

GAVIN DOUGLAS'S LATIN VOCABULARY

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ALMOST SINCE IT WAS FIRST WRITTEN (in 1512–13) and first printed (in 1553) Gavin Douglas's version of the *Aeneid* in "Scottis" verse has been both extravagantly praised¹ and severely criticized.² In spite of this interest among critics, however, the whole poem has only been printed five times (1553, 1710, 1839, 1874, and in the 1950's by the Scottish Text Society) and none of these editions is now in print. The reason for this neglect undoubtedly lies in the peculiarities of his vocabulary, a strange mixture of Scots dialect, Chaucerian English, and French and Latin derivatives no longer in use, compounded by archaic spellings and letters and grammar. But to those who take the trouble to master this language there are rich rewards in new and more vivid insights into Virgil's meaning. In my view it remains, all in all, the best, as it was the first, translation of *Aeneid* into our language.

In all the criticism of Douglas's work there has been no comprehensive study of its accuracy as a translation of Virgil. As a first step to remedy such a lack this paper will deal only with Douglas's knowledge of Latin words; it will not touch on how well or ill he captures the spirit and passions of the original, with his verbosity as a contrast to Virgil's tightly packed sentences, or with his lack of appreciation of the metrical effects of the Latin. It is, of course, only one and a relatively minor aspect of accuracy to analyse individual words, but this is of some interest also as reflecting the standards of verbal accuracy possible in the early sixteenth century and the occasional difficulties that even well-educated scholars faced.

Douglas was as well educated (at St. Andrews University) as any man of his age, and he was a bishop of the church, but his mistakes reflect his lack of any adequate lexicon or Latin dictionary. Even though all allow-

¹See the appreciations prefixed to the 1710 edition and a more modern collection included in D. F. C. Coldwell, *Selections from Gavin Douglas* (Oxford 1964) and S. G. Smith, *Gavin Douglas: A Selection from his Poetry* (Edinburgh 1959). The more recent encomiasts include Ezra Pound and C. S. Lewis.

²E.g., Bruce Dearing in *PMLA* (1952) 845–852; G. Saintsbury, *A History of Criticism and Literary Taste* (Edinburgh 1902) 1.464 f. and *A History of English Prosody* (London 1906) 1.275; and E. M. W. Tillyard, *The English Epic and its Background* (Oxford 1954) 238–344. These are only in part critical, e.g., of his versification (rather unfairly), but praise other aspects of the poem. Gregory Smith, *Transition Period* (Edinburgh 1900) 58 f. and *Cambridge History of English Literature* (Cambridge 1932) 2.262f., is particularly unfair and unperceptive.

ances are made for differences between his text and our own (improved by four centuries of intensive study) there are still surprising errors in his translation of Latin words and phrases, and a careful analysis of these will indicate the real handicaps under which the students of that time laboured.³

In considering his deficiencies in vocabulary we should not include as errors the deliberate attempts Douglas makes at using contemporary terms for ancient ones in order to make his poem more intelligible and vivid to his sixteenth-century readers. It would be strange indeed if he was unconscious of what he was doing when he translates *sacerdos* (6.41, 244, etc.) by "nun"—"a holy nun, a full great prophetess" (1.273; 4.483)—or repeatedly calls Aeneas, Turnus and other heroes "Knights" or "dukes." He translates *fascēs* simply as "emblems" (6.818)⁴ and more fully as "emblems of justice and banners of war" (7.173); to use the Latin word he no doubt thought would be failing in his duty as a translator and perhaps he considered it unfamiliar to his audience. So also he once translates *consul* as "councillor" (7.613; though he uses the Latin word in 6.819). He does not change the unique word *virago* (12.468), although the modern meaning is rather different from what Virgil wanted to imply about Camilla. *Augur* is sometimes "augurian" (9.327; 12.460) but also "spaman (seer) and diviner" (12.258) and is once changed to a descriptive phrase "with his sorcery" (9.376).

He must also have realized that for the most part Virgil's heroes in battle were clothed in and armed with bronze, but for his contemporaries he modernizes this to steel or iron. For the same reason he also makes bronze prows of ships of the metal more usual in his time (e.g., 5.198; 10.223, etc.), but when it came to cauldrons or door fittings or trumpets or statues he retains the word "brass" or "brazen" for *aes*, *aenus*, *aereus* or *aeratus*; or else he avoids the issue by using the specific noun where Virgil merely uses the metal (e.g., "trumpet" for *cavo aere*), or terms like "burnished plate". In other words he correctly translates *aes* and its derivatives

³Coldwell, *op. cit.* (above, n.1) xi, has pointed out that Douglas used a copy of Virgil well annotated by quotations from the fourth century scholar Servius and more particularly by the prose paraphrase made about 1500 by Ascensius. In his notes Coldwell over and over again shows how additions in Douglas to Virgil's text have their source in these commentaries, but only very occasionally do they account for mistranslations of Latin words. L. M. Watt, *Douglas's Aeneid* (Cambridge 1920) has something to say about the accuracy of his author's Latin vocabulary but it is a very partial and unsystematic list.

⁴Book and line references are to Virgil and (for the added thirteenth book) Vegius. I have usually modernized the spelling of Douglas and sometimes silently translated Scotticisms (e.g., "wood" for "tree"), but where it matters I have left the original and given the modern English in parentheses. I have used John Small's edition of Douglas (Edinburgh 1874).

where the sixteenth century would not be surprised but deliberately (sometimes perhaps for the sake of rhyme) mistranslates where the use of brass or bronze (a word he does not know) would seem strange to his readers.

There are other cases, however, in which Douglas uses words which today seem like mistranslations. For instance, to translate *pinguis* (6.195) or *dives* (4.263) or *praedives* (11.213) by "mychty" (mighty) instead of by "rich" or "fertile" (as he usually does) seems strange; but the former word had for Douglas much of the latter meaning. The same, more hesitantly, might be said for "large" or "larger" used to translate *largus* (10.619) or *largior* (6.640); or "tables" (instead of "records") used for *tabulae* (1.119);⁵ of "cloths of pall" for *regali luxu* (1.637); and of the names of various constellations (3.516 f.).

In some other cases it is hard to decide whether Douglas has made an accidental mistake, a deliberate mistake, or no mistake at all. When, for instance, he translates *a vertice* (1.114), of a wave overwhelming a ship "from the North wind," does he think Virgil is simply repeating the idea of a North wind already given (102) and that he knew of the standard orientation of maps with North always "up," or is he deliberately simplifying Virgil for his readers? He clearly knew the literal meaning of *vertex* but he blindly followed the dubious explanation of Ascensius, *ab Aquilone*. Or again when he translates *fibula* (4.139; 7.815) as "buttoun" does he really think Roman clothing was fastened with buttons (or in the latter case that Camilla wore a kind of wimple or caul on her hair also fastened by a button) or is he again simplifying for his audience? Elsewhere where a *fibula* fastens a belt or baldric it is translated by "buckle" (5.313; 12.274). And who even today can assert the utter error of Douglas's rendering *aegida* (8.354) by "talbert" (jacket) even though a few lines further on (435) he also carefully explains the aegis of Athena as a shield?

A very curious case is the translation of the not uncommon words *fulgores terrificos* (8.431) by references to "gun powder" and "fearful solder" (the doubling due no doubt both to his uncertainty and the need for a rhyme). Here again it is not a question of his not knowing the meaning of the word *fulgor* (he gets it right elsewhere, e.g., 5.88; 8.524) but, more likely of his being puzzled by Virgil's unusual figure of the Cyclops mingling in their work "flashes of lightning, sound and terror" to deck out Jupiter's thunderbolts. Gun powder, however anachronistic, is certainly vivid and to his readers gave the same general picture as *fulgores* did to a Roman.

Turning now to words about which Douglas shows quite definite ignorance, we find one large group that he very frequently mistranslates with, quite clearly, no purpose. These are words pertaining to trees,

⁵Possibly Douglas, not quite sure what was indicated, simply uses the Latin word. The same could be said of *virago* above and a few other words.

rocks, flowers, and other aspects of what used to be called natural science. It is not too surprising if Douglas's equation of plants native to the Mediterranean with familiar British ones is often mistaken, but he goes far beyond that sort of error.

It is strange how casual he is regarding woods and trees. *Robur* even where Virgil clearly means a specific kind of tree is translated in its metaphorical sense (11.137, 553) or vaguely by "tree" (2.230; 11.326) and once by "birch" (6.181). *Pinus*, *abies*, *picea* and *taeda* are all "fir" when the kind of tree and not the object made of it is indicated. Thus *pinus* is sometimes "ship" (10.206) or "hull" (5.153) or merely "tree" (9.116), *abies* is omitted (5.663), *picea* is usually "pitch" or "pitchy" though once "fir full of resin" (6.180) and *taeda* quite properly either "firebrands" or "marriage", though "fir" once (6.505). But even in these words there are variations in his translation; *pinus* becomes "fir and beech" (10.230) or "fir and pine" (11.136), *abies* is once "beech" (2.16) and once "oak and fir" (8.599). Other trees whose Latin names have been taken over into English are always translated correctly, as cedar, olive, poplar, elm and cypress. So also are *fraxinus* and *quercus* (and its adjective *quernus*). It is the trees not indigenous to Britain that give him, naturally, the most trouble. *Ornus* which technically is the manna ash⁶ translates as "oak" (2.626; 10.766; 11.138), as "trees" (4.491) or as "elms" (6.182). *Cornus* and its adjectives become merely the "shaft" of a spear (9.698; 12.267), "hawthorn" (3.22) or "bramble" (3.649). *Acernus* is once "holly" in a rhyme (8.178) and twice "hatty" which probably means "joined together" (2.112; 9.87). *Ilex*, the holm oak, is usually "oak" but once "sauch" or willow (8.43). Twice trees even leave the vegetable kingdom; *plaga pinea* is turned into "rocky pinnacles" (11.320) and *coruscis ilicibus* (12.701–702) are "rocky whins." In the *Aeneid* Virgil only once mentions the troublesome *arbutus* and Douglas is confused. Describing Pallas' bier Virgil says men wove it of *arbuteis virgis* which becomes in translation

Of supple wands and of brownis (branches) seir (many)
Bound with the syonis (shoots) or the twists sly
Of small rammell (brushwood).

When it comes to flowers Douglas is better, though hesitant about some like the hyacinth which was probably an exotic in Scotland (11.69: "purple flower hait [called] jacynthine"). But the colour of the *crocus* is very uncertain. For *circumtextum croceo velamen acantho* (1.649) he gives

The purple mantle and rich quaint attire
That pliable was with gilt border large,

which seems to show that he thought *croceo* was purple and *acantho*

⁶H. E. Butler, *The Fourth Book of Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford 1935) 82.

yellow (or vice versa) with no connection between them. When the same garment is again described in the same words (711) Douglas again used the word "quaint" but mentions no colour. He is more specific as to a crocus being purple elsewhere, of Aurora's bed (4.585) and in translating *croceo et fulgenti murice* (9.614) by the one word "purple." In no passage except the last, where surely two colours are indicated, is any damage done to the sense, though of course *croceus* is generally considered to be a saffron colour, and so Douglas at times translates (6.207; 4.700; 9.460); and once most specifically "of saffron hue betwixt yellow and red" (11.775).

To translate the technical term *verbena* by the plant to which it gave a name (12.120) was natural, and Douglas, calling it a "holy herb" shows he realized its religious significance. One error is not Douglas's own. When he called terebinth black (10.136) he was only adding an erroneous description given by Servius. And lastly, if the notoriously awkward comparison of the golden bough to mistletoe, *viscum* (6.205) has troubled scholars up to the present, who can really blame Douglas if he confused the word with its homonym and gives "gum or glue" (even though he speaks of its "saffron-hued fruit" three lines later)?

When he has to deal with some words referring to the animal kingdom the translator again shows the difficulties he worked under in the absence of good lexicons. He gives as the meaning of *testudo* (13.226) "snail" even though a few lines further on he is forced to refer to the creature's feet. The technical use of the same word for a military formation is, however, familiar to him. Perhaps "like a wall" is rather vague for *acta testudine* (2.441) but elsewhere he describes the formation accurately and in detail (9.505, 514) and properly renders the word by "vault" of a temple (1.505). It is the animal's name that he does not know. More oddly he also seems unfamiliar with Latin goats; *caprea* (10.725) becomes "roe" and *capra* (4.152) and *caper* (12.414) both are simply "beasts," which by itself usually means cattle to him. So also *feris alitibus* (10.559) becomes "wild beasts." In this case Douglas may be translating only *feris* and omitting *alitibus*.⁷ It is harder to be sure he makes a mistake when he renders *mergus* (5.128) by "skarh," which Ruddiman in the 1710 edition explains as "a kind of gull or sea fowl," but Small more accurately as "cormorant." Pliny (*N.H.* 10.3) also says the Latin word means "cormorant" and, though modern lexicons usually give "diver" as the correct meaning, Douglas cannot be blamed for following Pliny.

The changes of meaning of *frondibus* (13.6) to "branches" and of *silex* (6.471) to "marble" (in a simile; he gets it right when the context requires it, e.g., 6.7) are of small importance. Nor in the context does it matter that *Corus* (5.126) becomes a "south-east wind."

The words for colours give Douglas even more trouble than they give us.

⁷In 8.430 *alitis* is again left vague but elsewhere (e.g., 9.486) is correct.

Fulvus describing a wolf skin (1.275) becomes "glittering." In other passages it is "brown" (4.261) or is omitted (7.279; 11.776; 12.247, 276), and that by a poet usually so scrupulously careful to include every detail in Virgil and especially those details which add vividness to the descriptions. Elsewhere *fulvus* is correctly translated by some form of yellow or tawny. *Caeruleus*, a vague colour at best—what colour is the sea?—is rendered as "freckled" (mottled) (5.87, of a snake) and a few lines later is merely "safe" (123, of a ship). Once it is "yellow" (2.381), once "green" (12.182 in a rhyme), sometimes "black" and "dark" (3.194; 4.10) but usually either "blue" or more vaguely "watery" (4.208, 583; 8.713, 622, etc.). Charon's boat, described as *caeruleus* (6.410) or "watery-hued," is earlier (303) painted by Virgil as *ferruginea* or rust red. Douglas makes this "iron-hued" here but *ferrugo* is elsewhere "purple" (9.582) or "brownish-red" (*broune sanguane*) (11.772). Virgil here adds *ostro* and Douglas easily took the two words together.⁸ *Flavus* is usually correctly translated (e.g., 4.698) but it is understandable that Douglas, never having seen an olive tree, should render *flava oliva* (5.309) as "green olive tree" where Virgil is accurately describing the pale golden grey of olive leaves. *Glaucus* becomes "brown" (10.205, in a rhyme) or "greyish-blue" (12.885) or "watery" (8.33) or "fauch" (reddish or dun) (6.410). *Rubrae* (12.89), elsewhere "red," was either misread by Douglas or else his text really had *duae* since he renders it by "two." The change of *atrae* (12.335) to "pale" must mean that Douglas could not understand how a "face of Fear" could be other than pallid and so deliberately changed Virgil's meaning. *Ater* is "brown" (ashes) in 4.633.

Another group of words which, perhaps more understandably, also gives trouble is made up of technical terms or ordinary words used in technical senses applying to military or religious matters or to any other specialized trade. It is not surprising that Douglas is vague about such comparatively rare usages as that of *pons* as a part of a fortification, even today a matter of considerable doubt. He translates *pontis* (12.675) as "stairs" and *pontisque et propugnacula iungunt* (9.170) becomes

And drawbridges before the gates upraised
Joined to the walls.

The technical terms utterly defeat him. More surprising is the confusion between ditch and rampart, *agger* twice (9.43, 70) becoming a "ditch." Oddly too, *moles* once becomes a "garret" (9.35). Then there is his startling hesitation regarding the meaning of *hasta*. Sometimes it is correct, sometimes he makes it a "takyll" (arrow) (9.418), sometimes a "shield"

⁸It is curious that J. W. Mackail in his text in a note to 6.303 asserts that bright red is indicated by this adjective in 11.772, but in his translation gives "blue." Douglas also uses "*broune sanguane*" to translate *luteus* (7.26) which should be "yellow." He gets this mistake from the commentary of Ascensius.

(9.587) and sometimes just a "weapon" (11.601; though here he adds to Virgil "and sharp spear heads"). When it comes to less common weapons Douglas often goes wrong. He translates *saevos dolones* (pikes) as "dangerous facheonis" (usually curved swords) (5.664). In this passage of two lines he also mentions "lance staves and burrell (huge) spears, and round stocked swords and poyntalis (daggers) or Sabelian stokkis (rapiers)" all this to translate Virgil's *pila, tereti* ("tapered," not "round" here⁹) *mucrone* and *veru Sabello*. (It is uncertain which Latin word gave which idea to Douglas.)

The much rarer word *sparus* or hunting spear becomes in Douglas a "culmas" (club or cudgel) (11.682) but on the really exotic weapons like *aclydes* and *cateia* (7.730, 741) he is, as far as we ourselves know, correct. The defensive use of sharp stakes called *pinnae* (7.159) is misunderstood; they become "turrets." (The *aggere* in the same line, incidentally, presumably gives "fousy [from *fossa*] and earth dikes."): There is perhaps good reason to translate *currus* once as "cart wheels" (7.184) because Virgil seems to say that they along with various other captured gear were hung on door posts. In dealing with military terms other than those for equipment Douglas is usually right. After all fighting in his day cannot have been radically different from that depicted by Virgil. However, when one side challenges another and Douglas translates *laccessunt* (7.165) by "irk" it seems very feeble to us; and when Latinus offers to man ships for Aeneas and uses the word *compleere* (11.327) and Douglas uses the English derivative "complete" it gives us, whatever it meant to him, an utterly different sense. The word *classes* in a context referring to land forces (7.716) can only mean "divisions" but the only meaning for the word the translator knows is "navy." Though he knew the commentary of Servius and clearly in several places used it to help him, he did not accept its guidance when he translated *manipuli* (11.870) not as "standard-bearers" but as "banners."

Certain words used by Virgil in connection with Roman religious practice similarly confuse the Christian cleric. We have already noticed *verbena* and we also find: "curtain" for *cortina* (3.92; 6.347) because of the similarity of the words; "buried" for *inhumati* (1.353) when it is precisely because Sychaeus was unburied that his ghost appeared (the word is elsewhere correct); "bends" (fillets) for *velleribus* (4.459) where "carpets and incense" are thrown in for good measure; "closes" for *resignat* (4.244) forgetting or not knowing that a god was said to *unseal* the eyes of the dead; "happy" (lucky) for *sacer* (11.721) where it means "baleful."

⁹*Teres* again (11.579) is translated as "stout staf" referring to the thongs of a sling. "Staf" means merely "strong" but "twisted" is the real meaning. Elsewhere the adjective is correctly translated as "round" or "pointed."

The use of *taeda* for an ordinary torch or firebrand was known to Douglas (e.g., 6.593; 7.457, etc.) but he never translates it as "marriage torch" when it refers to a wedding but simply uses the word "marriage" or its equivalents (4.18, 339; 7.388). Similarly, funeral torches are called merely "deadly flame" (7.322) or "firebrands" (11.143). These are obviously other examples of modernizing for his Christian readers' better understanding. In one place he confuses altar fires and *lar* (8.543) making them synonymous and at the same time separating *lar* and *penates* which so often go together. The *Lar* was, of course, not primarily the god of the hearth at all. Again when Douglas translates *inolescere* (6.738) as "(sins) be done away (rhyme) and purged" he is expressing a Christian doctrine almost the opposite of Virgil's, possibly deliberately for his Christian audience.

One of the strangest errors in this group occurs in the passage where Venus is helping to cure Aeneas' wound. Virgil refers to water mixed with herbs in sparkling cauldrons *labris splendentibus* (12.417), but Douglas, mistaking the metrical quantity of the *a* in *labris*, has water "from her bright lips." (Elsewhere the context made this confusion impossible for him.)

Other mistakes with technical or specialist words are: "ribs" (of a ship) for *compagibus* (1.122); "loosened (lawsit) or rent in pieces" for *liquefacta* (3.576; 9.588); "towers" for *machina* (4.89), a crane of some sort; "spools" for *calathis* (7.805); "pillar" for *pila* (9.711) instead of the rarer meaning "pier" which the sense here demands (but Douglas much confuses this metaphor; see below, p. 65); "sapplings" for *libro* (9.554), the inner bark of a tree; "cordings fine" for the adjective *carbaceos* (11.776). For *carbassus* he gives once "piggeis and pinsails" (both words mean "streamers") (3.357), and again "like a hempen sail" (of Tiberinus' cloak, 8.34). In the same line *umbrosa* is, for alliteration, "russly" (rustling). Or else he paraphrases "the wind blows well to sail away" for *vocat carbassus auras* (4.417). For *imposuere coronas puppibus* in the next line Douglas gives "lay ships under cross" which phrase both Small and Ruddiman explain as from the French *mettre en croix* and meaning to square the yards for setting sail. I suspect that Douglas has rather in mind some equivalent Christian practice of raising a cross on a ship about to sail. Certainly Felix Fabri, travelling in 1483, records a somewhat similar custom at Venice.¹⁰

For *lancibus* (12.215) Douglas gives "balances," the only meaning he knows for *lanx*, instead of plates of a suit of armour; for *talentum* (5.248) he rather vaguely has "charge"; for *stridit* (4.689) of a wound he has "gapes wide." (Other translators also hesitate at this passage.) He knew that *cuneus* meant a "wedge" (6.181; 7.509; 11.137), but when the

¹⁰Quoted from H. V. Morton, *A Traveller in Italy* (London 1964) 375.

word was used metaphorically in technical senses he goes astray; so we get "wardis" (divisions of an army) instead of "benches (12.269) and "array" (13.575) instead of a wedge-shaped formation of soldiers. "Burnished latoun" (probably brass) is his translation of *electrum* (8.624), a material that is simply "grey metal" earlier (8.402) and "bowght (pens) plaited with wands tight" translates the rather rare word *caulas*, chinks (9.60).

The physical action of throwing spears, oddly enough, seems vague to Douglas. When Virgil says a spear was drawn back, *reducta* (10.552), for hurling, the translation is simply "long". Perhaps here Douglas read the unmetrical *educta* but elsewhere too (9.417) he fails to catch the picture of a warrior in action. In this passage for *aliud summa telum librabat ab aure* he only has "another takyll (arrow) essayed he anon." Similarly when the baby Camilla is tied to a spear Virgil carefully says she was bound *habilem*, so as to balance the weapon, but Douglas only says she was "securely bound" (11.555).¹¹

Two Roman sports are apparently strange to the Scot. Perhaps the oddest mistake Douglas makes and the one which leads him into the most difficulty is his mistranslation of *caestus*. He makes it into a "bastoun" (club) or "staff" or "mace" (5.69, 379, 401, 424). *Evinctis palmis* (364) then becomes "for mace or club arrayed" and even in the detailed description of the historic *caestus* (400 f.) Douglas sticks to the idea of clubs even though they are made of leather, have bindings (which become "arm guards") and embrace the forearm. Boxing or wrestling matches seem to have been unfamiliar sports in sixteenth-century Edinburgh and he therefore introduces a mediaeval quarterstaff contest without removing odd discrepancies in the description of the weapons used. It is obviously not incidental, then, that he takes eight lines to translate one of Virgil's (5.429) in this passage; it is his most extreme extension of his original. A possible explanation of this mistake in the meaning of *caestus* may be found in the woodcut illustration of this episode contained in Sebastian Brant's edition of Virgil printed in Strasbourg in 1502. The picture shows the boxers with large clubs, or possibly elongated bladders of some kind, in their hands. If this is where Douglas got his idea of a mace it is a reliable clue as to what text he used.

Another sport he apparently fails to understand is chariot racing; Virgil, comparing the ship race to a chariot race, says,

*non tam praecipites biugo certamine campum
corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currus*

¹¹*Habilis* is an adjective which gives Douglas constant difficulty. He renders it as "meet" instead of "well-fitted" (9.305, 365; 12.432). In the last place he gives "active shield couched full meet" and in 1.318 it is merely "active" shield.

*nec sic immissis aurigae undantia lora
concussere iugis pronique in verbera pendent.*

[5.144–148]

Douglas's version is,

Never so fierce in field nor at the barrier
The double yoked carts, in fear of war (or in warfare)
Or for triumph, forth from their stables rushed;
Never so thick with many a lash and dusche (stroke)
The carters smote their horses fast in teyne (rage)
With slackened reins and sweat dropping quick.

Certamine apparently becomes "war"; *undantia* becomes "sweat flowing"; *proni* becomes "in teyne" (in a rage) and *concussere* and *pendent in verbera* are combined. In any case the only hint of a race here is the one word "barrier" which could mean merely the gate of a paddock. "Carts" can mean chariots but it can also mean ordinary farm vehicles; and if it were not for the non-Virgilian mention of "triumph" one might take Douglas's description to mean a panic flight of farmers.

Here it is the general picture, not so much the individual words, which Douglas misses. All these words he elsewhere translates correctly,¹² but the vignette of a charioteer hanging forward to whip on his team is quite strange to him. Thus in a similar passage (10.586), *Lucagus ut pronus pendens in verbera telo admonuit biugos*, becomes "(a dart was hurled)

That hit Lucagus; who when he felt the blow,
The shaft hanging in his shield, without stop
Bade drive his horse and chariot all forward straight."

Pronus here seems to give "when he felt the blow"; *verbera* to be misread for some word for "shield" and *pendente* for *pendens*. Or possibly *pronus in verbera* gives "when he felt the blow," and the idea of a shield is Douglas's own.¹³

Likewise the account of the Trojan Game in Douglas is even more confused than in Virgil. *Paribus magistris* (5.562) becomes "the chieftains were equal in height" (rhyme) for "the same number of trainers"; *pavidos*, the shy boys (575), becomes "with a manner feir" (rhyme) meaning a "fair manner" applied to the fathers watching the sport, or possibly "a kind of fear" in the fathers (Douglas reading *pavidi* in either case); *discurrere pares*, they divide in equal parts or they divide in pairs, becomes "they ran together in pairs with a quhiddier (whistling sound)"; *diductis choris*, the troops divided, is "each one chased his fellow." The whole is rendered very loosely (unlike Douglas's usual manner) to give

¹²But for *iugum* see below, n.33, and for *pronus* the next note.

¹³The meaning of *pronus* is vague to Douglas. He translates it as "down" (1.115; 8.548; 11.485), and *maria prona* as "open sea" (5.212), and in other contexts by adjectives like "swaying" (8.236) or "grovelling" (5.332), but bending to oars (3.668) becomes merely "with might and main."

an impression, hardly a translation, but, apart from the spears *prae fixa ferro* (557) which gives "with blunt heads,"¹⁴ it is hard to pinpoint individual words which Douglas fails to understand.

In fairness it should be stated that these last four examples are particularly feeble parts of Douglas's work and not at all typical of his usual accuracy and care.

Besides the words which we have been considering where Douglas's Latin vocabulary was clearly defective, there are other words which, particularly if one ignores metrical values of vowels, are ambiguous. In some cases Douglas has confused one word with an entirely different word and in other cases he has chosen the wrong meaning of ambiguous words. We have already seen examples of these errors in *labrum* and *inhumatus* (taken as the opposite of *exhumatus*). In the following list Douglas's readings of wrong words are put first and his misinterpretation of ambiguous words follow:

nitens (4.252), "shining" for "resting" ("lying" in 2.380, with a wrong agreement);

avis (7.412), "fowl" for "by our ancestors";

portis (7.429), "port" for "gates";¹⁵

manibus (10.828), "hands" for "shades" (which forces *cineri* to become "tomb").¹⁶

struit (4.235, 271), "builds" for "plans";

in digitos (5.426), "with fingers" for "on tip-toe";

hospita (6.93), "foreign guest" for "host" or simply "foreign";

quadris (7.115), "four-squared" for "quarters" (?);

laevum (8.236), "on schoyre" (threatening) for "left";

informatum (8.426), "not formed" for "blocked out";

detectus (10.133), "in covert" for "uncovered." (I suspect the text of Douglas should read "incovert"; for *detecta* [8.241] he has "discoverit.")

alto (11.849), "low" for "high";¹⁷

improbis (12.687), "wicked" for "insensate" (hill)—a difficult word;

instantes (13.222), "to hide" for "pressing on";

spectatum (13.310), "when he desired" for "renowned."

Of all words in this class the most interesting is his almost universal use of "ruthful" or "merciful" and their equivalent nouns for *pious* and *pietas*. Douglas himself says in a marginal note (to 1.378), "I interpret that term

¹⁴The same phrase in 12.489 and a similar one in 10.479 are correct.

¹⁵"Port" is often used for "gate" (e.g., 8.585; 11.485, 499, etc.) but here Douglas adds "or havens of the sea" to the simple word.

¹⁶In 10.39 *manis*, shades, becomes merely "wights" as though it had the meaning of "hands" in "farm hands."

¹⁷In 9.403 *altam* gives "clear," of the moon.

(*pietas*) sometimes for 'ruth', sometimes for 'devotion', sometimes for 'piety' and 'compassion'. Therefore you shall know that piety is a virtue or good deed by which we give our diligent and dutiful labour to our native country and to those conjoined to us in near degree: and this virtue, piety, is a part of justice, and has under it two other virtues; amity called friendship and liberality."¹⁸ It would seem that for him "pity" and "piety" were still only one English word.

Several words in this list (*nīrens*, *nitens*; *mānes*, *manus*; *avis*, *avīs*) point up the extraordinary lack of understanding in Douglas of the mechanics or even of the rhythm of Latin hexameters. This is another subject though, and is here mentioned only to account for still other errors of vocabulary. Thus Virgil's *aeripedem* is read as *aëripedem* and translated "windswift" instead of "bronze-footed" (6.802).¹⁹ This ignorance of, or lack of attention to, Virgil's verse makes it possible for Douglas to misread his Latin text or accept a defective text without question. Thus he can read the metrically impossible *natantia* (as in 5.856) for *ardentia* (2.405) translating "glotnit" (clouded) in both cases. He also must have read *sanguine* for *sanguineo* (8.703) since he translated it "with her kinfolk"; *providit* for *dividit* (8.20); *sine mora*, "without delay" for *sine more* (5.694) and *forte* for *forti* (5.808).

This lack of understanding of metrics also leads to grammatical errors, mistakes in agreement and so on, that do not concern us here. In addition the requirements of his verse form at times force Virgil to resort to tmesis. This is a device with which Douglas is unfamiliar and, while sometimes a translation is possible without realizing that tmesis has occurred, at other times it causes confusion. *Ante . . . iaciunt* (9.711–712) in spite of the plural becomes "(a pillar) of old . . . was thrown down" instead of "they built out" (into the sea). Similarly *in . . . ligatus* (10.794) is made to agree with *pedem* and translated "wherein the shaft did stick" instead of "encumbered," agreeing with the subject.

A good example of how one word misread or mistranslated can upset a whole passage occurs at the beginning of Book 8 (15–17) where the embassy to Diomede is being described and the threat of Aeneas to Italy.

*quid struat his coeptis, quem, si fortuna sequatur,
eventum pugnae cupiat, manifestius ipsi (Diomede)
quam Turno regi aut apparere Latino.*

Douglas's punctuation omitted the commas after *quem* and *cupiat* and put one after *pugnae*. He then read *cupiit* for *cupiat* and mistranslated *apparere* as "proceed against," "o'erset" and "o'ercome." Even if he read *apparare* this would, to say the least, be strained.

¹⁸Small's edition, 2.294–295.

¹⁹Ascensius explains the word as *veloces* and Douglas follows him.

And since he had begun such things in hand
 What then he aimed at one might understand;
 That is to say, if fortune were so kind
 By chance of war to be his friend,
 More evidently he coveted to proceed
 Against his ancient enemy Diomede,
 Than to o'erset the young knightly Turnus,
 Or to o'ercome the old king Latinus.

Douglas's text often seems to have been different from our own, but there is, as far as I am aware, no extant manuscript or early printed version of the Aeneid which contains the sort of errors with which we have been dealing just now in the numbers which his translation reveals. Therefore we are forced to conclude that in his haste Douglas was often careless in his reading; after all, to write approximately 25,000 lines, more than 2800 of them original verse often of very high quality, in seventeen months (as he tells us he did) means an average of nearly fifty lines a day. Where he does not show that he was imagining a text metricaly impossible (like the examples on p. 65) it is hard to prove in any one case whether a reading was due to his carelessness or due to a faulty Latin text. Many if not most of the following readings are, it is true, not found in any known manuscript or text of the Aeneid, but who can say that Douglas was not using one carelessly copied and now lost? In any case almost none of the words in the following list do violence to metre or sense.

LINE	MODERN TEXT	DOUGLAS'S APPARENT TEXT	TRANSLATION
1.118	<i>nantes</i>	<i>nautae</i> (unmetrical)	sailors
438	<i>fastigia</i>	<i>vestigia</i>	bounds
492	<i>exsertae</i> (cf. also 11.649 and 803)	<i>exsectae</i>	cut off
2.88	<i>regum</i>	<i>regnum</i>	realm
89	<i>conciliis</i>	<i>consiliis</i>	counsel
175	<i>emicuit</i>	<i>demisit</i> (?)	fell down
182	<i>omina</i> (cf. also 3.407; 7.146)	<i>omnia</i>	all
331	<i>umquam</i>	<i>numquam</i>	never
448	<i>ac</i>	<i>ad</i> (Vulgate and Servius)	against
3.92	<i>reclusis</i>	<i>seclusis</i>	secret
151	<i>in somnis</i>	<i>insomnis</i>	sleeping not
168	<i>pater</i>	<i>frater</i>	brother
230	<i>umbris</i>	<i>ramis</i>	pikis (prickles) ²⁰
462	<i>facta</i> (cf. 4.496, and 8.731 below)	<i>fata</i>	fates
4.505	<i>secta</i>	<i>sicca</i>	dry

²⁰This line is repeated from 1.311 where *horrentibus umbris* are "dark shadows" (cf. n.31).

LINE	MODERN TEXT	DOUGLAS'S APPARENT TEXT	TRANSLATION
611	<i>advertite</i>	<i>avertite</i>	withdraw ²¹
5.138	<i>pavor</i>	<i>pudor</i>	shame
348	<i>pater</i> (Aeneas)	<i>pius</i>	merciful
505	<i>timuit</i> (all mss. and Vulgate)	<i>micuit</i> (a modern emendation)	flutters
558	<i>revulsa</i>	<i>reversa</i>	(as the ship) did heel
7.12	<i>tectis</i>	<i>lectis</i>	place of beds
160	<i>Latinorum</i>	<i>Latini</i> (ms. M2)	King Latinus
259	<i>nostra</i>	<i>vestra</i>	your
8.690	<i>tridentibus</i> (bows of a ship)	<i>stridentibus</i>	swouchis and raris (crashes and roars) ²²
731	<i>fata</i>	<i>facta</i>	gestis (deeds) (see above 3.462)
9.194	<i>promittunt</i>	<i>permittunt</i>	have licence
241	<i>et</i> (with lines transposed)	<i>ad</i> (some mss. and Heyne)	at
552	<i>furit</i>	<i>ruit</i> (Ms. P)	runs
584	<i>Martis</i>	<i>matris</i> (Ms. R: usual modern text)	mother's
10.120	<i>vallis</i>	<i>malis</i>	mischiefs
194	<i>aequalis</i> (<i>catervas</i>)	<i>aequali</i> (<i>classe</i>) (Ms. M1)	equally divided (in sundry ships)
539	<i>albis</i> or <i>armis</i>	<i>albis</i> and <i>armis</i>	armour white (cf. 12.120)
753	<i>at Thronius</i>	<i>Athronius</i>	Athronius
754	<i>insidiis</i>	<i>insignis</i>	expert ²³
823	<i>tetendit</i>	<i>retardat</i> (?)	drew back
11.97	<i>fata</i>	<i>facta</i>	battles (cf. above)
105	<i>soceris</i>	<i>sociis</i>	acquaintance (rhyme)
188	<i>cincti</i>	<i>cuncti</i>	together all
433	<i>agmen</i>	<i>agrum</i>	fields
595	<i>demissa</i>	<i>delapsa</i>	slide down (rhyme)
662	<i>refert</i>	<i>affert</i>	. . . to (the melee)
724	<i>ab</i>	<i>ad</i> (with wrong case)	up into
12.120	<i>lino</i> or <i>limo</i>	<i>lino</i> and <i>limo</i>	linen aprons
221	<i>pubentes</i> (Mss.)	<i>tabentes</i> (Vulgate)	becoming lean
566	<i>ob</i>	<i>ad</i>	till (unto)
873	<i>durae</i>	<i>miserae</i> (cod. Gudianus)	wretched
916	<i>letum</i>	<i>telum</i> (Mss. M and R)	spear
13.183	<i>miserae</i>	<i>misero</i>	woeful (father)
221	<i>infixa</i>	<i>in fissa</i>	cleft
601	<i>partes</i>	<i>patres</i>	fathers

²¹This leads *meritum malis advertite numen* to become

Withdraw from him (Aeneas) your great might whereby

Shrews should be punished for their crime, not I

(i.e., hostile power deserved by evil people).

²²Another technical term missed. Perhaps Douglas deliberately emended his text. For the same line at 5.143 he has "souchand" (whistling) in agreement with *aequor*.

²³All primary manuscripts have *insidiis* but the scribe of M first wrote *insignis*.

Most of the purely verbal errors we have so far noticed can be explained by the particularity of meaning or the technical nature of the words involved, by possible ambiguity or by textual variations between Douglas's original (real or imagined) and our own. Others can be accounted for only by carelessness pure and simple or by the exigencies of Douglas's own verse. The next list gives typical examples where the difference between Virgil's meaning and Douglas's is both unimportant in the context and at least in part dictated by Douglas's versification.²⁴

LINE	LATIN	DOUGLAS'S TRANSLATION
2.315	<i>glomerare manum bello</i>	Hand to hand rush out through the press (rhyme) (The same phrase at 9.792 is correct).
3.363	<i>religio</i>	devout godly wights (rhyme) ²⁵
4.616	<i>complexu</i>	help (omitted in some mss.) ²⁶
6.109	<i>sacra</i>	secret (cf. also p. 60)
6.878	<i>prisca fides</i>	thy ancient truth (rhyme) ²⁷
7.789	<i>sublatis</i>	without (i.e. "removed" for "uplifted") ²⁸
9.793	<i>territus</i>	full fers (full fierce) I suspect Douglas wrote "full of feirs" but no text has that reading.
10.337	<i>pectore</i>	cost (side) and sides (rhyme) ²⁹
10.792	<i>vetustas</i>	antiquity for "posterity" (rhyme) ³⁰
13.229	<i>multo insudans</i>	wrekis and thraws (writings and twistings) (rhyme)

Except where noted all these words are elsewhere correctly translated; it is only in these isolated passages that he goes wrong through haste or in order to find a rhyme. There are, however, several quite common adjectives which Douglas often translated either very freely or else inaccurately. We have already noted *teres* (n. 9), *habilis* (n. 11) and *pronus* (n. 13). *Lentus* which occurs thirteen times in the Aeneid becomes "small" (3.31); "trembling" (of a spear, 7.164); "hot fast" (of fire, 5.682) and "slothfully, so faint and fey" (12.237), as well as the more usual "tough" and "supple". *Arduus* which occurs thirty-two times is most often simply (and correctly) "high," but it also gives "large" (of the Trojan horse, 2.328); "bustuus" (mighty—of Polyphemus, 3.619);

²⁴Also note in the same class of mistranslations *tyranni*, 4.320; *tacitis luminibus*, 4.364; *nondum*, 4.698; *in ventos*, 4.705; *septena volumina*, 5.85; *manes*, 5.99; *viscera*, 5.103; *tarda*, 5.431; *geminae*, 6.203; *pura*, 6.760; *sub imagine*, 7.179; *fontis*, 7.242; *Quirites*, 7.710; *umbrosa*, 8.34 (see p. 61); *radios*, 8.429; *nutu*, 9.106 and 10.115; *custos*, 9.405; *anhelans*, 10.837; *vocis*, 11.343; *confixi*, 10.883; *dextra*, 12.14.

²⁵*Religio* is "revered gods" at 12.182 where *numina* is also translated as "blessed wights." Elsewhere *religio* is correctly understood.

²⁶Coldwell, *Selections from Gavin Douglas*, 130 suggests he misread *complece*.

²⁷For "early promise." Douglas always gives "old" or "ancient" for *priscus*, and the same phrase in 9.79 is correctly "ancient belief."

²⁸The myth of Io as a cow with uplifted horns is not known to Douglas.

²⁹*Pectore* is "throat" in 5.183 and "neck" in 2.474.

³⁰This leads to *vetustas* not being taken as the subject.

"long" (3.665); "big" (of a man and an island, 8.299, 683, 417); "clear" (heaven—in a rhyme, 10.102); "proud and stern" (for *acer et arduus*, 12.789); "in array" (in a rhyme, 9.53). In another translator these versions would be put down to poetic licence, but in such a carefully accurate writer as Douglas they seem departures from his efforts at absolute precision. For *rapidus* Douglas often seems content with any adjective or phrase implying violence. It is, of course, most usually "swift" but we also find a "sucking" *vortex* (1.117); "wild" fire (1.42); a *torrens* "in spate" (2.305); winds "with their blast" (1.59); "swirling" *verticibus* (7.31); a "fierce" *amnem* (11.562); "great force" for *rapido flamine* (4.241) and "ravenous flood" for *rapidus amnis* (6.550). It would seem that Douglas confused the meanings of *rapidus* and *rapax* with a gain in poetic flavour if not strict accuracy.

Another adjective which is translated at times with great vividness if not strict accuracy is the common *vastus*. He uses "gowstie" of Aeolus' cave (1.52), a word which can mean "gusty," "ghastly," "ghostly," or "desolate." (Though Ruddiman connects the word with "ghost" it is, it seems, etymologically unrelated.) The same word is used by Douglas of Cacus' cave (8.193, 217) with the same dramatic effect, but when he extends this use to a furnace (8.446) it begins to seem odd and when it is applied to Entellus' limbs (5.432) the effect is almost the reverse of the Latin. At other times *vastus* has its ordinary meaning of "huge" (e.g., 7.302). (For *horrendus* and *horrens* see below n. 31 and for *celsus* n. 34).

About some words we can only shrug our shoulders and imagine that Douglas must have been overtired when composing lines that contained these odd distortions, but, as in the previous list, Douglas elsewhere translates all these words, if they recur, correctly. Some examples are:

LINE	LATIN	DOUGLAS'S TRANSLATION
1.165	<i>horrenti</i>	pleasant ³¹
4.216	<i>mentum</i>	temples ³²
6.804	<i>iuga flectit harenis</i>	arrays the hill top ³³
8.547	<i>bella</i>	place (rhyme)
10.653	<i>celsi</i> (of a ship)	mekill (great) ³⁴
10.872	<i>virtus</i>	horse ³⁵

³¹The participle *horrendus* is "seemly" woods (7.172) and *horrens* is "big" swine (1.634); "dark" shadows (1.311; see n.20) and "bustuus" (huge or terrible) lion (9.306).

³²This is no doubt due to ignorance of what a *Maeonia mitra* looked like. Douglas, translating "Trojan folly hat" (fool's hat or pointed hat), is thinking of a bishop's mitre.

³³*Iugum* often gives Douglas trouble when it indicates a chariot. It is "reins" in 3.542; 5.147; 10.594; 12.532, 374. When it means the "cross benches" of a boat (6.411) he translates "gunwale."

³⁴*Celsus* also gives "great" of an island (6.805), of cities (8.65) and of ships (4.397; 8.107) and "strong and stalwart" of a city (5.439).

³⁵The same queer mistake is not made where the line is repeated at 12.668.

LINE	LATIN	DOUGLAS'S TRANSLATION
11.457	<i>consedere</i>	din ³⁶
11.691	<i>aversum</i>	standing her before ³⁷

When it came to proper names, apart from playing fast and loose with their spelling in the usual way of his time, as "Myce" for Mycenae, "Enee" often for Aeneas and so on, Douglas frequently makes an attempt to render his translation more real to his readers. He is very apt to change the ancient name to one his contemporaries would find familiar or to add such an explanation. In this way we find "Sicily" put for Erycinus (10.36) or "Corcyra" for Phaeacia (3.291) or "French mountains" for Alps (6.830). Some of these identifications are wrong; the *arce Monoeci* is not the "Lombardy plains" (6.830) nor are Caspian lands "Assyrian" (6.798). At other times he either found his text very faulty or he was confused as to what kind of proper name he was dealing with, a geographic or personal name, and at still other times he does not know whether he has before him a proper name at all. Without the aid of commentaries, classical dictionaries and atlases these faults are to be expected and the difficulties must have been confounded for him by the irregularity in the use of capital letters in his text or manuscript.

Here are his errors in geographic terms; I do not include translations of ancient names to more modern ones unless they are wrong.

LINE	LATIN	DOUGLAS'S TRANSLATION
3.678	<i>Aetnaeos</i>	"elriche" (unearthly)
4.367	<i>Hyrcania</i>	a forest in Arabia. It was not a forest and was near the Caucasus.
6.234	<i>aerio</i>	"once named Aeryus" (rhyme)
6.775	<i>Castrum Inui</i>	New Castell ³⁸
7.150	<i>Numicus</i>	Confused with the Tiber or its source instead of a separate pool (<i>stagna</i>). He calls it a "river" later (7.242).
7.696	<i>Soracte</i>	was a mountain, not a "town" though Virgil has <i>Soractis arces</i> .
7.712	<i>Velinum</i>	was a town, not a "lake."
	<i>Rosea</i>	was a town, not the adjective "rosy."

³⁶In a confused passage (7.431) Douglas seems to have translated *consedere* by "drive off" but he has too many omissions and additions for this to be sure.

³⁷*Sedentis* of the next line is omitted and so the mistake continues. The man, Butes, was on horseback. Other such mistakes are: *nemus*, 1.165; *castra*, 2.172 and 5.672; *furentis*, 2.345; *iugis*, 2.631 (see n.33); *umbram*, 2.732; *odora*, 4.132; *agitatus*, 4.471; *lampada quassans*, 6.587; *silvam*, 6.659; *sed fortuna fuit*, 7.413; *flumine*, 7.663; *onerant*, 8.180; *domus*, 8.192; *asper venatus*, 8.318; *tenentes*, 9.229; *adsurgenti*, 9.348; *abruptpere*, 9.497; *ruentem*, 10.383; *reicit*, 10.473; *propinqui*, 11.156; *loquacia*, 11.458.

³⁸Ruddiman has "Castle of Inuus" but this is not the reading of any manuscript of Douglas. He must have read *Novum*.

LINE	LATIN	DOUGLAS'S TRANSLATION
7.713	<i>Severum</i>	was a mountain, not a "scowling brae."
7.721	<i>Lycia</i>	"Lydia" (a textual error?)
8.653	<i>Capitol</i>	thought of as a structure on level ground, though in 348 he calls it a "knoll."
10.28	<i>Aetolis</i>	"Calabria"; Arpi was in Apulia anyway, not Calabria as Douglas says. ³⁹
10.51	<i>Paphos</i>	was a mountain, not a "town."
11.168	<i>Latium</i>	Douglas adds "or Lavinia city" which had not been thought of yet. His own note to 1.3, however, states that "Lavinium or Laurentum stood 8 miles from the mouth of the Tiber and was the city of King Latinus." This is still further confused when <i>moenia Rutulorum</i> (13.82) is also rendered "Laurentum city" for Ardea.
11.487	<i>rutilum</i>	(golden red) "Rutulian" (mss. M and P)
11.768	<i>Cybelo</i>	Douglas read <i>Cybelae</i> , the goddess, in place of "on mount Cybelus," the Vulgate text but not that of Servius.
12.4	<i>Poenarum</i>	"of Thrace". <i>Paeoniae</i> may have been Douglas's misreading.
12.753	<i>Umber</i>	Tuscan.

It will be noticed that there are problems of several different kinds which Douglas faced and failed to solve. There are first the words which he failed to recognize as names at all (*Rosea*, *Severum*, *Aetnaeos*) and the reverse case when he takes ordinary adjectives (which he recognizes as such elsewhere) as place names (*rutilum* and *aerius*). Thirdly, there are mistakes in the nature of the geographic feature named but not explained by Virgil (*Velinum*, *Soracte*, *Capitol*, *Paphos*). Fourthly, there are mistakes in locating places named or in equating one name with another (*Umber*, *Poeni*, *Hyrkania*, *Numicus*, *Laurentum*, etc.). And lastly, some of his errors may be in his Latin text or our text of his work. It would be unfair, however, only to indicate his mistakes. In general there are surprisingly few for the age in which he lived and his geographical knowledge is surprisingly wide and accurate. He correctly identifies *Ortygia* with *Delos* (3.124), for instance, and *Caere*, or *Careiae* (he calls it *Coreite*), with *urbs Argyrippa* (7.652; 10.183).

In his dealing with other types of proper names the same kinds of error can be found, and in particular he is apt to make a geographical adjective into a personal name. It is hard to know what went wrong when he translated *Lades* (12.343) as "Iasus," but that is not a typical case. *Licymnia* and *Maeonius* (9.546) become in Douglas not places of origin

³⁹Douglas should have known this from 11.246–250 where he gratuitously adds the explanation that the town was in Apulia but does not introduce here (11.250) the name *Arpi* mentioned by Virgil (along with *Argyrippa*) and so may think that *Arpi* and *Argyrippa* are different towns.

but proper names of people, and a reverse case occurs when he makes *Argos* (8.346) a nationality, not a particular man of that name. Similarly "Agis a Lycian" (10.751) is reversed and misread as "a man of Argos called Lycius." Possibly reading *Borea* for *Boreae* Douglas also makes a man into a "clan" (10.350). and Again Idas (10.351) was a man, not a city, and a native of Ismara, but Douglas, confusing his grammar, gives,

And three come from the city of Idas
And other three of city Ismaras.

Similarly *Curibus* should mean "from Cures" (10.345) but he may have read *Curetos* and translated "Curitans". (He is right in 6.811).

Sometimes he failed to recognize a proper name. "Most sovereign Fabius" for *Fabius Maximus* (6.845) sounds odd in our ears but possibly would not have in a Roman's; but there is great confusion when Douglas does not recognize *Amor* as Cupid (10.188) in the vocative case and renders the word by "love and amours" making the following *vestrum* refer illogically to Cupavo.

Grammatical carelessness in other passages too, causes a muddle in proper names. Rhamnes is confused with Ramus (9.332)⁴⁰; *Erinys* is considered a "fury of Troy," in the accusative case, not a derogatory reference to Helen (2.573); and Clarus and Thaemon (10.126) were the brothers of Sarpedon⁴¹ not Thymbris and Castor as Douglas has it.

Trivia (6.13) is made "thrinfold passingeir Dyane," the meaning of which is obscure since the only meaning known of "passingeir" is "ferryboat"! "Cygnus" is given for a much disputed name usually printed *Cinyrus* (10.186) and so confused with the father of Cupavo a few lines below (189). And lastly when Douglas translated *fatale Palladium* (2.165-166) "Palladium's fatal relic" he seems not to know that it was the same thing as the mentioned *effigiem* (167).

In this paper I have mentioned, I think, all the cases where Douglas missed the sense of the Latin due to deficiencies or inaccuracies in his vocabulary. Some can be explained as the result of his reading a different text from ours, some by carelessness in his reading, some by his ignorance of Latin hexameters and some by the exigencies of his own verse, particularly his need for rhymes. Leaving aside the cases where he quite deliberately modernized for his readers ("duke" for *dux*, etc.) the number of Latin words of which he definitely did not know the meaning is only some 25 and the total number of cases where he mistranslates words according to our standard texts only about 330. It is only because of his care and insistence on accuracy all through the poem that such an analysis has

⁴⁰*Domino* in this line becomes Ramus' master, not the master of the horses.

⁴¹Douglas's grammar is faulty or he wrongly read *hos germanos . . . ambos* for *hos, germani . . . ambo* (125).

been possible; to treat Dryden's translation, for instance, with the same completeness would be impossible. And when it is considered that Virgil and Vegius in their *Aeneid* used a vocabulary of over 6300 words and wrote upwards of 68,000 words, many of them used in senses far from common in Latin, Douglas's achievement is seen in a fairer light. He had no benefit of elaborate lexicons or the centuries of comment and elucidation since his day, and he composed his great version in an almost incredibly short period of time.

Furthermore, as he himself complains, his own native vocabulary was far more restricted than the Latin and, as we can see, than our own. This led to difficulties with words like *arbor* and *lignus* for which he confesses (Prologue 1) that his language does not have equivalents.

It is true that there are other kinds of error in Douglas, omissions of isolated words and phrases, duplications and explanations and other types of verbosities, grammatical errors (often due to his text's faulty punctuation), mistakes in agreement or case or person; but while at the beginning he found it impossible to translate Virgil word for word (Prologue 1), by and large Douglas well lived up to his boast, after he had finished his work,

Who list note my verses one by one
Shall find therein his (Virgil's) meaning every part
And almost word for word.

And he adds that now

Virgil might in our own language be
Read loud and plain.

So with good reason he says

Go, vulgar Virgil, to every churlish wight
Say, I avow thou art translated right.

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