89	C/E. BL. V.	O moist forey O thou " fortissime	865
		355.	
14 : 92	C. E. BL. V.	nor that the list dedeyn " " " " dedene nor at the leist dedenete. neque credo . . . dignabere	865-6

<i>Book XI.</i>		356.	
1 : 47	C/E. BL. V.	Goddis god superi	20
		357.	
1 : 109	C/E. *R. V.	war bald and stern ; said we had wer at hand. wald were and sterf sa we had were at hand. acris esse viros cum dura proclia gente.	48
		358.	
3 : 27	C/E. BL. V.	restyng place providit and herbry " " promouit " " locum sedemque dedissent	112
		359	
3 : 28	C/E. †R. V.	Ne na weirfar na mare ,, nec bellum	113
		360.	
3 : 36-7	C/E. R. V.	To end the weir or Troianys of this land Forto expell. or for to were oure Troianis . . . si bellum finire manu, si pellere Teucros	116
		361.	
3 : 74	C/E. †R. V.	Tharto annerdis with haille voce " cryis " " " unoque omnes eadem ore fremebant . . .	132
		362.	
4 : 2	C/E. BL. V.	of sa gret womentyng of the grete " tanti . . . luctus	139
		363.	
4 : 21	C/E. BL. V.	Thar was na fors Evander mycht refreyne Thar was na fors Evander mycht not refrene at non Euandrum potis est vis ulla tenere	148

Book XI.

364.

4 : 62	C/E.	As therto detbund in my wrachit age	
	BL.	„ „ detborne „ „ „	
	V.	senectæ / debita erat nostræ . . .	165-6

365.

5 : 26	C/E.	spulze	
	R.	spulzeing	
	V.	spolia	193

366.

5 : 63	C/E.	scrapis owt atanys	
	R.	trumpis „ „	
	V.	ruebant	211

367.

6 : 57	C/E.	O fortunat folk	
	R.	ye „ „	
	V.	O fortunatæ gentes	252

368.

6 : 108	C/E.	natyue land	
	†R.	. . . cuntre	
	V.	patriis . . . aris	269

369.

7 : 92	C/E.	our febill weill	
	§R.	oure pepill weill	
	V.	rebus . . . fessis	335

370.

10 : 65	C/E.	schaip on our cite	
	R.	schapis in our cietie	
	V.	adventat ad urbem	514

371.

10 : 67	C/E.	enbuschment	
	§R.	ane buschment	
	V.	furta . . . in tramite silvæ	515

372.

11 : 34	C/E.	bulryt	
	†R.	bokkit	
	V.	spumabat	548

<i>Book XI.</i>		373.	
11 : 118	C/E. R. BL. V.	is at all tyme is all tyme is oft al tyme æternum	583
		374.	
11 : 140	C/E. §R. BL. V.	And dekkyt Indekkit addekkit circumdata	596
		375.	
12 : 42	C/E. R. BL. V.	to schuldris with a crak in schunderis „ „ to schudderis „ „ ruinam / dant sonitu	613-4
		376.	
12 : 103	C/E. R. V.	so bustuus blomyt he „ „ bownys he tantus in arma patet	644
		377.	
12 : 106	C/E. †R. V.	schakand stakkerand tremit	645
		378.	
13 : 36	C/E. BL. V.	smait straik deicis	665
		379.	
13 : 70	C/E. R. & BL. V.	bustuus powis „ browis caput ingens	680
		380.	
14 : 39	C/E. R. V.	fat offerandis first offerandis hostia pinguis	740
		381.	
15 : 69	C/E. R. BL. V.	haymwart brocht hame war brocht hame has brocht reducem ut patria alta videret	797

Book XI.

382.

16 : 60 C/E.

Quhill that the bow and nokkis met
almaist

†R.

Quhill that the bow nokkis met almaist

V.

donec curvata coirent. 860

Book XII.

383.

1 : 4 C/E.

onbrokyn

BL.

vnwrokin

V.

implacabilis

384.

2 : 50 C/E.

nor quhen I pas onto thir mortall werys

R.

Bot that I may recounter my aduersaris

V.

me . . . in certamina . . . euntem . 72-3

385.

2 : 73 C/E.

fast to hys in he spedis

R.

,, ,, his stable in

V.

rapidusque in tecta recessit 81

386.

2 : 108 C/E.

rude

BL.

gude

V.

ingenti 92

387.

2 : 116 C.

now the in hand withhaldis

E.

,, ,, ,, vphaldis

V.

te Turni nunc dextra gerit 97

388.

4 : 159 C/E.

chekis walxin leyn

†R.

,, ,, thyn

V.

tabentesque genæ 221

389.

5 : 143 C/E.

feirfull braid

R.

felloun braid

V.

cæcique ruunt 279

390.

6 : 34 C.

Dyd hym avant he wondit had Ene.

E.

That present was persauit in the melly

V.

sese Æneæ iactavit vulnere 323

Book XII.

		391.	
6 : 156	C/E. R. V.	lymouris and hamys " " hamouris jugis	374
		392.	
7 : 89	C/E. †R. V.	strynkland springland spargitque	418
		393.	
9 : 56	C/E/R. BL. V.	from the month a large gait from the mouth of ane large gate de montibus altis	523
		394.	
9 : 110	C/E. R. V.	hous and famyll housis of famell domus alta	546
		395.	
10 : 80	C/E. †R. V.	and wyde the zettis ^r cast and wyde to the wallis cast pandere portas	584
		396.	
10 : 129	C/E. BL. V.	scartis sche startis she manu . . . laniata genas	605-6
		397.	
12 : 39	C/E. R. V.	patent was the plane patent was and plane ut vacuo patuerunt aequore campi	710
		398.	
12 : 57	C/E. BL. V.	Fe mastris The maistris pavidi . . . magistri	717
		399.	
12 : 67	C/E. R/BL. V.	bedy body sanguine largo	721

Book XII.

400.

13 : 116	C/E. BL. V.	sanctify sacrify celebrabit	840
----------	-------------------	---	-----

401.

13 : 125	C/E. †R. V.	ane other craft ane vther cast aliud	843
----------	-------------------	--	-----

402.

14 : 41	C/E. †R. V.	that he ne knew hym selvyn „ mysknew „ „ se nec cognoscit	903
---------	-------------------	---	-----

403.

14 : 75	C/E. R. V.	ne can he fynd ne fend he fyndis nec quo se cripiat	917
---------	------------------	---	-----

404.

14 : 88	C/E. BL. V.	fulderis sulderis fulmine	922
---------	-------------------	---	-----

B

READINGS IN TRANSLATION NOT DEPENDENT ON TEXT, BEING
IMPLETIVE OR EXPLICATIVE PHRASES

<i>Book I.</i>		1.	
4 : 4	C.	prosper cours	
	E.	propir „	
	V.	dat lora secundo	156
<i>Book II.</i>		2.	
5 : 7	C/E.	vapour of sleip	
	R.	sapour	
	V.	sopor complectitur artus	253
		3.	
7 : 33	C/BL.	rowch serpent	
	E.	ruth „	
	V.	anguem	
		4.	
8 : 103	C.	brusch and fard of watir	
	E.	bruschand „ „	
	V.	spumeus amnis	496
		5.	
9 : 2	C/E.	chance	
	R.	case	
		6.	
9 : 6	C.	the auld grayth	
	E.	the auld gray	
	V.	senior	509
		7.	
10 : 161	C.	Besowth my fader to salue his wery banys	
	E.	besocht my fader to salue his wery banys	
	R.	besocht my fader to salue his wery barnys	

<i>Book II.</i>		8.	
11 : 49	C/E. R.	clym vp anone wy up anone	
<i>Book III.</i>		9.	
1 : 130	C/E. BL.	The mon we follow there „ „	
		10.	
4 : 75	C/E. §R. BL.	Theyfage they fuge theiffage	
		11.	
4 : 82	C. E. V.	of torment and turment Furiarum ego maxime	252
		12.	
5 : 42	C/E. †R.	onbodeit unberyit	
		13.	
5 : 52	C/E. R. V.	half mangit fel scho down all mangit „ „ calor ossa reliquit / labitur	308-9
		14.	
5 : 127	C/E. **R. V.	bricht teris grete „ multum lacrimas . . . fundit	348
		15.	
8 : 98	C. E. V.	brokyn seys vost brokin seis bost longe fractasque ad litora voces	556
<i>Book IV.</i>		16.	
8 : 56	C/E. R.	without weir forowtin were	
		17.	
8 : 76	C. E. V.	maister stok schank maister stok is smyte validam . . . quercum	441

- Book IV.* 18.
- 8 : 99 C/E. changyt and altyr
R. changit in the altare
(The word *altares* occurs a few lines up.)
- 19.
- 12 : 107 C/E. befor hir day had hir self spilt
BL. „ „ had onusylie hir self spilt
V. misera ante diem 697
- Book V.* 20.
- 1 : 58 C. The followand wynd blew strek thar
sail furth evyn
E. The followand wynd blew strek thar
sail full evin.
V. et vela secundi / intendunt Zephyri 32
- 21.
- 2 : 52 C. to preif hys picht
†E. „ „ „ pith
V. qui viribus audax 67
- 22.
- 3 : 16 C/E. fair armouris of trivmphe and myche
glory
R. fair armouris of trivmph and mychty
glory
V. armaque 111
- Book VI.* 23.
- 5 : 14 C. pevagely
E. prevagely
- 24.
- 5 : 55 C. Anchises get, heynd child curtas and
gude
E. Anchises get, heynd kynd curtas and
gude
(C. avoids here the repetition of
similar word.)
- 25.
- 6 : 41 C/E. skuggis of hell
**R. stagis „ „

<i>Book VI.</i>		26.	
9 : 85	C/E. §R.	to pyne thame apoun thaim	
		27.	
11 : 5-6	C/E. BL. V.	Hail the nowmyr of hys geneologie His tendir nevoys and posterite <i>Transposes these lines and reads for the second—</i> The nobil acts of ther posteritie fataque fortunasque virum	683
		28.	
15 : 10	C/E. BL.	for til exers for tyl expert	
		29.	
15 : 26	C. E.	bontie beutie	
<i>Book VII.</i>		30.	
4 : 122	C/E. (Sm. 5) †R.	mast douchty maist wourthy	
		31.	
5 : 71	C/E. (Sm. 6) †R.	To thame that far doun into Achiron dwell To them that far doun into Achiron fell	
		32.	
5 : 119	C. E. V.	dochtir of the dyrk nycht " " " myrk " sata Nocte	331
		33.	
6 : 38	C/E. (Sm. 7) BL.	wyld dotage auld dotage	
		34.	
6 : 87	C/E. §R.	the round tap of tre the ground top „	
		35.	
6 : 126	C/E. BL. V.	pylchis of fowne skynnys pilchis and foune skynniss incinctæ pellibus	396

<i>Book VII.</i>		36.	
6 : 132	C. E. V.	wedding sangis and ballettis " " " battallis hymenæos	398
		37.	
7 : 70 (Sm. 8)	C/E. *R.	lief na way lief ha may	
		38.	
9 : 102 (Sm. 10)	C/E. BL.	thai assay thay affray	
		39.	
10 : 50 (Sm. 11)	C/E. BL.	marbill hirst mekil hirst	
		40.	
11 : 21 (Sm. 12)	C/E. **R.	the gydar of hys army togiddir with his army	
		41.	
12 : 41 (Sm. 13)	C/E. R.	stamping stedis stamping of stedis	
		42.	
12 : 66	C/E. R. BL.	at thar fays at thar feris in thair face	
<i>Book VIII.</i>		43.	
3 : 50	C. E.	folkis peple	
		44.	
3 : 160	C. E. BL.	or band ane band our band	
		45.	
4 : 25	C/E. †R. V.	fendlich hole fendich hell spelunca	193

Book VIII.

46.

4 : 45 C/E. stern melle
BL. strang melle

47.

4 : 46 C/E. bodeis thre
BL. hedis thre
V. tergemini 202

48.

5 : 24 C. Luyng a bab in creddill
E. liggig " " "
§R. luggig abed " "
BL. lugeing a bab

49.

6 : 16 C/E. Bot as thir beistis or the doillit as .
§R. Bot as thir beistis ar thai dullit was .

50.

7 : 53 C/E. answerd
R. welterand

51.

9 : 36 C/E. sair hart
BL. sad hart
V. lacrimans 559

52.

10 : 79 C/E. had tharin porturat
§R. had thar importurate

Book IX.

53.

3 : 162 C/E. Thair lyfe is now
R. That livis now

54.

4 : 62 C/E. Quhat thinkis thow, now say
BL. quhat thingis thow now say

55.

4 : 66 C/E. witteryng
BL. wrytyng

<i>Book IX.</i>		56.	
5 : 24	C/E. R.	I zow tell I zow fur	
		57.	
7 : 26	C/E. §R.	and turnys wentis turnis and wentis	
		58.	
7 : 90	C/E. R.	in wilsum den in this wisdome then	
		59.	
8 : 69	C/E. R.	to reduce thy spreit to reduce again ,,	
		60.	
8 : 133	C/E. BL.	Onsyverit vnserit	
<i>Book X.</i>		61.	
5 : 36	C/E. R. V.	of fyr and bych tre ,, ,, of the busche tre <i>pinus</i> is alone in text	230
		62.	
5 : 50	C/E. †R. V.	forto leif and lest ,, ,, ,, rest ævumque agitare sub undis	235
		63.	
5 : 173	C/E. §R. V.	half deil in effray half deid ,, ,, trepidi	283
		64.	
6 : 144	C/E. BL.	that auld cite that cald ciete	
		65.	
8 : 130	C/E. §R.	wil he be Quhill he be	
		66.	
9 : 24	C/E. BL. V.	His promys and cunnandis ,, ,, ,, commandis dextræque datæ	517

<i>Book X.</i>			67.	
10 : 2	C/E. *R.	rude gude	. . . . .
			68.	
11 : 55	C/E. R. V.	clar agane all agane totumque	. . . . .	626
			69.	
11 : 118	C/E. *R. BL. V.	baith schuke and schew " " " drewe with " " " coruscat	. . . . .	651
			70.	
11 : 191	C/E. *R.	bay lay	. . . . .
			71.	
12 : 48	C/E. †R.	Quhryne cry	. . . . .
			72.	
13 : 174	C/E. BL.	armys handis	. . . . .
			73.	
14 : 94	C/E. *R/BL.	towartly cowartlie	. . . . .
			74.	
14 : 127	C/E. R.	starve in fyght stoure "	" "	
			75.	
14 : 136	C/E. *R.	dyntis dartis	. . . . .
			(Dartis occurs three lines below.)	
<i>Book XI.</i>			76.	
2 : 25	C/E. R.	lyggyn bigging	. . . . .
			77.	
3 : 5	C/E. †R. V.	feldis bentis campos	. . . . .	102

Book XI.

78.

3 : 7 C/E. gentre
R/BL. gentricee

79.

5 : 28 C. as helmys scheildis and ryeh swerdis
seir
E. as helmys swerdis and riche scheyldis
seyr
V. galeas ensis decoros 194

80.

5 : 76 C/E. Cryand ichane, allace and weill away.
†R. „ ilkane „ „ „ „ .

81.

7 : 57 C/E. holtis
*R. hillis
(Repeating from line above.)

82.

7 : 123 C/E. I meyn of hym by quhais
*R. „ „ by him „ „ (eye error)
V. cuius 347

83.

8 : 2 C/E. sik sawys
†R. sic wourdis
V. talibus . . . dictis 376

84.

9 : 28 C/E. The flycht of byrdis fordynnys the thik
schaw
*R. the flycht of byrdis fedderis the thik
schaw
V. alto in luco . . . catervæ / consedere
avium 456-457

85.

10 : 23 C/E. full provd walxis he
BL. „ „ wallopis

86.

10 : 64 C/E. and passage scharp and wyll
R. derne passage and will
V. per deserta 514

<i>Book XI.</i>		87.	
11 : 16	C/E. §R.	onforleit vnforgette	
		88.	
11 : 32	C/E. §R.	etlyt enterit	
		89.	
13 : 11	C/E. †R. V.	the giltyn bow Turcas " " bow to rais aureus ex umero sonat arcus	652
<i>Book XII.</i>		90.	
2 : 14	C. E.	Thou all our rest Thou art our rest	
		91.	
2 : 49	C/E. BL. V.	grete and teris gretand teris lacrimis	72
		92.	
5 : 12	BL.	has a line here which is not in MSS.— Hardy and stout, liberal and syncere	
		93.	
6 : 16	C/E. §R.	And villany and fellony	
		94.	
6 : 173	C/E. §§R.	Clenly with hys brand cruelly	
		95.	
11 : 96	C/E. R.	in maner feir in maner of feir	

C

READINGS FROM THE PROLOGUES AND APPENDICES,
DEPENDENT ON COMMON SENSE

<i>Prolog. I.</i>		1.
51	C. E.	Thocht I offend onwemmyt is thy fame " " " onhermit " " "
		2.
128	C/E. BL.	Amang Latynys a gret patron " " " " clerk . . .
		3.
150	C/E. §§R.	to se sua spilt to here thame spilt
		4.
152	C. E.	neuer thre wowrdis at all quhat Virgill ment neuer thre wowrdis of all that Virgill ment
		5.
163	C. E.	thystory (<i>Cf. Comment.</i> ,—Thistory of Saul, etc.) the story
		6.
181	C. E.	Juno nor Venus goddessis neuer war " " " goddes " " .
		7.
259	C. E.	for the namys for the nanis
		8.
262	C. E.	Than the nycht owle resemblis the papyngay. na the owle resemblis the papyngay .

Prol. I

9.

269	C.	vndir cullour of sum strange Franch wycht
	E.	vndir cullour of sum Franch strang wicht
	BL.	vndir cullour of sum Franch strange wicht

(BL. is right, as Douglas is blaming Caxton for sheltering behind another, in a kind of pseudepi-graphy.)

10.

270	C.	franchly
	E.	frenschlie
	R.	francilie
	BL.	frenschly

11.

271	C/E.	I nold zhe trast I said this for dispyte
	R.	I wald ze traist nocht ,, ,, ,, .

12.

289	C/E.	to follow a fixt sentens
	R.	,, ,, ,, quyk ,,

13.

357 (Sm. 363) ¹	C/E.	I follow the text als neir I may
	R.	,, ,, ,, as I may

14.

388 (Sm. 394) §§	C.	semabill wordis
	§§E.	seuthabill ,,

15.

434 (Sm. 440)	C/BL.	mycht scho not pretend na just caus
	E.	,, ,, ,, ,, ane ,, ,, .

16.

454 (Sm. 460)	C.	Thou be my muse, my gydar and laid stern
	E.	Thou be my muse, my leidar and leid- sterne
	R.	Thou be my muse, my ledar and gyde stern

¹ Small inserts six lines *re* Æneas at line 329, see *ante*, p. 60.

ProL. III.

17.

1 C/E/R. Hornyt Lady, pail Cynthia
BL. Honorit „ „ „ . . .

18.

18 C. otheris forvayis
E. othir „

19.

22 C/E. Weyn thai to murdrys me
R. mene „ „ „ „ . . .
(*Weyn* is repeated four lines lower,
evidently on purpose, and R. is a
correction for style's sake.)

ProL. IV.

20.

5 C. Zour joly wo neidlyngis most I endyte
E. Zour joly were neidlings must I indite .
(C. is an oxymoron deliberative.)

21.

8 C/E. zour fykill seyð
BL. „ febill „

22.

17 E. glaidnes lestis not ane houris lenth
R. „ lestis bot „ „ „ . . .

23.

29 C. Sampson thow reuist hys fors
E. „ „ rubbist „ „ . . .

24.

66 C/E. So rumysyng with hyduus lowand cry
R. Sum rumesing „ „ „ „

25.

117 C. Sum hait byrnyng as ane onbridillyt
hors
E. Sum hert hait brenyng as ane vnbridlet
hors

26.

167 C/BL. Eschamys na tyme in rovste of syn to ly
E. „ „ thing „ sone „
(E. is right in *na thing* and wrong in
sone.)

ProL. IV.

27.

- 173 C/E. forcy alane in villans deid
 R. " " " will and dede . . .
 (An editorial alteration which alters
 and weakens sense.)

28.

- 220 C/E. wil I repeyt this vers agane.
 R. " " report " " " . . .

29.

- 242 C. Nor at his first estait no thin^r abyde
 E. " " " " no quhile " . . .

30.

- 254 C/E. In hir faynt lust sa mait, within schort
 quhile
 R. In hir faynt lust sa schort a quhile. . .

31.

- 263 C. Allace the quhile thou knew the strange
 Ene
 E. Allace the quhile thou knew the strang
 Ene

32.

- 266 C/E. Be the command I lusty ladeis quhyte
 R. Be command of lusty ladyis quhite . . .
 (Wrong in sense and rhythm.)

ProL. V.

33.

- 1 C. Gladys the grond the tendir florist greyn
 E. Glad is the ground of the " " "

34.

- 25 C. in thar barnage
 E. in his barnage
 (C. agrees with next line, *thar tabill*.)

35.

- 43 C. gyf he be nocht joyus now lat se.
 E. " " " " lat ws se . . .

36.

- 59 E. I byd nothir of zour turmentis
 R. I set by nowthir zour turmentis . . .

Prot. VI.

37.

- 7 C/E. this dyrk poyse
 R. „ depe „
 BL. „ dark „
 (*deip* Acheron is in the sixth line above.)

38.

- 9 BL. *gaistis* is wrong, as the rhyme demands
 the reading *japis*

39.

- 12 C/E. reid agane this volume mair then twys
 BL. reid agane this volume mair then
 thryis

40.

- 19 C/E. wow! thow cryis
 *R. now „ „

41.

- 24 C/E. Or cal on Sibil, deir of a revyn sleif
 R. or call on our Sibil „ „ „

42.

- 43 C/E/R. and purgatory
 BL. ane mitigate pane
 (The line above ends with “endless
 pane.”)

43.

- 59 C. Virgil writis mony just claus conding
 E. „ „ „ „ caus „

44.

- 76 C/E. And maste profound philosophour he
 him schawis
 R. And made profound philosophour be his
 sawis
 (*Sawis* ends the second line above
 this one.)

45.

- 89-96 This purgatory stanza is omitted in BL.

<i>Prol. VI.</i>		46.
166	C. E.	the lyknes this mysty poetry the lyknes of this misty poetry . . .
<i>Prol. VII.</i>		47.
28	C. E.	bewavit oft the schipman by hys race bewalit of „ „ „ „ rays .
		48.
36	C/E. R.	ourcast with rokis blak „ „ cluddis „ . . .
		49.
43	C. E. BL.	seir bittir bubbis soure „ „ omits ll. 43-46 probably from its refer- ence to hell . . .
		50.
70	C/E. R.	chyrmyng and with cheping „ „ wyth weping . . .
		51.
92	C. E.	stern wyntir storne „ . . .
		52.
93	C/E. R.	repatyrnit weil recreate.
		53.
105	C. E. *R. BL.	Hornyt Hebowd Hornit he bawde Hornyt the bonde The horned byrd . . .
		54.
115	C/E. †R.	the greking of the day „ breaking „ „ . . .
		55.
154	C/E. R.	ourvoluyt I this volume ourevoluit of „ „ . . .

- ProL. VII.* 56.
 162 C. Quhen frostis doith ourfret
 E. „ „ dayis „
57.
 166 C/E. And as our buk begouth hys weirfar tell
 §R. „ „ „ „ „ welefare „
- ProL. VIII.* 58.
 9 C/E. leys, lurdanry
 §R. „ lurdanly
59.
 48 C/E. Sum glasteris, and thai gang at
 §R. „ glasteris at the gangat. . . .
60.
 51 C. Sum grenys eftir a guse
 *E. „ „ eftir a grene gus
61.
 62 C/E. The hyne crynys the corn
 §R. „ „ cries for the corn
62.
 93 C/E. a pan boddum
 §R. a plane boddum
- ProL. X.* 63.
 10 C. Sessonys and spacis
 *E. Sessionis and placis
 (*Placis* ends the third line above.)
64.
 15 C/E. Wyntir to snyb the erth
 R. „ for to „ „ „
 (The line above has *Hervyst to rendir*
 and *for* upsets balance.)
65.
 17 C. to that fyne thou maid all thing
 *E. to that kynd „ „ „
 (*Kynd* is directly above, four lines up.)

Prol. X.

66.

20	C/E.	Set thou ws wrocht and bocht
	*R.	Set vs wrocht of nocht
		(Nocht is the rhyme word already three lines above.)

67.

127	C/E.	to mak ws bondis fre
	R.	„ „ „ bondis fle

68.

137	C/E/R.	in form of wyne and bred
	BL.	luffy with wyne and breid

69.

170	C/E.	Thy spows and queyn maid, and thy moder deir.
	R.	Thy spows maid of thi moder dere

Prol. XI.

70.

1	C/E.	Thow hie renown
	R.	The hie renowne

71.

57	C/E.	Gyf Crystis faithfull knyghtis lyst ws be
	R.	Giff of chrystis faith knyghtis list we be

72.

137	C/E.	Bot quhet avalys begyn a strang melle
	R.	„ „ „ bargane or „ „

Prol. XII.

73.

76	C/E.	law in hyr barm (=bosom)
	§R.	„ „ „ barne

74.

88	C/E.	the scherald fur
	§R.	„ scherand „

75.

92	C/E.	the gers pilis thar hycht
	§R.	„ „ „ „ lycht

76.

118	C/E.	columby blank and blew
	R.	„ blak „ „

Prol. XII.

77.

121	C/E.	Gymp gerraffouris thar royn levys onschet
	§R.	Gymp gerraffouris has thareon levis vnschet

78.

193	C.	sum sang ryng sangis, dansys ledys, and rovndis
	E.	sum sang sangis, dansys ledys, and rovndis

79.

212	C.	zisterevin
	E.	zistrene

80.

247	C/E.	tonys
	†R.	notis

81.

281	C/E.	Les Phebus suld me losanger attaynt
	R.	„ „ „ „ to fangare „ .

Prol. 13.

82.

118	C/E.	fift quhevill
	R.	thrid quhele

INDEX

A

Æneas, 60, 62
 Alberti, Leo Battista, 33
 Alcuin, 43, 161
 Alesius, Alexander, 4
 Alexander Severus, 45 n.
 Alexander William, 172
All for Love, 62
 Allegory, 45, 47
 Amyot, Jacques, 119
 Anachronisms, 80
 Anderson, Patrick, 13
 Anglic Dialects, 149
 Anglo-French, 150, 152
 Angus, Earl of, 1
Apologie for Poesie, 61, 121
 Appendixes, 179
 Aquinas, Thomas, 52
 Aretino, Pietro, 28
 Aristophanes, 157
 Aristotle, 5, 26, 43, 81, 114, 158, 162
 Arnold of Lubeck, 42 n.
 Arnold, Matthew, 78
 Ascencius, Badius, 106, 107, 161, 162
 Ascham, Roger, 155
Athenian Mercury, 20
 Augustine, St, 50, 106, 113
 Ayala, Don Pedro de, 158
 Ayton, Henry, 140

B

Bacon, Roger, 26, 78, 173
 Bale, John, 10, 19, 20
 Barbour, John, 11, 134, 149, 159, 161
 Barlaam, 157
 Bassandyne Bible, 17
 Bate, John, 157
 Bath MS., 19, 61, 139, 144, 146
 Bavius, 154
 Beaton, Archbishop, 72
 Beccadelli, Antonio, 30
 "Bell the Cat," 2
 Bellay, Joachim du, 33, 77, 78
 Bellenden, Thomas, 22, 139
 Bentley, Richard, 79
 Bible-pricking, 45 n.
Black Book of Taymouth, 6

Black Letter Edition, 9, 46, 61, 63, 81
 140
 Blake, William, 65
 Blind Harry (*see* Harry the Minstrel)
Bocardo and Baroco, 42
 Boccaccio, Giovanni, 27, 32, 33, 54,
 132, 157, 161, 162
Bochas, Lydgate's, 42 n.
 Books of *Æneid*, confusion regarding, 8
 Boes (Boece), Hector, 14
 Boëthius, 47, 70, 87, 114, 162
 Brandt, Sebastian, 162
 Brigham, Nicholas, 10
 Brink, Bernhard Ten, 105
 Brown, Professor Hume, 67
 Browning, Robert, 91
Brus, 134, 149
 Buchanan, David, 12, 17
 Buchanan, George, 3, 4, 12, 14, 20, 42,
 43, 70, 75, 123, 155
Buke of the Howlat, 109
 Burns, Robert, 117, 160, 161
 Burton, Robert, 81
 Butcher and Lang, 90
 Bysset, Abacuc, 40 n.

C

Cæsar, Julius, 43
 Calderwood, David, 13
 Calverley, C. S., 78
 Cambridge MS., 24, 63, 130, 133, 137,
 144
 Campbell, Thomas, 118
 Carlyle, Thomas, 70
 Casimire, St, 112 n.
 Castiglione, Baldassare, 121
Catholik and Facile Traictise, 17
 Catullus, 33
 Caxton, William, 56, 58, 161, 162
 Celtic Hell, 107
 Chambers, Robert, 117
 Chapman, George, 85, 88, 119
 Charles I, 45 n.
 Charteris, Henrie, 7, 14, 81
 Charteris, Rev. Lawrence, 17
 Chaucer, 15, 20, 37, 40, 44, 59, 60, 70,
 87, 105, 124, 150, 151, 152, 162,
 163

Cheke, Sir John, 153
 Chepman and Myllar, 161
Christ's Kirk on the Green, 16, 18
Chronicon Slavorum, 42 n.
 Church and Heathen Authors, 43
 Cicero, 158
 Clarendon, Lord, 133
 Clark, Professor, 145
 Classical Revival, 30
 Cockburn, Bishop, 41
 Colonne, Guido delle, 162
 Columella, 29
Comment, The, 20, 54, 63, 132, 137, 146
 Comparetti, Domenico, 42 n.
Complaynt of Scotlande, 6, 32, 82, 151
Complaynt of the King's Papyngo (and Testament), 7, 8
Confessio Amantis, 35, 42 n.
 Conington, John, 70
 Conrad, Chancellor, 42 n.
 Conrad, 145
 Constantinople, Fall of, 27
 Copland, William, 9, 141
 Cotterill, H. B., 91
Court of Love, 63
Court of Venus, 7
 Courthope, W. J., 70, 74
 Cowper, William, 79, 80
 Craig, John, 156
 Crenstoun (Crenstoun), David, 4
 Cullen, Dr William, 154
 Cyriac of Ancona, 26

D

Daniel, Hermann Adalbert, 112 n.
 Dante, 27, 32, 44, 50, 77
 Dares the Phrygian, 45, 70, 163
Deffense et Illustration de la Langue Françoise, 33
 Dempster, Thomas, 6 n, 12, 17, 20, 22
 Denham, Sir John, 89
 Derby, Lord, 89
 Deschamps, Eustache, 102
Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courtier, 72
 Dictys of Crete, 45 n, 70, 163
 Dido, 61, 63
 Donne, John, 128
 Dorne, John, 157
 Douce, Francis, 81
 Douglas, Gawain—
 his misfortune and place seeking, 1
 date of death, 6, 14
 and Nature, 28
 and classics, 31
 and vernacular, 34

Douglas Gawain (*continued*)—
 his *Apologia*, 36
 his *Muse*, 53, 106
 his renaissance moments, 54, 65
 his originality, 55
 and Mapheus, 57
 methods, 59, 86
 and Æneas, 60
 and Lyndsay, 72, 73
 influence on Latinity, 75
 his purpose, 87
 descriptive power, 94
 sources of language, 154
 vide Readings, Prologues, and generally.
Dream of Gerontius, 52 n.
 Drummond of Hawthornden, 14, 23, 140
 Drummond, Dr, 19
 Dryden, John, 40, 61, 80, 81, 85, 87, 96, 98, 101, 120, 153
 Du Fresne, Charles (du Cange), 19
 Dunbar, William, 6, 22, 23, 30, 47 n., 59, 66, 73, 75, 105, 109, 112, 117, 120, 134, 151, 159, 172
 Dunbar, Gavin, 12
Dunkeld, Lyves of the Bishops of, 4
 Duns, Joannes, 14
 Dunton, John, 20 n.
 Dyer, George, 23
 Dyodorus, Syculus, 56

E

Eachard, John, 51
Easy Club, 18
 Echard, Lawrence, 81
 Elphynstoun, Bishop, 14, 42, 136, 162
 Elphynstoun, Joannes, 136
 Elphynstoun, John of Innernochtly, 136
 Elphynstoun, William, 136
 Elphynstoun MS., 24, 133, 135, 137, 144
 Elyot, Sir Thomas, 155
 English and Scots, 158
Enoch Arden, 45 n.
 Epictetus, 162
Epitaph on Donald Oure, 172
 Erasmus, 25, 50, 70
 Erskine of Dun, 44
 Eston, Adam, 157

F

Fairfax Manuscript, 117
Fall of Princes, 162
Fantaisies Historiques, 42 n.

Farmer, Dr Robert, 51, 161
 Faust, 42 n.
 Fawkes, Francis, 20
 Fenelon, 51 n.
 Ficino, Massilio, 46
 Flemmyng of Lincoln, 157
Flying of Dunbar and Kennedy, 159
 Fontaines, Abbé des, 90
 Fordoun, John, 158, 159
 Freebairn, Robert, 18
 French, 152
 Froissart, 105

G

Gaelic, 159
 Gale, Bishop, 130
 Gardiner, Bishop, 155
 Geddes, Matthew, 130, 131, 132, 145
 Geddie, William, 24
Genealogia Deorum, 54, 162
 Gervase of Tilbury, 42 n.
Gesta Romanorum, 42 n., 162
 Gibson, Edmund, 16
 Gillies, John, 81
 Gladstone, W. E., 121
 Goethe, 45 n.
 Googe, Barnabie, 8
 Gower, John, 35, 42 n., 59, 161
 Gowrie, Earl, 138
 Gray, Gilbert, 11
 Gray, Thomas, 22, 128
 Greek in Scotland, 44, 157
 Greek in England, 157
 Gregory the Great, 43, 87
Griselda, 27
 Grosart, A. B., 8 n.
 Grosteste, Bishop Robert, 26
 Guarino, Veronese, 29
 Guillaume de Roy, 56 n.
Gude and Godlie Ballads, 117

H

Hamilton, John, 17
 Hamilton, Archbishop, 52
 Hamilton of Gilbertfield, 18
 Hamilton, Patrick, 4
 Harry the Minstrel (Blind Harry), 23,
 120, 134, 159
 Hay, William, 136
 Heinsius, Daniel, 126
 Hélinand, 42 n.
Helenore: the Fortunate Shepherdess,
 24 n.
 Helmold, 42 n.
 Henderson, T. F., 24, 70
 Henley, W. E., 74 n.
 Henry VIII, 3

Henry of Huntingdon, 158, 159
 Henryson, Robert, 35, 40, 59, 65, 66,
 73, 75, 80, 103, 105, 109, 113, 132,
 134, 157, 172
 Hepburn, Abbot George, 4
 Hesiod, 107
Hey tutti taitie, 117
 Hickey, Dr George, 16, 19
 Hirtzel, Sir Arthur, 145
Historiæ Scotiæ Nomenclatura, 160
Historia de Bello Trojano, 162
 Hoby, Sir Thomas, 155
 Holinshed, Raphael, 11
 Holland, Sir Richard, 109
 Homer, 29, 45, 47, 78, 122
 Horace, 41, 42 n., 87
House of Fame, 63, 163
 Huchowne, 134
 Humanism, 48
 Hume of Godscroft, 13
 Hutchison, Professor, 154

I

Iceland, Latin in, 154
 Incongruities, 83
 Independence, Wars of, 160
 Irenæus, 155
 "Irish," 160
 Irvine, Christopher, 160
 Irving, David, 24

J

Jacobitism, 18
 James I, 23, 65, 151
 James IV, 158, 161
 James V, 71
 James VI, 29, 93
 Jamieson, Dr John, 19
 Jebb, Professor, R. C., 49
 Jerome, St, 43, 50
 Jesus, son of Sirach, 40 n.
 John of Ireland, 156
 John of Salisbury, 42 n.
Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk, 172
 Johnson, Dr Samuel, 79, 127
 Joly, A., 45
 Jonson, Ben, 174
 Jowett, Professor, 79
 Junius, Franciscus, 15, 19
 Juvenal, 80

K

Keats, John, 128
 Keiths, Earls Marischal, 41
 Kennedy, Walter, 59, 159

Kinaston, Sir Francis, 9
King Hart, 65, 66
Kingis Quair, 75, 120, 150
 Knox, John, 4, 17

L

Laing, David, 162
 Lambeth MS., 137, 144, 146
Lancelot of the Laik, 55, 150, 174
 Landinus, Cristoffero, 29, 54, 132, 161, 162
 Lang, Andrew, 24, 63, 70, 71, 81, 90, 119, 122
 Langland, William ("Robert"), 12, 27
 Language and Influences, 149
 Latinity in Scotland, 75, 154
 Lauderdale, Earl of, 75 n.
 Lee, Sidney, 123 n.
Legend of Dido, 70
Legend of Good Women, 60, 102
 Leo X, Pope, 1, 3
 Leonine Verse, 112
 Leslie, Bishop, 11, 16, 20
Letter of Cupid, 63, 106, 119
 Limbus, 51
 L'isle, William, 14
 Literary Language, 151
 Lombard, Peter, 4
 Lorris de, 31
 Lucian, 158
 Lucretius, 29
 Lydgate, John, 42 n., 59, 162
 Lyndsay, Sir David, 7, 14, 22, 72, 120, 161

M

Machault, G. de, 102
 Machiavelli, Niccolo, 121
 Macrobius, 41, 161
 Maevius, 154
 Maidment, James, 17
 Major, John, 4, 5, 14, 65, 154 n.
 Manuscripts and Readings, 124
 Mapheus Vegius, 8, 57, 116
 March, Earl of, 34
 Marmion, 64
 Masson, David, 19
 Medici, Lorenzo de', 28, 32, 107, 113, 116
Meditations of Chylde Ypotis, 162
 Menage, Giles, 19
 Meung, Jean de, 31
 Middleton, Conyers, 81
 Milton, John, 35, 133, 173
 Minto, Professor, 118

Mitford, John, 23
 Montaigne, 75, 119
 Montgomerie, Alexander, 115, 117
 Morison of Perth, 22
 Morley, Prof. Henry, 119
Morte Arthure, 134
 Mudy, Joannes, 139
 Murray, Sir J. A. H., 149, 172
 Myln, Abbot Alexander, 4, 20
 MacDonald, George, 172
 MacEwen, Prof. A., 3, 67
 Mackenzie, Dr George, 17, 22
 Mackenzie, "Bluidy," 168

N

Nationalism, Scottish, 17
 Naude, Gabriel, 42
 Neckham, Alexander, 42 n.
 Neilson, W. A., 24
 Nettleship, Prof. Henry, 145
 Newman, Cardinal, 52 n.
 Nicholas of Treves, 29
 Nicholls, Rev. Norton, 22
 Nicolson, Bishop, 16, 19, 130
 Nott, John, 76, 102

O

Occeleve, John, 63, 106, 119
 Ogilby, John, 75 n.
 Origen, 43
Orpheus and Eurydice, 132
Orygynalle Chronykil of Scotland, 40, 134
Otia Imperialia, 42 n.
 Ovid, 31, 32, 47, 87, 107, 113, 123

P

Palice of Honour, 35, 59, 65, 105, 140
Parlement of Fowles, 44
 Paston Letters, 162
 Penceriche, Richard, 152
 Peter Lombard, 4
 Petrarch, 27, 29, 32, 42, 48, 157, 161, 162
 Phaër, Thomas, 58
 Philogenet of Cambridge, 63 n.
Pilgrimage of the Lyf of Manhode, 171
 Pinkerton, John, 24
 Plato, 29
 Plautus, 29
 Pletho-Gemisthus, 46
 Poets, their Apologies, 40
 Poggio, Bracciolini, 29, 30, 161

- Politian, Angelo Ambrogini, 28, 32,
 84, 92
 Pomponazzo of Padua, 47
 Pope, Alexander, 79, 83, 85
 Printing, 161
Prologues, 13, 20, 21, 22, 23, 28, 37, 67,
 103 *et seq.*
 Propertius, 33
Prophetæ, 50
Prophètes du Christ, 50 n.
 "Protestant" Readings, 141
 Pulci, Bernardo, 28
 Purgatory, 52
 Puttenham, Richard, 153, 169
- Q
- Quare of Jealousy*, 174
 Quintilian, 29
- R
- Rabelais, François, 5 n., 30 n., 45 n.
 Ramsay, Allan, 18
 Ray, John, 19
 Readings, Various, 124
 Reformation, Anglic influence of, 17
 Reginald of Durham, 158
 Renaissance, 25, 26, 49
Reulis and Cautelis of Scottis Poesie, 29,
 93
 Revival of Learning, 26, 27, 30
Rhetoriquères, 32
 Ribbeck, Otto, 145
 Ritson, Joseph, 23
 Rodocanachi, E., 42 n.
 Roll, Richard, of Hampole, 149
 Rolland, John, of Dalkeith, 7
Rolment of Courtes, 40 n.
Roman de la Rose, 31
Roman de Troie, 45 n., 162
 Roscommon, Earl of, 89
 Ross, John M., LL.D., 24
 Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, 41, 88, 92
 Row, John, 158
 Roy, Guillaume de, 56 n.
 Ruddiman, Thomas, 15, 18, 20, 21, 24,
 61, 140, 157 n.
 Ruthven MS., 18, 134, 138, 144
- S
- Sad Shepherd*, 174
 Sage, Bishop, 17, 19, 20
 Sainte-Beuve, 51, 63, 69
 St Gelais, Octavien de, 162
 Sainte More, Benôit de, 162
- Saintsbury, George, 57, 65
 Sallust, 161
 Savoy, Church of the, 2
Scotichronicon, 158
 Scot, Sir Michael, 42 n.
 Scots, Middle, 163
Scots Wha Hae, 117
 Scott, Sir Walter, 24, 67 n., 86, 115
Scottish Catechism, 52 n.
 Scottish Language, 150, 158
 Sedullius, 14
 Sellynge, John de (Tilly), 157
 Sepet, M., 50 n.
Sermo contra Judæos, 50
 Servius, 144, 154
Seven Sages, Book of the, 162
 Shakespeare, 81, 126, 173
 Shaw, Quintin, 59
 Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 77, 128
Shepherd's Calendar, 22
 Sibbald, James, 23
 Sibbald, Sir Robert, 16, 19
 Sidney, Sir Philip, 61, 121
Siege of Troy, 162
 Silius Italicus, 29
 Sinclair, Lord, 34, 45
 Skeat, Professor, 120, 149
 Skelton, John, 56
 Skinner, Stephen, 19, 152
 Small, Dr John, 19, 24, 60, 132, 136,
 140
 Smith, G. Gregory, 24, 132, 160
 Solomon, 59
 Sophocles, 127
Sortes Virgilianæ, 45
 Speght, Thomas, 8
 Spelman, Sir Henry, 15, 19
 Spenser, Edmund, 22, 128, 173
 Speroni, Sperone, 33 n.
 Spottiswoode, Bishop, 6
 Statius, 29
Statutes of Scottish Churches, 36 n.
 Stillington, Bishop, 6 n.
 Stone, Jerome, 21
 Stuart, Alexander,
 Sturm, Johannes, 155
 Suetonius, 154
 Surrey, Earl of, 76, 81
 Sylvius, Æneas, 5
 Syocerus, Nicolaus, 29
- T
- Tale of Troy*, 162
Taymouth, Black Book of, 6
 Tennyson, 45 n.
 Tertullian, 43, 52
 Terence, 161
Testament of Love, 34

Testament of the Papyngo, 7, 8
 Theocritus, 107
 Thomas the Rhymer, 42 n.
 Thompson, Professor, 79
 Thoms, W. J., 42 n.
 Thomson, James, 115
 Thorp, Thomas, 8
 Tibullus, 33
 Tilly (de Sellynge), 157
 Todd, Eyre, 24
 Translation, 77, 93, 81, etc.
 Trevisa, John de, 38, 92, 149, 152
Trionfi d'Amore, 163
 Troyes, Chrétien de, 31
Troilus and Creseide, 37 n., 44, 45
 Tucea, 125, 145
 Turriff, 136
 Twyne, Thomas, 58

U

Urry, John, 19, 140
 Usk, Thomas, 34 n.

V

Valla, Lorenzo, 59, 161
 Varius, 125, 145
 Vegius, Mapheus, 8, 57, 116
 Venturi, Pompeo, 50
 Vergil, Polydore, 2, 5, 12, 20
 Vernacular, Renaissance of, 31, 32
 Verstegen, Richard, 152
 Villey, Pierre, 33
 Villon, François, 30, 113

Vinci, Leonardo da, 104
 Virgil—

and Churchmen, 42
 medieval view of, 42
 and Christianity, 43, 50
 position, 44
 and Petrarch, 44, 48
 appeal to Douglas, 45
 Douglas's view of, 50
 and Limbus, 51
 and Homer, 122
 Readings, 125
 Graecisms, 153

Virgilio nel Medio Evo, 42²n.

Virgille, Les Faits Merveilleux de, 42 n.

Voltaire, 90

Vossius, 19, 20

W

Ward, Professor, 152

Warton, Thomas, 21, 22

Williamson, Adam (Wyllyamson), 1, 3,
 133

Winzet, Ninian, 17, 154

Wodrow, Robert, 17

Wolsey, Cardinal, 1, 2, 71

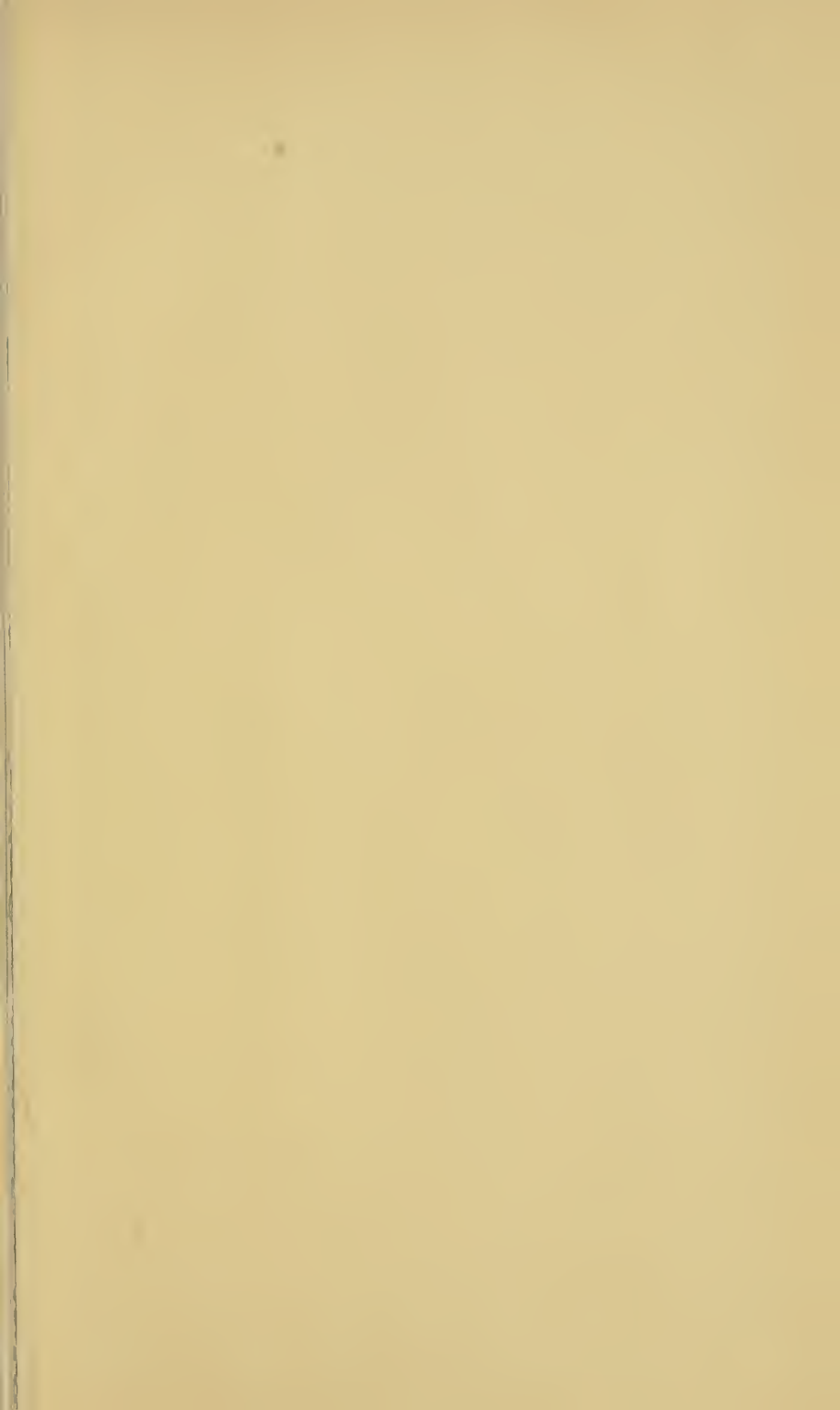
Worsley, Philip Stanhope, 90

Wyatt, Sir Thomas, 76

Wyntoun, Andrew of, 40, 134, 149,
 158, 174

Z

Zwingli, Ulrich, 141





Deacidified using the Bookkeeper process.
Neutralizing agent: Magnesium Oxide
Treatment Date: Feb. 2009

PreservationTechnologies

A WORLD LEADER IN COLLECTIONS PRESERVATION

111 Thomson Park Drive
Cranberry Township, PA 16066
(724) 779-2111

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 014 044 744 4

