‘Infelix Dido’: a creative re-visioning of Virgil’s queen of Carthage and a critical exploration of pity and pathos in Gavin Douglas’s *Eneados*.

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Abstract

Both components of this project emerge in response to Virgil's *Aeneid*. The fifty-thousand-word critical thesis explores aspects of pathos and pity in the *Eneados*, Gavin Douglas's pioneering 1513 translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* and Maphaeus Vegius's supplementary 'Thirteenth Book'. Chapter 1 examines the ways in which Douglas intensifies the pathos inherent in Virgil's text yet also, via the translated text and accompanying prologues, alerts readers to its potentially dangerous and seductive qualities. Aeneas's *pietas* is the subject of chapter 2, and the ways in which Douglas's expansive conception of *pietas* as, amongst other things, 'reuth', as well as the slippage of the term towards both piety and pity, complicates some of the tensions inherent in Virgil's text. Chapter 3 explores the function and significance of numerous laments in the first twelve books of the *Eneados* and the extent to which Douglas's translations reproduce or even amplify their pathos via his own particular lexis of grief. The conclusion turns to the laments for Turnus in Douglas's translation of Vegius's 'Thirteenth Book' and the ways in which some of the tensions between pathos, pity and *pietas* might be resolved.

The creative element – a book-length collection of poems – re-envisions Virgil's Dido, the figure who attracts arguably the most troubling pathos and sympathy in the *Aeneid* but who has been granted only limited attention by contemporary writers. Most of the poems are in Dido's voice, expanding upon her story as related in the *Aeneid*, with particular reference to her Mediterranean crossing, as explored via a series of metaphors for the sea. Also included are sonnets based upon particular Latin and Phoenician terms, some of which – perhaps somewhat paradoxically – allow for a broader and more contemporary frame of reference and, alongside the narrative poems, help to bring the classical myth more vividly into 21st-century vernacular.

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In memory of

Ollie Wood
1993 – 2019

and

Gladys Lambert

1921 – 2019

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Introduction

I

The Didos of the present age have yet to establish themselves...[1]

Virgil's queen of Carthage has long been regarded as one of the most compelling and memorable figures of the *Aeneid*, and the pathos of her downfall has held an enduring appeal and fascination over centuries. In keeping with her acquired name – which recalls the Latin verb *didere*, to spread, to diffuse – versions of Dido have proliferated across a vast cultural landscape since her portrayal in Virgil's epic.[2] Taken up first by Ovid in his *Heroides*, just four years after the death of Virgil and publication of the *Aeneid* in 19 BCE, Dido has since populated a plethora of works in different guises. These range from the dramatic, such as Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*; the musical, whether operatic (Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, Berlioz's *Les Troyens*) or instrumental (Clementi's only programmatic work, the Piano Sonata in G, Op. 50, No.3, is titled *Didone Abbandonata*); to the artistic, from tiny sixteenth-century miniature engravings to the grander scale of J.M.W. Turner's various landscapes of Carthage, painted both early and very late in his career.[3] Dido's extensive afterlife in western literature cannot be adequately outlined here; suffice to say, she is present, in various guises – and especially prominently in the medieval and early modern periods – in a diverse array of works from Boethius, St. Augustine, Dante, Boccaccio, Christine de Pizan and Chaucer, to name but a few.[4] Though it is the shortest, Book 4 has, since the schooldays of St. Augustine, remained one of the most widely studied and translated of all twelve books of the *Aeneid*.[5]

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[1] Roger Savage, 'Dido Dies Again', in *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth*, ed. by Michael Burden (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1998), pp. 3-38 (p. 34).

[2] It should be noted, of course, that Virgil's Dido is not, by any means, the first. Virgil departs quite radically from an earlier Greek myth of Dido-Elissa, as related by Timaeus in the third century BC, whose Dido never meets Aeneas. After founding Carthage, she commits suicide in order to avoid marriage to a local king. See James Davidson's chapter 'Domesticating Dido: History and Historicity', in *A Woman Scorn'd*, pp. 65-88.

[3] See, for example, Albrecht Altdorfer's 6x3 cm engraving, 'Dido Killing Herself', c.1520-30, The Art Institute of Chicago, Mr and Mrs Potter Collection, reference no. 1926.75; Savage discusses Turner's landscapes in 'Dido Dies Again', p. 30.

[4] Limited space means I am not able to provide a comprehensive account of the vast numbers of responses to Dido over the past two millennia here. Jan M. Ziolkowski has compiled and introduced numerous works from antiquity until the 16th century in *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years* (London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 511*f*, <http://www.myilibrary.com?ID=208843> [accessed 8 May 2016]. Roger Savage gives a wide-ranging account of responses to, and reworkings of, Dido in 'Dido Dies Again', *A Woman Scorn'd*, pp. 3-38, as does *A Companion to Vergil's* Aeneid *and its Tradition*, ed. by Joseph Farrell and Michael C.J. Putnam (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2014).

[5] As recounted in Book 1.13 of the *Confessions*: 'in the later lessons I was obliged to memorise the wanderings of a hero named Aeneas [...] I learned to lament the death of Dido, who killed herself for love,' St Augustine, *Confessions*, tran. by R.S. Pine-Coffin (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1961), p. 33. For further details of English translations of Book 4 of the *Aeneid*, see Gordon Braden's 'The Passion of

In more recent times, though, interest in Dido has waned. In her study of Virgil's presence in contemporary women's writing, Fiona Cox notes that 'Dido has become less popular in general in the twentieth century'[6] and, similarly, in his survey of responses to the Dido myth, Roger Savage judges that no 'major Didonian work' and no Dido 'of consequence' emerged in the twentieth century.[7] This is in spite of an increasing tendency since the 1960s, and especially since the turn of the millennium, for writers to turn back to classical material. Women writers have been at the forefront of this surge of re-engagement with classical writers and their texts. Anne Carson and Josephine Balmer have both responded to Sappho through translations and more creative re-visionings, as well as to Catullus, who is summoned in modern female form in Tiffany Atkinson's *Catulla et al*. Ovid's *Heroides* has been re-cast by Clare Pollard as *Ovid's Heroines* and the myth of Troilus and Criseyde has been taken up via the medieval lens of Chaucer in Lavinia Greenlaw's *A Double Sorrow*. Responses to Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have been particularly prevalent; from Alice Oswald's *Memorial*: A*n Excavation of the* Iliad, to a whole string of recent novels which take up the voices of female characters.[8] Yet, curiously, Virgil's Dido has remained a marginal figure in this increasingly crowded field.[9] Though she might be a fleeting point of reference in, or sometimes the subject of, numerous individual poems, she has not yet been granted the sort of extended treatment given to other female classical figures such as Circe, Penelope, or even Lavinia, whose marginal status and hovering silence in the *Aeneid* is perhaps the very thing that compelled her vocalisation in Ursula Le Guin's novel of 2008.[10]

What, then, might account for this relative neglect of Dido? Writing in 1998, Savage wonders whether it is because 'Virgil's sophisticated artifices in the *Aeneid* dictate that, from a twentieth-century standpoint, the Dido myth is too finished and framed, not malleable enough

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Dido', in *Virgil and his Translators*, ed. by Susanna Braun and Zara Matirosova Torlone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 80-96.

[6] Fiona Cox, *Sibylline Sisters: Virgil's Presence in Contemporary Women's Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 15 n. 34.

[7] Savage, 'Dido Dies Again', pp. 31-33.

[8] Madeline Miller's *Circe* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018) Pat Barker's *The Silence of the Girls* (UK: Penguin, 2018); Natalie Haynes's *A Thousand Ships* (London: Mantle, 2019); not forgetting the milestone that is Emily Wilson's *Odyssey* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2018) – the first full translation into English by a woman.

[9] There are some signs that interest in Dido is beginning to revive; Madeline Miller revealed in an audience Q&A at the UEA Literary Festival on 2nd May 2018 that, having based her bestselling novels *Song of Achilles* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011) and *Circe* on Homeric material, she plans to turn next to Virgil's *Aeneid* and, specifically, to Dido.

[10] See Miller's *Circe*, Margaret Atwood's *The Penelopiad* (Toronto: Canongate, 2005) and Ursula K. Le Guin's *Lavinia* (Boston and New York: Mariner Books/ Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2008). For discussion of Dido's presence in recent poetry see Rowena Fowler's '"Purple Shining Lilies": Imagining the *Aeneid* in Contemporary Poetry', in *Living Classics: Greece and Rome in Contemporary Poetry in English*, ed. by S.J. Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 238-254, and Josephine Balmer's 'Afterword: Let Go Fear' in *Virgil and his Translators*, p. 424.

for valuable reworking.'[11] I am not convinced, though, that the Dido myth *is* so 'finished and framed' within the *Aeneid*; it seems to me that the Dido episode is by its very nature a highly disruptive element in the scheme of Virgil's epic poem, and its rich and diverse afterlife, both critical and creative, seems proof of its considerable malleability. If it is 'framed' or hemmed in by anything then it might be by the sheer volume of all the various versions and re-workings it has been subjected to. Nevertheless, as I hope my own poetic re-envisioning demonstrates, there *is* still room for valuable re-working of Virgil's Dido myth. Cox offers what seems to me a more compelling explanation for writers' recent avoidance of Dido, that '[f]or the most part, Dido *as victim* casts so threatening a shadow over the imaginations of contemporary women writers that they avoid mentioning her at all'[12] (my italics). Dido's tragic stature – as abandoned lover, unwitting pawn of the gods, suicide victim – certainly makes her a daunting and difficult subject and therefore a less likely focus for any sort of prolonged treatment.

It is not Dido's *marginal* status but the potentially distorting *inflation* of her narrative and the pity it accrues which looms large in the mind of poet and translator Gavin Douglas, whose pioneering *Eneados* is the subject of the critical component of this thesis. His translation of the twelve books of Virgil's *Aeneid*, as well as a supplementary 'thirteenth book' of Maphaeus Vegius, was completed in 1513 and was the first full length translation of a classical epic into English, though Douglas himself is careful to distinguish it as 'the langage of Scottis natioun'.[13] In the first of the prologues which accompany each book, Douglas sharply criticises William Caxton's expansive treatment of Dido's story, which he alleges has been 'pervertit' on a grand scale, taking up half of Caxton's *Eneydos*:

> He rynnys sa fer from Virgill in mony place,
> On sa prolixt and tedyus fasson,
> So that the ferd buke of Eneadon,
> Twichand the lufe and ded of Dido queyn,
> The twa part of his volume doith conteyn
> That in the text of Virgill, trastis me,
> The twelt part scars contenys...   (I.Pro.166-172)

Dido's victimhood is also something which troubles Douglas, as the significant sympathy which Dido accrues comes at a potential cost to the hero of Virgil's epic: Aeneas. Chaucer is

[11] Savage, 'Dido Dies Again', *A Woman Scorn'd*, p. 34.
[12] Cox, *Sibylline Sisters*, p. 15.
[13] I.Pro.103. Douglas informs his readers: 'Completyt was thy wark Virgilian /Apon the fest of Mary Magdalen, / Fra Crystis byrth, the dait quha lyst to heir, / A thousand five hundredth and thretteyn ȝeir.' (Tyme, space and dait, 1 – 4). Unless otherwise stated, quotation of the *Eneados* is from Gavin Douglas, *Virgil's Aeneid Translated into Scottish Verse by Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld*, ed. by D. Coldwell, STS 3rd Series 30, 25, 27, 28, 4 vols (Edinburgh and London: The Scottish Text Society, 1957-64) with references by book, chapter, and line number.

another writer who earns Douglas's rebuke for having 'gretly Virgill offendit' (I.Pro.410), in this case by miscasting Aeneas as a callous betrayer who having been forsworn to Dido, then abandons her. This version of affairs is untenable to Douglas, who believes that Virgil has endowed his *pius* hero Aeneas with 'All wirschip, manhed and nobilite, / With euery bonte belangand a gentill wycht, / Ane prynce, ane conquerour or a valȝeand knycht' (I.Pro.331-333). Unlike his errant predecessors, Douglas is, as he tells his reader in the opening prologue, 'to Virgillis text ybund' (I.Pro.299) and 'constrenyt... / To hald hys verß and go nane other way' (I.Pro.303-304). He is keen, therefore, both to counter the sprawling and distorted version of Dido's story established in the English language by the likes of Caxton and Chaucer, which risks damaging the reputation of Aeneas, and to confine Dido's narrative to the proportions in which it is found in the *Aeneid*. Douglas's concerns on these points seem well-founded and, indeed, still resonate today, for if Dido has been granted surprisingly little sustained attention in recent decades then, as Rowena Fowler observes, Aeneas has fared far worse: '[t]he tragedy of Dido continues to exert such a powerful fascination for readers and writers that Aeneas' past experiences and the future mission (the larger part of the *Aeneid*) may be overlooked.'[14]

II

Dispossession, and the secrets
Of his beemaster father,
Taught Vergil more than men know,
He trudged further into suffering
And pity than other people...[15]

The anxiety about Dido – both of twenty-first-century writers and of Gavin Douglas in the early sixteenth century – seems to be founded, above all, upon the enormous pity which the portrayal of her suffering in the *Aeneid* elicits. How does one navigate – as reader, writer or translator – the landscape of suffering and pity into which Virgil leads us? And what is at stake in the route taken, in the waypoints followed, offered, or ignored? As an early sixteenth-century reader of Virgil, Douglas was already furnished with a map, of sorts. In Badius Ascensius's 1501 edition of Virgil's *opera*, from which Priscilla Bawcutt has authoritatively established Douglas worked, the text of the *Aeneid* is framed 'not only by the commentaries of Servius, Donatus and Beroaldus's annotations on Servius, but by Ascensius's own combination

[14] Rowena Fowler, '"Purple Shining Lilies": Imagining the *Aeneid* in Contemporary Poetry', *Living Classics*, p. 251.
[15] U.A. Fanthorpe, 'The Guide', in *Collected Poems 1978-2003* (Calstock: Peterloo Poets, 2005), pp. 74-5.

of commentary and paraphrase'.[16] To some extent, then, Douglas's reading and translation of the *Aeneid* and, indeed, of Dido, is subject to the mediations of these earlier readings and commentaries, both ancient and contemporary, which offered anything from glosses on individual words and thorny grammatical details, to far wider interpretative frameworks. Yet, though there are moments where Douglas's translation seems to have been inflected by the comments of Ascensius or Servius, in particular, he by no means follows them blindly, and there are moments at which he does not seem to rely on their interpretations at all and even diverges quite significantly from them.

Readers of the *Eneados* are also faced with an external framework to the poem, the most important components of which are thirteen prologues of diverse lengths, styles and purposes, which relate in varying degrees to the translations of the books which they precede. Of particular pertinence to the matter of pity, and to the reception of Dido, is the prologue to Book IV, which – as will be explored in chapter 1 – works to counteract the dangerously overwhelming pathos of Virgil's tragic queen, whom Douglas goes on to portray with remarkable sympathy in his translation. His sensitivity and responsiveness to the suffering of characters throughout the *Aeneid* is acute and his translations of highly pathetic scenes and moving speeches (such as the laments explored in chapter 3), often match, and in places exceed, the affective force of their Virgilian counterparts. But Douglas understands, too, that such intense pathos and the indiscriminate and overwhelming pity it elicits can prove dangerously alluring – nowhere more so than in the case of Dido. By cautioning against lust, earthly desires, and misplaced pity in his prologue to Book IV, Douglas aims to situate Dido's tragedy within a moral and specifically Christian framework, and to steer his readers *past* a purely sorrowful and emotional response to her downfall. This mirrors the sort of the movement made by Aeneas, who resists – though not without difficulty – Dido's moving and increasingly desperate entreaties for him to remain in Carthage, and dutifully resumes his divinely ordained journey to Italy. This moment is the site of powerful tensions which run throughout the *Aeneid*, between the personal emotions – love, grief, pity – both of and for an *individual*, and the demands of *pietas,* a *public* duty to family, state, and, ultimately, the gods.[17] Having originally intended to pursue a thesis which concentrated solely on Dido and her reception in a variety of works, it was Douglas's complex handling of these sorts of tensions and oppositions, as well as

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[16] Priscilla Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas, A Critical Study* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), p. 98. See pp. 98-127 for more general discussion of Douglas's source text.
[17] Defined in as 'an attitude of dutiful respect towards those to whom one is bound by ties of religion [and] consanguinity', s.v. 'pietas' in *Oxford Latin Dictionary: Volume II: M-Z*, ed. by P.G.W. Glare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 1516.

his deep sensitivity to moments of suffering and pathos throughout the *Aeneid*, which encouraged me to make the *Eneados* the exclusive focus of the critical component of this thesis.

As will be explored in chapter 2, Douglas's journey into pity and suffering takes a slightly divergent, but by no means wholly contradictory, turn from Virgil's, as the landscape of pity begins to assume slightly different dimensions and contours. This occurs largely due to what the critic Colin Burrow describes as a 'widespread European tendency for *pietas* to shift and soften in meaning towards our word "pity"'[18] by the sixteenth century. This movement in some way accounts for Douglas's expansive understanding of Aeneas's *pietas*, which he defines in fourfold terms as 'pyete', 'devotion', 'compassion' and – most interestingly for the purposes of my thesis – 'rewth' (or, in the variant spelling it is more often deployed in, 'reuth').[19] Virgil's *pius* Aeneas becomes (most often) Douglas's 'rewthfull Ene', which brings the tensions between pity and *pietas* inherent in the *Aeneid* into even sharper and more troublesome conflict in the *Eneados*. The single term 'reuth' becomes the site of great oppositional strain at many points in Douglas's translation of Books 4, 10 and 12, not least because he also uses the word to translate not only forms of *pietas* but also of *misericordia*. The proliferation and potential conflagration of these terms means that landscape of the *Eneados* becomes tilted towards pity in some complex and troubling ways. Douglas may, then, succeed in following Virgil just as deeply – at time perhaps even *more* deeply – into the realms of suffering, pathos, and pity, but along the way he also examines, via various strategies within and alongside his translation, what it means to be 'rewthfull' and who or what constitutes an appropriate object of 'reuth' according to his own sixteenth-century, Christian reading of Virgil's text.

If the critical thesis focuses on *Douglas's* recreation of and navigation through Virgil's landscape of suffering and pity, then the creative element of this project represents my own small venture into that terrain, at least insofar as it relates to the story of Dido. As mentioned above, Douglas encourages readers of the *Eneados* to turn *away*, ultimately, from Dido and, even though I perform the opposite move in making her the focus – indeed, most often the narrator – of my poems, I, too, am keen to ensure that the Dido whom I present is not defined solely by suffering and pity. Whilst classical figures such as Aeneas or Odysseus might be associated immediately with journeys and movement, Dido, it seems to me, is static in comparison. She often seems caught, in our imaginations, upon the pyre by which she is eventually consumed;

[18] Colin Burrow, *Epic Romance: Homer to Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 3.
[19] Douglas gives an account of his understanding of *pietas* in a marginal note to his translation of the first instance of 'sum pius Aeneas' (*Aeneid* 1.378; *Eneados* I.vi.125). See chapter 2.

her character reduced to a victim and her story contracted to one final act of self-destruction.[20] How, then, might Dido be released from this single defining moment, and become more fully embodied as not just a victim, but as sister; exile; leader; founder of a city; a woman of immense fortitude, independence, ingenuity, and compassion? Virgil provides an account of Dido's earlier life in a speech given by Venus in Book 1, which runs to just twenty-eight lines (1.340-368), but this briefest of sketches is something which I wanted to unpick and unravel in much the same way as Dido herself, according to legend, cut an ox hide into thin strips with which to encircle the top of the hill that became known as Byrsa, the citadel of Carthage.

There is, though, no getting *away* from the suffering that is as much a feature of Dido's life *before* Aeneas arrives on her shores as it is when he departs. As Dido tells Aeneas when she meets him in Book 1 of the *Aeneid*, she too endured many trials before reaching the North African coast ('me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores / iactatam hac demum voluit consistere terra', 1.628-269), including the murder of her husband Sychaeus, carried out and concealed on the orders of her brother; her flight across the Mediterranean, along with her sister and a whole host of fellow Tyrians who had suffered under her brother's rule; an uncertain, if not quite actively hostile, reception upon her arrival to the shores of northern Africa; all in all, then, a long list of tribulations which are yet to be multiplied. Dido's suffering has a further expansive quality, too, in that it has a direct resonance to events unfolding around the world today. If Theodore Ziolkowski's observation – made in 1993 – that 'we do not live in Virgilian times'[21] no longer seemed true to Fiona Cox in 2011, then it seems even less so now. The landscape – or, more often, seascape – of suffering through which Dido (and, indeed Aeneas) travels now feels as contemporary as it is ancient, given the many thousands of refugees who have attempted increasingly desperate and perilous crossings of the Mediterranean Sea since 2015. This relevance to present-day events is something which I wanted to draw out, though not in an imposing or too glaringly anachronistic way. Whilst a number of poems in the collection explore aspects of exile and migration through the perspective of Dido, it is in a poem *not* in Dido's voice that I am able to mark the contemporary

[20] My own first encounter with the figure of Dido was in an A-level music class, studying her famous lament in Purcell's opera. Though I was dimly aware of the *immediate* context of the aria (something very basic along the lines of: the last words of a mythical queen who, having been abandoned by her lover, kills herself), I had no knowledge of Virgil and no grasp of the fuller details of Dido's fictional life or demise. Ignorant of any wider context, then, my seventeen-year-old-self formed a very limited response to her plight. There was something about those poignant high Gs ('Remember me!') which grated and from which I recoiled in what, I am somewhat ashamed to recall now, was probably irritation. A wholly *uninformed* and dismissive sort of pity, then, was my response to Dido until I encountered her again during my undergraduate studies – this time as portrayed in the *Aeneid* itself and set within a rich critical reception, at which point she began to assume far more interesting proportions.

[21] Theodore Ziolkowski, *Virgil and the Moderns* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 285, as quoted by Cox in *Sibylline Sisters*, p. 1.

resonances more pointedly. The first of the sonnets titled 'FLAMMA' is when this comes most explicitly to the fore, with the reference to a 'life-jacket-fluorescent flare of light'. These sorts of small gestures might help the reader, I hope, to situate Dido's sufferings not in some remote classical past but in the local here and now, too, as part of a wider temporal perspective.

III

> *Of the various metaphors – translation, migration, metamorphosis, necromancy – which have been applied to the reception of classical writers, the one most apt for Virgil is conversation.*[22]

It could be argued that the creative and critical elements of this thesis might just as easily have been written entirely independently of each other. What is it, then, that binds these projects together on something more than superficial, thematic level? What sorts of 'conversations' have taken place between the works of Virgil, Douglas and my own offerings, both creative and critical? What has each element allowed me to activate in the other?

Something which has proven crucial both to my scholarly assessment of Douglas and to my creative response to his and Virgil's work is the extraordinary vividness with which he brings the *Aeneid* to life in his native tongue. Douglas Gray remarks that '[a] modern reader… will be instantly struck by the vigour and expressiveness of the language and by the way the dramatic and visual qualities of the epic are realised'[23], something which is achieved in a large part, thanks to Douglas's deep emotional and imaginative participation with so many moments of the *Aeneid*. The visual and dramatic qualities of Virgil's poem – especially in relation to Dido – are also what drew me to rework some of its material and, in particular, to offer a narrative of the Carthaginian queen in her own voice.[24] Such close imaginative inhabitation of the world of

[22] Rowena Fowler, '"Purple Shining Lilies": Imagining the *Aeneid* in Contemporary Poetry', p. 240.
[23] Douglas Gray, 'Gavin Douglas and "the gret prynce Eneas"', *Essays in Criticism: A Quarterly Journal of Literary Criticism*, reprinted from Vol. 51 (2001), 18-34 (p. 18).
[24] Douglas also shares this impulse to vocalise, though admittedly on a smaller scale. There are various points across the *Eneados* at which he seems to relay what is reported speech in the *Aeneid* in terms of direct speech (accounting for the fact, of course, that it is not presented as such in the manuscript form in which the text first circulated – any speech marks are the editor David Coldwell's additions). Book II holds one particularly interesting example, as Aeneas relates the events of the fall of Troy and his desperate search for his wife Creusa to an enthralled Dido and her court. Douglas renders Virgil's 'maestusque Creusam / nequiquam ingeminans iterumque iterumque vocavi' (2.769-770) as 'I… clepe and cry […] ful dolorusly, 'Crevsa! Crevsa!' / Agane, invane I callit swa…' (II.xii.17-20), taking up the single vocative form and literally enacting its repetition. This intensifies an already highly poignant moment,

the *Aeneid* and its characters on Douglas's part might stem from what Gray identifies as 'the strong impression he gives that the classical epic is not "remote" but highly "relevant" in its "sentence" and close to contemporary experience', a stance which I wholeheartedly share, as both a writer and a critic some five hundred years later.

Douglas's desire to make Virgil's Latin poem accessible to his sixteenth-century readers sometimes encourages him to add explicatory asides within the translation, and even to add explanatory marginal notes and comments, though these are not consistent and are found only alongside the prologue and first seven chapters of Book I.[25] Such *overt* scholarly apparatus, however illuminating, is something I tried to avoid; deciding early on, for example, not to supplement the poems with explanatory prefaces, footnotes, or references to corresponding lines within the *Aeneid* – mostly out of a desire to ensure that the poems can stand alone and can entirely absorb a prospective reader in their particular moment.[26] Nevertheless, a conversation of sorts does seem to have occurred between the critical and creative components of this project. Some of the methodologies employed in my more scholarly research have, for instance, made their mark on the poems, though perhaps not in ways that will be immediately obvious to readers of the poetry collection alone. Given the many weeks I spent tracking Douglas's translations of forms of *pietas* and *miserere*, and every deployment of the terms 'reuth' and 'piete' across all thirteen books of the *Eneados*, it seems remarkable that there is *not* a sonnet based upon one or other of those words; however, a number of the sonnets stem, at least to some degree, from the sorts of approaches found in the commentaries, for instance, of Ascensius's 1501 edition. 'RUERE' could be read – at least in one way – like a gloss of that particular verb, while 'DEXTRA' points back to various moments and contexts in which the term appears in the *Aeneid*, a strategy which again seems akin to that of a commentary. Though most of the sonnets still retain some sort of narrative function, they are not bound to Dido's voice, nor even to her immediate context; as such, they have emerged over the course of the collection as a space in which I can approach elements of the Virgilian text from a critical as well as a creative position, in new and fruitful ways. The double or twin sonnet 'AMANS AMENS', for instance (the particular form of which was inspired by Tyehimba Jess's recent,

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though there is, for me, something profoundly unsettling in having Aeneas *perform* these cries for his lost spouse within Dido's echoing halls.

[25] For further discussion on the marginal notes found in the *Eneados*, see Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas: A Critical Study*, pp. 107-108.

[26] This is an approach taken by numerous contemporary writers, such as Lavinia Greenlaw, who provides lines references to Chaucer's text for each poem in *A Double Sorrow* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 2014), which opens up all sorts of interesting comparative readings and enables the poems to act almost as mini-commentaries on Chaucer's poem. Clare Pollard, meanwhile, prefaces each of the letters of *Ovid's Heroines* (Hexham: Bloodaxe Books Ltd., 2013) with a short, one-paragraph summary of the contents and context of the missive which follows, and – in the case of *VII: Dido to Aeneas* – glances at their later creative and critical reception.

highly innovative, treatment of sonnets), allows me to bring together these two near-homophones, which are not found as neighbouring terms in the *Aeneid*, to simultaneously explore Dido's fractured psychological state, Virgil's simile relating Dido to a wounded deer (*Aeneid* 4.69-73) and the move from bliss to woe relayed in Virgil's famous line 'ille dies primus leti primusque malorum' (4.169).[27]

An interest in the way in which Virgil employs iterative imagery is also something that characterises both Douglas's and my own work. The different iterations of the 'FLAMMA' sonnets pick up on the imagery of fire and flames that is so prominent in Virgil's poem, but I have also developed my own independent recursive images of the sea, which seems to me to be just as important and rich a source of imagery for Dido's narrative as the flames with which she has traditionally been associated. Most of these images of the sea can be found in the numerous short metaphors which, as well as presenting a log of sorts (via their titular Phoenician numerals) of Dido's voyage across the Mediterranean, return at a climactic point later in the collection. Perhaps my own sense of the potential replication and development of Virgilian imagery has made me especially alert to Douglas's use of reiterative imagery or certain characteristic lexis, too. His sensitivity to and interest in the repeated imagery employed in the *Aeneid* has been described by Bawcutt as one 'which may strike us as curiously modern'[28]. Over the course of my critical analysis of the *Eneados*, I have uncovered numerous instances of repetition and echoing, which Douglas seems to have developed independently (not, for instance, via the mediations of Ascensius's or Servius's commentaries) and which, taken together, begin to suggest a sort of 'through composition' of the *Eneados* which has not, hitherto, been critically explored.

Both Douglas and I, in different and similar ways, have attempted to capture something of the vividness, both visual and dramatic, in Virgil's *Aeneid*, and Douglas, certainly, can be said to have succeeded. After four years of studying and reading the *Aeneid* as related by Douglas, though, one might ask what I may have captured, in turn, of the spirit of the *Eneados*. There is already one strong precedent for this sort of 'afterlife' of Douglas's translation; the Earl of Surrey, Henry Howard, undoubtedly had a manuscript copy of the *Eneados* close to hand as he worked upon his translations of Books 2 and 4 of the *Aeneid* – its influence is writ large,

[27] See Tyehimba Jess's multi-award-winning collection *Olio* (Seattle: Wave Books, 2016). My thanks go to Dr John-Mark Philo for alerting me to the suggestive closeness of *amans* and *amens*.
[28] Bawcutt quotes the marginal note to I.iii.92 as evidence of this: 'Noyte Virgill in this comparison and symilytud, for therin and in syk lyke baris he the palm of lawd… It is to be considderit alsso that our all this wark, he comparis batell tyll spayt or dyluge of watyr, or than to suddan fyr, and to nocht ellis.'; see Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas, A Critical Study*, p. 87.

literally so, in the many phrases that Howard adapts and even simply lifts from Douglas.[29] In my own work, Douglas's direct influence understandably takes a more subtle form; it is there in the alliterative poem 'Landburst', the title of which is taken from the Scots word 'landbrist' which Douglas uses to describe the breaking of waves on the shore (VII.Pro.21), and also in 'Womenting', from the Scots 'womentyng', meaning 'lamentation, wailing, (the expression of) sorrow'[30] and used, according to the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (hereafter referred to as *DOST*), very copiously by Douglas, and by later writers with specific reference to women, which is, indeed, how I have chosen to employ it. Most of all, though, I would identify Douglas's *Eneados* as a model of vernacular vividness, the study of which has helped me to establish a Dido for the present day whose story, I hope, is 'feilabill in all degre, / As quha the mater beheld tofor thar e'[31] – that Virgilian quality so admired by Douglas, which emerges so strongly in his *Eneados* and which is such an important factor in the study of pathos, pity and *pietas* which now follows.

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[29] See Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, *Poems*, ed. by Emrys Jones (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 35-92, and the corresponding notes, including line-by-line comparison of Virgil's Latin and Douglas's and Surrey's translations, pp. 133-153. For a comprehensive account of correspondences between the translations of Douglas and Surrey, see Florence Ridley, 'Surrey's Debt to Gawin Douglas', *PMLA*, 76.1 (1961), 25-33 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/460310> [accessed 01.09.2019] and for further discussion of the formal qualities of Howard's translations, and their relation to Douglas's, see Stephen Merriam Foley, 'not-blank-verse: Surrey's *Aeneid* Translations and the Prehistory of a Form' in *Poets and Critics Read Vergil*, ed. by Sarah Spence (Chelsea, MI: Yale University, 2001), pp. 149-171.

[30] *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, s.v. 'Waymentyng', <https://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/waymentyng> [accessed 29/12/2019].

[31] I.Pro.13-14.

Chapter I

'Our mortal mynd*is* aucht to co*m*passioun steir': the problem of pathos in Gavin Douglas's *Eneados*.

Gavin Douglas's *Eneados*, completed in 1513, was the first translation of a classical epic into the English language (though Douglas himself is careful to distinguish it as 'the langage of Scottis natioun'[1]).[2] His pioneering work comprises not just translations of the twelve books of Virgil's *Aeneid* along with a supplementary thirteenth book by Maphaeus Vegius, but also Douglas's own diverse prologues to each of them.[3] As such, the *Eneados* is a work of major importance both in terms of translation and Scottish vernacular poetry. Both the translation and the prologues have earned high praise: 'if the reader can accustom himself to the curiosities of Scottish orthography, then he may find here the most satisfying translation of the Latin original'[4] was editor David Coldwell's verdict, and Ezra Pound, an admirer of Douglas's handling of scenes at sea in particular, commented that in several passages he derived 'considerably more pleasure from the Bishop of Dunkeld [Douglas] than from the original highly cultured but non-seafaring author'.[5] C.S. Lewis asserted that 'to read the Latin again with Douglas's version fresh in our minds is like seeing a favourite picture after it has been cleaned. Half the 'richness' and 'sobriety' which we have been taught to admire turns out to have been only dirt... where the sponge has passed the glowing reds, the purples and the transparent blues leap into life'.[6]

In translating the *Aeneid* with such vitality and vividness, Douglas strives to achieve the 'eloquens' he so admires in Virgil's poem, which he describes as 'feilabill in all degre / As quha

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[1] *Eneados*, I.Pro.103.

[2] The author himself informs his readers: 'Completyt was thy wark Virgilian/Apon the fest of Mary Magdalen,/Fra Crystis byrth, the dait quha lyst to heir,/A thousand five hundredth and thretteyn ȝeir.' (Tyme, space and dait, 1 – 4).

[3] Maphaeus Vegius's supplementary thirteenth book to Virgil's *Aeneid* was written in 1428 and, from 1471, was included in many printed editions of Virgil. For further details on Douglas's use of the *Supplementum* see Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas, A Critical Study*, p. 104 and for further information on Maphaeus Vegius (often referred to in alternate spelling as Maffeo Vegio), including the thirteenth book (in Latin with an English translation), see J.M. Ziolkowski, *The Virgilian Tradition*, pp. 147-162 <http://www.myilibrary.com?ID=208843> [accessed 8 May 2016].

[4] Douglas, *Selections from Gavin Douglas*, ed. by David F.C. Coldwell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. xix.

[5] Ezra Pound, *ABC of Reading* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1961), p. 118.

[6] C.S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 84.

the mater beheld tofor thar e'(I.Pro.13-14)[7]. As the critic Douglas Gray points out, 'Douglas's comment is directly in the tradition of ancient and medieval rhetoric, where vividness is seen as an important weapon in the persuasive strategy of orators and poets.'[8] Quintilian, as Gray notes, is an authoritative source on the matter and seems particularly pertinent to Douglas's reverence for the *Aeneid*. He writes in Book 6 of the *Institutio Oratoria* that 'the person who will show the greatest power in the expression of emotions will be the person who has properly formed what the Greeks call *phantasiai* (let us call them "visions"), by which the images of absent things are presented to the mind in such a way that we seem actually to see them with our eyes and have them physically present to us'[9] – the latter part of which Douglas's '[a]s quha the mater beheld tofor thar e' strongly evokes. It is to Virgil's *Aeneid* that Quintilian turns to illustrate the result of this, which he terms

> *enargeia*, what Cicero calls *illustratio* and *evidentia*, a quality which makes us seem not so much to be talking about something as exhibiting it. Emotions will ensue just as if we were present at the event itself. Is it not from such "visions" that we get 'The shuttle flew from her hand, the thread unravelled' [*Aeneid*, 9.476], and 'On his smooth breast, the gaping wound' [*Aeneid*, 11.40], and the horse at Pallas' funeral "his trappings laid aside" [*Aeneid*, 11.89] ?

The imaginative and especially the visual inhabitation of a given moment or event, then, holds significant affective power – something which seems pertinent not only to Douglas's reading of Virgil, but to our reading of Douglas's translation. Whilst numerous critics have commented upon Douglas's tendency to make nautical or battle scenes more vivid and concrete (as seen above), only Priscilla Bawcutt and Douglas Gray have examined Douglas's particular sensitivity to and treatment of moments of heightened and complex *emotion* within Virgil's text.[10] The 'feilabill' quality of the *Eneados* is bound up not just in Douglas's descriptions of external, concrete aspects but also in his exploration of characters' emotions and, indeed, the emotionally affective qualities of his own translation.

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[7] For further discussion of Douglas's admiration of Virgilian eloquence, see A.E.C. Canitz, 'From *Aeneid* to *Eneados*: Theory and Practice of Gavin Douglas's Translation', *Medievalia et Humanistic: an American Journal for the Middle Ages and Renaissance,* 17 (1991), 81-99 (pp. 93-5).

[8] Douglas Gray, '"As quha the mater beheld tofor thar e": Douglas's Treatment of Vergil's Imagery', in *A palace in the wild: essays on vernacular culture and humanism in late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by L.A.J.R. Houwen, A.A. MacDonald and Sally Mapstone (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2000), pp. 95-124 (p. 95).

[9] See Book 6.2 of Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, *Volume III: Books 6-8*, ed. and trans. by Donald A. Russell, Loeb Classical Library 126 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 58-61.

[10] See: Gray, '"As quha the mater beheld tofor thar e"', p. 95-7; Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas,* p. 141-2.

It seems highly likely that Douglas would have been familiar with the sorts of ideas expounded by Quintilian. Even before Poggio Bracciolini's discovery of a full manuscript of *Institutio Oratoria* in 1416 'began a process of restoring [him] to fame'[11], Quintilian was already well known and his work, like that of Cicero – of which Quintilian was considered a useful interpreter – featured prominently as a rhetorical handbook of the Renaissance.[12] Douglas mentions him by name in *The Palyce of Honour* – 'Thare wes also the gret Quintilliane'[13] – in a list of writers attending the court of the Muses that, Priscilla Bawcutt asserts, gives us 'a useful clue to Douglas's literary preferences'.[14] While it is impossible to ascertain that Douglas had *direct* knowledge of 6.2 of *Institutio Oratoria* in particular, it certainly seems clear that in his appreciation – and attempted emulation – of Virgilian eloquence and vividness he shares a great deal with the Roman rhetorician.

It is important to note that Quintilian's exploration of emotional and visual vividness is concerned with a particular rhetorical tool: the generation of pathos. According to Quintilian, '*pathos*, which we call "emotion" (*adfectus*) in the strict sense [...] is almost entirely concerned with anger, hatred, fear, envy, and pity'[15], though by the time of its first citation in the *OED* in the sixteenth century, it is associated somewhat more narrowly with the expression and evocation of sorrow, sympathy, and pity.[16] It is these aspects of pathos to which Douglas is particularly alert and responsive in his translation of the *Aeneid*, and to which I wish to attend in this chapter and, indeed, this thesis as a whole. Quintilian asserts that 'the heart of the

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[11] See Thomas Russell's general introduction to Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, *Volume I: Books 1-2*, ed. and trans. by Donald A. Russell, Loeb Classical Library 124 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 20-24.

[12] Introduction to Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, *Volume I: Books 1-2*, ed. and trans. by Donald A. Russell, Loeb Classical Library 124 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 20-24.

[13] Gavin Douglas, *The Palis of Honoure,* ed. by David Parkinson, Medieval Institute Publications (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University, 1992), l. 906.

[14] The passage reads: 'Thare wes the gret Latyn Virgillyus,
The famus fathir poet Ouidius,
Ditis, Daris, and eik the trew Lucane,
Thare wes Plautus, Pogius, Parsius,
Thare wes Terens, Donat and Servius,
Francys Petrark, Flakcus Valeriane,
Thare wes Ysop, Caton, and Alane,
Thare wes Galterus and Boetius,
Thare wes also the gret Quintillaine.' (l.898-906)

For further discussion see Priscilla Bawcutt, 'The "Library" of Gavin Douglas', in *Bards and Makars: Scottish Language and Literature: Medieval and Renaissance*, ed. by A.J. Aitken, Matthew P. McDiarmid, Derick S. Thomson (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1977), pp. 107-126 (pp. 110-121).

[15] Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, 6.2.20, p. 55.

[16] The first citation in the *OED* is from 1579. Pathos is defined firstly as '[a]n expression or utterance that evokes sadness or sympathy, esp. in a work of literature; a description, passage, or scene of this nature' and, secondly, as '[a] quality which evokes pity, sadness, or tenderness; the power of exciting pity; affecting character or influence.' See *OED*, s.v. 'pathos' <https://oed.com/view/Entry/138808?redirectedFrom=pathos> [accessed 20/05/2020].

matter as regards arousing emotions, so far as I can see, lies in being moved by them oneself'; in order persuade the listener (or reader), one must therefore 'adapt [one's] feelings to the motion' and 'assimilate [oneself] to the emotions of those who really suffer'.[17] This process of imaginatively inhabiting a character's predicament and emotional state can be seen in what Brooks Otis identifies as Virgil's 'empathetic-sympathetic' or 'subjective' style, in which he 'not only reads the minds of his characters... he constantly communicates to us his own reactions to them and to their behaviour'[18]. As Gray notes, this strategy whereby Virgil 'sympathetically takes the viewpoint of a character and gives his own emotional reaction to their emotions'[19] is another aspect of the *Aeneid* to which Douglas seems especially responsive, and which he often reproduces with great sensitivity, or even intensifies. According to Quintilian's model, then, as the translator of a work which, in its abundant eloquence and empathetic-sympathetic style, so clearly moves *him*, Douglas should be *ideally* placed to arouse, in turn, the emotions of *his own* readers.

'Even in school, it is proper that the student should be moved by his subject and imagine it to be real'[20], argues Quintilian; however, St. Augustine's schoolroom encounters with Virgil's *Aeneid* illustrate the potential pitfalls of pathos, and the dangers of intense identification with the figure who arguably attracts the most troubling sympathy within the poem: Dido. Augustine's tearful reaction to Dido's plight when Aeneas abandons her in Book 4 is well known.[21] Addressing Dido in the prologue to Book IV of the *Eneados,* Douglas writes: 'Augustyne confessis hym self wepit, God wait,/ Redyng thy lamentabill end mysfortunat' (IV.Pro.217-8). This purely emotional response to Dido is highly problematic, though: 'What can be more pitiful than an unhappy wretch, unaware of his own sorry state, bewailing the fate of Dido, who died for love of Aeneas, yet shedding no tears for himself as he dies for want of loving you [God]?'[22] Augustine asks, chastising himself for being swept away by the pathos of Dido's story and neglecting the moral lessons (of misplaced and illegitimate love) it might hold for his own spiritual salvation. As Andrew Fichter observes, the youthful Augustine 'is impeded... by his inability in his youth to distance himself from the narrative, by his lack of a moral vantage point beyond the literal text'[23]. Augustine's tears epitomise the conflict between an emotional and an ethical response to Dido's fate which is central Douglas's prologue to Book

[17] Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, 6.2.26-27, p. 59.
[18] Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry*, p. 87.
[19] Gray, '"As quha the mater beheld tofor thar e"', p. 97.
[20] Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, 6.2.36, p. 63.
[21] For St. Augustine's reaction in full in Book I.13, see Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. by R.S. Pine-Coffin (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1961), pp. 33-4.
[22] St. Augustine, *Confessions*, I.13, pp.33-34
[23] Andrew Fichter, 'Augustine: The *Confessions* and the *Aeneid*' in *Poets Historical: Dynastic Epic in the Renaissance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 40-69 (pp. 42-43).

IV, which provides to readers of the *Eneados* just such a 'moral vantage point beyond [Virgil's] literal text' that Augustine lacked. To date, critics have generally looked to this prologue to ascertain whether Douglas portrays Dido with sympathy or with moral censure and (with the exception of Marilynn Desmond's contribution) little attention has yet been given to how Dido is presented in the translation itself.[24] How, then, as a writer who is clearly alert to the pitfalls of an emotional response to Dido, does Douglas deploy the rhetoric of pathos, and to what ends? As a translator whose particular strengths include vividness and immediacy, especially in regard to emotion, Douglas seems well placed to recreate the moments of pathos in Virgil's *Aeneid*, yet through his prologues and also via subtle changes in his translation he is also able to complicate and subject to critique the very pity they evoke.

The generation of pathos is closely linked to the tragic force of Virgil's Dido.[25] There is no doubt that Douglas views Dido's story as a tragedy, for he calls it one in the Prologue to Book IV: '...sen I suld thy [Dido's] tragedy endyte' (IV.Pro.264). This, though, is Douglas's second reference to 'tragedy' in the *Eneados*. The first is to the fall of Troy ('...this dedly tragedy/Twiching of Troy the subuersioun and fall' II.Pro.3-4). Douglas draws parallels between the two narratives by framing them with the same proverb – '"All erdly glaidneß fynysith with wo."' (II.Pro.21) and '"Temporal ioy endis wyth wo and pane"' (IV.Pro.221) – and calls attention to this echoing in the preceding line 'By the [Dido] wil I repeyt this verſs agane' (IV.Pro.220). In using these proverbs, Douglas places both episodes within the context of a common medieval conception of 'tragedy'[26]: a fall from 'prosperity to adversity'[27], from happiness to sorrow. Although Douglas would not have been familiar with Aristotle's theory that tragedy should arouse pity, I think that it is clear from his descriptions of the fall of the Trojans and the fate of Dido as 'lamentabill', 'mysfortunat', 'dolorus', 'sorofull'[28] along with the many references to tears and weeping, that he feels compassion and pity for them in their

[24] For accounts of Douglas's more, or less, sympathetic treatment of Dido in the prologue, see Elizabeth Archibald, 'Gavin Douglas on Love: the Prologue to *Eneados* IV' in *Bryght lanternis: essays on the language and literature of medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by Derrick J. McClure and Michael R. G. Spiller (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), and Lucy Rhiannon Hinnie, 'Dido enflambyt': the tragic queen of Carthage in Gavin Douglas' *Eneados* (1513)' (MPhil(R) thesis, University of Glasgow, 2012) p. 96f. <http://theses.gla.ac.uk/3673> [accessed 02/03/2016]. See, too, Marilynn Desmond, *Reading Dido: Gender, Textuality and the Medieval Aeneid* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 184-94, in which she alleges that Douglas presents Dido in a totally condemnatory and misogynistic manner, without any degree of sympathy. This reading seems to go against much evidence of sympathy and compassion to be found in the text.

[25] Indeed, the connection between pathos and tragedy is well-established. They are inherently linked for Quintilian, too. See Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, 6.2.20, p. 55.

[26] Douglas's use of the word at IV.Pro.264 is only the second cited usage in the *Dictionary of the Scots Language*. The following definition is given: 'A sequence of events or a process involving disastrous or sorrowful happenings or circumstances or coming to a disastrous or sorrowful conclusion', *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, s.v. 'traged(i)e', <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/tragedie> [accessed 24/04/2016].

[27] Terry Eagleton, *Sweet Violence, The Idea of the Tragic* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2003), p. 13.

[28] *Eneados*, II.Pro.8, IV.Pro.219, II.Pro.1, IV.Pro.222, II.Pro.17.

suffering.[29] The idea of 'tragedy' that Douglas would have been familiar with, and that he clearly draws on, comes from Chaucer (Chaucer's source was Boethius).[30] The opening lines of *The Monk's Tale* – a collection of tragedies – offer a definition of tragedy consistent with the proverbs that Douglas later employs in the *Eneados*:

> I wol biwaille in manere of tragedie
> The harm of hem that stoode in heigh degree,
> And fillen so that there nas no remedie
> To brynge hem out of hir adversitee.[31]

Chaucer's first illustration of such 'tragedie' places the subsequent tales within a Christian moral framework. It is the most literal falling away from the grace of God: the fall of Lucifer into hell. One of the most emotive and pathetic accounts in *The Monk's Tale* is that of *De Hugelino Comite de Pize,* which Chaucer adapted from Dante's *Inferno*.[32] Hugelino is falsely imprisoned in a tower with his three infant children, whose corpses he proceeds to eat before finally succumbing to starvation. In Dante's *Inferno* it is already an affecting story, but Chaucer's version of the 'tragedie'[33] is noticeably more poignant and pathetic: 'ther may no tonge telle [it] for pitee'[34], the author claims. Chaucer increases the pathos with numerous exclamations of 'allas' and 'weylaway', with descriptions of the children kissing their father before they die, and many references to tears and weeping. In the *Inferno*, readers are somewhat prepared for the grisly cannibalism to come and are perhaps less inclined to feel pity and compassion because they first encounter Count Ugolino close to the centre of hell, ferociously gnawing through the skull of his enemy and imprisoner Archbishop Ruggieri.[35] In Chaucer's version no such context is given.; readers follow the story as it unfolds for Hugelino, caught up in sympathy for him even as the full horror of his actions becomes apparent. Thus we are caught at a difficult juncture between pity and abhorrence, sympathy and condemnation. Chaucer's tale of Count Hugelino is perhaps an extreme example, but it illustrates very clearly the moral force which hangs over tragedy and how that complicates and conflicts with pathos and pity.

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[29] Aristotle, *Poetics*, as quoted in *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, s.v. 'tragedy'.
[30] Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Ideas and Forms of Tragedy from Aristotle to the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 171.
[31] Chaucer, 'The Monk's Tale' in *The Riverside Chaucer,* ed. by Larry D. Benson, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 241, ll. 1991-1994.
[32] Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, trans. by C.H. Sisson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), Inferno, 33.1 – 90.
[33] Chaucer, 'The Monk's Tale', l. 2458.
[34] Chaucer, 'The Monk's Tale', l. 2408.
[35] Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, Inferno, 32.125*f*.

The pathos inherent in Virgil's narration of the tragic sufferings and sorrowful ends of the Trojans and of Dido is capable of stirring its readers to pity, and it is the problematics of such pathos, and how Douglas both generates and complicates it within the *Eneados* to which I wish to attend in this chapter. Though my main concern lies with Douglas's representation of Dido, I will turn first to the tragedy of the fall of Troy, not least because Douglas himself ties the two tragic episodes so tightly together by framing them with the same proverb. In narrating the fall of the Trojans, as we shall see below, Douglas takes care to emphasise how pity can be the cause as well as the effect of tragedy, which will hold important implications for our reading of (and potential sympathy for) Douglas's Dido, whose seduction by Aeneas's tragic story is one of the causes of her own tragic end. I begin, then, with Book II and its Prologue.

I

The start of Book II in the *Eneados* does not match the start of Book II in the *Aeneid*. Douglas changes the book divisions: the final twenty-five lines of Book I of the *Eneados* (I.xii.1-25) translate the first twelve lines of Book II of the *Aeneid*, when Aeneas responds to Dido's request to tell her about the trap laid by the Greeks, the fall of Troy and the subsequent sufferings of Aeneas and his people. The reasons for this are not entirely clear according to Bawcutt[36], but this change can only be attributed to Douglas himself. The Ascensius edition which Douglas used follows Virgil's division of Book 1 and Book 2, though, so does not account for Douglas's alteration of the divisions of Book I and II.[37] One effect of Douglas's rearrangement is to align himself with Aeneas.[38] In Douglas's address to readers in the Prologue to Book II there are many parallels to Aeneas's speech to Dido, which (now) immediately precedes it. Aeneas's question 'Sik materis to reherß or ȝit to heir/, Mycht thame conteyn fra weping mony a teir?' (I.xii.13-14) is echoed by Douglas's statement 'The drery fait with terys lamentabill/ Of Troys sege wydequhar our all is song' (II.Pro.8-9). The passages share a language of grief and lamentation, with terms such as 'ontellabill sorrow', 'weping', 'terys' and

[36] Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas,* pp. 139-140.
[37] References to and quotations from the Ascensius 1501 edition are taken from a digital copy of Vergilius, Maro Publius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis, / Komm.: Servius, Philippus Beroaldus, Jodocus Badius Ascensius und Maphaeus Vegius*. P. 1 - 3., Universitäts Bibliothek Freiburg <http://dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/diglit/vergilius1500> [accessed 27th July 2017]; references are given by pdf page. For the start of Book 2, see p. 500.
[38] *cf*. Nicola Royan, who argues that in rearranging the start of Book II, 'Douglas reduces Dido's audibility' and argues that '[f]or book 1 to finish with Dido's request stresses her significance for the *Aeneid*, but potentially overemphasizes it for an audience more accustomed to see her as central' "Gavin Douglas." *Oxford Handbooks Online,* p. 15 <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935338-e-65.> [accessed 14/04/2016]. Royan, I believe, overstates Dido's position as a motivating factor; it seems to have more to do with Douglas's identification with Aeneas. For comments regarding Virgil's original structure, see Otis, *Virgil: a Study in Civilized Poetry*, p. 67.

'dedly tragedy'. It is clear that both Aeneas and Douglas are about to embark on a heart-wrenching task. Here we can see Douglas's use of Virgil's aforementioned 'subjective style' in full force. His mirroring of Aeneas's tone does more than 'set the scene for the tragic fall of the city'[39], as Gray suggests; in fact the overlapping identification allows Douglas to occupy the 'I' of Book II. In the *Aeneid*, Book 2 starts with Aeneas's reply to Dido, before he sets out on his story, whereas Douglas places Aeneas's reply at the end of Book I of the *Eneados*, thus allowing for the tale of the fall of Troy to take place immediately in Book II, in direct speech which feels both Aeneas's and Douglas's. Douglas is an active participant in the pathos of Aeneas's story; there is no disruption between the poet-translator and the Trojan prince.[40]

Douglas's active role in generating the pathos of the story continues in his translation of Book II, although it is to different effect. At the start of Book II, the Trojans are joyful – 'blyth as thai mocht' (II.i.24) – celebrating their presumed victory over the departed Greeks, though they are puzzled and conflicted about the wooden horse that their opponents have left behind. What converts their 'glaidneß' to 'wo'? What precipitates their transformation from joyful, celebrating citizens ('blyth as thai mocht' II.i.24) to a massacred population who 'Na quhar mercy nor succor mycht…seik' (II.vii.12) as their city is razed around them? As Eugene Vance observes, 'in the *Aeneid* the fall of Troy is instigated not by a battle but by a very moving *speech*: specifically, the deceitful narrative of Sinon that persuades the Trojans to open the city gates to the wooden horse'[41] . The tragic fall of Troy is, in itself, predicated upon its citizens' susceptibility to the rhetoric of pathos: to their pity. A comparison of the corresponding lines in the *Aeneid* and *Eneados* reveals Douglas's amplification of the pathos of Sinon's opening speech. Here are the lines in Virgil, in a prose translation, and in the *Eneados*.

> 'heu, quae nunc tellus' inquit 'quae me aequora possunt
> accipere? aut quid iam misero mihi denique restat,
> cui neque apud Danaos usquam locus, et super ipsi
> Dardanidae infensi poenas cum sanguine poscunt?'
> (2.69-72)[42]

[39] Gray, '"As quha the mater beheld tofor thar e"', p. 114.
[40] Please see the Appendix, point (A) for the end of Book I of the *Eneados* and Douglas's Prologue to Book II.
[41] Eugene Vance, *Mervelous Signals: Poetics and Sign Theory in the Middle Ages* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1986) p. 266.
[42] Unless otherwise stated, quotation of the *Aeneid,* Books 1 to 12 are from the Loeb editions: Virgil, *Virgil with an English translation by H. Rushton Fairclough, Volume I*, trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough (London: Heinemann, 1916) and Virgil, *Aeneid VII-XII*, *Appendix Vergiliana with an English Translation by H. Rushton Fairclough*, revised edn (London: Harvard University Press, 2000) with references by book and line number. Where there are discrepancies between the modern edition and the 1501 Ascensius edition, these will be noted.

> 'Alas!' he cried, 'what land now, what seas may receive me? or what fate at the last awaits my misery? No place at all have I among the Greeks, and the Trojans themselves, too, wildly clamour for vengeance and my life.'[43]

> 'Allace,' quod he, 'waid God some erd or sand
> Or sum salt sey dyd swelly me alyve!
> Quhat other thing now restis to me catyve,
> Quhamto sal nevir amang Grekis agane
> A place befundyn suythly to remane?
> And maratour Troianys, offendyt eik,
> To sched my blude by paynful deth dois seik.'
> (II.ii.20-26)

Douglas makes a number of changes to Virgil's text here, which serve to make the Sinon of the *Eneados* even more seemingly wretched and *pitiable* than his Virgilian counterpart. In the last line the rhetoric of pathos is intensified by Douglas's additions to the Latin: Sinon imagines the Trojans '[t]o sched my blude *by paynful deth* dois seik' (II.11.25, my italics). Douglas's translation of the first phrase, 'quae nunc tellus... quae me aequora possunt/accipere?' as 'waid God some erd or sand/Or sum salt sey dyd swelly me alyve!' is particularly interesting, as Douglas departs noticeably from Virgil. The phrase is transformed from a rhetorical question in the indicative mood to a desperate and emotional plea in the optative, invoking God and calling for death. By envisioning the earth, sand and sea as forces that the captive wishes might swallow him alive, Douglas imbues Sinon's opening with a visual force and immediacy that heightens the pathos of the alleged plight and places the speech in a highly emotional register.

The word 'swelly' holds further significance. In a study of Virgil's poetic diction in which he traces the usage of particular words throughout the *Aeneid*, R.O.A.M. Lyne has shown the subtle ways in which Virgil imbues certain words with specific meaning or resonance[44]. A similar approach, tracking Douglas's use of 'swelly' (to swallow, devour[45]), yields interesting results. 'Swelly' is used at highly emotional points throughout the *Eneados*. It is seen in Book IV with Dido's tragic and ultimately prophetic statement that, should she break the faith that she swore to the ashes of her former husband:

> ...I desire baith corß and spreit
> Of me the erth swelly law adown... (IV.i.48-9).

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[43] Virgil, *Virgil with an English translation*, p. 299.
[44] R.O.A.M. Lyne, *Words and the Poet, Characteristic Techniques of Style in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) p. 179f. and, for further reading on Virgil's word selection and patterning and his poetic diction, as quoted in Gray, '"As quha the mater beheld tofor thar e"', p. 116, see also Bernard Knox, 'The Serpent and the Flame', *American Journal of Philology*, 71, (1950), 379-400.
[45] *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, s.v. 'swelly', < http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/swelly> [accessed 02/04/ 2016].

Dido uses 'swelly'[46] even as she 'rave[s] hir self to the hart', blazing at the absent Aeneas:

> Now lat ȝon cruel Troiane swelly and se
> This our fyre funerale from the deip see... (IV.xii.35-6).

We see a close echo of Sinon's words from the near-suicidal Turnus, when he is trapped on a ship and prevented from fighting the Trojans alongside his companions:

> ...qhuilk land...
> May swelly me sa deip as I have servyt? (X.xi.171-2).

His grieving sister Jurtuna, upon realising she is powerless to prevent her brother's death, uses a nearly identical phrase:

> O now quhat grund, land, or erd tewch
> Sal swelly me tharin half deip enewch...'(XII.xiii.214).

That Douglas translates Virgil's forms of *dehiscere* and *haurire* singularly as 'to swelly' shows, I think, his sensitivity to Virgil's use of those verbs at key moments of pathos and tragedy, but his translation of *accipere* in Sinon's opening lines (*Aeneid* 2.70, *Eneados* II.ii.21) as 'swelly' goes even further. Although he may have been influenced by the commentary that surrounded the poem in his edition of the *Aeneid*, Douglas is doing more than Virgil here – he is generating his own pattern, cleverly resituating Sinon's first words within a group of highly emotive moments and thereby intensifying the piteous nature of Sinon's speech.[47] Of all of the succeeding parallel usages of 'swelly' after Sinon's, the most important is Dido's desire for 'baith corſs and spreit/ Of me *th*e erth swelly law adown...' (IV.i.48-9), for Dido will carry out the very betrayal that she invites such punishment for. Though in very different contexts, Sinon's and Dido's calls for the earth to swallow them up both draw sympathy to bad ends: Sinon's because he is treacherous, Dido's because she proves guilty. To a lesser degree, even the pathos of Turnus' and Juturna's words becomes problematic: they are, after all, on the losing side, fighting against the hero Aeneas. Douglas draws these episodes together with impressive subtlety to emphasise the morally dubious aspect of pity and sympathy in these cases.

Turning back now to Sinon's initial speech, the heavy alliteration – not influenced by Virgil – of 'waid God some erd or sand/Or sum salt sey dyd swelly me alyve!' also gives a certain forceful impetus to 'swelly', which is made all the more emphatic by coming after such a long string of monosyllabic words. Bawcutt notes that Douglas tends to use *s*-alliteration in his

[46] In this instance meaning 'to take in eagerly, "devour" with one or more of the senses', see *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, s.v. 'swelly', < http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/swelly> [accessed 02/04/ 2016].
[47] The Ascensius edition reads: 'possent accipere id est i[m]mergere et deuorare me q[uod] vtinam aut terra me aut mare i[n]gurgitet'. Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 508.

descriptions of snakes, the sounds made by snakes and also the sounds of flying arrows.[48] It is surely not a coincidence that Douglas uses such alliteration in the opening speech of the insidious Sinon, whose words are as much a weapon as his Greek comrades' swords and spears. As Douglas Gray observes, 'a pattern of verbal allusions to hostile serpents'[49] emerges in Book II, though I would suggest it begins not at 'Full law I [Sinon] lurkit' (II.ii.143) as Gray asserts, but with the sibilance of Sinon's first words. By having Sinon speak with such snake-like sibilance, Douglas overtly signals that the captive's words are false and not to be trusted. While Douglas heightens, even exaggerates, the pathos of Sinon's speech, he simultaneously includes hints that the Trojans' are being led astray. Readers of the *Aeneid* and the *Eneados* are consistently reminded by regular epithets that Sinon is deceitful and false but Douglas goes further by embedding clues to Sinon's falseness within his direct speech, such as the aforementioned alliteration. Douglas is staging a criticism of pity here by showing that the Trojans are being seduced by a carefully constructed rhetoric of pathos, which ultimately proves ruinous.

In describing the Trojans' initial reaction to Sinon's opening speech, Douglas once more diverges from Virgil. In the *Aeneid* we see:

> quo gemitu conversi animi compressus et omnis
> impetus. hortamur fari quo sanguine cretus,
> quidve ferat; memoret quae sit fiducia capto.
> ille haec deposita tandem formidine fatur (2.73-75)

> At that wail our mood was changed and all our violence checked. We urge him to say from what blood he is sprung or what tidings he brings. 'Tell us,' we cry, 'on what thou reliest as prisoner.' He, when at length he has laid aside his fear, thus speaks...[50]

and in the *Eneados*:

> With this regrait our hertis sterit to piete;
> All molestatioune cessit and lattyn be,
> We hym exort reherß, and tobe bald,
> Of quhat lynnage he was, and quhat he wald,
> And to remember gude hope of ferm supple
> Happynnys oft to presoneris in captiuite.
> He at the last this fenȝeit dreid dyd away
> And on this wyß onone begouth to say... (II.ii.27-34)

[48] Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas, A Critical Study*, p. 157, for further discussion of Douglas's use of alliteration see pp. 155-8. For Virgil's use of serpent imagery, see Bernard Knox, 'The Serpent and the Flame', pp. 379-400.
[49] Gray, '"As quha the mater beheld tofor thar e"', p. 117.
[50] Virgil, *Virgil with an English translation*, p. 299.

There are a number of small but telling differences here. Virgil's 'quo gemitu conversi animi compressus et omnis impetus' (2.73-74) suggests only a cessation of immediate violence, but Douglas is more explicit in his portrayal of the Trojans' exact feelings. The pathos of Sinon's words acts upon their 'hertis', which are 'sterit to piete'. This pity arrives significantly earlier in the *Eneados* than it does in the *Aeneid*. In Virgil's text, compassion and sympathy are provoked only after Sinon's overt plea for pity: 'His lacrimas vitam damus et miserescimus ultro'[51] (*Aeneid*, 2.145) Douglas does not translate this line when he reaches it (it should appear either at the very end of Book II.ii or at the very beginning of II.iii). Instead, I think he has reworked this line as '[w]ith *th*is regrait our hert*is* sterit to piete' (II.ii.27) and has situated it far earlier in the text than its Virgilian counterpart. In his commentary on Book 2 of the *Aeneid*, R.G. Austin describes the Trojans' reaction to Sinon as moving from 'jeering to curiosity, from curiosity to kindness' and through 'kindness…pity'[52]. In the *Eneados*, there is no such 'jeering' to be found; pity is the overwhelming and sole reaction. Whereas Virgil's drama lies in the progression of the Trojans' unfolding reactions to Sinon, in the *Eneados* all the force is in the pathos of Sinon's speech and in the seemingly inevitable pity that it evokes.

Randall T. Ganiban interprets 'memoret quae sit fiducia capto' (*Aeneid*, 2.75) as '"(we urge him) to say what confidence there is for him, a prisoner," that is, what makes him believe the Trojans would trust him rather than kill him on the spot'[53]. In contrast, in the *Eneados* the Trojans address their prisoner in tones of sympathy and encouragement ('we hym exort…tobe bald' II.ii.29). Douglas's translation of *memoret* as 'to remember' seems to offer encouragement and reassurance of hope. Nor is such hope a tentative prospect: it is '*gude* hope of *ferm* supple [which] [h]appynnys *oft* to presoneris' (II.ii.31-2, my italics) – all of which are Douglas's own embellishments and are not to be found in the *Aeneid*. Again, the tone is reassuring and optimistic. Even the use of 'lynnage', rather than 'blude'[54] neutralises the faintly sinister echo of Virgil's 'sanguine' (*Aeneid* 2.72 and 2.74); any hint of threat or menace towards Sinon has been erased.

The lack of aggression or even defensiveness from the Trojans is to their cost. Their belief in the sincerity of Sinon's speech and their emotional susceptibility to its pathos bring their city

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[51] Translated by Fairclough as: 'To these tears we grant life and pity him besides', *Virgil with an English translation*, p. 305.

[52] Vergili, P. Maronis, *Aeneidos*, *Liber Secvndvs with a commentary by R.G. Austin*, ed. by R.G. Austin (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 52.

[53] Randall T. Ganiban, 'Commentary: Aeneid 2' in *Aeneid Books 1 – 6*, ed. by Randall T. Ganiban et al, (Newburyport, MA: Focus Publishing, 2012), p. 228.

[54] To use 'blude' would have been a viable option for Douglas; see the entry 2 and 2(b) for "Blude *n.*", *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, s.v. 'blude', <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/blude_n> [accessed 10/04/2016].

toppling down. Virgil compares the fall of the city to the felling of an ancient ash tree[55] but Douglas chooses to use an oak, a subtle distinction which binds it closer to a later simile in Book IV, in which Aeneas, unmoved by a torrent of pleas from Dido (via her sister Anna), is compared to a strong oak, standing firm.[56] In the *Eneados* we have two images of an oak tree, the first a representation of a city brought low because of its citizens' inability to resist a moving and pathetic speech, the second an image of the founder of a new Troy who withstands an onslaught of emotional pleas. As much as Aeneas feels the 'perturbance [of] reuth and amouris' (IV.viii.85), he does not succumb to it but instead stays true to his moral, even divine, obligation to leave for Italy. In the *Aeneid*, the image of the oak in Book 4 might well recall that of the ash in Book 2, but by making them the same tree in the *Eneados*, Douglas makes the parallel more explicit, offering on one hand a picture of the ruinous effects of succumbing to pity and pathos and, on the other, a model of resistance.

In Book II of the *Eneados* and its accompanying Prologue, we can see that Douglas, through his own words (in the Prologue) and through his subtle changes to Virgil's, at once generates and participates in moments of pathos whilst also showing great concern for its effects and, ultimately, criticising the pity that such pathos evokes. At the beginning of his Prologue to Book II Douglas shares the anguish of Aeneas at the thought of recounting the story of the fall of Troy and he seems fully alive and sympathetic to its tragic pathos. Yet, by exaggerating the rhetoric and artifice of pathos in Sinon's speech and by accelerating the Trojans' resultant feelings of pity, he draws readers' attention to the dangerous pitfalls of such sympathy and pity. In particular, Douglas's subtle reworking of Sinon's speech exemplifies his understanding of the power of pathos: how it can manipulate audiences (such as the Trojans) but also how it might be employed and manipulated within his translation. Douglas seems to want readers to see – in terms more certain than Virgil gives him – the potential dangers of an unquestioning, unsuspecting, emotional response to a moment of tragedy or pathos and to be more alert to the ethical and moral questions that such tragic instances pose. The final stanza of his Prologue reveals his motives most clearly. He does not ask his readers to share in the woe and misery at the fall of Troy that he himself expresses; instead his message is instructive:

> Wyß men, attendis mony sorofull clawß;
> And, ȝe dyssavouris, reid heir ȝour proper art... (II.Pro.17-8)

Indeed, in Douglas's translation of Book II there is much in the 'art' of 'sorofull clawß' for wise readers to attend to.

[55] Please see the Appendix, point (B), for the full corresponding similes in the *Aeneid* and *Eneados*.
[56] Please see point (B) of the Appendix.

II

The consequences of listening to Aeneas's tragic tale of the fall of Troy prove devastating for Dido. As Heather James states, 'Dido's avid listening is the means by which catastrophe shifts from tale to hearer: she hangs on Aeneas's tale, just as the Trojans, heedless of danger, clung to Sinon's'.[57] Though Cupid may have prepared the ground – the 'mynd of Sycheus, hir first husband, / Furth of hir thocht peyß and peyß begouth dryve' (I.xi.52-53) – it is Aeneas's eloquent recounting of the tragic events of Troy which fills the void and spurs Dido's growing passion. The lasting effect of Aeneas's words upon the queen is made clear:

> Deip in hir breast so was hys figure prent
> And all hys wordis fixt, that, for bissy thocht,
> Noyn eys hir membris nor quyet suffir mocht. (IV.i.8-10)

Douglas follows Virgil quite faithfully in the lines above but, soon after, departs from the original text by giving extra emphasis to the extraordinary hold that Aeneas's words appear to have on Dido.[58] Virgil has 'quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes, / quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis!' (4.10-11), which Douglas translates as:

> Quhat be he, this gret new gest or stranger,
> Onto our realm laitly is drevyn heir?
> *Quhou wyß in speche and in his commonyng*
> *He schawys hym self! O God, quhat wondir thing!*
> Quhou stout in curage, in weir quhou vailȝeand!
> (IV.i.19-23; my emphasis)

The phrase 'quem sese ore ferens' is somewhat ambiguous here; it could refer either to Aeneas's physical deportment ('bearing what a self…!'[59]) or, as is suggested more literally by 'ore', his speech. The gloss and commentaries in the Ascensius edition of Virgil that Douglas was most likely working from gives both interpretations. Servius's commentary focuses on Aeneas's

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[57] Heather James, 'Dido's Ear: Tragedy and the Politics of Response', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 52. 3 (2001), 36-382 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3648684> [accessed 06/09/2016] (p. 365).
[58] Here, Douglas translates 'haerent infixi pectore vultus / verbaque, nec placidam membris dat cura quietem' (*Aeneid*, I.4-5).
[59] This is recent commentator James O'Hara's most 'literal translation of this difficult Latin' in his commentary on Book 4 in *Aeneid*, *Books 1-6*, p. 326

physical appearance, linking the phrase to earlier lines in Book I: 'Quem sese ore ferens, ut, obstipuit pri[m]o aspectu[m] Sidonia Dido, [1.613] et namque ipsa deoram caesarium nato genetrix lumenque iuuentae. [1.589]'[60]. An alternative gloss on the same page, however, states 'ore: id est oratione et sermone'[61]. Given the conflicting interpretations available to him, it is significant, I think, that Douglas chooses to emphasise Dido's favourable impression of Aeneas's eloquence. Douglas's Dido is struck first and foremost by Aeneas's speech, and not just the story that he relates but *how* that story is related. The exclamation, 'O God, quhat wondir thing!' (IV.i.22), is entirely Douglas's own addition and serves to highlight Dido's emotional response to Aeneas's story. Pity, as well as admiring wonder, is her chief feeling. She bewails the suffering faced by Aeneas: 'Allace, quhat wondir fatale aventuris / Heß hym bewaif! quhat travel, pane and curis' (IV.i.29-30). The tragic tale retains a powerful hold over Dido days later:

> And, half myndles, agane scho langis sayr
> For tyll enquire and heir the sege of Troy,
> And in a stair behaldis hym for ioy. (IV.ii.56-58)

The irrational nature of her obsession with the story and its teller is clear – 'half myndles' – but Douglas is more explicit than Virgil when he names the emotion she feels as 'ioy'[62]. Joy feels an incongruous choice here, not only because the Trojan War is hardly a happy subject for narrator or listener[63] but also because Dido's apparent 'ioy' is overshadowed by far more negative descriptions of her mental state and behaviour in the preceding and following lines (she has just been compared to 'ane strykkyn hynd' at IV.ii.40). The uneasy positioning of 'ioy' recalls the plethora of contradictions with which Douglas describes love – or, more precisely, lust – in his Prologue to Book IV ('ioly wo', 'drery gemme... myrry pane', 'lusty pane'; IV.Pro.ff.5) and his warning that 'Temporal ioy end*is* wyth wo and pane' (IV.Pro.221).

Aeneas's tragic account forms a key part of Dido's seduction but in Douglas's translation Dido is not only a victim of such a seduction, but a more active participant[64]; when the feasting comes to an end in Book 1, where Virgil simply says 'vario noctem sermone trahebat' (1.748), Douglas has 'Onhappy Dido, alsso set all hir mycht / With sermondis seir forto prolong the

[60] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 626; see also Servius, *Servius' Commentary on Book Four of Virgil's Aeneid, an Annotated Translation*, translated and edited by Christopher M. McDonough, Richard E. Prior and Mark Stansbury (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers Inc., 2004), pp. 6-7.
[61] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 626.
[62] For further reading on Douglas's tendency to make emotions more explicit and concrete, especially in Book IV, see Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas*, p. 115 and Canitz, 'From *Aeneid* to *Eneados*', p. 88.
[63] 'Sik mater*is* to reherß or ȝit to heir/, My*cht th*ame conteyn fra weping mony a teir?' (I.xii.13-14).
[64] Douglas's reproach to Dido in the Prologue to Book IV – 'Throw fulych lust *wrocht thine awyn ondoyng*' (IV.Pro.228; my italics) – clearly shows that he believes that Dido's tragic fate is, in no small part, a result of her own actions.

nycht' (I.xi.109-110). There are a number of small but important differences here. Firstly, the phrase 'set all hir mycht' combined with 'forto', imbue Dido with an agency and anxiety which is not present to such an extent in the *Aeneid*. As Edwin Morgan points out in his analysis of these two lines: 'Douglas makes her more conscious of time, more anxious ('set all hir mycht') *more open to tragedy*'[65] (my italics). I would add that Douglas also underlines the tragic nature of the story Aeneas will tell by using 'sermond*is seir*'; while 'seir' might be read as 'several' or 'various' (a straightforward translation of Virgil's 'vario'), it could also signify 'sore' or 'painful'.[66] Both senses are fitting in this case, giving the strict sense of *vario* but also emphasising Dido's desire not just to hear Aeneas speak in general but to specifically hear his tragedy.

We must remember, though, that Dido is already familiar with events at Troy before she hears Aeneas's woeful account of them. The walls of her temple are decorated with scenes from the Trojan War, which, according to Otis, Aeneas takes as 'evidence of Dido's humanity and of her prospective sympathy with himself'[67]. In another example of Virgil's 'subjective style', readers encounter these images from Aeneas's perspective; they are filtered 'through the mind of the beholder, coloured and interpreted by his own emotions.'[68] At times Douglas makes even more explicit the emotions that the images provoke in Aeneas (though he hardly needs to – this is already a scene of great pathos in the original text). Alastair Fowler identifies subtle changes to Virgil's text; for instance, where 'Virgil has simply *en Priamus* ('lo Priam'), Douglas puts "*Allace*, behald, se ȝonder Kyng Priam"' (my italics), thereby intensifying the 'feilabill' quality of the scene and further 'extending the emotional engagement to poet and reader.'[69] Aeneas's response to the depictions of Troy is to weep: 'He styntis, and wepand' (I.vii.72), 'Murnand sair and wepand tendyrly, / The flude of terys haling our hys face' (I.vii.84-5). His remarks to his friend Achates contain some of the most famous lines of Virgil's *Aeneid*: 'sunt lacrimae rerum

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[65] Edwin Morgan, 'Gavin Douglas and William Drummond as Translators' in *Bards and Makars: Scottish Language and Literature: Medieval and Renaissance*, ed. by A.J. Aitken, Matthew P. McDiarmid and Derick S. Thomson (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1977), pp. 194-200 (p.197).
[66] *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, s.v. 'sere', <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/sere_adv_adj> [accessed 11/09/2016] and 'sare', <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/sare_adj> [accessed 11/09/2016]. In his glossary accompanying the *Eneados*, Coldwell also lists both meanings. Although he does not specify the use of 'seir' at I.xi.110 to illustrate either definition, he does inform us that Douglas used the same spelling of 'seir' to mean 'sore, painful' in the heading to VI.xii ('*The* seir punitioun of sawlis in purgatorye'), though he more often uses the spelling 'sair'. According to the entry for 'sare' referenced above, Douglas also uses 'sair' in direct relation to tragedy – 'The feird [Muse] endytis ... Sair tragedeis' (*The Palis of Honoure*, l. 861).
[67] Otis, *Virgil: a Study in Civilized Poetry*, p. 66.
[68] R.D. Williams, 'The Pictures on Dido's Temple (*Aeneid* I.450-93)', *The Classical Quarterly*, 10.2 (1960), 145-151 , https://www.jstor.org/stable/638045> [accessed 12/07/2017], (p. 45).
[69] Alastair Fowler, 'Gavin Douglas: Romantic Humanist', in *Rhetoric, Royalty, and Reality, Essays on the Literary Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland,* ed. by Alasdair A. MacDonald and Kees Dekker, (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), pp. 83-103 (p. 89).

et mentem mortalia tangunt' (I.462). Douglas's translation – 'Thir lamentabyll takynnys passit befor / Our mortal myndis aucht to compassioun steir' (I.vii.78-79) – has been greeted with disapprobation by critics, as a rather clumsy and fumbling effort.[70] 'Douglas's awkward translation… at least demonstrates the importance he attached to 'compassioun''[71] observes Gray and, indeed, there seems to be a stronger, exhortatory tone ('*aucht* to compassion steir') to Douglas's translation than is immediately observable in Virgil's lines. The inclusivity of '*our* mortal myndis' also shows that Aeneas believes his feelings of sorrow and (self) pity should be replicated by others, including the Carthaginians and – most crucially – Dido. As R.D. Williams notes, 'the *ἔκφρασις* has been made real by the personal interpretation of the pictures; *it is a story* as well as an art gallery'[72] (my emphasis) and it is a story that is, at least ostensibly, constructed by Aeneas. As such, this scene in the temple rehearses the affective power of Aeneas's tragic narrative and reveals his desire and expectation that his words be met with compassion and pity.

It is in the lines just discussed (I.vii.78-79), that we find one of Douglas's first uses of the verb 'steir', which like the aforementioned 'swelly' (p.7-8), draws together a number of moments in Books I to IV which are not linked by one such specific word in the original Latin. Taken in by the words of Sinon, the Trojans are moved to compassion: '[w]ith this regrait our hertis sterit to piete'[73] (I.ii.27). 'Steir' is once more found later in Book II as Aeneas rouses his fellow Trojans to embark on a hopeless mission through the burning streets of Troy: 'Quhen I thame saw this wyß adionyt to me / And wilful forto stryke in the melle / Thus I begouth thame forthirmar to steir…[74] (II.vi.91-93). Venus instructs Cupid to inflame Dido and 'within hir banys greyn / The hoyt fyre of lufe to kyndill and steir' [75] (I.x.5-7), a task which is duly carried out:

> Bot he, remembering on his moderis command,
> The mynd of Sycheus, hir first husband,
> Furth of hir thocht peyß and peyß begouth dryve,
> And with scharp amouris of the man alyve
> Gan hir dolf spreit forto preveyn and steir

[70] 'Gavin Douglas, such an excellent translator of the more active parts of the epic, fumbles badly here' is John Wright's verdict in '*Lacrimae Rerum* and the Thankless Task', *The Classical Journal*, 62.8 (1967), pp.365-367 (p. 366) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3295593> [accessed 06/09/2016].
[71] Gray, 'Gavin Douglas and "the gret prynce Eneas"', p. 26 n.13.
[72] Williams, 'The Pictures on Dido's Temple', p. 45.
[73] *cf*. Virgil's 'quo gemitu conversi animi compressus et omnis / impetus' (2.73-74).
[74] *cf*. 'quos ubi confertos audere in proelia vidi, / incipio super his' (2.347-348). Perhaps surpassing Virgil's more bland 'incipio', Douglas's choice of 'steir' seems particularly apt here, as it is also suggestive of the active, physical movement of battle and Aeneas's leadership (if we take 'steir' to mean 'steer' as well as 'stir', as per Coldwell's glossary, *Vol I*., p. 385) *DOST* has two entries for 'ster(e', which allow for both senses, and which note the overlap between the two. See *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, s.v. 'ster(e'.
[75] *cf*. 'donisque furentem / incendat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem' (1.659-660).

Had beyn dyssvsit fra luf that mony ȝeir.[76] (I.xi.51-55)

Juno's plan to facilitate the physical union of Dido and Aeneas – the culmination of their stirred emotions – involves similarly agitated weather: 'And al the hevyn with thundyrris blast sa steir / That all thar fallowschip sall withdraw for feir'[77] (IV.iii.60-61). Finally, 'steir' is found in a devastating negative form, as Aeneas remains unmoved in the face of Anna's appeals on her sister's behalf:

> With syklyke wordis hir request scho maid,
> Hir supplicatioun, with teris ful onglaid,
> Reportis hir systir, and answer brocht agane
> Quhou al thar wepyng mycht not him anys steir...
> (IV.viii.59-62)

In all of these cases, Douglas uses 'steir' at moments of heightened emotion; what is particularly interesting is how his consistent application of the verb binds together and conflates the inflaming of Dido's carnal passion and the arousal of pity. Douglas's subtle changes to the original text may seem minor, but they gain further significance when examined in light of his prologue to Book IV, in which he explicitly warns his readers (and especially 'ladeys and madynnys ȝyng'; IV.Pro.201) about the dangers of unthinking pity. Having distinguished between 'twa luffis, perfyte and imperfyte / That ane leful, the tother fowle delyte'[78] (IV.Pro.112-113), the former 'rewlyt by messure' (IV.Pro.125), the latter 'inordinat' (IV.Pro.128), Douglas launches into a sustained attack upon misplaced pity, which he connects with yielding to lust.

> Faynt lufe, but grace, for all thi fenȝeit layis,
> Thy wantoun willis ar verray vanyte;
> Grasleß thou askis grace, and thus thou prayis:
> "Haue mercy, lady, haue reuth and sum piete!"
> And scho, reuthleß, agane rewys on the:
> Heir is na paramouris fund, bot all haitrent,
> Quhar nowthir to weill nor resson tak thai tent.
> (IV.Pro.142-148)
>
> Callys thou that reutht, quhilk of thar self ne rakkis?
> Or is it grace to fall fra grace? nay, nay.

[76] *cf*. Virgil's '...at memor ille / matris Acidaliae paulatim abolere Sychaeum / incipit et vivo temptat praevertere amore / iam pridem resides animos desuetaque corda.' (1.719-722).
[77] *cf*. 'desuper infandum et tonitru caelum omne ciebo.' (*Aeneid*, 4.122)
[78] Here Douglas uses St. Augustine's distinction between the two loves (or, rather, love and *lust*), adding in a marginal note 'De duplice amore vide Augustus de civitate dei. xv. c.xxii'.

Thou sekis mercy and tharof myscheif makkis.
(IV.Pro.149-151)

Douglas highlights the potentially damaging, even ruinous, aspects of pity when it is not tempered by reason and restraint:

Rew on ȝour self, ladeys and madynnys ȝyng,
Grant na syk reuth for evir may cauß ȝou rew.
Ȝhe fresch gallandis, in hait desire byrnyng,
Refreyn ȝour curage syk paramouris to persew;
Grund ȝour amouris on charite al new;
Found ȝow on resson – quhat nedis mair to preche?
God grant ȝou grace in luf, as I ȝou tech.
(IV.Pro.201-207)

Douglas also warns his readers against the means by which their pity might be kindled: 'Traist nocht al talis that wanton woweris tellis' (IV.Pro.196). I in no way mean to suggest that Douglas is condemning Aeneas as one of those 'wanton woweris'; although lines such as 'Allace the quhile thou knew the strange Ene!' (IV.Pro.263) and 'Be the [Dido] command I lusty ladeis quhyte, / Be war with strangeris of onkouth natioun / Wyrk na syk woundris to thar dampnatioun'[79] (IV.Pro.266-268) might suggest this, Douglas's defence of Aeneas is staunch elsewhere in the book, especially in the opening Prologue[80]. Rather, what Douglas highlights here is Dido's openness and susceptibility to the pathos and tragedy inherent in Aeneas's tale (a tale which, however innocently meant, '*aucht*' to stir its audience to pity) and how this in turn leads to her own tragic end. Unlike the insidious Sinon, Aeneas does not relate his tale in order to deceive his listeners and his motive is in no way malevolent; nevertheless, the effects of his tragic narrative prove just as devastating.

Douglas's moralising and sometimes stern tone in the prologue seems at times to condemn Dido's 'fall fra grace' and warn others against replicating her actions, yet he displays much sympathy towards her, too, when he speaks of the 'dolorus cayß and hard myschance' (IV.Pro.222) the 'lamentabill end mysfortunat' (Iv.Pro.219) of the queen who 'allace! hir selvyn slew' (IV.Pro.256). Such seeming contradictions in compassion for and condemnation of Dido

[79] Here, 'woundr*is*' is particularly suggestive. Might it refer to wonders (Dido's 'O God, quhat wondir thing!' IV.i.22; 'Allace quhat wondir fatale aventur*is* / Heß hym bewaif!') or to wounds? 'Be *th*is *th*e queyn, throw hevy thocht*is* onsound, / In every vayn nurysys *th*e greyn wound, / Smytyn so deip w*ith* *th*e blynd fyre of lufe…' (IV.i.1-3). Variant spellings would account for either form: see *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, s.v. 'wo(u)nd', <https://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/wound_n> [accessed 17/08/2016] and 'wondir', <https://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/wondir_n> [accessed 17/08/2016].
[80] See, for example, I.Pro.325f., and Douglas's defence of Aeneas's conduct in response to Chaucer's portrayal (I.Pro.410f.).

resist easy interpretation, so before exploring the Prologue to Book IV very much further, it would prove illuminating, I think, to turn to Dante's *Divina Commedia* and, in particular, to the fifth canto of the *Inferno* and the pilgrim Dante's encounter with Francesca and Paolo. Although the *Eneados* and the *Commedia* were written two centuries apart and there is no evidence to suggest that Douglas was familiar with Dante's works, there seems to be a markedly similar handling of the tension between sympathy for and condemnation of Dido (or a refiguring of Dido, as Francesca is) and between an emotional and an ethical response to her tragic fate.[81] As Dante prepares to follow his guide Virgil into hell in Canto 2, he prepares for not only the journey that he is about to undertake, but for the feelings of pity that he will be assailed by: '... io sol uno / m'apparecchiava a sostener la guerra / sì del cammino e sì *de la pietate*' (2.3-5; my emphasis).[82] From the outset, then, pity is something to be wrestled with, to be fought ('la *guerra*... de la pietate') and, ultimately, to be overcome. How, then, does he fare in his first direct encounter with sinners, in the second circle of hell?[83]

Upon entering the Circle of the Promiscuous, to which are condemned those who are ruled by desire rather than reason – 'i peccator carnali, / che la ragion sommettono al talento' (*Inferno*, 5.38-39), the pilgrim Dante sees a stream of sinners blown by an infernal gale, among whom is Dido: 'colei che s'ancise amorosa, / e ruppe fede al cener di Sicheo' (5.61-62). According to Franco Masciandaro '...the devastating force of the infernal storm... marks the emergence of pathos and pity and, correspondingly, of the clearer opposition and tensions between ethos and pathos.'[84] Even after Virgil's mere naming of the figures and the briefest recitation of their lives, the pilgrim Dante's response is one of bewildered pity: 'pietà mi giunse, e fui quasi smarrito' (5.71-72). The fact that it is Virgil who communicates the catalogue of lovers perhaps has some bearing on his companion's response; this is, after all, the poet whose tragic portrayal of Dido has so often prompted a highly emotional and sympathetic response from readers. As Masciandaro observes, 'Dante does not say, "When I *saw* those sinners I was overcome by

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[81] Again, for an assessment of Douglas's reading and literary interests see Bawcutt, 'The "Library" of Gavin Douglas', in *Bards and Makars*, pp. 107-126. Thomas Rutledge explores the parallels between Dido and Francesca in much greater detail than space allows for here – see part v. of Chapter 3 'The Thirteen Book *Eneados*: Gavin Douglas, Cristoforo Landino, and Maffeo Vegio' (unpublished thesis, University of Oxford). As he points out, 'The *Eneados* has more in common with the complex intertextual strategies of the *Divina Commedia* than has generally been recognised', p. 70.

[82] Unless otherwise stated, quotes from the *Divina Commedia* are from Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, edited by C. Singleton, 6 vols. (Princeton, 1989) and reference is by canticle, canto and line number.

[83] The first circle of hell is Limbo (see Canto 4), which holds the spirits of those who have not sinned – indeed, many of them are 'gente di molto valore' (2.44). Because they were not baptised, however, perhaps because like Virgil they lived in a pre-Christian era, they are denied a place in heaven.

[84] Franco Masciandaro, *Dante as Dramatist: The Myth of the Earthly Paradise and Tragic Vision in the Divine Comedy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), p. 67.

pity"'[85] instead, by listening to Virgil, the pilgrim Dante's 'attention is directed not so much to that reality [of the sinners' state] but *to the words with which his guide evokes it*... these words... constitute the ground, the precondition of the pity that overcomes the wayfarer'[86] (my italics).

One particular pair of adulterous lovers is singled out for further attention – Paolo and Francesca – and, as they respond to the pilgrim's call, Dido is once again invoked: 'cotali uscir de la schiera ov'è Dido' (5.85). The story of Dido – and, specifically, *Virgil's* tragic rendering of it – frames that of Francesca and Paolo; Francesca is, in many ways, Dante's reimagining of the Virgilian Dido.[87] The whole encounter between Dante and the lovers is predicated on pathos and pity. Francesca favours Dante with her story because she sees that he pities her: 'se fosse amico il re de l'universo, / noi pregheremmo lui de la tua pace, / poi c'hai pietà del nostro mal perverso.' (5.91-93). After Francesca's initial speech Dante is overcome with pity and is unable to comprehend the lovers' tragic state: 'Oh lasso, / quanti dolci pensier, quanto disio / menò costoro al doloroso passo!' (5.112-114), the whole line echoing with the sound of the initial compassionate 'Oh'. He turns to Francesca for further clarification, openly expressing his pity, though there is a hint of suspicion, even condemnation in 'dubbiosi disiri'.

> ... Francesca, i tuoi martìri
> a lagrimar mi fanno tristo e pio,
> Ma dimmi: al tempo d'i dolci sospiri,
> a che e come concedette amore
> che conosceste i dubbiosi disiri? (5.116-120)

Francesca's next words mirror Aeneas's to Dido at the start of Book II of the *Aeneid*: 'Ma s'a conoscer la prima radice / del nostro amor tu hai cotanto affetto, / dirò come colui che piange e dice' (2.124-126).[88] The reference is a meaningful one considering the disastrous effects of Aeneas's tale on Dido – there is clearly a danger here for listener and reader. By the end of Francesca's tale, with its accompaniment of weeping from Paolo, Dante is so oppressed by his feelings of pity that he swoons:

> Mentre che l'uno spirto questo disse,
> l'altro piangëa; sì che di pietade
> io venni men così com' io morisse.
> E caddi come corpo morto cade.' (5.139-142)

[85] Masciandaro, *Dante as Dramatist*, p. 70.
[86] Masciandaro, *Dante as Dramatist*, p. 70.
[87] As Singleton notes in his commentary, 'in a sense Dante is vying with Virgil here', Dante, *Inferno: Commentary,* p. 83.
[88] 'sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros / et breviter Troiae supremum audire laborem, / quamquam anims meminisse horret luctuque refugit, incipiam.' (*Aeneid,* II.10-12).

That pity is the cause of his fainting is reinforced in the next canto ('Al tornar de la mente, che si chiuse / dinanzi a la pietà d'i due cognati, / che di trestizia tutto mi confuse'; 6.1-3); the pilgrim Dante's mind is closed and therefore his response to the sinners is entirely emotional rather than moral or rational. He is rendered incapable of recognising the absolute, divine propriety of Paolo and Francesca's damnation; instead he is confused and overwhelmed by the pathos of their story and their own self-pitying reaction to it. The pilgrim Dante's first struggle against 'la pietate' (2.5) does not end well.

Dante the poet, though, does allow the attentive reader of Canto 5 to see beyond a purely emotional, pitying response to Paolo and Francesca. He portrays them as creatures entirely ruled by emotion; Virgil tells Dante 'tu allor li priega / per quello amor che i mena, ed ei varranno' (5.77-78) and Francesca and Paolo, described as 'combe dal disio chiamate' (5.82) respond to the force of the pilgrim's 'affettüoso grido' (5.87). Francesca's description of how she and Paolo succumbed to desire – 'Amor, ch'al cor gentil ratto s'apprende [...] Amor... mi prese del costui piacer sì forte' (5.100-104) – strongly recalls Dido's growing passion in Books I of the *Aeneid* ('quocirca capere ante dolis et cingere flamma / reginam meditor', I.673-4) and the role of Cupid (*Amorem*) in Dido's seduction, though, of course, Francesca's personification of Love is presented in terms of courtly love rather than a pagan divinity[89]. Francesca speaks of 'Amor' as an overwhelming force that cannot be resisted, therefore absolving her and her lover of any responsibility for their actions, which, as Thomas Rutledge points out, 'betrays the inadequacy of her moral vision'[90]. Even in hell, Francesca sees herself as a victim of circumstance (as she puts it, God is not their friend: 'se fosse amico il re de l'universo' 5.91) rather than a perpetrator of her own actions. She and Paolo cannot see beyond their desire and self-pity and, as such, they are irredeemable. In succumbing to the pathos of Francesca's story with tears and pity, the pilgrim Dante– or, indeed, the reader – would be mirroring the sinners' own state; a seduction akin to Francesca and Paolo's own seduction[91].

Francesca and Paolo's inability to see beyond their immediate and overwhelming passions contrasts starkly with the wider perspectives of Cunizza and of Folco, whom the pilgrim Dante meets in Canto 9 of the *Paradiso*. Cunizza explains:

> ... qui refulgo
> perché mi vinse il lume d'esta stella [Venus]
> ma lietamente a me medesma indulgo
> la cagion di mia sorte, e non mi noia;

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[89] See Singleton's commentary: 'In declaring these ineluctable laws [of *Amor*], Francesca speaks the language of the cult of courtly love, whose god, Love, is all-powerful', *Inferno*: *Commentary*, p. 89.
[90] Rutledge, p. 57.
[91] See Rutledge, p. 60.

che parria forse forte al vostro vulgo. (*Paradiso* 9.32-36)

Folco, similarly, admits 'ché più non arse la figlia di Belo / noiando a Sicheo e a Creusa, / di me, infin che si convene al pelo' (9.97-99) yet 'Non però qui si pente, ma si ride, / non de la colpa, ch'a mente non torna, / ma del valor ch'ordinò è provide' (9.103-105). Cunizza and Folco display a greater breadth of vision, an ability to move beyond carnal love to divine love (as indeed, they both did at the ends of their respective lives[92]), and thus are not defined by their mortal transgressions as Francesca, Paolo and Dido are. Masciandaro sums it up well when he says 'it is not passion that is condemned in Hell's second circle but its adulteration, or the inordinate way in which the lustful have let it become an all-powerful, unbridled force that has blinded them to all other forces and other goods, by obfuscating the light of their intellect.'[93] It is precisely such overpowering emotion (in this case, pity rather than lust) that the reader must resist and which the pilgrim Dante, arguably, fails to – though we must remember this is but the first step in his journey.

St Augustine communicates the same experience of overpowering and misplaced pity in Chapter 13 of Book I of the *Confessions*. As Douglas states in the prologue to Book IV of the *Eneados* (IV.Pro.217)[94], St. Augustine wept for the death of Dido; what Augustine goes on to make clear, though, is that his youthful tears for Dido's fate were entirely reprehensible.

> ... quibus tenere cogebar Aeneae nescio cuius errores, oblitus errorum meroum, et plorare Didonem mortuam, quia se occidit ab amore, cum interea me ipsum in his a te morientem, deus, vita mea, siccis oculis ferrem miserrimus.[95]
>
> Quid enim miseries misero non miserante se ipsum et flente Didonis mortem, quae fiebat amando Aenean, non amando te deus... ? [96]

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[92] See Alighieri, Dante, *The Divine Comedy,* translated by C.H. Sisson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 675-677.

[93] Masciandaro, *Dante as Dramatist*, p. 67.

[94] As we look at St. Augustine's comments in fuller detail it is worth noting that, as Sarah Couper states, while Douglas 'might be expected to have read the *Confessions*, particularly given his evident interest in Augustine, he does not specifically refer to it anywhere in the *Eneados*. His actual comment on Dido coincides very closely with the introduction to Book 4 given in the Ascensius edition he was working from'. See Sarah Couper, 'Reason and Desire in Older Scots Poetry, c.1424-1568', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2001), p. 165. There is much in his Prologue to Book IV, though – including his comments on the appropriateness (or not) of pity – which nevertheless seems markedly similar to St. Augustine's.

[95] St. Augustine, *St. Augustine's Confessions, with an English translation by William Watts*, *Volume I* (London: Heinemann Ltd., 1968), p. 39.

[96] St. Augustine, *Confessions*, p. 39.

In hindsight, St. Augustine's former pity for Dido is revealed as being misdirected; in indulging in such emotion at her tragic fate he was guilty of neglecting his duties towards God and his own salvation. In the following passage he uses even stronger terms:

> Deus... non te amabam, et fornicabar abs te, et fornicanti
> sonabat undique: "euge, euge." Amicitia enim mundi huius
> fornication est abs te et "euge, euge" dicitur, ut pudeat, si non
> ita homo sit. Et haec non flebam, et flebam Didonem
> extinctam ferroque extrema secutam... [97]

St. Augustine conflates the language of illicit desire with that of misplaced sympathy, equating his pity for Dido with fornication against God. To be overwhelmed by emotions, whether they lustful or pitiful, is to neglect his Christian duties.

Another common thread weaving through Book I.13 of the *Confessions,* Canto 5 of the *Inferno* and through the Prologues and Books II and IV of the *Eneados* is the potentially dangerous and seductive power of words and particularly of reading. Francesca's portrayal of *Amor* is couched in the literary terms of courtly love and she blames the romance of the *Lancelot du Lac*, and its author, for leading her and Paolo to recognise and act upon their illicit feelings of love.

> Noi leggiavamo un giorno per diletto
> di Lancialotto come amor lo strinse
> [...] Per più fiate li occhi ci sospinse
> quella lettura, e scolorocci il viso;
> ma solo un punto fu quel che ci vinse.
> Quando leggemmo il disïato riso
> Esser basciato da contanto amante,
> questi, che mai da me non fia diviso,
> la bocca mi basciò tutto tremante.
> Galeotto fu 'l libro e chi lo scrisse:
> quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avante. (5.127 –
> 138)

As Singleton notes, it is 'the *reading* itself that reveals their love to them'[98] (we can see a similar effect upon Dido, whose passion for Aeneas strengthens and becomes fixed during the relation of his tragic tale). As listeners to (in the pilgrim Dante's case) and readers of Francesca's account we are also prey to its seductive qualities and its siren-call to undeserved pity. As we have seen, it is the reading of Dido's tragic end in Book IV of the *Aeneid* that leads St. Augustine similarly astray, though to spiritual rather than physical fornication. Douglas, too, is well aware of the power of Virgil's portrayal of Dido and how, for instance, it has led to over-

[97] St. Augustine, *Confessions*, pp. 39-41.
[98] Singleton, *The Divine Comedy: Inferno*, p. 94.

sympathetic distortion or even misrepresentation of Dido's plight by Caxton and Chaucer (I.Pro.163ff. and I.Pro.410ff.). Douglas's prologues give him an arena in which to redirect and modify such readings; indeed, he often addresses and even instructs readers directly, as in Book II ('ȝe dyssavouris, reid heir ȝour proper art... II.Pro.17-8) and Book IV ('Be the command I lusty ladies quhyte'; IV.Pro.266).

Given the huge affective power of Book IV of the *Aeneid,* and its potential to lead readers such as St. Augustine astray, might we, then, expect Douglas in some way to limit the pathos of Dido's story in his translation? On the contrary, as many critics agree, Book IV of the *Eneados* gives a largely sympathetic portrayal of Dido, almost entirely in keeping with her tragic stature in Virgil's text[99]. As Bawcutt states, Douglas 'responded to the pathos of Dido's situation ... [and] is good at conveying the pity and tenderness latent in Virgil's words'.[100] He even increases the pathos at certain points. On finding out Aeneas's plans to leave Carthage, Dido accosts him with a furious yet pleading speech, into which Douglas inserts woeful exclamations of 'allace!' that are not found in the corresponding section of the *Aeneid*: 'Quhat! wilt thou fle from me? allace! allace!' (IV.vi.65) and

> Gif I had ony ȝong Eneas small,
> Befor me forto play within my hall,
> Quhilk representit by symylitude thi face,
> Than semyt I nocht, thus wyß, allace! allace!
> Aluterly dissauyt nor dissolate."'(IV.vi.95-99)

To this, Douglas adds, as if to procure even more sympathy for the queen, 'Thus said the queyn Dido, *in febil estate*' (IV.vi.100; my italics). One other critical point at which Douglas increases the pathos in an already high pathetic scene, is at the moment of Dido's suicide. As Richard Heinze notes, in 'tragedy we do not normally witness a death on stage, but are only affected... by the impact of the terrible event. So too in Virgil. We do not see Dido plunge the sword into her breast.'[101] In the *Eneados*, however, we do; Douglas gives more tangible detail, making the moment of Dido's death even more vivid and 'feilabill'. Not only does Douglas mark the

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[99] One voice of dissent on this point is Marilynn Desmond's; having previously asserted that 'The rhetorical thrust of the prologue presents a judgmental reading of Dido; nowhere is the reader invited to sympathize with her plight.' (Desmond, *Reading Dido,* p. 187) she goes on to allege that Douglas's translations fully upholds this view: 'Douglas's choices as translator throughout book 4 reflect his critical judgments as he expresses them in the prologue' (p. 185); 'Douglas's choices in translating *Aeneid* 4 explicitly support the views he develops in the prologue.' (p. 187); 'The fourth book of the *Eneados* consequently illustrates the implicit misogyny of the prologue that precedes it' (p. 192), all of which seem to totally disregard the many moments of sympathetic tenderness and pathos regarding Dido that seem easily identifiable to other critics.

[100] Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas*, p. 146.

[101] Richard Heinze, *Virgil's Epic Technique*, trans. by Hazel and David Harvey and Fred Robertson (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2004), p. 144.

precise point of impact of Dido's fatal wound[102] ('And gan the scharp sword to hir breast vphald [...] And with that word, rave hir self to the hart': IV.xii.32-34), but he has her continue her speech after inflicting it, making her final words even more desperate and poignant. In Anna's reaction, too, Douglas increases the pathos by incorporating details not included by Virgil; Anna does not just tear at her face with her nails, but 'With nalys ryvand *reuthfully* hir face'[103] (IV.xii.57; my italics) and in the next line Douglas adds an 'allace!'.

Yet, even though Douglas recreates and sometimes extends the pathos found in Virgil's portrayal of Dido, at certain moments he frames tragic moments in a more moralistic tone which calls back to elements of the Prologue to Book IV. When he reaches the line 'ille dies primus leti primusque malorum / causa fuit' (4.169-170) Douglas translates it as 'This wes the formaste day of hir glaidnes / And first morrow of hir wofull distreß' (IV.iiii.83-84). Douglas's use of 'glaidnes' may be prompted by the Ascensius edition that he was using. As Bawcutt notes, 'early texts of Virgil often read *laeti* at this point; Ascensius... has *laeti* and glosses "Ille dies fuit primus laeti, idest laetitiae"' though she also suggests that Douglas may have been prompted by a similar line in Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women.*[104] Potential origins of the (mis)translation aside, Douglas's choice here seems significant because here we find exemplified and encapsulated in just two lines his proverbial warnings from the Prologues to Book II and IV. 'This wes the formaste day of hir glaidnes / And first morrow of hir wofull distreß' seems to echo '"All erdly glaidneß fynysith with wo."' (II.Pro.21) and '"Temporal ioy endis wyth wo and pane"' (IV.Pro.221), as well as the many paradoxical descriptions of love. This is a pivotal moment in Book IV; in consummating her hitherto unspoken love for Aeneas, Dido's conversion from joy to woe, her tragic fall, is set in full irrevocable motion. Such a strong recollection of Douglas's proverbial warnings imbues this instance with a Christian, moral tone that is not present in Virgil's work.

Such moral incursions on Virgil's text are rare on Douglas's part, though. Overall, he shows a high degree of sensitivity and adherence to the pathos of Dido's story. It seems very important to Douglas, I think, that as readers we do feel pity for Dido, just as he himself professes pity for her plight in the prologue to Book IV and often conveys her emotional state so sympathetically in his translation. Such pity, however, is an *initial* reaction – such an inordinate and purely emotional response should not go unquestioned (as we have seen, the potentially calamitous

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[102] Coldwell suggests the inclusion of this detail may have been prompted by Ascensius's line '& eo dictum statim in gladium incubuit'; see also Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Gavin Douglas and Chaucer', *The Review of English Studies* 21.84 (1970) 401-421 (p.415), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/51363> [accessed 30/08/2016].
[103] Douglas also adds this adverb at Virgil's repetition of the line at XII.xiii.185 when Juturna realises that Turnus will be killed.
[104] Bawcutt, 'Gavin Douglas and Chaucer', p. 414; Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 639.

effects of this are emphasised by Douglas in his Prologues to Book II and IV). Ultimately, through warnings in his Prologue to Book IV, along with very subtle changes in his translation, Douglas steers his readers through and then away from a purely emotional reaction to the pathos of Dido's story. Like Aeneas; like St. Augustine; like (eventually) the pilgrim Dante, when we find ourselves 'with wordis ombeset' we will no doubt 'Of reuth and amouris [feel] the perturbance' but though 'our mortal myndis aucht to compassioun steir', it is, in the end, away from earthly, temporal concerns that Douglas directs his readers and towards the love and grace of God.

Chapter II

‘Rewthfull Ene am I’: negotiating pity and *pietas* in the *Eneados.*

I

Virgil’s famous ‘at pius Aeneas’ (4.393) marks a critical juncture in Book 4 of the *Aeneid*. *Pietas* – ‘an attitude of dutiful respect towards those to whom one is bound by ties of religion [and] consanguinity’[1], namely, to the gods, family and state – is a trait closely associated with Aeneas since he introduces himself to a disguised Venus as ‘sum pius Aeneas’ in Book 1 (1.378), and the epithet ‘pius’ used here, is the one Virgil most commonly attaches to Aeneas. At this climactic point in Book 4, Aeneas has just been faced with a torrent of pleas and censure from Dido, who is so aggrieved, and in such distress, that she is almost fainting as she is led away by her attendants. Virgil tells us:

> At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
> solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,
> multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore,
> iussa tamen divum exsequitur classemque revisit.
> (*Aeneid*, 4.393-396)

In the turbulent wake of Dido’s departure, this reference to Aeneas’s *pietas* could be seen as an anchoring, stabilising force against the considerable emotional appeals by which he has just been buffeted. As Colin Burrow observes, *pietas* is the ‘main force which [Virgil] uses to pull his poem back into shape... it is *pius* Aeneas who leaves, in response to a command from Mercury’[2]; however, though it might, ultimately, act as a stabilising force at this point in the poem, *pietas* is itself subject to enormous strain and pressure here. R.G. Austin finds ‘the epithet [*pius Aeneas*]... eloquent of struggle and bewilderment and submission.’[3] This struggle, Richard Thomas proposes, is one between different *forms* of *pietas*; that which Aeneas owes the gods and that which he might owe Dido, noting with reference to the latter that ‘there is at least a potential *pietas* relationship between Dido and Aeneas [since] *pietas* can be an extra-familial relationship... and is frequently found in inscriptions of the relationship between husband and wife, a relationship that Dido believes, with some support from the narrative, she has with Aeneas’[4]. Burrow, complicating his earlier statement (given above), finds another sort

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[1] *Oxford Latin Dictionary,* s.v. ‘pietas’, *Oxford Latin Dictionary: Volume II: M-Z*, ed. by P.G.W. Glare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[2] Burrow, *Epic Romance*: *Homer to Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 38.

[3] Vergili, *Aeneidos: Liber Secundus,* ed. by R.G. Austin, p. 123.

[4] Richard F. Thomas, *Virgil and the Augustan Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 111, n.38; see also p. 110.

of conflict between forms of *pietas*, asserting that Virgil presents the reader with 'a desperate Aeneas, who wants to be two people at once, who is ordered to go but who wants to stay, whose *pietas* is splitting into two incompatible senses, a dutiful sense and a pitiful sense'.[5] For Virgil, Burrow argues, pity is 'an emotion which keeps emerging from *pietas*, but which he struggles continually to restrain… [and] [p]ity is what unsuccessfully rebels against the nagging commands of Mercury; it does not collaborate with the motives for departure.'[6] *Pietas*, then, may not be such a stable and stabilising force within the poem as it first appears but a site of considerable conflict and tension.

Burrow's interpretation of 'at pius Aeneas' in Book 4, and of the bifurcation of Virgilian *pietas* into a dutiful and a pitiful sense, is especially pertinent and illuminating with regard to Douglas's complex conception and portrayal of Aeneas's *pietas* in the *Eneados*. At the first instance of 'sum pius Aeneas' (*Aeneid* 4.393; *Eneados* I.vi.125) Douglas provides a marginal note, explaining his own understanding of *pietas* and setting out the ways in which he intends to translate it.

> for he was that man quhilk by the common voce was clepit Eneas full of pyete. And for that Virgill clepis hym swa all thro this buyk, and I interpret that term quhylys for "rewth", quhils for "devotion" and quhilis for "pyete" and "compassion," tharfor ȝe sall knaw that pyete is a vertw or gud deid be the quhilk we geif our dylligent and detfull lawbour to our natyve cuntre and onto thaim beyn conionyt to vs in neyr degree. And this vertw, pyete, is a part of iustyce and hes ondyr hym twa other vertwys: amyte, callyt frendschip, and liberalyte.
>
> (note to I.vi.125)

The position of the note at this point in the translation mirrors that of a comment from Servius and some of its content is shared, too. Both deflect accusations of arrogance on Aeneas's part; Douglas follows Servius's comment 'pius: non arroga[n]tia: sed indicium est. Non enim scientibus: sed nescientibus de reloquitur'[7] when he asserts '[t]hat Eneas heyr commendis his self, it is not to be tayn that he said this for arrogans bot forto schaw his styll, as a kyng or prince onkawin in an onkowth land'.[8] More generally, too, Douglas's translations of *pietas* as 'pyete' and 'devotion' seem to correspond with Servius's comments here and earlier in Book I that Aeneas is *pius* because he carries his father and household gods out of Troy. However,

[5] Burrow, *Epic Romance*, p. 40.
[6] Burrow, *Epic Romance*, p. 40.
[7] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 457.
[8] Note to I.vi.125.

Douglas's conception of *pietas* does not end with 'piete' and 'devotion'. As seen above, he proposes a fourfold definition of the term; 'devotion' and 'pyete' join 'reuth' and 'compassion'. A semantic shift of the Latin term *pietas* lies behind the expansive definition offered by Douglas. As James D. Garrison observes, an 'evolution of *pietas* towards *misericordia* [had] already [been] acknowledged by Augustine in the fifth century' (an evolution apparently brought about by popular association in vulgar Latin).[9] Within vernacular European languages in later centuries, too, the slide of *pietas* towards pity continued. Burrow states that by the sixteenth century, 'writers in the vernacular approach[ed] Virgil through a web of Christian values, and through a significant manifestation of those values: the widespread European tendency for *pietas* to shift and soften in meaning towards our word "pity".'[10] Such lexical slippage holds significant repercussions for Virgil's *pius* hero; as Burrow states, '[c]ompassion slides to the centre of [Aeneas's] nature under cover of the beguiling phonetic and etymological kinships between *pietas*, *pietà,* and *pité*.'[11] Aeneas's defining virtue thus becomes fraught with potentially conflicting and competing values.

Douglas's inclusion of 'reuth' and 'compassion' in his definition of *pietas* can be accounted for by the sorts of semantic shifts outlined by Garrison and Burrow, then, but his specific use of these terms is highly unusual – even unique – in the context of sixteenth-century Scottish vernacular. *DOST* cites Douglas's *Eneados* as the only place in which the adjective 'reuthful' is used to render the Latin *pius* – a rendering so unusual that it is flagged as potentially irregular or erroneous.[12] The term 'reuth' is far more commonly defined as 'compassion' or 'pity'.[13] Indeed, we often see Douglas use 'reuth' in precisely this sort of way when he translates forms of *misericordia* in Virgil's text. This leads to a proliferation of various forms of the word 'reuth' in the *Eneados* and makes it difficult, at times, to distinguish its precise usage. The tendency towards 'pity', brought about by the semantic slippage identified by Garrison and Burrow and by the expansive way in which Douglas translates *pietas* and *misericordia*, seems likely to amplify and intensify the tensions between pity and *pietas* inherent in Virgil's text and to severely complicate Virgilian *pietas*.

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[9] James D. Garrison, *Pietas from Vergil to Dryden* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), p. 8; p. 12. See, too, Augustine, *The City of God: Books 8-11*, translated by David S. Wiesen, Loeb Classical Library 412 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 252-255. For the etymology of 'piete' in Older Scots, see *Dictionary of the Scots* Language, s.v. 'piete', <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/piete> [accessed 03/02/2017].

[10] Burrow, *Epic Romance*, p. 3.

[11] Burrow, *Epic Romance*, p. 59.

[12] *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, s.v. 'reuthful', <https://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/reuthfull> [accessed 15/08/2017]. See specifically entry 1.b.

[13] "Reuth *n.*". *Dictionary of the Scots Language*. 2004. Scottish Language Dictionaries Ltd., https://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/reuth [accessed 15/08/2017].

How does this manifest in the text itself? Let us turn back to that moment in Book 4, already so complex in Virgil's text, to see how Douglas's translation negotiates the competing demands of a *pietas* which seems to incorporate both pity and duty.

> Bot ȝyt, althocht the reuthful Eneas
> The dolorus queyn to meyß ful bissy was,
> To do hir comfort, and hir dyseyß asswage,
> And with hys wordis return hir sad curage,
> Bewalyng mekill hyr sorow and distreß,
> Proplexte in mynd by gret lufe; netheleß,
> The command of the goddis, by and by,
> He execut... (IV.vii.63-70)

Virgil's *pius* Aeneas here becomes Douglas's 'reuthful Eneas' – 'reuthful' being the most common rendering of the hero's customary epithet across the *Eneados*.[14] Burrow asks, 'If Aeneas is so ruthful... why does he leave?'[15] and argues that, in Douglas's hands, *pietas* 'becomes pity, since in Middle Scots, as in Middle English, the conceptual distinction is not lexically marked'[16]. I am not convinced, though, that it is quite as clear-cut as Burrow envisions. As outlined above, we can quite clearly see from Douglas's marginal note on '[r]ewthfull Ene am I', that 'reuthful', at least in the *Eneados*, does not always operate in the same way as 'ruthful'[17] (full of pity or compassion). Rather than *pietas* simply becoming 'pity', as Burrow asserts, a lack of lexically marked 'conceptual distinction' would point to the likelihood of multiple or ambiguous interpretations of Douglas's translation of *pius*.

We might also consider 'reuthful' in light of Douglas's prologue to Book IV. By refusing to act upon the pity that he feels for Dido, Aeneas is being 'reuthful' in precisely the way in which Douglas advocates in his prologue when he exhorts his readers – albeit those of the opposite gender – to '[r]ew on ȝour self... / Grant na syk reuth for evir may cauß ȝou rew'(IV.Pro.201-202). Despite the pity and 'gret lufe' Aeneas undoubtedly feels for Dido, such pity is, ultimately, misplaced in light of his wider mission; therefore he acts in accordance with the larger imperial and divine motives that extend far beyond a fleeting dalliance with the Carthaginian queen. Rather than reducing Virgilian *pietas* solely to pity toward Dido alone – as Burrow claims it does – the term 'reuthful', in all its troubling ambiguity, encapsulates the

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[14] According to my analysis, Virgil's 'pius Aeneas' is translated as 'reuthful Eneas' a total of fourteen times of the nineteen instances it occurs in the *Aeneid*.
[15] Burrow, *Epic Romance*, p. 62.
[16] Burrow, *Epic Romance*, p. 62.
[17] *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, s.v. 'reuthful', <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/reuthfull> [accessed 15/08/2017].

tensions between pity and *pietas* very successfully. Douglas's translation seems remarkably faithful to the spirit of the struggle which Aeneas undergoes because it makes it a struggle in which readers must partake. Douglas's 'reuthful' does *not* immediately realign or stabilise the narrative and our response to it in the way that Virgil's 'at pius Aeneas' (at least potentially) can. Instead, its semantic uncertainty and its potential affiliation with both pity *and* duty forces readers themselves to navigate a course away from the former and toward the latter. Admittedly, the syntax is somewhat troubling in this respect; Douglas does not make this an easy transition. Virgil's 'at pius Aeneas' immediately places Aeneas's practise of *pietas* in contradistinction to his feelings of compassion for Dido: 'At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem / solando cupit et dictis avertere curas' (Aeneid 4.393-394). The heaping up of 'Bot ȝyt, althocht' *before* 'reuthful Eneas', though, risks affiliating 'reuthful' with the attitudes which immediately follow it; Aeneas could be seen to be 'reuthful' in wanting to act upon his feelings of pity toward Dido.

In some sense, then, we might see in Douglas's use of 'reuthful' the opposite of what Burrow observes in Virgil's use of *pius Aeneas*: rather than pity 'emerging from *pietas*'[18] we find *pietas* emerging from what – *at first glance* – might look like pity. This may be a difficult wrench to make, but its very difficulty mirrors the struggle inherent in Aeneas's own choice. Close examination of Douglas's use of 'reuthful' at this key moment, then, has revealed some of the complexities and difficulties that will continue to beset this term throughout the *Eneados*; its potential capacity to destabilise Virgilian *pietas* yet, often simultaneously, its ability to encapsulate and deepen the tensions between pity and *pietas* that are already latent in so many moments in the *Aeneid.*

Pity, in the form in which Dido demands it, risks destabilising the portrayal of Aeneas's *pietas* later in Book IV of the *Eneados* – in a large part due to Douglas's broad use of the terms 'reuth' and 'piete'. The first point at which 'rewth' and 'piete' appear in Book IV of the *Eneados* they do not translate *pietas* but *miseratus.* Douglas translates Virgil's 'num lacrimas victus dedit aut miseratus amantem est?' (*Aeneid* IV.370) as 'Quhidd*er* gif for rewth he furth ȝet anys a teyr / Or of hys lufe had piete?' (IV.vii.17-18). Dido clearly expects Aeneas to grant her pity and compassion, though of a sort that is led by emotion (hence the reference to tears). Upon seeing Aeneas's ships depart the shores of Carthage later in Book 4, Dido exclaims 'en dextra fidesque, / quem secum patrios aiunt portare Penatis, /quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem!" (4.597-599). In the Virgilian text, when Dido derides Aeneas's *dextra*, she criticises –

[18] Burrow, *Epic Romance*, p. 40.

as Michael Putnam puts it – Aeneas's 'faithless breaking of a compact'[19]. This is not a direct criticism of his *pietas* – after all, Aeneas's decision to leave Carthage and abandon his lover rests entirely on his seemingly unbending sense of duty ('at pius Aeneas'). So, in Virgil's text, *dextra* may be called into question but Aeneas's *pietas* remains a stable point of reference which justifies and enables Aeneas's putting aside pity for Dido and continuing his mission. Douglas's translation of this moment, however, reads somewhat differently:

> "Ha! now behald hys gret prowes," quod sche,
> "Hys reuthful piete and faith! Is not ȝon he
> Quham, as thai say, the goddis of hys land
> In hys navy careis our sey and sand?
> Is not ȝon he quhom on his schulderis, thai say,
> For reuth his agit fader bair away?" (IV.xi.25-30)

As you can see, Douglas translates 'dextra' *as if it were pietas*, perhaps encouraged to do so by Servius's first comment on Aeneas's *pietas* (shown in his actions towards his father and the gods) and by a comment from Ascensius, which collapses the distinctions between *dextra*, *fides* and *pietas*: 'Dextra i*d est* virtus… fides i*d est* fidelitas ac fidelis pietas'. [20] Douglas's translation might be felt at this moment to operate in an interrogative mode; the terms of *pietas* are placed under enormous strain because of the conflicting demands inherent in Douglas's diverse translation of the term. In the *Aeneid* pity (*misericordia*) and *pietas* are distinct, and the former is clearly superseded by the latter. In the *Eneados*, though, the terms 'reuth' and 'reuthful' begin to unravel because they encompass two irreconcilable demands: Aeneas cannot act with 'reuth' towards Dido *and*, at the same time, 'reuthfully' with regard to his father and the gods.

II

Books 10 and 12, in which Aeneas's *aristeia* and his final, fateful clash with Turnus are portrayed, are sites where *pietas* is once more subjected to enormous strain. Whereas in Book 4, *pietas* was placed under intense pressure in relation to pity, here in Books 10 and 12 it is also

[19] Michael C.J. Putnam, *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995), p. 134.
[20] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum*, pp. 668-669. I am grateful to Carole Newlands and Nicola Royan for their comments on the translation of Virgil's 'dextra' (4.597), in response to a paper I gave at the 15th International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature (Glasgow, July 2017). Both make the entirely plausible point that 'gret prowes' (referring to feats of arms) may in fact translate *dextra* and, as such, 'reuthful piete' may be an interpolation rather than a translation. Ultimately, though, the same conclusion might still be reached.

subject to the powerful and complicating force of *furor* as Aeneas, enraged by Turnus's killing of Pallas, embarks upon his own killing spree, which is marked by considerable ruthlessness. Of course, the heat of battle might rightly seem the natural arena of violent rage rather than of pity; nevertheless, Aeneas is faced with numerous appeals to both his pity and to various aspects of his *pietas* by a succession of supplicants. Such appeals become particularly fraught in light of the exhortation of the shade of Anchises in Book 6, for the Roman to subdue the proud but spare the defeated:

> 'tu regere imperio populous, Romane, memento
> (hae tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem,
> *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*.'
> (6.851-853; my italics)

Taken together, these commands seem to correspond well with some of the terms of the expanded *pietas* which Douglas affords Aeneas – 'reuth' and 'compassion' being extended to the subjected and defeated, and the hostile *superbos* being met with military force that is justified in the context of duty and 'devotion' to family and empire. Is there, then, room for *both* of Anchises's injunctions within the context of a battle? His directions become especially fraught and contradictory upon the battlefield of Book 10, as Aeneas faces numerous taunting, arrogant foes who, nevertheless, offer plaintive appeals for Aeneas to stay his hand once they are subdued. Aeneas's consistently violent responses to such petitioners, though, seems to move him ever further away from the compassionate and 'reuthful' aspects of his *pietas* and from his father's command to spare the defeated.

Douglas's translation of line 853 possesses an interesting ambiguity, which could possibly set Aeneas's actions upon the battlefield in a more favourable light. Anchises tells Aeneas '"Thir sal thy craftis be [...] To pardon all cumis ʒoldin and recryant, / And prowd rabellis in batale forto dant."' (VI.xv.15-18). The central placement of 'in batale' makes it unclear as to whether 'in batale' modifies 'prowd rabellis', or whether the 'prowd rabellis' should be defeated simply via the means of 'batale'. If taken in the former sense, though, Anchises seems here to clearly mark out battlefield as the right and proper arena for the subdual of enemies, in a way which separates it from the previous statement regarding the more peaceable treatment of those who yield and avoid military hostilities. This reading would begin to justify Aeneas's marked inclination, throughout his *aristeia*, *towards* violence and *away* from pity – but it is, admittedly, tenuous and does not offer a full and unambiguous justification of his conduct. Douglas's description of 'pater Anchises' (6.845) directly afterwards, as 'noble fader Anchyses *meik*' (VI.xv.19; my emphasis) complicates things further, since it aligns him with gentleness and

courtesy, and – even more troublingly – the same term is deployed within some of the appeals to Aeneas made by supplicants in Book 10. Given such complexities, it seems, then, that the battlefield in the *Eneados* is likely to be the site of just as much tension and ambiguity in relation to its hero's 'reuth'. As the following studies of various moments in the *Aeneid* and *Eneados* will show, Douglas's translation responds to Virgil's text in a way that most often intensifies and complicates, rather than contains or clarifies, the problematic discordances between pity, rage, and various conflicting modes of *pietas*.

The first time that Virgil gives Aeneas the epithet *pius* on the battlefield is during his encounter with the charioteering brothers Lucagus and Liger. Its deployment here seems troublingly incongruous with the action and speech which unfolds. Liger, who taunts Aeneas as he approaches, soon witnesses his brother ingloriously dispatched with a spear to the groin and is then reduced to begging to be spared by Aeneas, who stands over his dying brother, tormenting him with bitter, even gloating, words:

> quem pius Aeneas dictis adfatur amaris:
> "Lucage, nulla tuos currus fuga segnis equorum
> prodidit aut vanae vertere ex hostibus umbrae:
> ipse rotis saliens iuga deseris."
> (10.591-594)

Such a speech – chiding the dying Lucagus for the errors which led to his death – seems entirely at odds with the epithet *pius* in the preceding line. Harrison remarks that 'Aeneas is certainly true to his heroic duty in avenging Pallas, but the pointed use of the epithet in a context where he rejects appeals to the *pietas* of family feeling suggests that one form of *pietas* may conflict with another.'[21] Putnam reaches a similar conclusion but feels that this is one of Virgil's 'most striking applications of the adjective *pius* to Aeneas'[22] given that 'the presumed epitome of the loyalty son brings to father kills first one brother and then the second'[23]. Once more, Virgilian *pietas* is under immense pressure: Liger appeals to Aeneas in the name of Anchises (and also of his mother) but once again the family ties, filial and fraternal, to which 'pius' Aeneas owes a duty, are ignored and set aside in favour of vengeance.

As if anticipating – or perhaps in response to – criticism of *pius* Aeneas's harsh words to Lucagus and Liger, Ascensius qualifies the hero's actions, claiming that Aeneas is justifiably

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[21] Vergil, *Aeneid 10 with Introduction, Translation and Commentary by S.J. Harrison* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 219.
[22] Michael C.J. Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes: Studies in the Conclusion of Virgil's* Aeneid (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), p. 43.
[23] Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes*, p. 43.

pius in his actions because the brothers are arrogant: 'quem [E]neas pius id est quoque pius affatur tamen dictis amaris: propter arrogantiam videlicet eius'.[24] Rather than following Servius in emphasising the brothers' arrogance, though, Douglas's translation portrays Liger in even more pathetic terms, in a way which amplifies rather than seeks to resolve the tensions that are present in the Virgilian text. The humbleness of Liger's address to Aeneas is emphasised– 'I *lawly* the beseik / Be thyne awyn vertuus and thy thewys meyk' (X.x.121-122) – and characterises himself as a 'wofull sylly sawle' (X.x.125). The appeal to Aeneas's 'thewys *meyk*' is also significant as it not only attempts to establish a common context between the two men (via Liger's emphasis on his lowliness) but it also recalls the value embodied by Anchises in his speech to Aeneas in Book VI, as discussed above.

Liger's total defencelessness is also accentuated by Douglas's addition of details, such as the fact that his upstretched hands are 'bayr' (X.x.120). Douglas's translation of *pius Aeneas* is 'petuus Eneas' (X.x.107), which is jarringly echoed a few lines later when Liger is described as 'kneland petuusly' (X.x.119). This echo exacerbates the disparity between a supposedly 'petuus' Aeneas and his failure to behave with 'piete' (or 'rewth') towards the supplicant before him. If Harrison and Putnam find a conflict between familial *pietas* and the *pietas* of vengeance, then there is an additional, even starker conflict inherent in the *Eneados* because the pitiful Liger's plea for 'rewth' surely does have an explicit claim on Douglas's expanded conception of *pietas,* which includes 'rewth' and 'compassion'. Once again, instead of supressing the conflicting pieties in the Virgilian text, Douglas's translation draws attention and even adds to them.

The very first victim of the *aristeia* is Magus, who, having been fortunate enough to escape Aeneas's spear, grips his enemy's knees and begs for his life. In addition to offering up all his worldly possessions, he appeals to Aeneas's familial *pietas*:

> "per patrios manis et spes surgentis Iuli,
> te precor, hanc animum serves gnatoque patrique."
> (*Aeneid* X.524-525)

S.J. Harrison notes that Magus's evocation of Aeneas's and his own father and son represents a 'powerful appeal for the family-minded Romans and particularly for Aeneas, paragon of pietas, and his rejection of it is disturbing'[25]. It is all the more disturbing in light of Aeneas's last encounter with his father's ghost. Magus's appeal to fatherly piety proves futile as Aeneas weighs his life against Pallas's death and ends Magus's pleas and life with the words 'hoc patris Anchisae manes, hoc sentit Iulus' (*Aeneid* X.534). Servius, characteristically protective of

[24] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 1027.
[25] Vergil, *Aeneid 10*, p. 205.

Aeneas, endeavours to reaffirm the hero's *pietas*. His comment on 'hoc patris Anchisae manes' reads 'idem sentire et patrem et filium dicit, quasi hoc commodum ad illos pertineat'[26], which suggests that Magus's death will be to Anchises and Ascanius's gain. Servius thereby attempts to rehabilitate Aeneas's *pietas* – his dutiful conduct to his father – despite the fact that Aeneas's rejection of Magus's appeal to parent and son would seem to betray, quite palpably, that very same impulse. It is certainly a bold – though rather tendentious – interpretation of Aeneas's actions.

How does Douglas's text respond to the tensions evident in the Virgilian text and Servius's commentary? The influence of Servius's comment can be seen in Douglas's translation of that same line. Deviating somewhat from Virgil's text, Aeneas concludes that Magus's life should be forfeit *because* Turnus's killing of Pallas represents a 'rewthfull harm' and 'na litill loss' to 'baith Ascanyus and my faderis gost' (X.ix.68-70). The link between Pallas's death and Aeneas's son and father seems to be an attempt to establish a more secure sense of *pietas* along similar lines to Servius's. It is worth noting, though, that Douglas's emphasis on the loss that Pallas's death represents to Aeneas's family does not do the same work or make the same turn as Servius's comment; it does not couch the act of killing Magus in quite such positive terms (the emphasis is on loss rather than gain) nor does it demonstrate, as Servius's comment seems to, that Magus's death will somehow fill the void of Pallas's. Whilst Douglas's translation might seem, in this respect, to reinforce Aeneas's *pietas* and suppress some of the tensions of Virgil's text, it also works in other, contradictory ways. Douglas makes a number of additions to Virgil's text which increase the pathos of this episode and emphasise the supplicant Magus's pitiful state. Magus grips Aeneas's knees 'humylly', speaks in a 'petuus' voice and describes himself as a 'silly sawle… sa faynt and mayt' (X.ix.41-43; 46). In another addition of Douglas's, Magus reminds Aeneas of the discrepancy between their positions: 'thy pyssans is so stark' (X.ix.54). In a state of such abject surrender, what possible harm could Magus represent? He seems the model of the *subiecti* that, according to Anchises, deserve to be spared. The intensification of the pathos of this episode only amplifies the misgivings a reader might have about the lack of pity and compassion shown by Aeneas.

The death of Lausus is another moment at which the relationship between pity and *pietas* proves discordant and troubling. As Putnam notes, 'Lausus and Mezentius are not portrayed by Virgil as suppliants, once proud, now praying for restraint, as is Turnus at the epic's end, and so Anchises's dictum about victors sparing their abased foes is not strictly operative as a gauge

[26] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 1023.

by which to judge Aeneas's conduct here'[27], nonetheless, the death of Lausus in particular provokes disquieting questions about the nature of different forms of *pietas*. Seeing Mezentius wounded and under attack, Lausus does not hesitate to take his father's place and confront Aeneas, despite being hopelessly outmatched. Aeneas, as with previous victims, taunts his adversary. Here is Virgil's account:

> [Aeneas] Lausum increpitat Lausoque minatur:
> "quo moriture ruis maioraque viribus audes?
> Fallit te incautum pietas tua." Nec minus ille
> exsultat demens, saevae iamque altius irae
> Dardanio surgunt ductori, extremaque Lauso
> Parcae fila legunt. validum namque exigit ensem
> per medium Aeneas iuvenem tomtumque recondit;
> transit et parmam mucro, levia arma minacis,
> et tunicam molli mater quam neverat auro,
> implevitque sinum sanguis; tum vita per auras
> concessit maesta ad Manis corpusque reliquit.
> (*Aeneid* X.810-820)

Harrison sees 'fallit te incautum pietas tua' as 'a genuine warning to a younger and weaker opponent to abandon the duel, [which is] nevertheless uttered as a threat'[28] and suggests that the words 'give voice to Aeneas' inner conflict between heroic passion and generalship on the one hand (which leads to his killing of Lausus), and a more "enlightened" recognition of *pietas* on the other (which leads to his subsequent lament for the young hero)'[29]. For Putnam, though, Aeneas's words represent a self-deceptive renunciation of responsibility for Lausus's death at his hands: '[w]hat his maddened words would have the... hearer believe is that not Aeneas but *pietas*, and his antagonist's *pietas* at that, performed the deed'[30], which would be a disturbing contortion of *pietas* from something that saves a life into something that warrants the taking of it. Servius offers the following comment on 'fallit te incautum pietas tua': 'quod credis idcirco me pium tibi veniam posse concedere, quia et ipse pietatis intuitu dimicas pro patris salute. 'tua' autem 'pietas' prudenter est additum, quasi non a parente descendens'[31] . This, as Thomas observes, seemingly misses (or chooses to ignore) the tension and 'irony in the conflict between Lausus' piety and Aeneas' drawing attention to his own piety'[32] and instead maintains a focus on Aeneas's understanding of *pietas*.

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[27] Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes*, p. 47.
[28] Vergil, *Aeneid 10*, p. 265.
[29] Vergil, *Aeneid 10*, p. 265.
[30] Putnam, *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence*, pp. 135-136.
[31] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis,* p. 1039.
[32] Thomas, *Virgil and the Augustan Reception*, p. 111.

After the strangely contorted model of *pietas* we find Aeneas advocating in his speech to Lausus, we find a more familiar, though no less troubling, realisation of *pietas* in the moments after Lausus's death.

> At vero ut vultum vidit morientis et ora,
> ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris,
> ingemuit miserans graviter dextramque tetendit,
> et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago.
> (*Aeneid* X.821-824)

Harrison remarks that '*at vero* and *ut vidit*, strong temporal markers reinforced by alliteration, stress a crucial change in Aeneas: he is here struck by the self-sacrificing *pietas* of Lausus, mirroring his own *pietas*... and turns from heroic battle-rage to more civilized thoughts of sympathy, pity, and regret....'[33]. The patronymic *Anchisiades* seems designed to remind us of the *pietas* which Aeneas owes his own father – though, as we have already seen in the battlefield encounters before now, the evocation of his father does not always have the desired effect (*parcere subiectis*). Its use here seems even more heavily loaded given that Aeneas has just killed a son who displayed extraordinary *pietas* in sacrificing himself to save his father[34]. The phrase 'patriae... pietatis imago' is highly ambiguous, which could refer to either (or, as Putnam quite rightly points out, more likely *both*) the *pietas* owed by Aeneas to Anchises or that shown by Lausus toward Mezentius.[35] Aeneas's recognition of *pietas* (whether his or Lausus's) seems prompted by the feelings of pity which he goes on to express in a brief but moving speech.

> "quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis,
> quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?
> Arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua; teque parentum
> manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto.
> hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem:
> Aenea magni dextra cadis." (*Aeneid* X.825-830)

Aeneas, rather curiously, refers to himself in the third person here and his self-appointed epithet has provoked differing critical opinions. Austin – whose comments seem to be concerned more with Aeneas than with his young victim – suggests that *pius* covers two modes of *pietas*: Aeneas's 'feeling that his own loyalties have been satisfied by the death of an enemy, but, much more, his sense of compassion ('it might have been my own son', he thinks) for one who had met death while coming to the aid of his own father'[36]. He adds that 'the two opposing

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[33] Vergil, *Aeneid 10*, p. 267.
[34] See Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes*, p. 47, and Vergil, *Aeneid 10*, p. 267.
[35] Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes*, p. 47.
[36] Vergili, P. Maronis, *Aeneidos Liber Quartus*, p. 122.

emotions unite in protest, as it were, at the mysterious inevitability of a pain that he has himself inflicted and cannot comprehend.'[37] Harrison, apparently similarly sympathetic to Aeneas, sees a 'grandiloquent pathos' in Aeneas's use of his own name and asserts that through using the epithet *pius* 'Aeneas pays tribute to the *pietas* of Lausus, recognising it as similar to his own'[38]. Putnam strikes a very valid note of discord, I think, in pointing out the irony with which the epithet is used[39]. The variety of critical opinion is testament to the highly ambiguous nature of this episode and the complexity with which *pietas* and pity interact. Aside from the final occurrences of Book 12, Aeneas's killing of Lausus, and the way in which he subsequently reflects on it, constitutes one of the most troubling moments of the *Aeneid*.

How, then, does Douglas handle this episode? The manner in which Aeneas approaches Lausus seems somewhat more menacing. Virgil's 'et Lausum increpitat Lausoque minatur' (10.810) is translated expansively as '[Aeneas] reprevand Lawsus, thus begouth to say, / And ma*n*nasyt hym with brand of blude all red' (X.xiii.122-123). While Virgil's 'minatur' is quite a general term, Douglas translates it as a specific physical gesture that involves a bloody weapon. This expansiveness is not borne out of a desire on Douglas's part to paint Aeneas as especially bloodthirsty figure; rather, it emerges out of what Gray identifies as his responsiveness 'to exciting scenes of all kinds [most obviously] to battles'[40] and his enthusiastic imaginative participation in this scene. As Gray also observes, Douglas is 'deeply responsive to... the pity at the brevity of life found in Virgil'[41], something which can be seen here in the presentation of the youthful Lausus, who is portrayed even more positively and sympathetically in the *Eneados* than in Virgil's *Aeneid*. Lausus is described as 'lusty' (X.xiii.79), and 'stern and curagus' (X.xiii.92) as he rushes to defend his father. After Aeneas's goading speech, we are told by Virgil that 'nec minus ille / [Lausus] exsultat demens' (*Aeneid* X.812-813); Lausus persists in a raging, raving impulse to meet Aeneas in combat. Harrison notes that '*exsultat* refers... to a demeanour of confident aggression... while *demens* suggests doomed folly'[42], but neither of these terms are translated by Douglas; instead, the corresponding line reads 'Bot for all thys *ȝong* Lawsus, vail que vaill, / Wald no wyß ceß Eneas till assaill' (X.xiii.129-130, my iatlics), which emphasises Lausus's youth. It is significant that Douglas chooses *not* to translate *exsultat* as he has translated other forms of it elsewhere in Book 10. The translation of *exsultans* at X.550 as 'prowd and gay' refers to Tarquitus, wearer of gaudy but ineffective armour, whose pleas for mercy Aeneas ignores and whose dead body he promises will be left for wild animals to

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37 Vergili, P. Maronis, *Aeneidos Liber Quartus*, p. 122.
38 Vergil, *Aeneid 10*, p. 268.
39 Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes*, p. 47.
40 Gray, '"As quha the mater beheld tofor thar e": Douglas's Treatment of Vergil's Imagery', p. 106.
41 Gray, 'Gavin Douglas and "the gret prynce Eneas"', p. 25.
42 Vergil, *Aeneid 10*, p. 265.

consume. At X.643, *exsultat* describes the false image of Aeneas conjured by Juno in order to lure Turnus away from the battlefield, which Douglas portrays in even more scathing terms than Virgil:

> And all befor the forfront of the feild
> Richt haltandly, as curageus vnder scheild,
> Musturis this ymage, that with dartis keyn
> Aggrevyt Turnus, and dyd hym chide in teyn,
> Prouocand hym to bargane and tyl ire.
> And Turnus tho als hoyt as any fyre...
> (X.xi.97-102)

Both Tarquitus and the phantom Aeneas are figures of arrogance and the latter, in particular, seems calculated to provoke a violent reaction.[43] Douglas is considerably more expansive and explicit than Virgil in describing Turnus's blazing wrath in pursuit of it. '[T]his ymage.... / Aggrevyt Turnus... / Prouocand hym to bargane and tyle ire. / And Turnus tho als hoyt as any fyre / Thys figur dyd invaid, and tharat he / In great dispyte a quhirrand dart leyt fle' (X.xi.99-104), is a considerable embellishment upon Virgil's text: '[imago] inritatque virum telis et voce lacessit. / instat cui Turnus stridentemque eminus hastam / conicit...' (*Aeneid* X.644-646).

Returning now to Lausus; in the *Aeneid,* we find both combatants possessed by a battle fury. Aeneas's anger is roused in direct response to Lausus's own raging aggression ('nec minus ille / [Lausus] exsultat demens, saevae iamque altius irae / Dardanio surgunt ductori...', 10.812-814) however, the *exsultat demens* that rouses such anger in Virgil's hero is, as noted above, absent in the *Eneados*, in which makes manifestation of Aeneas's rising 'wraith and felloun ire' (X.xiii.131) seem, in comparison, more troubling in its isolation. Douglas's use of 'felloun' has interesting resonances, too. *DOST* defines it as either 'extreme in intensity', or, 'fierce, savage, cruel'[44] – the latter more appropriate here, I think, since it translates Virgil's 'saevae' (10.813). Douglas's last use of a form of the same term is with reference to Turnus, who is described as 'full of felony' (X.viii.100) after Pallas succeeds in mildly wounding him. The correlation is hardly an edifying one for Aeneas and it is not present in the Virgilian text – there is no explicit mention of Turnus's anger at that point (X.479), though of course it is a trait more generally associated with him.[45] Douglas's translation draws uneasy parallels between the two

[43] The adverb 'haltandly' (X.xi.98) is not to be mistaken for the modern English 'haltingly' but means 'proudly', or 'arrogantly' (and relates etymologically, via Middle English, to the French 'haut'). See *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, s.v. 'haltanely', <https://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/haltanely> [accessed 31/10/2019].
[44] *Dictionary of the Scots* Language, s.v. 'felloun', <https://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/felloun_adj> [accessed 09/09/2019].
[45] 'hic Turnus ferro praefixum robur acuto / in Pallantia' (*Aeneid,* X.479-480).

warriors, their anger, and the manner in which they despatch their younger, weaker foes. All in all, then, Aeneas is depicted as more violent and wrathful than his Virgilian counterpart and his conduct linked unfavourably to Turnus, which I think is in order to throw the tender youth of Lausus into even sharper relief. Lausus is presented, in terms which emphasise his youth and courage, as an emblem of filial *pietas*, free from any stain of arrogance or rage. In death, too, he is described in glowing terms; Douglas makes a number of descriptive additions, including '*gentill* body' (X.xiii.138) and '*sweit* vissage' (X.xiii.148; both my italics). The pathos of Lausus's death – already considerable in the *Aeneid* – is even further heightened in the *Eneados* in order to emphasise his loss.

How, given all this, might 'pius' Aeneas's self-bestowed epithet strike the reader in Douglas's translation? Virgil's 'quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?' (10.826) is rendered as 'Quhat sall the reuthfull compacient Ene / For sa gret lovabill dedis rendir the?' (X.xiii.157-158). The doubling of *pius* into 'reuthfull' and 'compacient' is interesting; the former term is the one most commonly used by Douglas to translate forms of *pietas* but his use of the latter occurs only on this and one other occasion. He uses a similar pairing at I.ix.42 when Aeneas describes Dido as 'petuus… and pacient' (translating Virgil's *pio*). The noun 'compassioun' is used to translate *pietas* on only one occasion: in Venulus's description of the conquering hero, *pietate* is translated three times over as 'reuth, compassioun and… gentilness' (XI.xi.162). Elsewhere, Douglas uses 'compassioun' (or variant spellings) to translate forms of *misericordia* which would seem to align it firmly with pity. The 'irony' that Putnam notes in Aeneas's use of his famous epithet at this point in Virgil's text thus seems amplified and intensified in the *Eneados*, for at a point when Douglas's translation arouses readers' intense pity for young Lausus, the supposedly 'compacient' Aeneas has acted wholly without pity in killing him. It is only once Lausus is dead that Aeneas, struck by 'the ymage of hys faderly piete [towards Anchises]' which he sees mirrored in Lausus's 'sweit vissage', that he feels a belated but powerful sense of pity for the young man who lies dead before him.

Another epithet that Aeneas is granted later in Book 10 of the *Eneados* also seems significant and troubling. In their final encounter at the end of Book 10, Mezentius addresses Aeneas as 'thou *dispetuus* fo' (X.xiiii.169; my italics), which seems somewhat different in tone to Virgil's 'hostis amare' ('bitter foe'; *Aeneid* 10.900). There is irony in the fact that this epithet is bestowed by a man renowned for acts of horrific cruelty and mercilessness; in fact the lion to which Mezentius is likened at X.xii.88*f* is described in precisely the same terms, as springing upon a hart 'dispytuusly' (X.xii.93).[46] Unlike Virgil's 'amare', the adjective 'dispetuus' invites

[46] For descriptions of Mezentius's cruelty, see *Aeneid* VIII.481-488 and *Eneados* VIII.viii.56-73.

reflection upon Aeneas's *pietas*, since 'petuus' has been used by Douglas previously to translate forms of *pius* (at I.viii.58; I.ix.42; III.iiii.108 and most recently and perhaps most significantly, 'petuus Aeneas' at X.x.107). In what ways, then, might Aeneas be 'dispetuus'? Uppermost in Mezentius's mind must be Aeneas's killing of his son, Lausus, though readers might also supplement this with the numerous instances where Aeneas fails to act with *pietas* in disregarding Anchises's injunction to spare the defeated. Douglas's choice of 'dispetuus' is also entirely appropriate in another sense, though, for now that his son has been slain, Mezentius's only desire is to join him in death. He expressly renounces any potential claim to mercy with the words 'nullum in caede nefas, nec sic ad proelia veni, / nec tecum meus haec pepigit mihi foedera Lausus' (*Aeneid* 10.901-902). Harrison observes Virgil's skill in transforming Mezentius from an 'impious and brutal tyrant'[47] when he is first introduced, to a 'more sympathetic and admirable'[48] figure by the time of his final encounter with Aeneas and notes that Mezentius's 'courage in facing [death] and his moving grief for Lausus attract the reader's sympathy'[49]. The pathos of Mezentius's grief is only heightened by various piteous additions in the *Eneados*, which, in turn, earns him even more sympathy.

Aeneas's designation as 'dispetuus', then, *could* carry a potentially huge weight here; it is vocalised by a figure who may have – against all odds – gained the readers' sympathy and, most compellingly, it voices the unwelcome and increasingly uncomfortable suspicion that readers may have harboured throughout Book 10, that Aeneas's actions are not in accord with 'piete', 'rewth' and 'compassion'. Yet, the very sympathy which Mezentius might accrue here, as well the heightened pathos with which Douglas portrays his death, have dangerous precedents earlier in the *Eneados*. Accusations of pitiless*ness* have been levelled at Aeneas before, by Dido, as discussed in the opening section of this chapter. Attentive readers of the *Eneados* will know not only that the pity and sympathy Dido attracts is dangerously seductive, but also that Aeneas's apparent lack of pity towards Dido (at least, as she felt it) was informed by what, for Douglas, is an entirely laudable sense of wider duty and *pietas*. The fact, too, that Aeneas is described as 'reuthfull' (X.xiii.65; corresponding to Virgil's *pius* at 10.783) at the very point he casts the spear which first wounds Mezentius is hugely significant. It frames the events which follow, which of course include the death of Lausus, however disquieting and lamentable that proves to be. Aeneas's earlier epithet of 'reuthfull' ultimately outweighs the charge of being 'dispetuus' which is later laid upon him by Mezentius.

[47] Vergil, *Aeneid 10*, p. 236.
[48] Vergil, *Aeneid 10*, p. 236.
[49] Vergil, *Aeneid 10*, p. 284; see also, Putnam, *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence*, p. 136.

The death of Mezentius prefigures the scene at the very end of the *Aeneid* between Aeneas and Turnus: a scene that is undoubtedly the poem's most powerful presentation of the tensions between *pietas* and pity and of the contradictions that we have so far seen open up in both the conception and the application of *pietas*. At the end of Book 12 we find Aeneas poised to strike a prostrate Turnus, who has been injured – though not fatally – in the thigh.[50] Here, the once proud Turnus seems to be the ultimate embodiment of the defeated subject who, according to Anchises, should be spared. Turnus, after professing – 'ne wil I not beseik the me to spair' (XII.xiiii.109) – goes on to lay out the very terms on which Aeneas might be persuaded to do so. After appealing to Aeneas's *pietas* by recalling both his own father and Anchises, Turnus then draws attention to the public nature of his defeat and relinquishes any claim he previously held to Lavinia's hand in marriage. Turnus's words do not succeed in saving him; Aeneas catches a glimpse of the baldric that Turnus took from Pallas's corpse and, *furiis accensus*, kills his opponent in the name of his former young ally.

Is this a total abandonment of *pietas* and a capitulation to its opposing force, *furor*? Not necessarily. Although, as Thomas notes, Servius generally 'works to avoid allowing double or competing pieties'[51] with regard to Aeneas, here he offers an interpretation of this moment which compounds Aeneas's *pietas*; he is *pius* in his hesitation in killing Turnus and *pius* in killing him and avenging the death of Pallas, thereby fulfilling his duty to Evander. His comment reads: 'cunctantem flectere sermo coeperat omnis intention ad Aenea pertinent gloriam: nam et ex eo quod hosti cogitat parcere, pius ostenditur, et ex eo quod eum interimit, pietatis gestat insigne: nam Evandri intuitu Pallantis ulciscitur mortem'.[52] Given Douglas's warm praise of Aeneas's perfect heroism in the opening prologue, we might expect him to follow Servius in seeking both to stifle the troubling aspects of Aeneas's behaviour and to reassert the hero's *pietas* in a similar twofold manner.[53] His translation, though, shows no such thing; once again, the tensions inherent in Virgil's text are amplified rather than dampened. Attending to the moment of hesitation in both texts reveals subtle but important differences in the presentation of Aeneas.

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[50] Given the climactic nature of this moment, it has been the subject of much critical discussion: Horsfall provides a hugely informative and wide-ranging account of earlier critical responses, as well as his own, in *A Companion to the Study of Virgil*, pp. 192-216; see, also, David West, 'The Deaths of Hector and Turnus', *Greece and Rome*, 21.1 (1974), pp. 21-31 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/642548> [accessed 23/05/2018]; numerous studies by Putnam, including chapters 8, 9 and 10 of *Virgil's* Aeneid*: Interpretation and Influence*, p. 152*f*.

[51] Thomas, *Virgil and the Augustan Reception*, p. 111.

[52] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis,* p. 1155.

[53] 'For euery virtu belangand a nobill man / This ornate poet bettir than ony can / Payntand discryvis in person of Eneas – / Not forto say sikane Eneas was, / ȝit than by hym perfytely blasons he / All wirschip, manhed and nobilite, / With euery bonte belangand a gentill wycht, / Ane prynce, ane conquerour or a valȝeand knycht.', I.Pro.325-331.

... stetit acer in armis
Aeneas volvens oculos dextramque repressit;
 et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo
coeperat...

(*Aeneid*, 12.938-941)

Eneas stern in armys tho present
Rolland hys eyn toward Turnus dyd stand,
And lyst nocht stryke, bot can withdraw hys hand,
And mor and mor thir wordis, by and by,
Begouth inclyne hym to reuth and mercy,
Abydand lang in hovir quhat he suld do...

(*Eneados*, XII.xiiii.124-129)

Virgil's Aeneas checks or restrains ('repressit') his sword hand, a verb that implies that he is, in fact, still inclined to strike the supplicant Turnus and therefore his subsequent hesitation is simply a pause before the inevitable. In contrast, upon hearing Turnus's plea in the *Eneados,* any desire Aeneas may have had to deal a mortal blow is completely dissipated: he 'lyst nocht stryke'. Furthermore, Douglas's Aeneas does not merely stay his hand but actually 'withdraw[s]' it, a physical reaction that suggests that he is disposed to be merciful. If readers of Virgil's *Aeneid* find Aeneas, as Horsfall and Putnam do, on 'the *brink* of pardon' (my emphasis) and 'poised to spare or not to spare'[54], then readers of the *Eneados* find Aeneas in quite a different posture; if Servius has Aeneas ponder or weigh ('cogitat') the possibility of sparing his opponent then in the *Eneados* the scales seem to be already tipped in Turnus's favour. Douglas reveals far more than Virgil when he explicitly states the effect of Turnus's plea on Aeneas: 'mor and mor thir wordis, by and by, / Begouth incline hym *to reuth and mercy*', which is a precise echo of Turnus's appeal – 'Of ony wofull parent may twich the, / Haue *rewth and mercy* of Kyng Dawnus the ald' (my italics). It seems, then, that Aeneas is all but fully persuaded to spare Turnus's life, which makes the subsequent reversal all the more shocking. Douglas heightens the opposition between the two states; when inclined towards mercy, Aeneas 'abydand *lang* in hovir' but in his final act '[a]ll full of furour kyndlys he *inhy* [in haste]'. In Douglas's translation of the final moment of the *Aeneid*, then, 'reuth and mercy' are presented in total opposition to Aeneas's final act of violence. There is no attempt at the equivalence or correspondence found in Servius's commentary; Douglas does not corral the two opposing courses of action into a common source as Servius does by declaring them both *pius.* Instead, Douglas's translation only heightens the unresolved nature of Virgil's ending and amplifies our unease about the supposedly 'rewthful Ene'.

[54] Putnam, *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence*, p. 157.

III

The various translator's notes and assertive signature that follow Book 12 suggests that Douglas may have intended to draw a line under his labour and end the *Eneados* there, with all of the questions about its hero's final conduct still unresolved (as, indeed, they are at the end of Virgil's *Aeneid*), however, as he describes vividly in his thirteenth prologue, he subsequently decided to translate Maphaeus Vegius's 'Thirteenth Book'.[55] Vegius's popular *supplementum* to the *Aeneid*, completed in 1428, was widely published alongside Virgil's works from the late 15th century onwards and was included, along with a commentary from Ascensius, in the edition of Virgil's works that Douglas worked from. Although Vegius's thirteenth book is a continuation rather than a commentary, Wilson-Okamura argues that it 'functioned like a commentary in the way it channelled interpretation'[56] and sought to resolve the uncomfortable ambiguities of the Virgilian ending. Other critics broadly agree that the thirteenth book, perhaps in response to what Kallendorf terms Vegius's 'dissatisfaction with the moral world of the poem as he found it'[57], constitutes a '*laudatio* of Aeneas and a *vituperatio* of Turnus'[58], in order to 'clarify and complete the moral structure of Virgil's poem'[59]. Given Douglas's similar desire to praise Aeneas, as expressed in the opening prologue, and the jeopardy in which the hero's status as *pius* was left at the end of Book 12 of the *Eneados*, we might expect his translation of the thirteenth book to wholeheartedly embrace its author's project.

Vegius's efforts to repair the damage to Aeneas's reputation begin very early in the thirteenth book as Aeneas addresses the defeated Rutulian and Latin troops, whose 'willing submission... sets the stage for a demonstration of the justice of Aeneas' unresolved actions in *Aeneid* 12'[60], according to Thomas. We left Aeneas blazing with fury at the end of Book 12, but, as Thomas

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[55] See f304v of Douglas, Gawain, *Gawain Douglas's Aeneid*, MS 0.3.12, Trinity College, Cambridge, <http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=699> [accessed 23.08.2017].
[56] David Scott Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 247.
[57] Craig Kallendorf, *In Praise of Aeneas: Virgil and Epideictic Rhetoric in the Early Italian Renaissance* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1989), p. 127.
[58] B.L. Hijmans, '*Aeneia Virtus*: Vegio's *Supplementum* to the *Aeneid*', *The Classical Journal*, 67.2 (1971-1972), 144-155 (p. 153).
[59] Kallendorf, *In Praise of Aeneas*, p. 110.
[60] Thomas, *Virgil and the Augustan Reception*, p. 282.

observes '[c]losure and damage control are underway as Vegio in effect contradicts Virgil'[61] by having Aeneas speak calmly (Douglas goes further still with 'plesand voce' (XIII.i.51)). In the speech that follows, all mention of *furor* is in reference to Turnus and is thoroughly condemned. Aeneas is once more distinguished by his virtue and his *pietas*. In the space of just 630 lines – considerably fewer than the shortest book of the *Aeneid* (Book IV) – references to Aeneas's *pietas* or the epithet *pius* occur a total of six times. Douglas augments this to eight occurrences, outdoing Vegius's already enthusiastic assertion of Aeneas's virtue. Whilst Vegius follows Virgil (to an exaggerated degree) in giving Aeneas such regular epithets, his use of them is wholly positive and not subjected to any of the strain under which we have seen it placed in Virgil's text. *Pius Aeneas*, in the thirteenth book, seems once more to act as a stabilising force – though one sorely lacking in Virgilian complexity.

In keeping with the expectation that Douglas might adopt Vegius's project of re-establishing Aeneas's *pietas* with alacrity, Garrison argues that '[t]he problem of the hero's fury is... addressed by Douglas in his version of the thirteenth book' and that 'he can and does attempt to affirm or re-establish the hero's pietas'.[62] Garrison identifies Douglas's translation of Vegio's 'Discite me et pietate sequi'[63] (XIII.99) as a crucial phrase within this process. This line occurs in the Aeneas's victorious speech to his fellow Trojans and allies and is translated by Douglas as 'Lern forto follow me and to be meik, / yhe contyrfyt my reuth and piete eik' (XIII.ii.99-100). Garrison makes the following observations:

> By conflating Aeneid 13 with Matthew 11.29 ("discite a me, quia mitis sum, et humilis corde"), Douglas adapts Vergilian to Christian heroism, the nobility of Roman pietas to the humility of its Christian counterpart. By doubling pietas to produce both pity ("reuth") and piety ("piete"), Douglas brings together the two auctores pietatis of the ancient world, as his translation of Aeneid 13 overlaps with the Geneva translation of the Gospel: "learne of me, that I am meke and lowlie in heart."'[64]

It would seem, that in his translation of Vegius's text here, Douglas might finally succeed in drawing together the 'classical and Christian, ancient and medieval conceptions of pietas'[65] that Garrison identifies in Douglas's definition of *pietas* in his marginal note to I.vi.125. There are, though, beside the biblical association, a couple of potentially troubling, if faint, echoes from the first twelve books. The whole phrase, and especially the word 'meik', recalls Anchises's

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[61] Thomas, *Virgil and the Augustan Reception*, p. 282.
[62] Garrison, *Pietas from Vergil to Dryden*, pp. 164-165.
[63] Quotations from Maphaeus Vegius's Latin text are taken from Anna Cox Brinton, *Maphaeus Vegius and his Thirteenth Book of the Aeneid*, ed. by Anna Cox Brinton (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2002), pp. 51-142.
[64] Garrison, *Pietas from Vergil to Dryden*, p. 165.
[65] Garrison, *Pietas from Vergil to Dryden*, p. 164.

words to Aeneas at the end of Book 6 to spare the defeated ('Thus said *th*e noble fader Anchyses meik'; VI.xv.19) and the doubling of Vegius's *pietate* to 'reuth and piete' recalls Turnus's plea that Aeneas behave with 'reuth and mercy' toward Daunus – both of which are entreaties that Aeneas fails to follow. His exhortation to others to follow his example in meekness, 'reuth and piete', then, risks ringing slightly hollow.

Despite the troubling echoes of 'reuth and mercy' mentioned above, the attempt to realign Aeneas's *pietas* with 'reuth' continues throughout Book XIII. This even takes the form of an, admittedly brief, note of pity for Aeneas's foe. Once dead, it seems, Turnus is afforded some degree of pity and sympathy, even by Aeneas, whose feelings of compassion toward Turnus are precipitated by his first glimpse of Lavinia, on their wedding day:

> Quham as this Troian prynce first gan behald,
> Of bewte, schap and all afferys, perfay,
> Sa excelland that wondir war to say,
> At the first blenk astonyst half wolx he,
> And musyng hovirris styll on hir to se,
> And in hys mynd gan rew the hard myschans
> Of Turnus, quham na litill apperans
> Sa baldly movit to dereyn bargan,
> To rayß the weir and feght for sykkyn ane;
> For weill, he thocht, the hope of syk a wight
> To dedys of armys aucht constreyn ony knycht.
> (XIII.viii.58-68)

Hijmans considers this passage an important comment on Aeneas's character, observing that over the course of the 'Thirteenth Book' Aeneas's martial heroism had been acknowledged, 'he had shown his piety... his care for his men... and his magnanimity [and, in pitying Turnus,] he shows the Christian virtue of *misericordia*'[66]. The fact that Aeneas 'rew[s]' Turnus's unfortunate end further rehabilitates his 'reuthfulness' as it is conceived by Douglas, with its roots in both Christian *misericordia* and Virgilian *pietas*. Douglas's translation of this moment goes even further than Vegius's in that Aeneas not only gains an insight into Turnus's potential motives in continuing to fight but even moves towards normalising, if not quite excusing, them: 'the hope of syk a wight / To dedys of armys aucht constreyn *ony* knycht' (XIII.viii.67-68; my emphasis).[67] Aeneas's belated pity in the *Eneados*, then, seems to allow for a wider conception of Turnus's humanity. If, though, as Thomas asserts, the 'demonstration of

[66] Hijmans, '*Aeneia Virtus*: Vegio's *Supplementum* to the *Aeneid*', p. 150.
[67] *cf* Vegius's 'et secum Turni casus miseratus acerbos / Qui haud parva spe ductus ovans in proelia tantos / Civisset motus, durisque arsisset in armis.' ('Thirteenth Book, 471-473).

the justice of Aeneas' unresolved actions in *Aeneid* 12 [is] a demonstration effected in large part by Turnus' "iniquity"'[68], then this brief flash of sympathy for Turnus would seem to undermine that. Aeneas's belated feelings of 'reuth' toward Turnus allow nagging questions over the justification of his killing of Turnus to persist, however quietly. Clearly, the expression of a legitimate and authentic form of 'reuth' for Turnus is complex and troublesome, and something which deserves further attention than I am able to give it at this moment (my focus here being solely upon Aeneas). The concluding chapter of this thesis, however, turns back to these issues and explores how Douglas's treatment of the laments for Turnus given by Latinus and Daunus, do establish – for the reader, if not for Aeneas himself – a legitimate model of 'reuth and piete' with regard to Turnus.

Vegius's 'Thirteenth Book' concludes with Aeneas's apotheosis – the ultimate manifestation of his virtue and *pietas*. It is Venus's advocation and promotion of her son's virtue which secures Jupiter's decree that Aeneas might ascend to the heavens.

> "Quhat thochtis now doith rollyng in thy mynd,
> Sen, ellys, doith the vertuus thewys kind
> Of this reuthfull Eneas the requyr
> Abuf the polys brycht to rayß that syre?" (XIII.xi.25-28)

Venus's question to Jupiter recalls her words in Book 1 of the *Aeneid* – 'hic pietatis honos?' – which Douglas translates twice over as 'Is this reward ganand for thame ar meik? / Is this the honour done to thame bene godlyke?' (I.v.44-45). Douglas's addition of the epithet 'reuthfull', above, points specifically to *pietas* as the defining characteristic that earns him his place amidst the gods, rather than the more general indication of virtue found in Vegius's text ('Iamque optat matura polos Aeneia virtus', 13.605). So, as Kallendorf sums up: 'the poem ends in the only way it could end for Vegio, with Aeneas gaining the fame and immortality that properly come to one "endowed with every virtue"'[69] – this last phrase matching almost exactly the description that Douglas gives Aeneas in his prologue to Book 1: 'eu*er*y vertu belangand a nobill man / This ornate poet bettir *th*an ony can / Payntand discryvis in person of Eneas' (I.Pro.325-327). Nor can Douglas resist slipping in one final, triumphant epithet – not found in Vegius's text – in the final lines of Book 13, when Venus bears her son's recently departed soul 'abuf *the* ayr full hie / Onto *the* hevyn, quhar *reuthfull* Eneas / Amyd *the* starnys chosyn haß his place' (XIII.xi.74-76; my emphasis). Yet, despite the many ways in which Vegius's 'Thirteenth Book' works to re-establish Aeneas's *pietas* and the assuredness with which Douglas applies that final

[68] Thomas, *Virgil and the Augustan Reception*, p. 282.
[69] Kallendorf, *In Praise of Aeneas*, p. 126.

epithet, is it really plausible to say that this overcomes the plethora of problems and doubts that beset our conception of 'rewthfull Ene' at the end of Book 12? I am not sure that it is. Far from seeing Aeneas's virtue and *pietas* strengthen and mature over the course of the thirteen books (as Vegius's Venus would have us believe) we have, instead, over the course of the *Eneados*, seen it come under enormous strain and, indeed, begin to fracture in places, thanks to the competing demands of duty and pity. [70]

By way of conclusion, it is worth, I think, reflecting on a number of statements made by Burrow. On the crucial *at pius Aeneas* in Book 4, Burrow comments that 'pity is for [Virgil] an emotion which keeps emerging from *pietas*, but which he struggles continually to restrain'[71] and that at this moment Aeneas's '*pietas* is splitting into two incompatible senses, a dutiful sense and a pitiful sense'[72]. This moment of crisis in Book 4 is, Burrow suggests, a 'transitional moment' which marks the point at which Aeneas's *pietas* moves away from sympathy and compassion and becomes what Burrow terms a more ''deontic' force'.[73] In the *Eneados*, though, pity is something that does not just occasionally 'emerge' from *pietas*; it is, rather, an intrinsic – though often contradictory – part of it. This wrestling between the two 'incompatible senses' of duty and pity does not occur for the last time in Aeneas's decision to obey the gods rather than act upon his feelings of pity for Dido but, as shown throughout this chapter, is seen in a multitude of moments throughout the *Eneados*. Douglas's expanded conception of Virgilian *pietas* means that Aeneas's allegedly 'reuthful' actions will always be left open to judgement in terms of compassion and pity as well as devotion and duty. The semantic slippage of *pietas* and the capaciousness of Douglas's translation of the term – as well as his consistent heightening of elements of Virgilian pathos – creates a lexical landscape that is, ultimately, tilted towards pity, which makes some of Aeneas's actions, as we have seen, seem consistently *more* rather than less perplexing. It is no wonder, then, that in Book IV we are provided with a map, of sorts – the prologue which guides readers past the wrong sort of 'reuth' for Dido. Books 10 and 12 do not have the same supportive frame: Douglas's 'rewthfull Ene', and readers of the *Eneados* alongside him, have to navigate their difficult terrain armed with a bewildering compass of *pietas* which often seems to point in at least two, often opposite, directions at once.

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[70] 'Iam... optat *matura* polos Aeneia virtus' ('Thirteenth Book', 605; my emphasis).
[71] Burrow, *Epic Romance*, p. 40.
[72] Burrow, *Epic Romance*, p. 40.
[73] Burrow, *Epic Romance*, p. 39.

Chapter III

'Worthy tobe menyt, worthy tobe bewalyt and complenyt': Douglas's translation of Virgilian laments in the *Eneados.*

Aeneas's victory in leading his fellow Trojans to a new homeland is hard won, and his ultimately triumphant epic journey is, as we have seen over the course of the last two chapters, frequently marked by episodes of grief and loss, both for the Trojans and those they encounter. As Adam Parry observes, in the *Aeneid* we hear 'two distinct voices... a public voice of triumph, and a private voice of regret'[1] the latter of which asserts itself through the representations of human suffering that permeate the poem. The relationship between these two voices – and, more generally, the relationship between the celebration of Augustan imperial values and the powerful pathos with which its human cost is portrayed – has been the subject of much critical debate, occupied by the central question of whether the persistent strains of pathos in the poem work ultimately to *sustain* the Roman imperial project or to *undermine* it.[2]

Lamentation for the dead or dying is one of the most conspicuous and important ways in which pathos and the individual voice of suffering are expressed in Virgil's poem. How can the laments found in the *Aeneid* be characterised? The first thing to note is that they share many features with earlier Greek – and especially Homeric – models in terms of both their structure and content.[3] Led by a close relative or friend of the deceased – most often a woman – the speech is accompanied by ritual gestures which are almost identical in Homeric and Virgilian texts. Compare, for instance, Briseis, who upon seeing the dead Patroclus gives 'a piercing cry / and with both hands clawing deep at her breasts, / her soft throat and lovely face, she sob[s]'[4] (*Iliad* 19.345-347, as translated by Robert Fagles) and Anna, who rushes to her sister's side 'unguibus ora... foedans et pectora pugnis' (*Aeneid* 4.673).

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[1] Adam Parry, 'The Two Voices of Virgil's "Aeneid"', *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics*, 2.4 (1963), 66-80 (p.79), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20162871> [accessed 30/09/2019].

[2] The critical material on this subject is vast, so I give just a sample of prominent works here which deal with aspects of one or both 'voices': W.R. Jonson's *Darkness Visible: A Study of Vergil's* Aeneid (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 49*f.*; Viktor Pöschl, *The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the* Aeneid, trans. by Gerda Seligson (New York: The University of Michigan Press, 1970), p. 91*f.*; R.F. Thomas, *Virgil and the Augustan Reception*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Charles Martindale, *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[3] For a detailed study of ritual lament in the ancient Greek tradition, from which I have drawn upon here, see Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in the Greek Tradition*, rev. by Dimitrios Yatromanolakis and Panagiotis Roilos, 2nd edn (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2002), especially pages 6; 102-104; 131-139; 151; 161*f*.

[4] Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. by Robert Fagles (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1998)

In the *Aeneid*, as in the *Iliad*, laments characteristically begin with a preliminary address to the dead. So, for instance, Hecuba to her son – 'Hector, dearest to me by far of all my sons...' (*Iliad* 24.881; as translated by Fagles) or Euryalus's mother upon seeing her son's decapitated head – 'hunc ego te Euryale aspicio[?]' (*Aeneid* 9.481). The latter example also incorporates another common feature of the opening of the lament: a question – often rhetorical – which emphasises the plight of the mourner or the inexpressible or inconceivable enormity of the grief which they now face. 'How shall I weep?' and 'Why should I linger on?' are frequent formulations, according to Alexiou.[5] Next comes a more narrative section that hinges on the contrast between past, present and future. This can work in multiple ways: a comparison of the status of the deceased when they were alive with their circumstances now, in death; comparison of the addressee, now dead, and the mourner, still alive, and also the imagining of a bleak future without the deceased. Praise and, in the *Aeneid,* more often reproach of the dead is also customary. So, for example, Euryalus's mother asks of her dead son, 'tune ille senectae / sera meae requies, potuisti linquere solam, / crudelis?' (*Aeneid* 9.481-483). The mourner will often express an unfulfillable desire; for instance, that they themselves had died alongside their relative (see Anna to Dido: 'comitemne sororem / sprevisti moriens? eadem me ad fata vocasses'; *Aeneid* 4.677-678), or even in their place, as, for example, Evander wishes ('animam ipse dedissem / atque haec pompa domum me, non Pallanta, referret!'; *Aeneid* 11.162-163). Occasionally – and most often in the few laments given by men – the wishes are more akin to a curse, or a desire to avenge the dead, as seen in Evander's lament for Pallas, which ends with a wish that he might bear news of Turnus's death at the hands of Aeneas to his son in the underworld (*Aeneid* 11.180-181), or in Achilles's speech over the body of Patroclus: 'Here in front of your flaming pyre I'll cut the throats / of a dozen sons of Troy [...] venting my rage on them for your destruction' (*Iliad* 18.392-394; Fagles's translation). More unusual, in that it is uttered by a woman and before her *own* death, is Dido's curse of Aeneas and his descendants at the end of Book 4. A final brief address to the dead often forms the end of the lament, which is customarily followed by groans and wailing from assembled fellow mourners.

Despite what might seem to be the highly formulaic structure of laments for the dead, in adopting – or, rather, adapting – Homeric models, Virgil is reproducing what Alexiou identifies as the most common term for lament used by Homer: the *góos*. This, according to Alexiou, was the term that may have originally denoted the unrestrained weeping and wailing of women over the corpse and, in a Homeric context, denotes a 'spontaneous' and 'highly individualised' and narrative-driven improvisation that is spoken most often by a solo female figure.[6] This

[5] Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, pp. 161-162.
[6] Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 103.

highly emotional, extemporal quality is achieved through a number of different means. Alliteration, assonance and homoioteleuton are frequently used to build the vivid pathos and emotional intensity of the lament, as well as to recall the wordless wailing of which it is believed the primitive *góos* was originally formed.[7] In a highly regarded study, Barchiesi identifies further elements in Juturna's speech in Book 12 of the *Aeneid* (12.872-884; treated in far closer detail later in this chapter) which 'clearly define *Vergilian* pathetic style in contrast to [for instance] Catullus'[8] (my emphasis). These elements include 'fragmented articulation' in the form of staccato bursts of interrogatives and an 'accumulation of monosyllables'; instances of caesura and enjambement, 'which pushes the emotional thrust of phrases beyond the limits of the metrical unit'; a lack of uniformity or artistic neatness; all of which combine to produce the particular 'metrical texture' of a conspicuously Virgilian pathetic discourse.[9] Another crucial effect of the characteristics mentioned above is the way in which they align the laments firmly with tragedy. Alongside the earlier Homeric influences in Juturna's speech, Barchiesi traces motifs of Euripidean tragedy, particularly monody, which reinforce the characteristic *isolation* of an individual speaker.[10]

How, then, do these instances of tragic lament function within – or perhaps, more accurately, *against* – the epic frame of the *Aeneid*? On the one hand, they might be viewed as limited, isolated and impotent utterances of hopeless futility, whose function is merely to *retard* the epic action of the poem; on the other hand – and much more interestingly, I think – they can be seen as active forces, formally and generically, in that they disrupt, challenge and complicate an epic frame which does not, I would argue, manage to contain them. Even if, as Parry asserts, 'the private voice, the personal emotions of a man, is never allowed to motivate action [*within* the poem]'[11], it nevertheless proves to be of no small consequence to the reader. Christine Perkell is correct, I think, in her assertion that the power of lament in the *Aeneid* extends beyond its internal audience within the poem to be felt – arguably even more forcefully – by its readers.[12] Moments of tragic lamentation can also constitute a powerful force even outside of their immediate moment. The fact that Virgil so closely binds together many of the moments of lament gives the individual episodes a cumulative affective power as the poem progresses, but it

[7] Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 151.
[8] Alessandro Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects in Vergil's Narrative*, trans. by Ilaria Marchesi and Matt Fox (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), p. 99.
[9] Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects in Vergil's Narrative*, pp. 98-99.
[10] Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects in Vergil's Narrative*, pp .106-107.
[11] Parry, 'The Two Voices of Virgil's "Aeneid"', p. 79.
[12] Christine Perkell, 'The Lament of Juturna: Pathos and Interpretation in the *Aeneid*', *Transactions of the American Philological Association (1974-2014)*, 127 (1997), 257-286 (p. 278) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/284394> [accessed 27/02/2019].

also allows him to turn these characteristic elements of laments to new purposes, in new contexts. The pathetic discourse identified by Barchiesi in Juturna's speech in Book 12 – which so strongly recalls elements of Dido's speeches and Anna's lament in Book 4 – is reworked so as to place the epic frame of the poem under enormous pressure at a crucial juncture, something which I will explore in far greater depth later in the chapter.[13] To summarise, then, laments in the *Aeneid* can be characterised as isolated, monologic utterances which activate a tragic mode that runs counter to the epic frame of the poem. Whilst these utterances most commonly express frustration, impotence and helplessness, they nevertheless act as vehicles of a powerful pathos that threatens to overwhelm or, at the very least, obscure and complicate, the public voice of collective triumph and the celebration of Augustan imperial values.

Readers of the *Eneados* are faced with an even more emphatic and expansive pathos in episodes of mourning and lamentation. Douglas often carefully reproduces and attends very closely to the elements of ritual lament that he finds in Virgil's work but, just as the Roman poet adapted earlier funereal and tragic models and put them to use in new contexts so, too, can we observe Douglas develop his own particular pathetic discourse and a specific lexis of lamentation and tragedy over the course of the first twelve books of the *Eneados*. The celebrated vividness and 'feilabill' quality of Douglas's translation is also especially evident in many of these episodes of lamentation – not least in the moments directly leading up to the laments themselves – and is crucial in allowing readers to inhabit and become emotionally invested in the highly pathetic and tragic scenes that unfold. The intense and tragic pathos generated in Douglas's translations of these episodes of mourning and lamentation arguably constitutes an even more problematic force within the *Eneados* than in the *Aeneid*. Douglas Gray asserts that '[i]n making his readers feel the power of Virgil's scenes of pathos, [Douglas] allows their *function* and *significance* to emerge: the ways in which they reveal the combination of a [celebratory] public voice… and a [sorrowful, sympathetic] private voice'[14] (my emphasis). What, precisely, *is* their function and significance in Douglas's translation, and how does this correspond to, or depart from, their function and significance within the *Aeneid*? Can the pity the laments elicit be reconciled to any degree with *pius* Aeneas's imperial mission, or does it stand ever further at odds to it? Does the characteristic lexis of 'reuth' that Douglas employs in these episodes moderate or amplify the unresolved tensions inherent in the Virgilian text? These are the sorts of questions and problems to which I will attend in this chapter. In order to do so, then, I will examine various episodes of mourning and lamentation within Books I to XII of the *Eneados*, considering how

[13] Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects in Vergil's Narrative*, pp. 101-103.
[14] Gray, 'Gavin Douglas and "the gret prynce Eneas"', p. 25.

they operate individually and in relation to their Virgilian counterparts, and also how such moments might function collectively over the course of the translation.

I. 'Andromacha, wo begone'

Although the meeting between Aeneas and Andromache in Book 3 of the *Aeneid* does not contain a lament, as such, it is a useful starting point to explore elements of grief and pathos which mark some of the formal laments later in the poem. Andromache is presented as a figure who seems caught in a state of perpetual, self-defeating grief. Interrupted in her solitary mourning rites for her former husband Hector, she seems driven to madness (*amens*, 3.307) by the sight of Aeneas and his companions, whom she fears to be ghosts. Chilled to the bone by such an apparently unearthly sight, Andromache faints and, once she has recovered sufficiently to speak to Aeneas, begins a speech that is accompanied by much weeping. Its highly emotional nature is noted by Richard Heinze, for whom Andromache exemplifies the way in which he believes women in the *Aeneid* 'are very rapidly overcome by emotions', which appear to 'have a more devastating effect on them' and are expressed by them in a 'more extreme way'[15]. The emotional quality of Andromache's speech, as well as her swooning and weeping, seems to me to be less indicative of a particularly *gendered* register, and more indicative of the register of lamentation and mourning.

The encounter with Andromache is, of course, being related by Aeneas as part of his story to Dido, so it is – ostensibly – *he* who characterises Andromache's grief-stricken state as madness. Whilst, as Nicholas Horsfall notes, 'Aeneas's narrative to Dido enters deeply into Andromache's emotions and symptoms'[16], their extremity does not elicit a particularly compassionate response from him at the time. Despite being disturbed (*turbatus*) by her weeping, Aeneas makes little attempt to comfort her but bemoans his own hard lot – 'vivo equidem vitamque extrema per omnia duco' (3.315) – then proceeds to question Andromache about her own fate and her marital relations.[17] The manner in which he makes his enquiries has been judged by some to be insensitive, if unintentionally so. He addresses Andromache as Hector's wife ('Hectoris Andromache', 3.319) before immediately asking her is she is still

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[15] Richard Heinze, *Virgil's Epic Technique*, pp. 232-233. S. Georgia Nugent also explores aspects of female suffering and grief in 'The Women of the *Aeneid*: Vanishing Bodies, Lingering Voices', in *Reading Vergil's Aeneid, an Interpretive Guide*, ed. by Christine Perkell (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), pp. 251-270.

[16] See Horsfall's note to line 308, in *Virgil* Aeneid 3, *A Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), p. 247.

[17] Horsfall suggests that it is Aeneas's own 'deep grief, that reduces him to virtual silence' at this point. See Horsfall, *Virgil* Aeneid 3, *A Commentary*, p. 250.

married to Pyrrhus, her Greek captor ('Pyrrhin conubia servas?', 3.319).[18] In response to Aeneas's questions, Andromache launches into a lament of the events that have befallen her since the destruction of Troy. She begins in a muted tone ('demissa voce locuta est', 3.320) but, in turning from her own catalogue of woes to ask Aeneas of his and Ascanius's own troubled journey, she becomes agitated again, to the point of incoherence:

> quid puer Ascanius? superatne et vescitur aura,
> quem tibi iam Troia ---
> ecqua tamen puero est amissae cura parentis? (*Aeneid* 3.339-341)

The half-line at 340 has prompted much critical speculation and debate.[19] As Christine Perkell notes in her commentary on Book 3, '[s]ome commentators suggest that *this particular* broken off verse represents Andromache's inability to speak, because she is weeping or because she has just realised that Creusa must be dead', whereas 'others... deny that such an irregularity would be acceptable in epic.'[20] In his 1501 edition of Virgil's works, Ascensius asserts that the missing half of the line relates to Creusa ('[q]uem tibi Troia obſeſſa est enixa creusa'[21]) and also acknowledges Servius' view that the line is incomplete and void of sense ('Servius attestat inco[m]pletu[m] esse etiam i[m]p[er]fecto sensu derelicto'[22]). He then goes on to justify the hemistich, suggesting that its lack of sense is an artistic choice designed to convey the extremity of Andromache's grief: 'resummu[s] est artificiu[s]: ut mulier [su]ppedita dolore sensu[m] absoluere no[n] potuisse significet'.[23]

Andromache's lament is once again accompanied by floods of tears, but again, as Denis Feeney notes, they are 'in vain (*incassum*, 345) [and] Aeneas makes no reply to [the] long speech, nor to all the questions [Andromache] asks him (337-43)' [24]. Feeney finds, in Aeneas's unsympathetic

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[18] G.S. West notes the tactless 'bluntness' of Aeneas's phrasing and in her commentary on Book 3, and Christine Perkell notes that Conington refers to this as a moment of 'unfeeling reproach' on Aeneas's part. Rather than reproach or insensitivity, though, Aeneas's 'bluntness' might be a symptom of his sympathy and horror that she might still be trapped in 'marriage' to the son of the man who killed her husband. See Grace Starry West, 'Andromache and Dido', *The American Journal of Philology*, 104.3 (1983), 257-267 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1213166> [accessed 22/02/2018], (p. 260) and Christine Perkell, 'Commentary: Aeneid 3', in *Virgil Aeneid Books 1-6*, p. 294.
[19] Anne Rogerson offers a concise summary of some of the different interpretations on pp. 63-4 of *Virgil's Ascanius, Imagining the Future in the* Aeneid (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), as does Horsfall in his commentary on Book 3, p. 267. For a broader survey of half-lines within the *Aeneid*, see F.J. Miller, 'Evidences of Incompleteness in the "Aeneid" of Vergil', *The Classical Journal*, 4.8 (1909), 341-55 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3287376> [accessed 12/10/2019] (pp. 341-249).
[20] Christine Perkell, 'Commentary: Aeneid 3', p. 295.
[21] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis,* p. 594.
[22] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 594.
[23] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 594.
[24] Denis Feeney, "The Taciturnity of Aeneas." *The Classical Quarterly*, 33.1 (1983), 204-219 (p. 213) <www.jstor.org/stable/638656.> [accessed 28/03/2018].

reception of Andromache, a prime example of how Virgil 'consistently excludes from his poem the intimacy, companionship and shared suffering which Homer's men and women hold out to each other through speech.'[25] Whether or not he desires to, Aeneas is unable to offer Andromache comfort; he leaves her in a flood of tears and, arguably, just as distressed – if not more so – as when he found her. The emotional distance between Andromache and Aeneas seems symptomatic of a wider gulf between their attitudes, identified by Perkell and Anne Rogerson as Andromache's obsessive and unproductive focus on the dead and the past, as opposed to Aeneas's looking forward, productively, to the founding of a new homeland (and one that is not just a pale imitation of Troy).[26] Indeed, one might go even further by aligning the frenzied Andromache and her not just *un*productive, but, arguably, *de*structive grief with *furor* (which Virgil's use of *furenti* surely encourages), in opposition to the *pietas* demonstrated by Aeneas's restrained focus on the future rather than indulgent nostalgia for the past and the pursuit of a false homeland. Putnam views the encounter with Andromache as a significant test for Aeneas, asserting that, although 'Aeneas sees [Andromache] as *furens*..., the allure of her escapism comes at a critical moment in the book' and that '[t]he last great temptation to Aeneas in book 3 is to avoid the demands of history and yield to a life of withdrawal, which focuses on the illusory, if agitated, re-creation of past feelings'.[27] This is a test which Aeneas does, of course, overcome – his commitment to the foundation of a homeland in Italy is even more securely entrenched by the time he departs Buthrotum's shores, having listened to the prophesies of Helenus.

Douglas's portrayal of Andromache's interaction with Aeneas differs to Virgil's in several subtle but significant ways. The pathos of the scene is increased in numerous places and, as Douglas Gray notes, the encounter between the two takes on a 'greater "pitous" charge'[28]. The opening description of Andromache at the funerary shrine is slightly expanded: Douglas tells us that 'Andromache maid anniuersar sacrifyce / And funerale service, *on ful dolorus wyß*' (III.v.38-39; my emphasis) and reminds us of the reason for her frequent tears: '*oft* with wepyng eyn / *Bewalis scho that hard dissyverance*' (III.v.45-46; my emphasis). Here, Andromache is more fearful than frenzied and more sorrowful than hysterical. Virgil's *amens* loses something of its wild intensity in Douglas's hands; upon spying Aeneas and his men, Andromache is '[a]ffrayit of the ferly' (III.v.49) (*cf*. Virgil's 'ut me conspexit venientem et Troia circum / arma amens vidit', 3.306-7). Andromache's *furenti* (hysterical [outburst]) – to which Aeneas finds himself

[25] Feeney, "The Taciturnity of Aeneas", p. 213.
[26] See Perkell, 'Commentary: Aeneid 3', *Virgil Aeneid Books 1-6*, pp. 61-2.
[27] Putnam, *Virgil's* Aeneid*: Interpretation and Influence*, pp. 56-57.
[28] Gray, 'Gavin Douglas and 'the gret prynce Eneas'', p. 25.

unable to adequately respond – is even more radically altered in Douglas's translation. Virgil's 'vix pauca furenti / subicio et raris turbatus vocibus hisco' becomes:

> A few wordis skars as I mycht furth bring
> For to confort that maist lamentabill wight,
> With langsum speche said, quhispirand, as I mycht...
> (III.v.63-65)

In the *Aeneid*, Andromache's extreme display of emotion acts as an impediment to Aeneas's attempts to interject; however, Douglas's focus is not on the hysterical nature of her raving but, rather, her pitiable state (which clearly is viewed by Aeneas as such, as, in another addition from Douglas, Andromache's wailing is described earlier as a 'piete... to heir', III.v.61). As Gray, too, notes, Douglas is explicit in Aeneas's purpose in responding to Andromache: '[f]or to confort that maist lamentabill wight'.[29] There seems to be slight contradiction between a 'few wordis skars' (which follows Virgil's 'pauca... raris... vocibus', 3.313-315) and the 'langsum speche' which soon follows, which suggests, nevertheless, a strong desire on Aeneas's part to comfort and commiserate with Andromache. Even 'quhispirand' evokes a more soothing tone. Interestingly, Douglas's translation of these few lines seems at once to abide by and refute Servius's gloss of *furenti*: 'inconsolabiliter dolenti'[30]. Douglas follows Servius in emphasising Andromache's sorrow but deviates from him by having a compassionate Aeneas offer some words of comfort, whereas Servius makes clear that Aeneas is unable to speak: '[h]iſco: hio nec loqui poſſum.'[31] Gray sees the initial exchange between Aeneas and Andromache as an example of Douglas's emphasis of Aeneas's *pietas* or, more specifically, his 'reuth'[32], a reading which certainly seems to be justified here.

The potential insensitivity of Aeneas's ensuing questions about Andromache's marital state is not wholly avoided in Douglas's translation, though more of a distinction is made between the nature of the husbands; Hector is given the elevating epithet 'maist worthy' whereas Pyrrhus goes by name alone. Nonetheless, Andromache seems more discomfited in Douglas's version than in the Virgilian text. Her emotions upon recalling her slavery to Pyrrhus are made troublingly explicit; Virgil's description of her downcast glance and more muted voice ('deiecit voltum et demissa voce locuta est', 3.320) is extended by Douglas to '[h]yr visage down scho kest, *for schame adred*, / And, with a baß voce, thus said, *as scho mycht*' (III.v.75-76; my emphasis). Servius glosses 'demissa' as 'humili', which is perhaps what prompts Douglas to

[29] Gray, 'Gavin Douglas and 'the gret prynce Eneas'', pp. 25-6.
[30] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 592.
[31] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 592.
[32] Gray, 'Gavin Douglas and "the gret prynce Eneas"', p. 25.

make his addition, though 'schame', it should be acknowledged, seems likely to be interpreted significantly more negatively than the Latin term, which refers to lowliness or humbleness. The professed shame that Andromache feels – whether warranted or not – certainly lends an extra note of misery to her opening declaration that the virginal Polyxena could be counted happy to have been sacrificed on the tomb of Achilles rather than led as a slave to his son's bed. Andromache's grief seems more fraught and complex here than it does in the *Aeneid*, thanks to the additional insight that Douglas offers into her precise emotional state.

Though the majority of Andromache's lament is produced faithfully by Douglas, he does not reproduce the apparent hemistich at line 340. The lines corresponding to 'quid puer Ascanius? superatne et vescitur aura, / quem tibi iam Troia --- /ecqua tamen puero est amissae cura parentis?' (3.339-341) read as follows:

> Quhou faris the child Ascanyus now of lait,
> Quham to the bayr Crevse, thi spouß and ioy,
> That tyme enduring the sege lay about Troy?
> Levis he ȝit in health and in weilfair?
> Ha! how gret harm and skaith for euermar
> That child has caucht throu lesyng of his moder! (III.v.111-116)

Douglas appears to follow Ascensius's first comment on the hemistich ('[q]uem tibi Troia obſeſſa est enixa creuſa'[33]) in his expansion of Virgil's half-line to two full ones.[34] In Virgil's account, the loss of Creusa – perhaps newly-realised by Andromache – makes for a literal absence of words and name within the text, and a seemingly inexpressible grief. In the *Eneados*, however, this gap is filled; Creusa is named and Douglas's addition of 'thi spouß and ioy'[35] also allows us a glimpse – so rare in the *Aeneid* – of the happiness of her marriage to Aeneas. Anne Rogerson observes that Virgil's Andromache constantly sees and 'speaks of the men and women who populate the story of Troy's fall and its aftermath... in terms of their family connections'[36] and that, she attempts to 'claim equivalence between her perspective and that of

[33] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 594.
[34] Douglas's general strategy is to fill or expand upon half-lines in the *Aeneid*. For example, *cf* IV.vi.158-160 and 4.360-361; I.viii.116-118 and 1.560; II.i.. 14-15 and 2.66; II.iiii.60-61 and 2.233; for a survery of half-lines in the *Aeneid*, see F.J. Miller, 'Evidences of Incompleteness in the "Aeneid" of Vergil', *The Classical Journal*, 4.8 (1990), pp. 341-355 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3287376> [accessed 12/10/2019].
[35] One cannot deny the possibility – perhaps even the likelihood – that Douglas may have used 'and ioy' simply as a filler, in order to rhyme with 'Troy'; nevertheless, the effect of the phrase still stands, regardless of any assumed authorial intention.
[36] Anne Rogerson, *Virgil's Ascanius,* p. 58. I would add one obvious exception to this, in that the children borne, in slavery, by Andromache to Pyrrhus are conspicuously unnamed. Their existence is only briefly implied rather than directly acknowleged (*enixae,* 3.327). They are entirely absent in Douglas's translation.

Aeneas'.[37] Douglas's rendering seems to follow those same impulses here: the reminder of their respective states of widowhood and the losses they both share binds Andromache and Aeneas more closely together.

Douglas rephrases 'ecqua tamen puero est amissae cura parentis?' (3.339-341 and also formulated as a question in the Ascensius 1501 edition) as an exclamation which works to rather different effect. In the Virgilian text, Andromache asks whether Ascanius still feels love for his lost mother, whereas in the *Eneados* the focus becomes not the affection that Ascanius might yet hold *in spite* of his loss, but the harm he has endured 'for euermar' *because* of it – a much more pessimistic prospect that is an inversion of Andromache's own suffering in having lost Astyanax. The emphasis on Ascanius's suffering lends this part of Andromache's speech additional pathos, which is further intensified by the fact that the terms 'weilfair' and 'skaith' (III.v.115) echo the final words spoken to Aeneas by Creusa's ghost at the end of Book II: 'Thou be gude frend, lufe weil and kep fra skath / Our a ȝong son...' (II.xii.55-56), she instructs her husband – an expansion of Virgil's 'nati serua communis amorem' (II.789). Douglas, in many places so sensitive to Virgil's iterative imagery and repetition of particular words and phrases, seems here to be threading his own strand in a way that underlines the anxious maternal role, fraught with so much pain, that Andromache assumes towards Ascanius.

It seems clear that Douglas's Andromache does not fit Heinze's model of a woman wholly overcome by extreme emotion. She is less hysterical and more eloquent in the face of her own and her compatriots' grief and Aeneas's more active and sympathetic response to her seems further proof of her considerable affective power. Nor does Douglas's Aeneas resemble the taciturn and reticent man described by Feeney. He emerges from this episode 'a man of feeling'[38] – something reinforced a little later, by his more emotional departure from Buthrotum, his '[t]erys brysting *furth on forß,* and *with sair hart*' (III.vii.44; Douglas's additions emphasised) – but also, as Gray asserts, a man of *action*, too, since he at least attempts to console Andromache.[39] If Virgil's Andromache can be considered emblematic of a hysterical, unassailable and futile grief, and Aeneas a disturbed spectator of her suffering – unable, or even unwilling, to extend sympathy towards his kinswoman – then they are far less rigidly characterised in the *Eneados*. Douglas portrays a pair more attuned and sympathetic to each other's grief and what is, in fact, a shared, collective suffering. The gulf between them – so

[37] Rogerson, *Virgil's Ascanius*, p. 61.
[38] Gray, 'Gavin Douglas and 'the gret prynce Eneas'', p. 25.
[39] Gray, 'Gavin Douglas and 'the gret prynce Eneas'', p. 25.

wide in the *Aeneid* – is bridged in the *Eneados* by a translator who himself responds with humanity and compassion towards his subjects.

This shared grief and sympathy in the *Eneados*, though, is subject to certain conditions. Douglas softens the wildness of Andromache's grief, emphasising her fear, sorrow and shame and omitting the references to *furor* found in the Virgilian text precisely because pity for Andromache presents no material threat to Aeneas or his mission (as pity for Dido does in Book 4). The temptation that Putnam identifies is only a phantom itself; Aeneas recognises Buthrotum as a place of illusion, a false homeland, as soon as he sets foot there – as both the Virgilian text and Douglas's translation make clear (the river is the 'fenȝeit flude of Symois', III.v.37; 'falsi Simoentis', 3.302). As such, there is no need to portray Andromache's grief in such emphatically negative terms; Douglas can neutralise Andromache's alignment with *furor*, making way for the 'rewthfull Ene' to display, once more, a *pietas* which embraces pity.

II. Euryalus's 'maist reuthfull moder'

'I would not be the cause, [Euryalus,] of such sorrow to your poor mother' ('neu matri miserae tanti sim causa doloris', *Aeneid* 9.216) is the final argument that Nisus employs in a futile attempt to dissuade his young friend from joining him in a reckless mission behind Rutulian lines. The imagined grief of Euryalus's unnamed mother almost thwarts the pair's excursion before it has begun. Concerned that his mother's visible and audible sorrow might induce him to abandon it ('nequeam lacrimas perferre parentis', 9.289), Euryalus leaves her without any knowledge of the dangerous course he is about to pursue. When he takes his leave of Ascanius and other members of the Trojan council, she is again uppermost in his mind as he asks for one gift above all others: that, should he be killed, Ascanius might comfort his bereaved parent ('at tu, oro, solare inopem et succurre relictae', 9.290). Of course, Euryalus and Nisus *are* killed, giving rise to a scene of intense pathos as Euryalus's mother discovers her son's death and wails a lament from the prominent and public space of the battlements of the Trojan camp. Her expression of grief is powerfully moving and so devastating to the morale of the Trojan soldiers that Ascanius bids two men bear her away from the scene of battle, lest pity entirely overwhelm the troops.

Several elements of this episode are reminiscent of earlier portrayals of death and lamentation within the *Aeneid*. Like Anna on the morning of Dido's death, Euryalus's unsuspecting mother

is alerted to the prospect of her son's demise by Fama, whereupon the warmth leaves her body ('calor ossa reliquit', 9.475), much as it did Andromache's at 3.308. She runs to the battlements, out of her mind (*amens* – used, as we have seen, of Andromache at 3.307 and, most recently, of Nisus as he realises Euryalus is about to be killed, 9.424), tearing her hair and wailing – the 'femineo ululatu' (9.477) an echo of that at the scene of Dido's death at 4.667. Confronted by the appalling sight of Euryalus's severed head fixed on an enemy spear, she begins a lament which starts with a customary direct – and reproachful – address to the dead. Servius notes the highly rhetorical nature of the lament[40]; it moves from direct address – or, rather, rebuke – of Euryalus to plaintive exclamations about the way in which his corpse has been defiled then returns to reproach of her son, before reaching a pitiful climax in calls to the Rutulians and to Jupiter to grant her death.

For Richard Heinze, Euryalus's mother, like Andromache, is another woman wholly overcome by the extremity of her emotions. He holds her up as *the* most extreme example of sorrow and grief, observing that she 'collapse[s] in total misery; oblivious of her surroundings, and shrieking' though, he alleges, 'in fact she is really mourning for herself rather than her son'.[41] Nugent observes that Virgil's 'representation of [Euryalus's] mother's sorrow renders it accusatory, self-pitying, irrational and excessive in a way that is so directly harmful to Aeneas' cause it must be silenced.'[42] The injurious nature of the grief is clear; whilst the Trojan warriors are moved ('movebant', 9.471) by the sight of Euryalus' and Nisus' heads atop enemy spears, they are far more violently struck ('concussi', 9.498) by the feminine display of grief. The weapon-like connotations of this latter word are further emphasised by Ascensius, who provides the following gloss: 'concußi i[d est] perculſi sunt'[43], *percellere*, much like *concutere*, meaning to strike or to beat down, as well as to be stirred by emotion. The grief of Euryalus's mother appears to be as violent a threat to the Trojans as the physical enemies surrounding their camp.

How, then, does Douglas treat this episode of intense and problematic pathos? When Euryalus's mother is first introduced, we are given considerable insight into her character:

> "Ne wald I not alsso that I suld be
> Cauß or occasioun of sic duyll," quod he,
> "To thy maist reuthfull mother, trast and kind,

[40] Servius writes the following: 'est co[n]questio matris Euryali plena artis rhetoricæ: nam paene om[ne]s partes habet de misericordia com[m]ovenda a Cicerone in rhetoricis positas.', Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 967.
[41] Heinze, *Virgil's Epic Technique*, p. 233.
[42] Nugent, 'The Women of the *Aeneid*', p. 257.
[43] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 968.

> Quhilk anerly of hir maist tender mynd,
> [...]
> Heß followyt the, hir luffyt child, abowt...” (IX.iv.121-126)

Not simply ‘matri miserae’, here Euryalus’s mother is portrayed as loyal, kind and devoted to her beloved son. The adjective ‘tender’ seems particularly apt as it suggests an affectionate nature as well as vulnerability and an inability to endure hardship.[44] In contrast to the single ‘miseram’ in the Virgilian text, Euryalus grants his mother further epithets in his speech to Ascanius (IX.v.136f.). We find ‘silly’ (translating ‘miseram’ and meaning here ‘innocent, inoffensive; helpless, defenceless; undeservedly suffering injury or oppression; deserving of pity or compassion’[45]), but also ‘puyr’, ‘deir’ and ‘cayrfull’. Douglas seems to have chosen these carefully, for – like ‘tender’ – ‘puyr’ and ‘cayrfull’ could also be read in multiple ways: innocent and pure, or poor; anxious and full of cares, or solicitous. Another addition on Douglas’s part serves to illustrate the selfless nature of Euryalus’s mother, as we are told that, unlike her fellow female compatriots who stayed behind in Sicily, she has followed Euryalus ‘not comptand hir lyfe’ (IX.v.138). Douglas goes to some effort, then, to convey the innocence and essential goodness of Euryalus’s mother, which significantly increases the pathos of what is about to befall her.

Let us turn, then, to the moment of awful revelation. Departing somewhat from the Virgilian text, Douglas addresses his description of the winged messenger Fame directly to Euryalus – ‘Fame, dyd swiftly fle, / And slippand come to thy moder, Ewrilly’ (IX.viii.30-31). Does this apostrophe act as some sort of reproach to Euryalus? It is difficult to judge, but it is a rather curious move on Douglas’s part to bring the son face to face with the mother in a proleptic inversion of the grisly tête-a-tête to follow. Douglas Gray notes two examples of apostrophes – to Palinurus at V.xiv.25-6 and to Icarus at VI.i.56-7 – in which Douglas emphasises the pathos of the scene.[46] Both of these apostrophes occur in the Virgilian text, though, whereas the words directed to Euryalus seem to be entirely Douglas’s own invention – perhaps inspired by the earlier Virgilian examples. The apostrophe to Euryalus shows the degree to which Douglas is imaginatively invested in the emotional and dramatic qualities of this scene and also how he adapts aspects of the Virgilian text in a dramatic fashion, in order to draw his readers into the scene, too.

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[44] *Dictionary of the Scots Language* s.v. ‘tendir’, <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/tendir_adj> [accessed 12/10/2018].
[45] *Dictionary of the Scots Language* s.v. ‘sely’, <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/sely [accessed 12/10/2018].
[46] Gray, ‘Gavin Douglas and “the gret prynce Eneas”’, p. 24.

Rumour of her son's death having reached her, Euryalus's mother '[a]l pail become[s], as na blude in hir left' (IX.viii.33) – a by now familiar addition recalling the paleness of the Trojan women and Dido. The translation returns more firmly to the Virgilian text as we are told '[t]he naturale heit was from the banys reft' (IX.viii.34) – which, following Virgil's repetition of 'calor ossa reliquit' (3.308), is a near echo of the earlier description of Andromache '[n]aturale heyt left hir membris in sik stait' (III.v.51). Euryalus's mother's rush to the defensive walls is a considerable expansion of the Virgilian lines, as a comparison of the passages below will show.

> Evolat infelix et femineo ululate
> scissa comam muros amens atque agmina cursu
> prima petit, non illa virum, non illa pericli
> telorumque memor, caelum dehinc questibus implet
> (*Aeneid*, 9.477-480)

> ... full onhappely
> Furth fleys scho with mony schowt and cry,
> With wepyng and with wifly womentyng,
> Ryvand hir haris, to the wallys can thring
> All wod enragit, and with a spedy payß
> Dyd occupy tharon the formaste place,
> Takand nane hed, na ȝit na maner schame,
> Swa amangis men to ryn, and rowp or raym;
> Na maner feir of perrel seys sche,
> Nor mynd of dartis cast that fast dyd fle.
> And as that from the wall hyr sonnys hede
> Behaldis sche, wofull, and will of rede,
> With petuus rewthfull complantis sayr
> The hevynnys all scho fillyt and the ayr.
> (*Eneados*, IX.viii.37-50)

Douglas's tendency here, as it is in Book IV for Anna's flight to a dying Dido, is to make use of alliteration (lines 37-40; 44; 46) to evoke the speed and clamour of Euryalus's mother's ascent to the battlements. On this occasion – unlike in Book 3 with Andromache – Douglas *does* translate Virgil's 'amens' as madness: Euryalus's mother is '[a]ll wod enragit'. The portrayal of her as wild, raging and out of her mind – everything tending, here, towards *furor* – might, I think, be accounted for by the fact that pity for her unrestrained, extreme suffering and grief is a very dangerous force, and in this particular setting, on the brink of combat, entirely misplaced. As mentioned above, Douglas's 'rhetoric of pathos' allows Aeneas to demonstrate pity for Andromache since it poses no real risk to him; however, the Trojans' overwhelming sympathy and pity for Euryalus's mother, and the dissipation of fighting spirit that that entails, presents a

very real and present threat. The incongruity of a woman's presence on the battlements – presented as an entirely male domain – is given extra emphasis by Douglas, whose elaboration of 'non illa virum, non illa preicli telorumque memor', to include 'na maner schame / Swa amangis men to ryn, and rowp or raym', seems to follow Servius's gloss on the line: '[v]nu[m] pudoris est: aliud salutis'.[47] Further additions on Douglas's part emphasise the pitiful state of Euryalus's mother and how, on seeing her son's severed head, she is bereft of reason: '[a]nd as that from the wall hyr sonnys hede / Behaldis sche, wofull, and will of rede' (IX.viii.47-48). As Gray notes, 'Douglas heightens the setting, [of her] lamentation ('lamentabilly scho cryis') with a series of 'pitous' words: 'wofull' (*infelix*), and 'petuus rewthfull complantis' (*questibus*)'.[48]

The sixteen-line lament of the *Aeneid* runs to forty-one in the *Eneados* – expansive even by Douglas's standards and indicative of a desire to represent its full force, rather than diminish it. The most frequent additions are terms of affection for Euryalus. Douglas inserts a whole new line at line 55 – 'O my maist tendir hart, quhar art thou gane?' – and makes numerous other shorter additions: 'myne awin deir only child!' (line 65); 'my page' (line 73); 'O deir son myne, O tendir get!' (line 79). The exclamatory nature of many of these insertions, as well as the emphasis placed on the loving bond between mother and son and on Euryalus's youthfulness, intensifies the pathos of the passage. Virgil gives Euryalus's mother just one exclamation of 'heu' (9.485), as she bewails the fact that her son's corpse lies in a strange land, which, in the *Eneados*, is doubled: '[i]chane, allace' (IX.viii.63). More such exclamations punctuate the remainder of the lament – 'allace, allace' (IX.viii.58), 'allak, allake!' (IX.viii.76) – imbuing the speech with an even greater piteous quality.

The state of Euryalus's body is something that Douglas dwells upon, letting Euryalus's mother imagine her son's corpse in more vivid detail than in the Virgilian text. 'Sall I the se *demanyt on syk wyß*?' (IX.viii.52; Douglas's addition emphasised) Euryalus's mother asks, drawing attention to the mutilation that her son has suffered and the lack of dignity his corpse is afforded. Virgil's 'terra ignota canibus date praeda Latinis alitibusque iaces!' becomes 'intill ane oncouth land, / *Nakyt and bair* thy *fair* body on sand / To fowlys of reif and savage doggis wild / Sall ly as pray...' (IX.viii.63-66). A further poignant comparison is made at line 78 between Euryalus's once 'fair body' and its present dismembered state, with its 'membr*is* tyrvit and rent'. Such insistent reminders of Euryalus's former beauty lend the lament an even more tragic tone. Euryalus's mother also refers to herself as an object of pity – 'wrach of wrachis all'

[47] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum* commentariis, p. 967.
[48] Douglas Gray, '"As quha the mater beheld tofor thar e": Douglas's Treatment of Vergil's Imagery', p. 108.

(IX.viii.87) – an addition which emphasises the self-pitying strain of the lament identified by Heinze and Nugent.

What is the reaction of the listening Trojans to such an intense outpouring of grief? Douglas translates 'hoc fletu concussi animi, maestusque per omnis / it gemitus, torpent infractae ad proelia vires' (9.498-499) as:

> With this regrait the Troiane myndis all
> War smyte with reuth; endland the large wall
> The duylfull murnyng went and womentyng;
> Thar hie curage, to tel a wondyr thyng,
> That oneffrayt was batale to sustene,
> Wolx dolf and dull the petuus sycht to sene. (IX.viii.93-98)

Virgil's lines recall a similar line in Book 2 – 'quo gemitu conversi animi, compressus et omnis impetus' (2.73-4) – which refers to the Trojans' reaction to the deceptive Sinon. As explored in chapter 1, the overwhelming pity that overpowers the previous hostility the Trojans feel for their captive leads, ultimately, to the destruction of Troy. Douglas seems to call this moment even more clearly to mind, since '[w]ith this regrait the Troiane myndis all / War smyte with reuth' is an even closer echo of '[w]ith this regrait our hertis sterit to piete' (II.ii.27). The pity that is kindled for and by Euryalus's mother, even though it is well-deserved (which cannot be said for Sinon), threatens fatal consequences for the Trojan camp. Gray finds, in Douglas's version of this passage, 'a more choric expression of grief' in the reaction of the Trojans; there is certainly a slightly heightened sense of scale – both visually and aurally – in the way Douglas follows the progress of the debilitating sorrow and pity rippling 'endland the large wall'.

The 'duyfull murnyng' of Euryalus's mother is expanded and intensified in the *Eneados*, as is the pity that it evokes from both its immediate audience and the reader. Douglas's sympathetic and vivid rendering of maternal affection and grief certainly makes the episode 'feilabill in al degree'[49] – to quote his earlier praise of Virgil's writing – yet his rhetoric of pathos works to underline the dangers of excessive sympathy, too. When it comes to the response of the Trojans, the same vividness, as well as close attention to the patterning of Virgilian phrases (the more emphatic echo of the Trojans' reaction to Sinon in Book 2) illustrates the potentially fatal and overwhelming power of *dolor* and pity and the dangers attendant in indulging in unchecked sympathy for Euryalus's mother.

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[49] *Eneados*, Pro.I.13.

III. Dido's 'dolorus sister': Anna

If the last days, hours and speeches of Dido's life are deeply affective in their pathos, then her final moments are made even more so by the arrival of her sister, Anna. As Heinze observes, 'Virgil makes use of [Anna] to raise the emotional level of the final scene, and to portray the *effect* of the terrible event', and 'the grief of the deceived and forsaken sister... in whose arms Dido is dying, intensifies the effect that her death has on the reader.'[50] Anna is unaware of her sister's suicidal intent, thanks to Dido's earlier false assurances (4.476 f.), and only becomes aware of her suicide when a wave of shrieks and lamentation spreads through the city. A number of the images and gestures of grief that Virgil provides at this point are already familiar, and most recur later in the poem: Anna swoons upon hearing the commotion ('exanimis', 4.672) and, as she rushes to her sister's side, tears her face with her nails ('unguibus ora... foedans', 4.673) and beats her breast with her fists ('pectora pugnis', 4.673).

Upon reaching the funeral pyre, Anna begins a lament which follows the characteristic pattern of Homeric *góos*, rebuking Dido for having deceived her and for denying her the chance to have died alongside her. She then considers the wider destruction Dido's suicide entails, not only her own demise but the ruin of her sister and, indeed, the entire city and its inhabitants. Finally, Anna ends her reproachful lament and calls for water to wash her sister's wounds, climbing the pyre in order to embrace Dido and catch her dying breath, attempting, meanwhile, to stem the flow of blood from her sister's fatal wound.

Douglas increases the pathos of the scene in several ways. Anna's first notion of Dido's suicide is upon hearing panicked screams ripple through the city to the palace. The Virgilian lines are rendered with considerable skill, as comparison of the two passages will show:

> ... it clamor ad alta
> atria; concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem.
> lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu
> tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether,
> non aliter, quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis
> Karthago aut antiqua Tyros, flammaque furentes
> Culmina perque hominum volvantur perque deorum. (4.665-671)

[50] Heinze, *Virgil's Epic Technique*, p. 100.

... The clamour than and rerd
Went to the toppys of the large hallys;
The noyß ran wild out our the cite wallis,
Smate all the town with lamentabil murnyng.
Of greting, gowlyng and wyfly womentyng
The ruffis dyd resound, bray and rayr,
Quhil huge bewalyng al fordynnyt the air –
Nane other wyß than thocht takyn and doun bet
War al Cartage, and with ennemyß ourset,
Or than thar natyve cite the town of Tyre,
And furyus flambe, kendillit and byrnand schyre,
Spredyng fra thak to thak, baith but and ben,
Als weil our templis, as howsis of othir men. (IV.xii.42-54)

In its extraordinary vividness, this translation seems even to exceed the alliterative and onomatopoeic qualities of the Virgilian model and is a shining example of Douglas's own 'copioß fouth' – the quality he so admires in Virgil.[51] Douglas dispenses with the figure of *Fama* in order to concentrate purely on the aural quality of the unfolding events. The piling-up of sounds – the 'clamour', 'rerd', 'noyß', 'murnyng', 'greting, gowlyng... wyfly womentyng', 'bewalyng' – is an exaggeration of the Virgilian terms but the plenitude is entirely in accordance with the cacophony that is being evoked. Douglas goes further than Virgil in other ways, too; the rooves of Carthage do not simply echo with the noise but directly contribute to the ever-growing din ('bray and rayr') and we see the imagined flames not only leap over them from 'thak to thak' but begin to consume the interior of buildings: 'baith but and ben'. Repetition and alliteration are used to great effect throughout the passage – as, indeed, they are in the Virgilian text – creating a growing body of sound that is strikingly onomatopoeic. What Anna hears, then, truly is a 'feirful confluens' (IV.xii.56), as Douglas terms it in an addition to the Virgilian text two lines later. As such, readers of the *Eneados* can perhaps enter into Anna's state of shock and distress even more readily than readers of the *Aeneid*.

In response to the crescendo of wailing, Anna becomes 'spreitles almaist for dreid' (IV.xii.55) and hurries towards the pyre, with 'nalys ryvand reuthfully hir face, / And smytand w*ith* hir nevis hir breist' (IV.xii.57-58) – the pitifulness of the gestures emphasised by Douglas's addition of 'reuthfully'. Similarly, the exclamation of 'allace!' at the end of line 58 seems to be Douglas's own response to Anna's plight. Upon reaching the pyre, the Virgilian Anna launches straight into a string of desperate questions, but in the *Eneados*, after an initial address to Dido ('Systir germane', IV.xii.61, given only indirectly by Virgil – 'nomine clamat', 4.674), she stops

[51] 'Of Helicon so drank thou dry the flude / That of thy copioß fouth or plenitude / All mon purches drynk at thy sugurit tun', I.Pro.56-59.

short with an exclamation: ‘Och!’. Douglas’s insertion of this single syllable – not present in the Virgilian text – shows an extraordinary sensitivity to the pathos of the scene. After the long and tumultuous sentences describing the clamour in the city and Anna’s desperate race to the funeral pyre, it is at precisely this moment – ‘Och!’ – that we can imagine she gains full sight of her sister and her self-inflicted fatal wound.[52] This particular exclamation is used only very seldomly by Douglas in the *Eneados* (in translating instances of Virgil’s *heu* elsewhere in the text, for instance, he favours ‘allace’) but the vernacular, familiar tone of ‘och’, and the sharpness of the velar fricative it occasions, make it peculiarly and poignantly apt in its use here. It is the smallest of additions on Douglas’s part, but one that is highly effective and affective.

Much of the rest of Anna’s lament follows the Virgilian text very closely, though Douglas makes several minor additions to increase the pathos, including the exclamations ‘allace!’ at line 77 and ‘ha!’ at line 68. Another very small addition is ‘O deir systir’ at the start of line 67, which marks the close family bond and affection between the two siblings. A reference to Dido’s fatal wound is given an extra piteous note: Anna describes how Dido is ‘*sa duylfully* heir schent’ (IX.xii.76; my emphasis). A significant departure from the Virgilian text, though, is Anna’s regret that ‘with my counsel haue I / The, and my self, and pepill of Sydony […] / Distroyt and ondeyn for ay’ (IV.xii.77-80). In the *Aeneid*, Anna lays the blame for her own imagined, impending doom – and that of Carthage’s – firmly at her sister’s door: ‘exstinxti te meque, soror, populumque patresque / Sidonios urbemque tuam’ (4.682-3). Douglas, though, seems to be led by a remark of Ascensius here – ‘ego ex[s]tinxite: s[cilicet] [c]o[n]silio meo [et] me qu[a] peritura su[m]’[53] – which implicates Anna in both her sister’s and, ultimately, her own demise.[54] The counsel to which Ascensius refers is, presumably, the words of encouragement that Anna gives to Dido early in Book 4 (4.31-53), which fan the flames of the queen’s doomed love for Aeneas: ‘[h]is dictis incensum animum inflammavit amore / spemque dedit dubiae menti solvitque pudorem’ (4.54-55). Douglas’s Anna, then, shoulders an even heavier burden of

[52] Critics disagree about the precise moment at which Anna sees her sister in the *Aeneid*: R.G. Austin puts it as late as line 683, when Anna calls for water with which to bathe Dido’s wound, whereas James O’Hara points out that in ‘sic fata… evaserat’ (4.685), ‘fata’ acts like a present participle ‘“so saying (i.e. while so speaking)… she had climbed [the pyre]”’ and must, therefore, have been able to see Dido and her fatal wound earlier in her lament. Douglas’s translation makes the course of events a little clearer, I think. For the comments on Virgil’s text see P. Vergili Maronis, *Aeneidos: Liber Quartus*, edited with a commentary by R.G. Austin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), p.195 and O’Hara’s note to line 685 in his commentary on Book 4, *Virgil Aeneid Books 1-6*, ed. by Randall T. Ganiban et al., p.365.
[53] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum* commentariis, p. 675.
[54] Douglas’s harsh words for ‘Venus[‘s] henwyff*is*’ and ‘brokkar*is*’ of carnal love in the prologue to Book IV (186-193) might also explain his apportioning of blame to Anna; though she does not quite fit the particular model that Douglas criticises – ‘the bysmeyr with the slekyt speche’ – there is no doubt that it is her words which persuade Dido to enter into a relationship with Aeneas which, ultimately, proves illicit.

sorrow than her Virgilian counterpart, since she blames only herself for the course of events that lead to Dido's suicide.

Anna's final acts towards her dying sister are re-envisioned with remarkable sensitivity. Her command for water to be brought to wash her sister's wound, and her embrace of Dido reads as follows in the Virgilian text:

> "... date vulnera lymphis
> abluam et, extremus si quis super halitus errat,
> ore legam." sic fata gradus evaserat altos,
> semianimemque sinu germanam amplexa fovebat
> cum gemitu atque atros siccabat veste cruores. (4.683-687)

This is slightly elaborated upon by Douglas:

> "Fech hiddir sone the well watir lew warm,
> To wesch hir woundis, and hald hir in myne arm;
> Syne with my mowth at I may sowk, and se
> Gyf spreit of lyve, left in hir body be."
> This sayand, the hie byng ascendis onane,
> And gan enbrayß half ded hir systir germane,
> Culȝeand in hir bosom, and murnand ay,
> And with hir wympil wipyt the blude away. (IV.xii.81-88)

Here, Anna specifies that the water brought from the well should be lukewarm – a small but remarkably tender detail. Douglas's thoughtfulness here may, perhaps, have been prompted by the particular emphasis given by Servius to the washing of wounds in his comment on 4.683 – '[d]ate ſ[cilicet] aqua[m]: vel date i[d est] p[er]mittite: Lavare aut[em] cadauera daba[n]t p[ro]ximis: vn[um] mater Euryali [n]ec vulnera laui veste tegens'[55] – which, in pointing forward to Euryalus's mother's complaint that she is unable to wash her son's wounds – emphasises the importance of this deeply tender familial act towards the dead. Douglas further emphasises this close physical contact by having Anna express an additional desire to hold Dido in her arms as well as – following the Virgilian text – to catch her last breath on her lips. Both additions extend their respective lines to form the rhyme of the couplet ('warm', 'arm'). While it could be argued that their primary purpose is to meet the requirements of rhyme and metre, it nevertheless seems significant that Douglas chooses, in each case, to develop and intensify the pathos of the Virgilian lines.

[55] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 675.

In the Virgilian text, 'semianimemque' (half-alive, 4.686) refers, undoubtedly, to Dido, but Douglas's ambiguous placement of 'half ded' in the centre of line 86 works especially well since it might be taken to refer to either Anna or Dido, or even both, taking the reader back to the description of Anna swooning when she first hears the surge of wailing – 'spreitles almaist for dreid' (IV.xii.55). It adds a further sense of pathos, too, given Anna's desire to have killed herself alongside her sister and her belief that Dido's suicide will lead to her own, and Carthage's, destruction. Both sisters seem at this moment, then, to be in some way 'half ded'. Despite its anachronistic use here, the choice of 'wympil' for Virgil's 'veste' also creates additional pathos; as Canitz observes, 'when Anna wipes the blood from Dido's wound, Douglas imaginatively pictures the situation and lets her use the part of her garment which is both softest and nearest to hand as she bends over her sister... thereby giving the action greater tenderness'.[56]

The anachronism of the 'wympil' clearly demonstrates the great depth of his 'remarkable imaginative participation'[57], as Gray terms it, in this episode. That Douglas reaches for so familiar and, for him, contemporary item of clothing reveals not only his own imaginative inhabitation of scene, but also his desire to draw his sixteenth-century vernacular readers into the Virgilian world. The accumulation of extra and often highly pathetic details and Douglas's own exclamations of pity expand upon the already potent pathos of the Virgilian scene, creating a heightened sense not only of the misery of Dido's unnecessary death but of the great cost to the sister she leaves behind. Anna's lament, and the moments surrounding it, are translated with a visual and aural vividness that allows readers of the *Eneados*, like its translator, to enter absolutely into this moment of grief and distress at Dido's demise.

IV. Juturna: Turnus's 'woful sister'

From her first named appearance in the *Aeneid*, Turnus's sister Juturna – immortalised as a water nymph after being raped by Jupiter – is framed as a figure of grief and sorrow. Juno greets her with the ominous words 'disce tuum, ne me incuses, Iuturna, dolorem' (12.146) and the news she imparts of the dangers facing Turnus and her own inability to intervene directly in the coming events does, indeed, elicit sorrow. Juturna weeps ('lacrimas oculis Iuturna

[56] Canitz, 'From *Aeneid* to *Eneados*', p. 93.
[57] Gray, 'Gavin Douglas and "the gret prynce Eneas"', p. 20.

profudit', 12.154) and beats her hand three or four times against her chest – a gesture of grief mirroring that of the mourning Trojan women depicted on the walls of the Carthaginian temple and also Dido's reaction as Aeneas leaves Carthage.[58] In both of these earlier instances the gesture is a futile one since the Trojan women's supplication fails to move the implacable goddess Athena and Dido is powerless to prevent Aeneas's departure. Like her fellow deity in face of the Trojans' pleas, Juno is similarly unmoved by Juturna's expression of grief, telling her that it is time for action, not tears: 'non lacrimis hoc tempus [...] accelera et fratrem, si quis modus, eripe morti' (12.156-157).

In contradistinction, then, to the futile expressions of grief which frame it both here and later in Book 12, Juturna takes an active role in protecting her brother. Disguised as a respected warrior, Juturna succeeds in disrupting the newly-brokered treaty between Trojan and Latin forces, which would have seen Turnus face –and be defeated by –Aeneas in one-to-one combat. Later, still disguised, Juturna attempts to sway the ensuing battle in Turnus's favour, keeping him away from fatal danger for as long as she can. Her efforts are in vain, though, for Juno and Jupiter resolve their differences; Juno finally accepting that her violent grudge against the Trojans must end and that Turnus must therefore suffer defeat at the hands of Aeneas. It is not Fama but another winged creature that alerts Juturna to her brother's impending doom and her inability to assist him further: Jupiter sends one of the Dirae – fiendish twin offspring of Night – to terrify Turnus and to serve as a sign to his sister to depart the battlefield. Juturna reads the appearance of the Dira not just as confirmation of Turnus's defeat but of his death. Her subsequent speech, despite being delivered before Turnus has even been wounded, feels like a lament and is accompanied by familiar gestures of grief: 'infelix crinis scindit Iuturna solutos / unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis' (12.870-871). It begins with a series of desperate rhetorical questions, asking what she can do to save her brother in the face of such a terrible portent, for she recognises the owl beating its wings against Turnus's shield as an agent of Jupiter. Her avowed desire to join Turnus in death recalls the similarly frustrated wishes of Anna and Euryalus's mother and she concludes the lament by bewailing the immortality that was granted her, since nothing good will remain to her after Turnus's death. Finally, she retreats, veiled and groaning, to the depths of the river.

For Alessandro Barchiesi, Juturna 'embodies all the contradictions of Vergil's heroic world'[59] – a figure 'at once sympathetic and blinded by love, compelled to act but conscious of her

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[58] *cf* 'interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant /crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant, / suppliciter tristes et tunsae pectora palmis...' (*Aeneid*, 1.479-481) and 'terque, quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum / flaventisque abscissa comas...' (*Aeneid*, 4.589-590).
[59] Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects in Vergil's Narrative*, p. 95.

hopelessness'[60]. Her role as protector of her brother and thus an active opponent of Jupiter is inherently weakened by the fact that, as Victor Castellani observes, she can only *attempt* to oppose fate.[61] Her appearance in the *Aeneid* is marked as much by passivity and inextinguishable sorrow as it is by desperate action and protest. Whatever the extent of Juturna's perceived success or failure in protecting her brother and challenging Jupiter's divine jurisdiction, her presence and particularly her lament at 12.872-884 (her first direct speech when undisguised) prove highly disruptive. Barchiesi asserts that at this moment the very genre of 'Roman epic... comes close to a breaking point'[62] as the ideological and epic arc of Aeneas's divinely-ordained mission in Italy – so close to its conclusion – is interrupted by a 'space of liberty and tragic reflection'[63]. Barchiesi identifies this space as 'final and limited'[64] since the speech is, ultimately, parenthetical and goes unheard or ignored by those it addresses (Turnus and Jupiter). Christine Perkell, meanwhile, suggests that Juturna's tears and sorrow continue to be audible in the stream that bears her name and, in direct response to Barchiesi's reading, she asserts that although Juturna's lament may be unheard or ignored by characters within the poem itself, it nevertheless holds enormous power for the *reader*.[65] Juturna's protest at Turnus's and her own fate, and specifically Jupiter's part in it, has the potential to resonate troublingly with readers right to the end of Book 12.

Bound up with these questions and adding to these tensions is the Dira, the dreadfulness of which seems excessive in relation to its task of removing Juturna from the battlefield. The exact identity and purpose of this infernal creature remain ambiguous. We learn only that the creature is one of the twin daughters of Night who attend the throne of Jupiter, and that it is a sister of the Fury Megaera. The precise identity of the Dira is important, though, not only because it affects how Jupiter's intervention is perceived and the extent to which we might sympathise with Juturna, but also because, as C.J. Mackie argues, '[h]ow we perceive Turnus in the *Aeneid* depends to some degree on the exact nature of his relationship with the divinities that so influence his life and death'.[66] In his recent commentary on Book 12, Tarrant concludes that, although 'the Dirae would seem to be identified with the Furies Tisiphone and Allecto' and the 'resemblances between the Dira sent by Jupiter and Allecto are particularly strong', in

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[60] Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects in Vergil's Narrative*, p. 95.
[61] Victor Castellani, 'Anna and Juturna in the "Aeneid"', *Vergilius*, 33 (1987), 49-57 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41592401> [accessed 20/08/2019] (p. 51).
[62] Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects in Vergil's Narrative*, p. 97.
[63] Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects in Vergil's Narrative*, p. 97.
[64] Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects in Vergil's Narrative*, p. 97.
[65] Christine Perkell, 'The Lament of Juturna', p. 272.
[66] C.J. Mackie, 'Vergil's Dirae, South Italy and Etruria', *Phoenix*, Vol. 46.4 (1992), 352-361 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1088623> [accessed 03/06/2019] (p. 352).

this particular passage 'it seems best to regard the Dirae as distinct from the Furies'.[67] Nonetheless, as both Tarrant and Mackie note, many earlier commentators and critics *have* identified the Dirae as the aforementioned Furies – especially Allecto.[68] A number of difficulties are posed if Allecto and the Dira are one and the same. The savage instigator of strife, disorder and destruction at the behest of Juno is difficult to reconcile with Jupiter's restorer of cosmic order – however grimly presented – at the end of Book 12. If the Dira and Allecto – or, more widely, the Dirae and the Furies – are identical, then they are creatures full of contradictions. As Mackie observes, as agents of both Juno and Jupiter they would at once be linked with 'the powers of darkness and the Underworld (note especially Books 6 and 7) and also with Jupiter's sky-realm (Book 12)' and would be, in the former, 'associated with vengeance (Book 6) or primitive violence in opposition to Jupiter (Book 7), and in the latter with the enforcement of Jupiter's decrees (Book 12)'.[69] This seems to me to risk the total collapse and confusion of tensions and oppositions that have governed the entire poem: chaos versus *imperium*, *furor* versus *pietas*. It seems highly likely, too, that the pathos of the scene and readers' corresponding sympathy for Juturna and Turnus would be further compounded if, in the beating wings of the Dira, portent of Turnus's defeat, the brother and sister recognise the very same hellish agent who set him on the warpath to begin with.

The commentary surrounding this episode in Ascensius's 1501 edition also reveals consternation regarding Jupiter's employment of the Dira. In a comment on lines 12.845 and 849, Servius suggests that the Dirae are named as such because they appear only if the king of the gods is angry, hence their position only on the threshold of his divine seat: 'dict[a]e dir[a]e q[uod] no[n] niſi ante iratu[m] ioue[m] videntur: ut S[a]eviq[ue] in limine regis Appare[n]t dir[a]e.'[70] This qualification of argument does not succeed in absolving Jupiter of savagery, but only limits it to specific moods, unsatisfactorily to the minds of some more modern commentators: Tarrant dismisses as 'absurd' the 'notion that the Dirae turn up only when Jupiter is in a foul mood'.[71] Ascensius makes a more robust defence, attempting to deflect and divert accusations of savagery on the part of Jupiter by relocating the Dirae to another realm entirely, claiming that 'saevi… regis' can be understood to refer to Pluto, the ruler of the underworld: 'ut p[er] s[æ]uum

[67] Tarrant's note to 12.845-52 in Virgil, *Aeneid Book XII*, ed. by Richard Tarrant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 306-307.
[68] See Tarrant's note to 12.845-52 in Virgil, *Aeneid, Book XII*, p. 306-307 and Mackie, 'Vergil's Dirae, South Italy and Etruria', p. 353, n.1. Lyne takes Virgil's specification that there are *two* Dirae, neither of which are Megaera, to indicate that they must be the Tisiphone and Allecto and is thus 'Vergil's devious means of signalling the fact that Jupiter must sometimes employ the same evil monster that Juno employed in Book 7'; see Lyne, *Words and the* Poet, pp. 93-4.
[69] Mackie, 'Vergil's Dirae, South Italy and Etruria', pp. 356-357.
[70] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 1151.
[71] Comment on 12.849 in Virgil, *Aeneid, Book XII*, p. 308.

regem plutone[m] i[n]telligat'[72]. He also goes to some lengths to underscore the precise and extreme conditions under which Jupiter would justifiably resort to so terrible a force:

> molitur i[d est] cu[m] difficultate q[ui]a p[rae]ter natura[m] sua[m] cu[m] sit iuuans pater: disponit letu[m] horrificu[m] i[d est] morte[m] terribilissima[m]: aut si terret bello vrbes meritas: per q[uo]d significant[or] iouis [a]eq[ui]tas. [73]

How, then, does Douglas's translation handle these various tensions? We might expect him follow Ascensius in attempting to explain and contain some of the more troubling elements of the episode – especially as regards Jupiter – though a sympathetic portrayal of Juturna's plight seems likely, too, given his earlier treatment of Dido in Book IV. The initial treatment of Juturna in Book XII seems, much like its Virgilian counterpart, sympathetic. Douglas closely follows Virgil in echoing lines concerning Dido in Book 4; Juturna's reaction to the ill tidings brought by Juno – '[h]yr fair quhite breast, *th*ar as scho dyd stand, / Thryß or four tymys smait with hir awyn hand' (XII.iii.92-94) – is almost identical to the description of Dido upon seeing Aeneas's ships sail from Carthage.[74] Juturna is left '[f]ull deip smyttyn with [a] sorowfull wound' (XII.iii.108) upon Juno's departure, recalling Dido at the opening of Book 4.[75]

With the arrival of the Dira later in the book we start to see Douglas depart from his Virgilian text in a number of interesting ways. As comparison of the passages below reveals, the monstrous nature and origins of the twin Dirae are emphasised rather than mitigated.

> Thar beyn twa vengeabill monstreis full of harmys,
> Clepit to surname Dire, wikkit as fyre,
> That is to say, the goddis wraik or ire,
> Quhilk myschewoß and cruell sisteris twa,
> Sammyn with the hellys fury Megera,
> The Nycht thar moder, that barntyme miserabill,
> Bair at a birth, for na thing profitabill;
> And all elike wymplit and cled this trakis
> With eddris thrawin, and harys full of snakis,
> And tharto ekit weyngis swift as wynd.
> Thir wikkit schrewys reddy sal ȝe fynd
> Before the troyn of Iove, and eik also
> Within the wanys of cruell Kyng Pluto.

[72] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 1150.
[73] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 1150.
[74] *cf*. Dido at IV.xi.9-10: 'Hir fayr qhuite breist, thar as scho dyd stand, / Feil tymys smate scho with hir awyn hand', which corresponds to 4.589 of the *Aeneid*: 'terque, quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum'.
[75] *cf*. Dido at IV.i.1-3: 'Be *this the* queyn, throw hevy thocht*is* onsound, / In eu*ery* vayn nurysys *the* greyn wound, / Smytyn so deip w*ith the* blynd fyre of lufe…', which translates 4.1-2: 'At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura / vulnus alit venis…'.

Thai scharp the dreid to mortale wrachit wightis
Quhen euer the king of goddis by his mychtis
The deth, or the contagius seikneß seir,
Disponys hym to send in the erth heir,
Or quhen that hym list do smyte and affray
Citeis with weirfar, as deservit haue thai. (*Eneados*, XII.xiii.128-146)

dicuntur geminae pestes cognomine Dirae,
quas et Tartaream Nox intempesta Megaeram
uno eodemque tulit partu, paribusque revinxit
serpentum spiris ventosasque addidit alas.
hae Iovis ad solium saevique in limine regis
apparent acuuntque metum mortalibus aegris,
si quando letum horrificum morbosque deum rex
molitur, meritas aut bello territat urbes. (*Aeneid* 12.845-852)

The infernal qualities of the Dirae are greatly accentuated here and linked closely with the destructive forces of fire and rage. There are no references to either flames or Jupiter's fury in the Virgilian passage, yet Douglas describes the Dirae as 'wikkit as fyre / *Th*at is to say, *the* goddis wraik or ire'. The simile seems to be Douglas's own independent addition, though the qualification that follows may derive from Ascensius's comment – 'dir[a]e i[d est] execrabiles quaſi deoru[m] ira procreatæ'[76] – as well as Servius's comments on lines 12.845 and 849, quoted above. Whether this manifestation of the god's wrath is employed for the purpose of justice, or a crueller form of vengeance, remains ambiguous, since the 'vengeabill mo*n*streis' are 'full of harmys'. The extra detail that the twin Dirae were born 'for na thing profitabill' is rather perplexing: if that is the case, then what exactly is Jupiter doing in deploying one? It is significant, too, just how closely this description of the Dirae resembles that of Allecto in Book VII. As discussed above, some commentators find correlations between the two, but Douglas draws their similarities into particularly sharp focus by portraying them in near-identical terms. The additional detail of 'harys full of snakis' immediately recalls the Fury that 'for hir pilis, and in sted of hir hair / Feil snakis springis our hir body alquhar' (VII.v.115-116) and Douglas characterises both the Dirae and Allecto as 'cruell', 'myschewoß' and 'wikkyt' 'monstreis'.[77] Such a close correlation between the two fiendish messengers only increases any disquiet regarding Jupiter's actions.

[76] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis* p. 1149.
[77] *cf.* the following descriptions of Allecto: 'Alecto, quhilk causis all myschefe tobe' (VII.v.102); 'fendlych hellys monstre Tartareane' (VII.v.107); 'of sik feir / Bene hir cruell schappis and vissage' (VII.v.112-113); 'Thys wikkiyt goddes' (VII.vi.11).

Also troubling is the fact that Douglas places the Dirae not only at the throne of Jupiter (as Virgil does) but '[w]ithin *the* wanys of cruell Kyng Pluto'. This addition seems to be inspired by the comment from Ascensius that 'saevi… regis' can be understood to refer to Pluto, the ruler of the underworld, rather than Jupiter: 'ut p[er] s[ae]uum regem plutone[m] i[n]telligat'[78]. Indeed, in assigning Pluto – rather than Jupiter – the epithet 'cruell', Douglas is following Ascensius quite closely. His attempt to follow both author and commentator, however, fails to diminish the uncomfortable questions concerning Jupiter's conduct, since here he is deploying an unmistakably hellish agent. Whereas Ascensius seeks to avert accusations of malice against Jupiter by relocating the fiendish Dirae firmly and *solely* with Pluto, the effect of Douglas's addition is to associate Jupiter himself with the 'cruell Kyng' of the underworld and to suggest that they share the very same monstrous servants. There is an echo here, too, of Juno, described as 'cruell Iuno' (VII.v.5; 'saeva Iovis coniunx', *Aeneid* 7.287) shortly before she summons Allecto from a 'myrk dongeoun of hell' (VII.v.99).

In the *Aeneid*, the Dira is sent to meet Juturna as a sign or omen – 'harum unam celerem demisit ab aethere summon / Iuppiter inque omen Iuturnae occurrere iussit' (12.853-854) – but Douglas's translation reads differently:

> Iove ane of thir, full swipper to discend,
> Furth of the hevin abuf onon heß send,
> And bad hir hald doun baldly to the erd,
> Forto resist Iuturnais ire and werd. (XII.xiii.147-150)

Here the Dira is sent not as an incontrovertible emblem of Jupiter's omnipotence but as an adversary who must *actively oppose* Juturna's anger and fate ('ire and werd'). Such references to Juturna's emotions and agency are absent from the corresponding Virgilian text, nor do they appear in the commentaries or gloss surrounding it in Ascensius' 1501 edition.[79] Juturna is not presented as a wrathful figure in the *Aeneid*; described overwhelmingly in terms of sorrow and grief, she seems aligned with *dolor* rather than Juno's *ira* or *furor*. Her incitement of the Rutulian troops to break the newly formed peace treaty leads to the violent anger of their Trojan enemies ('o cohibete iras!' – 'O curb your wrath!' – Aeneas shouts, aghast, at his men at 12.314) and her persistent manipulation of Turnus's chariot away from danger ultimately rouses Aeneas's own terrible rage ('irarumque omnis effundit habenas', 12.499) but Juturna herself maintains some sort of a distance from this fury. Compassion for her brother is what drives her; her appeal to the Rutulian and Latin troops is designed to awaken their shame in defeat – 'non pudet, o Rutuli, pro cunctis talibus unam / obiectare animam?' (12.229-230) – but also, most

[78] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 1150.
[79] Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, pp. 1150-1151.

importantly, to arouse their *pity* for Turnus, which indeed it does ('et Turni sortem miserantur iniquam', 12.243). Douglas's reference to Juturna's 'ire' seems incongruous not only in relation to the Virgilian text but also to his own presentation of Juturna thus far; this is the first and only instance in which he links her so explicitly and personally to *furor*. This sudden declaration of her anger begins to make more sense, though, when viewed in light of his earlier portrayal of the Dirae as 'wikkit as fyre, / *Th*at is to say, *the* goddis wraik or ire' (XII.xiii.129-130). In allocating Juturna her own apparently potent 'ire', Douglas offers justification for Jupiter's anger and his drastic use of the Dira.

It also seems curious that Juturna is ascribed 'werd' – fate or agency[80] – when, as seen above, so many critics comment on her powerlessness in the *Aeneid*. The *Dictionary of the Scots Language* cites Douglas's use of 'werd' here as a translation of the Latin *omen* [12.854], and conclude that it means 'some event, etc. which indicates the future, an omen, a prognostication'[81]. This, however, would match the Virgilian lines only if the omen were Jupiter's, and here it is 'Iuturnais'. One way in which this could be explained is that the winged Dira is acting in counterpoint to the false omen of Jupiter's eagle besieged by swans, which Juturna sent up earlier in Book 12 to persuade the Latins and Rutulians to resume their battle against Aeneas's forces; however, this seems rather an elaborate move to make and does not, to my mind, provide a satisfactory conclusion. It makes more sense, I think, to read 'werd' not as an omen but as fate or agency, and to view it as a further attempt on Douglas's part to justify Jupiter's use of such an extreme and terrible force. In the *Eneados*, Juturna seems to have the potential to present a very real threat to Jupiter's plans; so dreadful a creature as the Dira must be sent as it is required to actively subdue Juturna's own apparently potent *furor* rather than simply appear as a symbol of divine omnipotence. In this way Douglas's translation seeks to address the anxiety – shared with Ascensius – regarding Jupiter's deployment of the Dira. Rather than attempting to diminish the Dira's uncomfortable associations with *furor*, then, Douglas amplifies them and pits them against Juturna's own 'ire and werd'. Such amplifications and additions constitute an important justification of Jupiter's actions as well as a condemnation of Juturna's; however, these interventions are not wholly straightforward or, indeed, successful. The brevity with which Juturna's 'ire and werd' is alluded to seems disproportionate to the extended embellishment of the Dira's infernal nature and the *furor* allocated to Juturna seems dwarfed by that of the creature sent to oppose her.

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[80] See definition 1(a) in *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, s.v. 'weird', <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/weird_n> [accessed 12/12/2018]

[81] See definition 4(a) in *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, s.v. 'weird', <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/weird_n> [accessed 12/12/2018]

If the Dira in the *Aeneid* is troublingly ambiguous in its origins and in the purpose of its deployment, then the creature found in the *Eneados* is even more troubling in its explicit likeness to Allecto and its role as the embodiment and active agent of Jupiter's divine fury. Any qualms regarding Jupiter's undue savagery in deploying such a creature, seem more, not less, urgent here. How, then, might this affect our reading of Juturna's subsequent lament? If, as Tarrant asserts, Virgil's Dira not only 'demonstrates Jupiter's absolute power… and the futility of resistance… [but] also heightens the pathos of Juturna's having to abandon her brother'[82] then how much more so does Douglas's? Juturna's reaction to the Dira reads as follows:

> Bot as Iuturna soyn on far dyd heir
> Of this fury the quhislyng and the beir,
> The swouchyng of hir weyngis and hir flycht,
> This woful sister hyr hair rent for that sycht,
> With nalys ryvand reuthfully hir face,
> And smytand with her nevis hir breist, allace!
> (XII.xiii.181-186)

The tone here is even more pitiful than the corresponding Virgilian lines, and Juturna's distress is greatly accentuated. Lines 185-186 are immediately recognisable from Book IV: Douglas faithfully reproduces Virgil's repetition of the line from 4.589-590, but makes a number of additions describing Juturna, including 'reuthfully' (185) and 'woful' (184), as well as his own reaction to her distress: 'allace!'. The pathos of the lament itself is similarly intensified. Virgil's simple 'Turne' becomes 'Turnus, my best belovit brother' (187), which emphasises the close bond between the siblings. This is also seen at line 211, when Turnus ('meorum… frater' in the Virgilian text, 12.882-883) is addressed rhetorically as 'deir brother german' – the latter term recalling the sisterly bond of Dido and Anna.[83] Juturna dwells even more pitifully on her helpless situation in the *Eneados* than in the *Aeneid*, describing herself as 'wrachit wight' (189) and exclaiming 'wa is me!' (188). Douglas even has Juturna answer the question – rhetorical in the Virgilian text – 'Be quhat sly*cht* / May I oppone me to resist or stryve / With sik a monstre? Na, nane wight alyve' (190-192), underscoring her inability to defend Turnus from the Dira and the creature's absolute power over mortals and immortals alike. Juturna's trio of rhetorical questions gains an even more insistent misery as Douglas adds an additional question and frames the final three with the same interrogative:

> Is this the ganȝeld that he rendris me
> In recompens of my virginite?
> Quharto eternal lyfe heß he me geif?
> Quharto suld I on this wyß euer leif?

[82] Tarrant's introductory notes to 12.843-886, Virgil, *Aeneid Book XII*, p. 306.
[83] See IV.ix.9 and IV.x.52.

Quharto is me byreft the faculte
Of deth, and grantit immortalite?
(XII.xiii.201-206)

The question that closes Juturna's lament – 'o quae satis ima dehiscat / terra mihi, Manisque deam demittat ad imos?' (12.883-884) – is translated as:

O now quhat grund, land or erd tewch
Sal swelly me tharin half deip enewch,
And thocht I beyn a goddeß, doun me draw,
And send ontil infernal wightis law? (XII.xiii.213-216)

Douglas's version seems to me to embody the pathos and futility of the question even more effectively than its Virgilian counterpart; the expansion of *terra* to three terms becomes superfluous, since all three are described as 'tewch'[84] (unyielding), and the limitations are further emphasised by the assumption that they would swallow Juturna only '*half* deip enewch' (my italics). As noted in chapter 1, these lines echo Douglas's translations of similar exclamations from Sinon and Dido. What distinguishes Juturna's repetition of this phrase, though, from these earlier instances, and makes it infinitely more poignant, is the fact that she cannot join her brother as a ghost in the underworld; her status as a goddess, however minor, means that she must bear her grief eternally – a pitiable fate indeed. Nevertheless, Douglas's close binding together of this moment with the two earlier instances acts as a subtle reminder of the danger of responding with wholly unguarded pity towards Sinon, Dido and Juturna, all of whom threaten the Trojan (and, ultimately, the Roman) mission. Such gestures toward the potential error of sympathising wholly with Juturna – like the earlier reference to her 'ire and werd' – are ultimately at risk of being drowned out by what is otherwise an overwhelmingly pathetic presentation of the nymph and her lament.

It appears that Douglas's translation of this episode does little, ultimately, to quell the tensions arising from Jupiter's deployment of the Dira and Juturna's subsequent lament for her brother. Douglas seems alive to both the horror of the Dira and Juturna's potent grief and distress at the message it communicates, and his translation of this episode intensifies aspects of both *furor* and *dolor*. This makes it even more difficult for readers to negotiate between, on the one hand, pity for the grieving Juturna and her doomed brother and condemnation of Jupiter's excessive use of the infernal Dira, and, on the other hand, endorsement of the king of the gods' justified removal of one of the final obstacles to the fulfilment of Aeneas's destiny in Italy. This, in

[84] As defined by *DOST* and by Coldwell, who notes that it is Douglas's own addition. See *Volume I, Notes to Text*, p. 255, and entry 1.c in the *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, s.v. 'teuch', <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/teuch> [accessed 20/12/2018].

turn, lays the ground for the disorienting climax of Book 12, when Juturna's 'reuthfull' brother meets his end at the hand of a wrathful Aeneas.

Barchiesi's description of Juturna's speech as marginal, self-contained and isolated cannot be so accurately applied to the lament in the *Eneados*. The sorrow which Juturna so powerfully expresses persists beyond this individual episode. Perkell's assertion that the lament continues, unsilenced, beyond the moment in which it is first voiced seems even truer in regard to the *Eneados* since, as discussed in Chapter 2, mourning for Turnus resumes in Book 13. There are, too, additional echoes or subsequent duplications – however slight – which reverberate beyond the immediate moment of Juturna's speech and draw her grief and complaints more conspicuously into dialogue with other points within the poem where questions of the appropriateness of pity become especially fraught. Juturna's lament becomes more than a purely parenthetical space. If, as Barchiesi claims, 'in this fold of the text nests an "unhappy consciousness" of the Vergilian epic'[85], then it is found in more of a fledgling form in the *Eneados*.

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Having examined numerous episodes of grief, complaint and lamentation, it seems clear that Douglas's 'rhetoric of pathos' operates with great sensitivity, subtlety and a deep responsiveness to the potency and significance of the corresponding moments of pathos in the *Aeneid*. Moments of suffering and grief are often portrayed with a vividness that matches and even, occasionally, exceeds that of Virgil's text. Douglas's tendency is to amplify, to elaborate, and to make more explicit many of these instances, in a way that often brings the tensions inherent in the Virgilian text into even sharper relief – intentionally or otherwise. Douglas's approach becomes especially nuanced as regards Aeneas, whose reputation as *pius* hero he is keen to rehabilitate and defend. His expansive understanding of Virgilian *pietas* as 'devotion', 'reuth', 'compassion', and 'piete' leads him to shield Aeneas from accusations of callous pitiless*ness* in pursuing his mission in Italy and to allow him to more openly demonstrate compassion and express pity when it is appropriate to do so.

Douglas is highly responsive to the patterning of phrases and gestures within the *Aeneid*, reproducing these carefully, but, as observed above, he also draws other moments of the *Eneados* into dialogue with each other independently of the Virgilian text and of the commentaries surrounding it in Ascensius's 1501 edition, by means of his own particular lexis of grief. One

[85] Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects in Vergil's Narrative*, p. 104.

further brief example demonstrates his ability to draw together moments of lamentation in what seems a very Virgilian spirit.[86] Within the laments for Marcellus, Lausus and Pallas, three near-identical phrases are found.[87]

> Allace my child, so worthy tobe menyt,
> Worthy tobe bewalit and complenyt! (VI.xv.83-84)
>
> O douchty ȝynglyng, worthy tobe menyt,
> Worthy tobe bewalyt and complenyt... (X.xiii.155-156)
>
> O douchty child, maist worthy tobe menyt... (XI.i.96)

In the *Aeneid*, 'miserande puer' is the only phrase common to all three laments and the expanded phrase '[w]orthy tobe bewalit and complenyt' seems closest to 'miserande puer, pro laudibus istis' (10.825), which refers to Lausus. We can only speculate that, having translated the lines relating to Lausus, Douglas may have gone back to add the same phrase to Anchises' lament for Marcellus, and repeated it when he reached Pallas's death, too. This triangulation of lamentation intensifies the pathos of the three youths' deaths and further underscores the painful cost of the long, hard labour to found and maintain the Roman people. Yet Douglas's expansive approach to the suffering of many of the characters in the *Eneados* should not be mistaken for an entirely pessimistic presentation of the poem, nor an indiscriminate inclination towards pity and sympathy. As explored above, the translation also holds subtle warnings of the potential perils of misdirected pity and the dangerous affective power of extreme *dolor*, especially when it is bound up with *furor*. Overall, then, while readers' attention may be drawn more explicitly and expansively to the pathos and suffering of characters throughout the *Eneados*, it is always with an underlying awareness of whom or what is deemed *legitimately* 'worthy tobe menyt... bewalyt and complenyt'.

[86] See Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects in Vergil's Narrative*, pp. 100-101.
[87] Corresponding to 'miserande puer' at 6.882, 10.825 and 11.42 of the *Aeneid*.

Conclusion

'Contyrfyt my reuth and piete eik': negotiating pity for Turnus in Book XIII of the *Eneados*.

As explored in the last two chapters, the final lines of Virgil's poem present a disorienting vision of Aeneas ablaze with fury, plunging his sword into the supplicant Turnus, a scene which is further complicated by the tragic backdrop of Juturna's lament. In the *Eneados* the disorientation is not less acute as Turnus is endowed with his foe's epithet: roles are reversed as Turnus is described as 'reuthfull' (XII.xiii.209) and Aeneas 'full of furour' and '[f]ull brym of ire' (XII.xiiii.143-144. Mapheus Vegius's supplementary thirteenth book seeks to resolve some of the troubling ambivalences and tensions that Virgil's abrupt ending presents.
Having examined, in chapter two, the ways in which Vegius's text and Douglas's translation of it work to reconfirm Aeneas's status as *pius* hero, I would now like to turn, by way of conclusion, to Douglas's translation of the laments for Turnus in the thirteenth book, which bring together a number of issues regarding pathos, *pietas*, and pity that have been the focus of this thesis.

Though the first three hundred lines of Vegius's thirteenth book might be broadly characterised as a vituperation of Turnus, grief and pity for the Rutulian prince, as well as censure, can be found. Weeping for Turnus, though, like weeping for Dido, is problematic. Overwhelming grief or indiscriminate pity for either party places Aeneas's *pietas* under severe strain, and risks derailing or overshadowing the epic narrative with sympathy for a tragic individual who stands in opposition to the Augustan imperial project. Expressions of grief and pity for Turnus, then, must be in some way contained. Emma Buckley offers one way in which this is achieved, proposing that *dolor* – hitherto so disruptive and dangerous a force – is rendered impotent in Vegius's thirteenth book because it is transferred to the defeated and powerless Rutulians, who willingly submit to Aeneas in spite of their great grief for their former leader.[1] Yet, while this laying aside of grief is undoubtedly significant, it occurs very early in the book and Buckley's reading does not adequately take into account the affective power of the lamentations still to come. We have only to cast our minds back to Juturna's lament in Book XII, too, to appreciate just how powerful an expression of sorrow can prove for the *reader*, even when it originates from the most vanquished and marginal of sources. The

[1] Emma Buckley, 'Ending the "Aeneid"? Closure and Continuation in Maffeo Vegio's "Supplementum"', *Vergilius*, 52 (2006), 108-137 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41587329> [accessed 16/02/2019]; for the reaction of Turnus's troops, see lines 4-22 of Vegius's 'Thirteenth Book'.

pathos with which grief for Turnus is expressed, and the pity it elicits, remain powerful and potentially active forces. As I will demonstrate below, Douglas uses a number of strategies to contain and refigure these forces within his translation of the thirteenth book. A crucial function of the laments for Turnus in the *Eneados* is to allow sorrow and pity – once set within the appropriate moral and generic context – to be incorporated into Douglas's wider conception of *pietas*, which, as we have seen, includes 'reuth' and 'compassion'. Grief and pity for Turnus, then, are not simply 'distinguishing characteristic[s] of the defeated and helpless'[2] but can be transformed into legitimate sentiments for the *pius* victor and those who follow him.

The laments for Turnus given by Latinus and Daunus are the longest in the *Eneados*, running to one hundred lines (to Vegius's forty-one) and eighty-five lines (to Vegius's 39) respectively.[3] Their prolixity is not, though, in order to indulge in indiscriminate and protracted sorrow for Turnus but, rather, to set his death and its subsequent mourning into a particular moral framework. Whereas – as seen in chapter three – laments in the *Aeneid* can be characterised as highly emotional expressions of private grief and as vehicles of powerful pathos, the laments for Turnus perform a broader role. Taken together, their rhetorical power is first and foremost epideictic rather than pathetic; Latinus's speech, in particular, is decidedly public oration which works to condemn the Rutulian prince and the passions by which he was overcome.[4] This moralising impulse is first expressed in Aeneas's speech over Turnus's corpse (Turnus, in death, is to 'geif all otheris gud exempill' against waging unlawful war and acting in opposition to 'gret Iove'[5]) and it is greatly expanded upon in Latinus's lament some lines later. Douglas's heading for the third chapter – 'Quhou Turnus folkis for hym maid sair regrait, / And Kyng Latyn contempnys his wrachit estait' – very clearly distinguishes the purpose of Latinus's lament from the general articulation of woe that is expressed by Turnus's fellow Rutulians. Though Latinus displays sorrow and weeps as he commences his speech, he is not overcome with emotion to the same extent as the Latins and Rutulians, whose loud mourning he succeeds in calming. His lament does not begin with the customary address to the deceased; instead, it is the fragility of humankind and the overreaching ambition and pride that comes before a fall which is bewailed.

> "O quhou great motioun, quhat alteryng onstabill,
> Quhou oftsyß interchangit and variabill

[2] Buckley, 'Ending the "Aeneid"?', p. 115.
[3] *cf.* Aeneas's lament for Pallas (40 lines; XI.i.96-136) and Evander's lament for Pallas (72 lines; XI.iv.30-102).
[4] For further discussion of the epideictic nature of these laments and speeches by Aeneas and Drances in the 'thirteenth book', see Kallendorf, *In Praise of* Aeneas, pp. 100-128.
[5] *Eneados*, XIII.i.74-77.

Beyn the actis and dedis of man!" quod he,
"With quhou gret trubbill, but tranqulyte,
Is quhirlit abowt the lyfe of man, behald!
O dampnabill pryde and ambitioun, that wald
Bruke crovn or ceptre, prowd in thyne entent,
Quhilk beyn sa fragyll, and not permanent!" (XIII.iii.39-46)

These lines strongly recall the proverbs used to frame the tragic narratives of Troy and Dido in the prologues to Books II and IV – 'All erdly glaidneß fynysith with wo' (II.Pro.21) and 'Temporal ioy endis wyth wo and pane' (IV.Pro.221) – and place Turnus's downfall within the same emphatically medieval understanding of tragedy.[6] Further echoes of the fourth prologue are found in Latinus's description of the unbridled passion that brings about Turnus's downfall. Lines 145-6 in Vegius's text – 'O furor, O nimium dominandi innata cupido, / Mortales quo caeca vehis?' – are expanded and embellished in Douglas's translation:

"O fury, O *lust*, that beyn our gretumly
Bred in our brestis, to covat senȝeory!
Thou *blynd desyre insaciabill*, may not tary,
Our mortal myndis quhidder doith thou cary?"
(XIII.iii.47-50; my italics)

These match – almost word for word – phrases used with regard to Dido: 'O *lust*, infernal furnyß, inextingwybill, / Thy self consumyng worthis *insaciabill*' (IV.Pro.244-245; my italics) and 'Se, quhou *blynd luffis inordinate desyre* / Degradis honour, and resson doith exile!' (IV.Pro.250-251; my italics). Douglas's additions amplify a tone of moral censure which is already inherent in Vegius's text and which emphasises Turnus's self-destructive nature and the inevitability of his downfall (thereby allaying potential qualms about his death at the hands of Aeneas) but the specific echoing of the language of the fourth prologue achieves something in addition to that, too. A form of ventriloquism seems to occur, as readers hear Douglas's earlier condemnation of inordinate desire now coming from the mouth of Latinus. While proposing a link between books so very far apart may seem tenuous, I think we can certainly see a kind of characteristic language emerging again here. Douglas may take his lead from Vegius, whose own text so conspicuously mirrors and reproduces elements of the Virgilian

[6] This movement from high to low is something which Douglas seems to emphasise. In additions to Vegius's Latin text, Turnus is described as 'lyfleß laid with mortal wond, / In feld discomfist, slane and *brocht to grund*' (XIII.v.7-8, my italics; *cf.* 'Et Turnum exanimem, et letali vulnere victum', line 246); the 'wallys hie' of his homeland Ardea are 'Brynt and *doun bet*' (XIII.iv.47;50, my italics; *cf.* ' muros invaserat altos', line 210). Turnus, Daunus and the city of Ardea are all *humbled*, which is derived from the Latin *humil* (lowly, base) and *humus* (ground, earth, soil). See *OED,* s.v. 'humble, *adj*', <https://oed.com/view/Entry/89298.> [accessed 29/12/2019].

poem, both structurally and linguistically.[7] Whereas Vegius draws out the correspondences between Dido and Turnus which are inherent in the Virgilian text, Douglas is able to provide an additional self-reflexive dimension by incorporating a moral response – previously expressed in the external apparatus of a prologue but here incorporated into the translation itself – which, in turn, shapes the readers' response.[8] Just as the prologue to Book IV works to frame Dido's story within a Christian understanding of the dangers of earthly desires and to counteract the seductive and potentially overwhelming pathos of Dido's downfall, so, too, does its re-vocalisation through Latinus in Book XIII, this time in relation to Turnus.

Although they may share superficially similar rhetorical elements, Latinus's speech strikes a very different tone to most of the laments in the *Aeneid*. As seen in chapter three, Douglas has often punctuated his translations of Virgilian laments with exclamations of 'allace': seemingly spontaneous interjections which serve to heighten the pathos and emotion of those speeches. Vegius incorporates a string of phrases beginning with 'heu' into Latinus's lament – 'Heu dulce venenum, / Et mundi letalis honos! Heu tristia [...]! Heu sortis [...]!' (152-156) – which risk feeling somewhat shrill in the Latin.[9] Yet, despite Ascensius's comment that Vegius's 'heu' (and presumably those directly following) is an interjection of grief or sorrow, Douglas's versions of these lines feel far more sombre, considered, and in keeping with the moral and epideictic tone of Latinus's oration – though this is perhaps helped by Coldwell's editorial decision *not* to punctuate these phrases as exclamations, as they so often are elsewhere.[10] It is significant, too, that – bar one example, discussed below – Douglas makes no additions of 'allace' with regard to Turnus; the only other additional exclamation of grief functions not in reference to Turnus *himself*, but to the wider populace which *he* has brought to so much harm: 'the pissans of Italianys / All wastit and distroyit thus, *allake*!' (XIII.iii.112-113, my emphasis). Whereas in earlier laments of the *Aeneid* – most prominently in the lament for Euryalus, and in the lead-up to Aeneas's lament for Pallas – mourners have dwelt upon the wounds *suffered* by the dead, the wounds and harm bewailed by Latinus are those that Turnus *inflicted* upon the wider community of Latium by his overreaching pride and his fervour for an illegitimate war. Douglas expands upon Vegius's lines here by doubling or tripling some terms, so that 'Quot

[7] Buckley points to some of the ways in which the first half of the thirteenth book responds to various moments in Virgil's text. See 'Ending the "Aeneid"?', pp. 119-121.

[8] This seems to me to be another compelling instance which supports the idea of a kind of 'through composition' on Douglas's part in the writing of the *Eneados*.

[9] Vegius's speeches have been judged by numerous editors and critics to be inferior to Virgil's and have been criticised as 'overdramatic'. See Anna Cox Brinton's introduction to *Maphaeus Vegius and his Thirteenth Book*, p. 4. In his notes on Douglas's version of Daunus's lament (XIII.v.27-112), Coldwell remarks that '[i]n the Latin the speech is notably inferior to Vergil's mourning speeches'.

[10] Ascensius's gloss reads: 'Heu: dole[n]tis i[n]teriectio', Vergilius, *Opera cum variorum commentariis*, p. 1162.

tecum insidias, quot mortes, quanta malorum / Magnorum tormenta geris, quot tela, quot enses…' (149-150) becomes:

> Quhou feill maneris of deth and of distreß,
> Quhou feill tormentis, gret harm, and wikkytnes!
> Quhou mony dartis, quhou feill swerdis keyn…
> (XIII.iii.57-59)

Even when Latinus does, eventually, address the body of Turnus directly, it is only to berate him with a series of admonishing questions. The tone of rebuke which features in earlier laments (Anna's for Dido, for instance, or Euryalus's mother's for her son) is expanded to an exaggerated degree here and, at forty-five lines, forms almost half of the lament. Here, again, Douglas's translation works to stronger rhetorical effect than its source; after building to a crescendo of questions regarding Turnus's increasingly reckless and destructive conduct, and Latinus's own futile efforts to constrain him, the speech suddenly stops short with the single line 'Bot all for nocht; no thyng mycht styntyng the [Turnus]' (XIII.iii.107), an effect to which Vegius's text does not aspire.[11] It seems clear, then, that Douglas's translation of Latinus's speech wields significant rhetorical power; however, it is not in the service of pathos. Closer to oratory than to the Homeric *góos* upon which Virgil's laments are based, the primary function of this lament is to situate Turnus's actions and shortcomings within a moral framework which justifies his death and Aeneas's part in it.

Despite, though, the strong condemnation of Turnus found through most of the lament, its tone does soften somewhat in the final twenty lines (121-140), as Latinus enquires what have become of Turnus's former virtues, physical prowess and statesmanship. These questions seem regretful rather than rebuking, and mirror similar questions voiced in laments for Euryalus and Pallas. It is in these final lines that we find the single addition of 'allace' (mentioned above) which refers to Turnus: 'Quhar is thy schynand figur now, allace?' (XIII.iii.126). Latinus also ends his speech – as, indeed, he started it – with tears, which Douglas, unlike Vegius, specifies are 'of piete' (XIII.iii.141).[12] Although Douglas's rather fluid spelling of this word in the *Eneados* means we could take it either as 'pity' or 'piety', the desciption of Turnus's corpse as a 'reuthfull' just a few lines later (144) suggests that the former is most appropriate here. This late note of pity, though, is shaped and limited by what has come before it; overall, Latinus's lament presents the reader with a model of pity that is not based upon private grief for a single

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[11] *cf*. lines 158-170 of Vegius's 'Thirteenth Book'.
[12] *cf*. 'And sayand thus, with terys of piete / Hys chekis baith and face ourchargit he' (*Eneados*, XIII.iii.141-142) and 'Haec fatus, larimisque genas implevit orbortis.', l.185).

individual but is public, outward-looking and founded on a wider understanding of the justice of Turnus's tragic downfall.

How, then, does Daunus's lament function in relation to its predecessor? The closer that Turnus's funeral procession wends its way to Ardea the more Vegius's text, and, to an even greater extent, Douglas's translation of it, inclines towards grief, pathos and pity. Where Vegius refers simply to mourners' tears, Douglas makes them 'grete' and 'bittir', 'mony' and 'trigland' and they occur in 'habundans'.[13] The number of mourners swells, as the youths Vegius refers to ('pubes', l.197) are listed by Douglas as 'knycht, swane, man and page' (XIII.iv.22). Even the chariot becomes 'wery' (XIII.iv.9) in Douglas's version, and the corpse which it bears is described in far more tender terms as the 'gentill body of this stowt ȝongkeir' (XIII.iv.3; Vegius's 'iuvenem', line 190) and as 'sa excelland ded corps' (XIII.iv.31; Vegius's 'funere', line 201). The increasingly piteous and pathetic elements found in the description of the funeral procession are only a taste, though, of what is to come as it draws closer to its destination.

The vision of a city toppling in flames which felt so immanent in the immediate aftermath of Dido's death in Book IV is actually realised here by Vegius, as Ardea is consumed by fire at the very moment Turnus is killed.[14] The tragic force of Turnus's death is so great as to engulf his birthplace, and his divinely ordained downfall extends not only to his own mortal body, but to his father's capital city and its population. Douglas's imaginative and emotional participation in this scene of woe and destruction is profound (in many ways recalling his skilful handling of Anna's discovery of Dido's death in Book IV), and his translation far exceeds its source in terms of its vividness and affective power. A passage that illustrates this particularly well is the simile in which Vegius likens the Ardean citizens to a tortoise struggling to escape the flames (though note that here Douglas takes 'testudo' to be a snail).

> Et velut ignitum testudo eversa calorem
> Cum sensit, luctata diu, pedibusque renitens,
> Caudam agitansque caput, magna vi cedere tentat,
> Aestuat, et multo insudans conamina miscet...'
> (Vegius, 226-229)
>
> ... lyke as that on the howß syde the snaill,
> Schakand hir coppit shell or than hir taill,
> Fleand the byrnand heit that scho doith feill,

[13] *Eneados* XIII.iv.14; XIII.iv.40; XIII.iv.23.
[14] See *Aeneid*, 4.667-671 and 4.682-683.

A lang tyme gan do wrassill and to wreill,
Thristand fast with hir feit onto the wall,
And ȝit hir hed with forß and strenthis all
Frawart the fervent flammys fast withdrawys;
Scho scaldis, and with mony wrikis and thrawys
Presys forto eschew the feirfull heit...
(XIII.iv.79-87)

The constricted rhyme scheme and plethora of 'aill', 'eill', 'ill' and 'all' endings, both within and at the ends of lines, perfectly embody the contortions of the snail and its painful progress towards escape, as does the intense alliteration and the piling up of clauses. It is masterfully achieved and, once again, 'feilabill in al degree'.[15]

Further affective details are found in Douglas's portrayal of the citizens of Ardea, who are not referred to without the addition of 'woful', 'trublit' or 'wobegon' and whose breasts are 'drery' and faces 'petuus [and] wepand'.[16] The most emphatically pitiful terms are reserved for King Daunus, as Douglas translates 'Ante omnes senio confectus ad aethera voces / Fundebat querulas Daunus, superosque vocabat' (232-233) in expansive fashion, as 'Bot maist of all, *allace and weil away*! / With *reuthfull* vocis cryand to the hevyn, / The agit kyng Dawnus with *wofull* stevyn / Gan on the goddis abuf clepe and call' (XIII.iv.92-95, my italics). The vision of Daunus encountering of Turnus's corpse is, Douglas explicitly tells us, 'reuth... forto see' (XIII.v.22) and the words of his speech 'lamentabill' (XIII.v.26), a description which is certainly borne out as we find the lexis of grief that Douglas has developed over the course of previous laments used to full effect. The terms of endearment so often inserted by Douglas in earlier laments (and conspicuously absent from Latinus's above) are found in abundance, as Vegius's 'nate' and 'Turne' become 'myne awyn' or 'my deir' son.[17] Both Turnus's and Daunus's own suffering is intensified in Douglas's translation; Daunus refers to his son's death as the 'maste petuus slauchter sa bludy' (XIII.v.102), to his corpse as 'lamentabill and wofull' (XIII.v.58) but most of the pity he expresses and elicits is for himself. Whereas Vegius's text Daunus's self-pitying strains are confined to just a couple of short instances[18], in the *Eneados* Daunus refers to himself as 'febill' (XIII.v.28); 'tryst and wobegone' (43); 'trist and wo (101)' and 'wrachit' (96) and Vegius's exclamatory 'Heu miserum!' (line 265) is expanded, with emphatic alliteration, to 'O ways me, wrachit and wofull wight!' (XIII.v.47). This self-centred and self-pitying tone can also be seen in the way in which Daunus refers to the motions of

[15] *Eneados*, Pro.I.13.
[16] XIII.iv.59-61;89 and XIII.v.9.
[17] XIII.v.40; 57.
[18] e.g. 'miseranda senectae' (257); 'parenti / Afflicto' (263-264).

fortune and the perpetual movements from high to low. Similar references in Latinus's lament worked to situate Turnus's death within a moral and tragic framework in which it was not only accepted but justified, but Vegius's Daunus rails against death ('Heu mortem invisam… […] Heu mortem obscuram'), which he characterises as vengeful ('ultricibus', 279), and fortune, which he describes as 'furens' (295). Douglas renders the stinging bitterness particularly well via alliteration: 'Allace, detestabill deth, dyrk and obscur!' (XIII.v.85). For Daunus, Turnus's death is not something which can be justified and rationalised within a larger scheme but something which he can conceive of only as the cruellest of personal blows.

As illustrated above, Daunus's lament and the scene of grief and devastation in which it is voiced holds huge affective power, and Douglas's exceptionally vivid and 'feilabill' rendering of this episode seems to angle it overwhelmingly *towards* pathos and pity. How, then, are readers to navigate *away* from a purely emotional and sympathetic response to it and return to the measured model of pity presented in Latinus's lament? A number of waypoints are provided here, I think. Foremost among them is the way in which Daunus is so closely aligned in Douglas's translation with the sorts of inflamed passions that so disastrously afflicted earlier characters in the *Aeneid*, chief among them Dido and Turnus. Daunus's love for his city and his distress at its destruction is portrayed in some familiar terms as Douglas, far more patently than Vegius, evokes the description of Dido at the start of Book IV.[19]

> … Kyng Dawnus, for this affray onkouth
> With ardent luf smyttin and hait desyre
> Of hys chief sete distroyt and brynt in fyre,
> The hard dolour and the sorow smert
> Hadis full cloß, deip gravyn in hys hart.
> (XIII.iv.114-118)
>
> Be this the queyn, throw hevy thochtis onsound,
> In euery vayn nurysys the greyn wound,
> Smytyn so deip with the blynd fyre of lufe
> […]
> Deip in hir breist so was hys figur prent…
> (IV.i.1-7)

Douglas's expansive translation of 'Inscius at tantos Daunus superesse dolores […] alios gemitus curasque fovebat' (13.204-207) as 'Dawnus… (na wyß wittand tho / He suld remane to

[19] *cf.* Vegius's 'At Daunus, patriae ardenti concussus amore / Eversae, duros gemitus sub corde premebat' (241-242), which does not quite so closely correspond to Virgil's 'At regina, gravi iamdudum saucia cura / vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni […] haerent infixi pectore voltus / verbaque…' (*Aeneid*, 4.1-5), though, of course, there are still similarities.

se sik duyll and wo…) […] The sammyn tyme with other dyseyß was socht, / *At mekill sad dolour and hevy thocht*' (XIII.iv.35-42; my emphasis) also ties Daunus strongly to the Carthaginian queen. In both Vegius's and Douglas's texts Daunus is described as 'enragit' (XIII.v.20; 'furibundus', 254) as he begins his lament but, crucially, at the end of his speech in the *Eneados*, Daunus is still caught in the grip of a 'dolour' which Douglas – in an independent addition – specifies is 'rageand'. Thus, Daunus's grief and self-pity, in all its extremity, is equated with the violent and ultimately self-destructive passions that led directly to the deaths of Dido and Turnus. Such a raging, self-consuming and inextinguishable grief – precisely the kind of passion bewailed and condemned in Latinus's lament – is manifestly *not* a model of pity which should be emulated, the correct form being, instead, a *critical* form of sympathy. The simile that ends this whole episode, which likens Daunus to mother of a young calf or fawn preyed upon by an eagle, is also important in re-establishing the correct model of pity.[20] Though the image of the mother and its bleeding offspring is a distressing one (which seems to match very well the wounded grief of Daunus's lament), the eagle in question is, of course, 'Iovis' and therefore a reminder that Turnus's death is – as Latinus's lament illustrates – part of a natural order of things and ordained and justified by the highest deity.

In Douglas's hands, then, the first half of the thirteenth book becomes something more complex than a straightforward vituperation of Turnus that some have viewed Vegius's text as, nor is *dolor*, as Buckley alleges, rendered an utterly powerless force by being transferred to the defeated Rutulian and Latin soldiers in the first few lines of the book. The tensions between *pietas* and pity and which are left so troublingly at odds at the end of Virgil's poem, are here brought into some sort of alliance, as Douglas's translation of Vegius's book not only lays out the justification for Turnus's death at Aeneas's hands, but also the ways in which 'reuthfull' Turnus might *legitimately* be pitied. Readers are presented with a choice here which is very much like the one faced by Aeneas in Book IV, when he feels the 'perturbance [of] reuth and amo*uris*' (IV.viii.85) yet, ultimately, resists it and turns away from Dido in order to pursue his divinely-ordained duty. Once again, we are required to turn aside from, and reassess, a powerfully moving expression of suffering. This is by no means an easy task; rather like the snail above, we are required to 'wrassill and to wreill' ourselves away from the flames of unchecked pity and sympathy which threaten to consume us and we may well, like the snail, be scalded. As I have asserted at various other points in the thesis, this seems to me to be an important part of the process; Douglas's translation – so full of pathos and so often 'feilabill in

[20] 'Qualis ubi incubuit validis Iovis unguibus ales, / Et parvum effuso divulsit sanguine foetum, / Cerva videns miseri turbatur funere nati', lines 299-301.

al degree'[21] – both embodies and encourages an active *participation* in the grief and suffering of the individuals it portrays. Yet via the moral mediations of Latinus's lament, as well as subtle echoes of Douglas's prologue to Book IV, we are guided back *towards* pity, too. It is a pity tempered by more pious concerns, a pity not based solely on the tragic suffering of individuals but one that takes into account the wider moral and epic landscape of Virgil's, and later Vegius's, poems. If readers of the *Eneados* are to follow its hero's epic journey to the end in the way that Douglas intends, steering a steady, if, at times, an anguished, course past the many and various casualties of Virgil's poem – *infelix* Dido most prominent among them – then they must, indeed, '*Lern* forto… contyrfyt' *both* Aeneas's 'reuth' *and* his 'piete eik'.

[21] *Eneados*, I.Pro.13.

DIDO

INVOCATION

Wounds and a woman I sing: an exile
forced to flee her native land and cast
herself on unknown waters, blank and vast.
Tell me, sea, what desperate path, what trial
had you laid out, what sufferings amassed,
till land was reached and her hopes raised higher?
Then, when her worst sorrows seemed to have passed,
whom did you wreck upon her coast; what desire
did you awake; what further pain inspire?
Waves, let us ride your shifting crests and swells
and bear us to the island state of Tyre,
to where the newly-wed Elissa dwells,
so we might hear, from her own lips, the cause
of her first grief and flight from her home shores.

Sychaeus

I am sick, Sychaeus, with worry.
It has been two nights, three days
since you left to lead prayers at the temple.

Are you sick, Sychaeus?
Did you travel alone on some mainland errand
and take ill on the way?

Are you even now ensconced
in rough-spun blankets,
being fed honey and grapes
by a farmer's wife who imagines
she shelters some minor god
or, at the very least, a prince?

Or were you set upon by thieves
who thought to make off with your purple robe,
your belt of bright gold thread?
No matter – I can stitch you another.

Did you make some mistake at the harbour?
Instead of a boat to the mainland,
you boarded a ship that was laden
with goods bound for Sidon?

Is this a trick, Sychaeus?
Some curious hoax that you play?
Be warned, husband,
my humour is not inexhaustible:
even my patience frays.

Come home, Sychaeus,
Sychaeus, I ache for us.

Offerings

In the space of two full moons
I have poured libations
enough to sink a ship;
sent prayer after prayer
into the unheeding sky;
sacrificed seventeen lambs,
eight bellowing bulls
and all the pallid hours before
the red raw break of day,
and still I have no news.

But why do you, my brother, king,
make no such offerings,
nor lift your hands in prayer?
By day you shun the temple,
though reports have reached me
that you make nightly attempts
on the treasury door.
A pit of doubt has opened and begins to grow.
What is it, Pygmalion dear, you know?

Mnemonic

At the temple

Put a finger to the place in the step
where the stone is worn smooth:
this is his softest skin
hiding in a hollow beneath
the knoll of his inner anklebone.

Watch the smoke spiralling above the brazier:
it is the one intractable curl
at the nape of his neck.
Taste the fumes:
their catch at the back of the throat
is the delicate rasp of his beard on my breast.

Look to each corner:
there, half in shadow, is his smile
at some joke only we share;
there, is the crook of his elbow
over my waist when I wake;
there, where the birds have found a perch,
is the brush of his kiss at my earlobe;
there, is the spike of his sweat.

Take in the apex of the roof,
its high peak pointing to the sky:
this is his tongue shaping unknown words
between my thighs.

Follow the milky whorls
that gleam in the alabaster floor,
as if the cliffs, entranced by the beauty
of the sea, had one day called out to it
and it came hurrying to their call
to lie here: sea mist caught in stone.

This is how I try to capture Sychaeus,
to conjure up the slightest breath of him
between these columns;
to summon him through stone.

Dream

Sychaeus walks into my dream
and speaks three words:
a name, a crime, a plea.
How he utters them I cannot tell.
His lips are one unbroken line
but his throat gapes: tender, jagged.
Yet the words arrive somehow,
moving as sound moves through water,
with that strange booming clarity;
each one like a stone
heaved up with two hands,
dropped from a great height
into a still, deep pool.
Sychaeus walks into my dream
and speaks three words:
Pygmalion. Murder. Flee.

Dinner with Pygmalion

Three days before our planned escape,
we are summoned to the palace by Pygmalion.
A family affair: just he and I and Anna,
one place left bare for Sychaeus
(for still I play the anxious wife,
though I know I am a widow).
Dish after dish is ferried out upon
our mother's favourite tableware –
shipped all the way from Cyprus
and not a single plate shattered.
My brother gorges: exhorts us both to try
this latest spice or meat cooked
in Cilician style, to note the quality of
the Egyptian linen – newly acquired –
and what about his toothpick, carved from
hippo tooth? So dainty, and a particular gift
to him from the Assyrian envoy.
Anna and I eat little, take turns to nod.
Such alliances must be maintained,
he turns to Anna, Y*ou're yet too young, perhaps,*
to be a wife, but not at all too young to be betrothed.
And as for you, Elissa –
he motions to the empty chair –
it's time you gave this up.
I freeze. How much does he know?
Are all our plans revealed?
I force my gaze down to my plate,
where a painted fish stares
dolefully into a whirlpool.
You understand, it's out of kindness, sister,
that I've kept this from you. I've been informed
Sychaeus left you for –
Anna's foot comes gently down on mine.
– and, apparently, he wasn't the first! The girl left

a trail from Salamis to Sidon. Some virginal priestess
she turned out to be! So, you see, he's gone.
I trace each bristle of each brushstroke round the plate.
Just how much deeper can my brother sink?
He is hacking at the carcass of an octopus,
flaccid in a shallow sea of oil,
and with each jerk of his knife I think of that night:
how he must have left Sychaeus splayed beside the altar,
his throat slashed by that very blade, his body taken
who knows where? Weighted down with rocks
and heaved into the sea without a single prayer.
But think, Elissa, what wealth he left behind –
now what a dowry that would be! I'll see you married
better than a jilted wife could hope to be.
There's just the small matter of the key;
most of his gold is locked up in the treasury, you see.
If you should find one in your rooms or
tucked in some old robes of his, you will,
I trust, deliver it – at once – to me.
He wipes his mouth with his hand,
lays the greasy fingers on my wrist.
I daren't trust myself to speak, just bow my head
until, satisfied, he gathers up his bulk and leaves.
The second he is out of sight, I whisper to Anna:
we leave tonight.

I

The sea is a woman, grey of hair and sunk of cheek
with a mound of fish at her knees, bright knife skimming
that all the while stares right at you.

The sea is a lizard basking in full sun
and we the flies that creep along its scales.
When will we feel it rear its stickled back?
The lash of its spiked tail?

The sea is a slavering beast, jaws wide,
with breath that sends us roiling.
In the black of night we try to stop our ears
against the licking of its chops, the smacking lips.

Migration

Egret, you would be at home in the sky
but for the trailing roots of your feet,
so poised and luminous are you,
so utterly of cloud; your beak yellow
as a slant of sunlight.

But your home is land and shallow water,
trees in which to raise your nest.
How is it that you return each year
to the same shoreline, slip through
the tall ranks of reeds to pools
you know will hold the fattest fish?

Do you never misplace yourself?

Others might look for an omen
in your flight across our ships,
but I cannot read a sign
in the silence of your wingbeats,
only feel the weight of the gulf
of air between us.

The sea is a sheet of metal beaten flat by wind and
scoured with salt and sand and buffed by the
rub of rising falling tides until it blinds.

||‾

The sea is a cloth of deepest green half-
woven by the fleetest-fingered women of the village,
and our ships the wooden shuttles they leave swinging
as they run to shouts of a swarming of bees,
a fire, or a young child, bleeding.

3

The sun is an urn upturned upon the sea,
leaking some rare fermentation which turns
each undulation amber ember umber.

FLAMMA

Three hours before the dawn, clouds bar the stars,
blockade the moon, and they are left with sound
alone to guide them: wind licking the spars,
a child vomiting, the waves' incessant pound,
the slosh of ankle-deep salt water swirling round.
Swallowed in such scouring black, they might
be any huddled group of refugees bound
for an unknown land, drifting out of sight
and time and mind, joined hands gripping tight,
some eyes closed in prayer, more straining to see
some life-jacket-fluorescent flare of light
or guiding flame but – *listen* – could that be
a shore ahead, waves breaking onto sand?
Let it be land, let it be land, let it be land, let it be land, let it be land

113

The sea is laughter: great guffaws that
burst across the bow, wheeling whoops,
a froth of foaming giggles; all at our expense.

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The sea is a sheephold with shearing in full swing,
the air a swirl of scudding curls of wool
where fleece upon bright fleece go tumbling.

一ろ

The sea is the nape of your lover's neck
as the tenderest coil of breath sends
sweat shivering into gooseflesh.

DIDO

The further that the ships travel from Tyre,
her name *Elissa* starts to lose its weight.
Where once it had commanded trust, inspired
respect, it now meets with blank stares, a state
of incredulity – what does this unknown
woman mean in drifting to our shores?
From port to hostile port the ships are blown
until *Elissa* wears as thin as gauze,
as fragile as the foam spun in their wake
that points to home. But still she perseveres,
for Sychaeus' and her followers' sake.
In time, her new name comes. *Dido* she hears
whispered in each dock her ships are moored:
she who disperses, scatters, spreads abroad.

The sea is a temple with walls of beryl green
and we the minute supplicants who kneel and
press our foreheads to its swirling marble floor.

733

The sea is the flank of a bolting horse:
bright with sweat, spittle-flecked,
sinews stretched to the brink and shuddering.

Landburst

Bruisers of waves, these breakers are,
bearing down upon the beach like bulls
to gouge deep gashes in the sand
and grind the rocks to gravel.
Yet there lies land, within our grasp!
We fling ourselves into the furling foam
until here we are at last; salt-lashed, lung-soaked,
lugging heavy limbs, half-choked, half-laughing.

Stone Soup

Last supplies spent, we are forced
to stoop to stone soup.
It goes like this:

> Take two or three stones
> that lie beneath the tide mark.
> No larger than a man's
> balled fist, no smaller than a baby's,
> dark from having rested
> at the bottom of the sea.

I choose three: one as smooth
and luminous as cartilage;
one a ribbled brown like earth turned
under; one a piquant shard of green.

> Heat the stones in rainwater
> until you hear them knock against
> each other. Simmer. This will
> open out the pores. A rattling boil
> is not advised and will result in grit.
> Add whatever herbs you have to hand.

Ragged stubs of bay leaves are relinquished
and further up the beach much joy at
    three crab claws
pecked clean already by the gulls, but in they go.
So we dine on little more than brine.
I promise this shall be our last taste of the sea:
tomorrow we strike out to see what purchase
we might find in this new land.

BYRSA

As much land as can be covered by an ox hide.
The Tyrians confer. Have they misheard?
There must be some mistake. Surely ox *herd*,
not hide, is what was meant? A plain, wide
and open that in due time might provide
a comfortable living? But no, the word
is verified, the very hide unfurled:
sum of Iarbas's goodwill. *My pride*
and joy, she was; bore thirteen calves. He runs
a finger down to where a swirling brand
has scarred the flesh, eyes the queen and
smiles. Dido considers; lets him think he's won.
She carefully unspools each word: *as much land*
as can be contained within an ox hide?   *Done*.

Ox Hide

We share the labour,
work only while the sun is high.
No margin for error here;
each strip of skin must be thin
as we can make it.
First comes my old nurse,
who grasps my hand
and vows she'll cut a sliver
as fine as the first bright tooth
that comes searing
through an infant's gums.
Next, a fisherman promises
a skein as delicate as the nets
he casts each morning;
his friend, one the depth
of a gleaming fish scale.
A baker says he'll slice
a ribbon light and weightless
as the dough he used to knead,
that he swears you could stretch
and see the sun through.
A stream of deft-fingered
women spool off threads of hide
mellifluous as the palace linen
they once wove.
One of the sailors comes,
tells me he will cut a strip
as thin as the first lick of land
spied from the open sea.
A brother and a sister promise
laces sheer as spiders' webs.
Carpenters pledge lengths
like curled shavings of cedar.
The jeweller approaches,

white haired, with knuckles
too knotted to grasp a knife.
He says he can appreciate my scheme.
Is it not, he says, akin to how he, once,
could take a nugget or a bead of gold
no larger than a bee –
one of hundreds to adorn the neck
or wrist of some young prince –
and beat it out so thin
as to illuminate the entire head
of a god in the temple?
My sister Anna works the longest,
with the same fierce concentration
she employed as a child,
racing me to see who could peel
their orange in one fragrant stripe.
After three days our work is done
and the children clamour
to know how long it is.
They lay head to toe on the sand,
calling parents, cousins,
aunts and uncles,
until the beach is lined with bodies
and I go walking in the shadow of our ships,
threading through the campfires,
the ragged tents, reeling out
the knotted hide until I reach the end
                                        and stop
and feel its heft, its warmth:
the pulse of a multitude
of hands clinging
to the edge
               of an idea
                              of home.

Suitors

Word of my outwitting of Iarbas spreads.
Within weeks, a stream of local warlords
and heads of other city states flow in,
each more determined than the last
to gain my hand and all the many treasures
they have heard I smuggled out of Tyre.
Of course, they come with treasures of their own:
the best a pair of smiling, bearded sheep.
Yet, though I graciously admire each gift,
my eyes and thoughts are occupied by other things:
the quantity and bearing of accompanying guards,
the condition of their steeds, their plenitude of arms.
All in all, I think I should re-calculate the height
and depth to which I build Carthage's walls.
As for my own defence, I put on my third-best dress,
rub ashes in my hair and can't apologise enough
for the lack of formal banquet hall,
since our whole hilltop citadel is still a building site.
Instead, by way of hospitality, I hold picnics
at a shrine raised to the memory of Sychaeus;
let my guests stuff themselves with sweetmeats
while I perform elaborate displays of grief,
make vows of my unwavering fidelity.
Sychaeus, if your shade still watches over me,
then know I do not take your name in vain;
the wailing and the tearing of the hair is,
I know, a little overblown, but such a violent
declaration of intended chastity might let me keep
– for now, at least – my newfound throne.

~

Aeneas

He stinks of the sea.

As if, after so many days and nights,
it cannot give up its claim to splinter
his seven surviving ships, heave him
down to where the other Trojan bodies
sprawl, pricked by fish like swarms of knives,
and so it follows him beyond the shoreline,
clinging like mist.

His stomach is still caught in a tide,
lurching between faith and despair,
despair and faith.
I know it well, that sea.
I sense the hot sting of it
behind his eyes.

He breaks my gaze,
lowers his head,
so close I can see salt
crusted in the hollow
where his earlobe meets his neck
and I want to lick it
to fold him in my arms and speak into his ear:
look to me and know that
there is strength yet, in flight.

Gifts

Pearls

How deep the dive to bring these monsters up;
their shells the size of shields concealing
pearls as priceless as the beads of air
clasped tight within the diver's chest,
each one fat enough to choke on.

Robe

Squint and it is armour;
so stiff with rusting thread,
so fraught with gold, each panel
bursting to the seams with scenes of Troy.
Here are women at their looms; men racing chariots,
aiming spears the size of needles; bullocks, goats and owners
winding to the altar of a flashing jewel-eyed goddess; a pair of
shepherds keeping close watch over their woollen wisps of sheep;
fields of grain a thousand stitches full; a bolt of horses running down
the train and, circling it all, a hem a finger's length of gold – the city wall.
Inside, I find bright snuffs of thread where the patterns were pricked out in red.

Veil

As smooth as shell,
pale as the inner chamber of an ostrich egg,
yolk-yellow sprays of acanthus
blazing round the border.
It was Helen's, once.

I try it on for size.
Which of us is taller?
It hangs to just above my knees
but I imagine it would fall
just at her hips,
the sprays of yellow like
celestial orbs in thrall to her,
the luminary centre of it all.

I see her walking through the Trojan streets,
crowds parting for this figure wrapped in light,
when in fact she is a vessel of grief,
harbinger to a swarm of grief-filled vessels.

This veil feels more a shroud.

*

Why does he bring such a smothering of gifts?

RUERE

As a river suspended high among
the mountains starts to crack and fissure, throws
off the rigid silence in which it hung
all winter, stutters into sound and flows,
or, as beads of water in a landscape
governed wholly by its lack begin to
join and swell to such a pitch that the gape
of empty rivers fills, streams spill into
forgotten clefts, green overruns the sand;
so this love gathers motion, sweeps away
the bleached white bones of former love, and
its sheer joyfulness holds her in its sway,
collapses all her doubts, offers her relief
from drought and this is how she comes to grief.

The Trojan Women

I invite them all. Perhaps two dozen come,
a delegation decked in what's left of old Troy's finery.
Vast shawls strategically employed
to hide the bloom of watermarks,
dresses pinched to shrunken waists,
belts implausible with jewels.
Wrists clatter with bracelets;
bronze, bone, dulled gold.
They praise everything they see:
the largesse of the hall, the intricacy
of the hangings on the walls,
even cushion tassels!
I call for food and wine
(two sisters make a bee-line
for the cakes and honey).
Talk turns to Troy,
the large and small indignities.
But now that they have found these shores
and I have opened all my land to them,
what is it they would do?

Theano first:

> *I would find the plot of land inside the city walls*
> *that's furthest from the sea*
> *and there I'd build my house*
> *and keep a sow, a goat or two, some bees.*

Beroë:

> *I would weave a length of linen that will not become*
> *a bandage or a shroud.*

Noëma and Ida brush crumbs
from honey-glazed lips:

We were just girls when we left Troy.
With our father, brothers, mother dead, and seven years at sea,
we have tasted all life's salt and nothing sweet.

It's true, we do not know the pain of widowhood
but nor do we know the pleasures of the marriage-bed.
We seek husbands, children, and households full of laughter.

Pyrga:

Unlike these girls, there's little time remains to me,
so all that I would ask is that my bones are treated tenderly,
my ashes buried in a quiet grove where my daughters' daughters'
daughters can come and sit and be at peace.

Ericha:

My husband was Melanthius,
a gentle man most skilled in horsemanship
– he always came home smelling of the stables –
but his sons have spent almost all their lives at sea.
It would lift my heart to see them each
on horseback, watch them race.

Gya:

In Troy I kept a grove of olive trees whose oil
was much admired. All I've left are just five
of their stones, but if we might make a home
for long enough to taste their fruits again
then I would be content.

Caieta is last to speak:

I nursed Aeneas when he was a boy
and still I keep a careful watch. For him
I'd wish a hearth where he might lay our household gods;
a bed that won't always be cold – he's a young man yet –

why should Ascanius be denied a mother, sisters, brothers?
I would seek an end to all our wandering.
The house of Troy must flourish where it can.

She lifts a brimming cup:
we drink.

FLAMMA

I know the signs of the old flame, she thinks,
as if in thinking this she somehow makes
it safe; as though in the time it takes to blink
she might pass her hand right through then take
it back unscathed; as if this heat won't grow
too bold, too all-consuming in its greed;
as if it might yet be contained; as though
her every exhalation will not feed
the flames. And so she flings all caution
to the wind; is taken in by heat's false haze,
its flagrant talent for distortion;
pays not the slightest heed to how this blaze,
if she allows it but this single chance,
will draw her in and up and drive her to its dance.

Hunt

I cannot help but track his movements,
take every opportunity of close observation.
How the fringe of dawn illuminates his jaw;
how every dog shows him deference;
the easy tension of his shoulder
as he draws back his bow;
his lack of pleasure in killing beasts.
Riding side by side, we do not speak.
I become transfixed by the globe of his kneecap,
the hair curling up his thigh.

But I am a poor hunter.

Storm

The clouds come out of nowhere,
huge and green and boiling,
hurling a shock of rain and hail
while lightning claws the sky.
Earth drums a fever.

Cave

We choose the same cave for shelter.
I am suddenly conscious of the wetness
of my dress, its near translucency,
and don't I smell of horse? Does he?
We stand apart, watching

rivulets of water join courses
in the space between our feet.

Rocks rise from the floor in pinnacles,
pool down from above,
and even in their stillness
I can feel a straining,
some inevitable motion, as if
these cold spires of stone
and everything contained within this cave
might break out of their outlines.

Aeneas stretches out his hand.

~

As we reassemble ourselves
a black cloud loosens itself from the roof
and goes murmuring into the night.

Wedding

We emerge hand in hand
to the howling of dogs
like a hallowing.

Aphrodite Adjusting her Sandal

In the hour before dinner
we escape to my chamber
where there is a banishing of servants,
a flinging-off of cloaks, robes, belts,
all our stately trappings.
He's already on the bed,
laughing as I balance on one leg,
trying to unravel the knot of leather
at my ankle when

Stop – right there – yes!
you might be 'Aphrodite Adjusting her Sandal'
– those statues carried by the Greeks.

Of course, I waver,
for I am no goddess nor Helen,
luminous and taut, and if I fall
for his flattery there will be
a pleasure in the fall.

I took one once – no higher than an arrowhead,
shaped from finest Parian marble – for no better
reason than the moon glanced upon it among
the bodies of the dead.

He, who cradled his
household's gods through
fire and sea and storm
to lay them at my hearth,
he took such a thing, prised
it from a dead man's hand?
He looks away –
Oh, my pius Aeneas.

Later we lie still in the dark,
as clouds send moonlight
blading across our bodies.
His hand encircles mine

a little too tightly, as if
I could slip through his fingers.

FAMA

How to spot the genus *Fama*, also known,
more commonly, as Rumour? To catch full sight
of one is rare – they travel only in half-light.
Markings are unique: specimens, full-grown,
show eye-shaped patterning along the breastbone.
Some say they sleep by day, others by night,
though reportedly the largest stay in flight
for weeks. Their calls are short, strident in tone,
and, remarkably, a single screech or tweet
might reverberate for miles. Migration
patterns are erratic: they have been known
to flock to fresh crime scenes; to indiscreet
affairs; pandemics; courts of litigation;
riots; influential women; war zones.

DEXTRA

How to weigh the work of this right hand?
From which each spear that's thrown makes an elision
of bronze and bone, sends life sputtering to sand;
this hand that shields his son's eyes from the vision
of his home ablaze, steers him through the rubble;
this hand that yearns to feel the flickering
at the base of Helen's pale throat quickening
and, for all Troy's ten long years of trouble,
press and press and press; this hand that pledges aid;
this hand that offers prayers; this hand that will
devote full hours to sharpening a blade;
this hand that seeks the spectre of his wife's, still
tries, again, again, to clasp what's flesh and blood no more.
Dido, how to bear the weight of such a hand in yours?

Scaffolding

We are doing a very bad job
of keeping up with Ascanius.
I blame all those months cooped up at sea,
Aeneas says, *each time we land, the same:*
no holding the little tearaway!

The evening sun casts everything in gold;
the boy's bright curls a flash between pillars,
doorways, disappearing around a corner,
until he has reached the city's limit,
its half-built wall. Here he pauses,
studying the carelessly strewn tools
(when did I let the builders get so slack?)
then he spies us watching him and

Catch me if you can!

he is clambering the scaffolding.

I glance at Aeneas; nothing for it but to follow, no?
I loop my skirt into my belt and climb.
This high up, Ascanius's nerve is wavering
so Aeneas takes his right hand, I his left
and like this we thread a line along the parapet.

Emboldened now, Ascanius braves a hop, skip, jump,
asks to be swung, so up, up and out he goes.

Again! Again!

so we swing him further this time, then a little further still.
Is this what it is like to be a mother?
This small hand tight in mine, this absolute trust?
He is squealing with delight now, ankles dangling
high above the plain below and then mid-swing a

jolt –

Aeneas has reeled Ascanius back so fast
I feel his shoulders wrench through mine.

Why so hard? We both had him safe!
I round upon Aeneas, but his face is buried
in his son's bright curls, now wet with tears,
and I remember then the fate of Astyanax,
first son of the first son of Troy and cousin to Ascanius,
hurled headlong from the city walls.

Aeneas,

I reach for his hand too late, he has turned
to scoop Ascanius up to sit upon his shoulders.
They retreat along the wall, the boy's head bobbing,
Aeneas's bowed, each step meticulous and slow,
not swerving from the centre line, not even for an instant.

Gift

Ascanius, I give to you a horse that matches you
in mischief and in grace. May he outpace any
who would challenge you to race; fear neither boar
nor bear nor wild dog nor pack of wolves nor lion;
carry you to victory in every chase.

Visitation

(i)

There is a bird in the bedroom.
I can hear it through the dark;
a scrummage with the curtain at the door,
a scrabbling on stone, the shock
of a wingbeat just above my cheek.
Should I wake Aeneas?
Even if I shrieked, he might not stir
(after all, this is the man who would have
slumbered through the sacking of his city).
No, I will leave him be.
What's the use of three things
flapping madly in the dark?

At first light, there is no intruder to be found,
not a single broken feather, not one puff of down,
but all day I hear reverberations
of clacking tongues, whirring wings.

AMANS

AMENS

This is the time of forest escapades,

when the city walls are lost from sight;

when the same dream shapes itself each night;

trees form a canopy beneath which light

dapples the fern-lined trails the deer have made

grapples shadow, is swallowed up by shade,

and she is running through the groves and glades,

chasing Aeneas, their laughter high and bright.

chased by something at the very edge of sight.

She looks for some secluded dell that might

allow them to embrace unafraid

provide a refuge and there, afraid

of hostile eyes or creeping footfall,

and there they lie and love and laugh and weave

she crouches, spotting, in this brief reprieve,

an unbroken line, a glittering thread

of future children's names, a dynasty: all

of blood among the leaves, which – *no, it can't* – all

leads from here – only now does she perceive

a happy future unreeling ahead.

the pain, look down to see the arrowhead.

Anemones

It is the time of day the sun begins to drop
its guard and lose a little of its fierceness.
I leave the arbour, wondering if Aeneas
is where I left him, sleeping in our bed,
when – *wham!* –
                    an explosion of petals,
fronds, fritillary, a vial of incense cracked
upon the flagstones and – at the centre of it all –
who's this? A kitchen girl?
What business does she have
so far from the palace, arms heaped
with greenery and flowers?
A tomb? But whose?
She splutters out a syllable
then turns heel and flees
but a syllable is all I need
                              Sy-
                                chaeus
and I am on my knees,
gathering each twig and stem,
each battered flower head.
Here is rosemary and cedar,
here a trembling anemone, as deep a red
as those I wore upon my wedding day.
How long since I performed the rites?
When did I abdicate my widow's duty
to another, then another, until I neither knew
nor cared Sychaeus's shrine was tended
by a girl who barely knew his name?

                                        No more.

I run to the shore, wade ankle-deep
into the sea, which in some black crevice

holds his precious bones, and offer up
the splintered stems, the dented flowers.
Each wave spits the petals back.

Visitation

(ii)

Dawn, and there is no sign of the flying beast
                                                  – but what a stink!
Droppings over everything:
the walls are laced with foetid strands,
the sheets are spattered,
and a green glob festers just at the spot
Aeneas's head would be, had he not spent
ten clear nights away from me.

I call for servants and they stand
and gape until they're swept away by Anna,
who takes cloth and pail in hand, saying,
        Sister, you know my eyes are weak,
        it's still half-dark
and so I point to every mark.
Then fresh sheets, sweet-smelling herbs laid
on the brazier, damp, cool cloths to soothe my head.
And yet – how so? – the feral stench creeps up again
until I weep, for what chance is there now
that he will come back to this bed?
Who would choose to lie in such a filthy pit as this?

Then comes the bird-call: *Ah,*
but you did just that, remember?
Fucked him amongst the algae and the rocks,
the stagnant pools of water and a hundred years of bat shit:
first chance you got.

Confrontation

He does come back, though, to our bed;
slow and automatic, already remote.
Out of guilt? Or to deflect suspicion?
Far too late for that. I have collected
every wisp of rumour, each fledgling fact
that winged its way across the city
and now all is confirmed, laid bare,
by the curls of wood shavings
caught in his hair, the acrid ridge of pitch
he has not quite scrubbed clean beneath
his nails, the way, just now, he could not
bring himself to meet my gaze.

I put my hand to his still-heaving chest
and, even at this small tenderness,
I feel him briefly tense. Ah Aeneas,
see how your every move gives you away?
I wait until I feel his breathing slow,
see his eyes begin to close and then –

> Did you really think I could be fooled?
> I, who plotted my escape from Tyre
> right beneath my brother's nose?

He's wide-eyed now, but too late to flee;
I've hooked my thigh over his hip,
and swing myself to sit on top of him.

> Don't *dare* deny it. I know you plan to leave.
> But, tell me: why? Why sail for Italy,
> when here is refuge, safety, comfort, me?

I take his hand.

What of your pledge? Of this right hand?
I gave myself to you, and you to me,
so why this sudden change of heart?
What good reason is there to depart?

He turns his face, blank as those fish that seem
so weighed down by the sea that all their features
have been squeezed out, flattened.

Look at us – we have hardly been discreet!
If you leave me now – as if this marriage
were what, some minor dalliance? –
my reputation torn to shreds,
I'll be easy pickings for Iarbas.
He's been seething ever since I took you in
and raised you to as good as king.
Or perhaps my brother, hearing rumours
of my woes, will cross the sea
and claim this city for his own.
Oh, Aeneas, do you not see
how utterly defenceless I shall be?

Silence.
I shift my weight and we both feel
a little of his seed trickle out of me.

If only you would leave me with a child –
a boy or girl with Ascanius's chaos of blond curls,
to race round the halls – then I would have
some life besides my own worth living for.
Otherwise, what's left? My every day and night
has been wholly consumed in loving you.
It is you who have had all my time and care;
my people none. How can I claim their trust
when my own loyalty is so impaired?

Is it for this they followed me across the sea?
What remains to me except regret and shame?

My chin is dripping tears into his navel;
a pool that's threatening to spill and *still* he's mute,
he will not speak, and now I'm pummelling his chest –

Aeneas, *answer me*!

Curse

If, as you claim, Italy *is* your destined home,
may you be so old, so puckered and so pickled
by your years at sea that your Italian bride
will be appalled and only share your bed because
she thinks she must. Yes – see how *you* would like
a spouse incapable of love, so rigid in their duty!

Visitation
(iii)

Each night now the creature perches at my head,
scraping its talons through my hair until I reach the precipice
of sleep and then – just as a bird will pause
and cock its head and listen to the tremor
of the worm beneath its feet – it strikes,
and plucks a thought out, squirming, from my ear.
All night it delves and dangles them in front of me:

Aeneas does not love me.
My love is not enough to keep him here.
This selfishness will cost my city and its people dear.

Plea

Aeneas, though you will not pity me,
will you not – at least – pity your son?
What has Ascanius known but war
and strife, a life forever on the run?
After years of lurching through the waves,
now, just as the winds are stirring up the seas
to storms, you would plunge him back into
their midst to chase some distant, hostile shore?

Your ships are scarcely seaworthy!
Bent on secrecy and speed, you chose
the flimsiest of trees to fell and your repairs
are barely worth the name. Those masts and oars
will shatter at the merest touch of these rough
winter swells. Your fleet will be adrift.

Even if, against all odds, you make it safely
to another foreign coast: what then?
Iarbas did not run me from his shores because
he looked at me, a woman, and saw frailty.
But you, my love, would meet with far worse than
detention, doubt, constraint; spears would be trained
on you the very moment you set foot on land.
Even with your right hand raised in peace
you would be deemed a threat. Can you not see
how you condemn yourself, your men, Ascanius,
to death? Or do you hope to meet another Dido?
Do not waste your breath praying for that.

The gods, in whom you place such faith, are fickle.
Remember the fates of Priam, Laocoön, Cassandra.
Think of Sychaeus: no one could be more devout,
and yet the gods stood idle as my brother
stained their holy ground with high priest's blood.

Oh, Aeneas, if you will not stay,
at least delay the day of your departure.
Wait for spring, and when the days grow long again,
we can go back to the forest, you and I,
to pick the choicest trees, perform the proper rites
to send you safely on your way to foreign climes.
I beg you, do not steal away like this.
Like the winter winds I, too, will relent,
I promise you – just give me time.

Curse

A curse upon your famed right hand.
May it notch your arrows slant, send spears
askance, make any pledge as worthless as
a handprint in the sand, blank within the blink
of the next wave, and when you lie awake,
aching with the thought of me, then may you
chafe and strafe to no avail, no relief:
your false right hand will bring you only grief.

Threat

Why do you flee from me?
Am I really such a monster?
Perhaps you wonder how much
of Pygmalion there is in me.
Persist in leaving: we shall see.

Picture it: you are kneeling at your shrine,
hands raised, praying to your household gods
to grant you favourable winds, bright skies,
strong oars, no storms to blow you off
your course, when – how can it be? – the tip
of a sword glides out of your belly.

Or do you imagine I am like the Greeks?
That I will slaughter your son and all your men,
set your women to interminable weaving and *you*
can make the purple dye, I think, spend the remainder
of your days elbow-deep in gory slime, repenting
that you ever thought to leave these shores. Yes,
yes, those rotting murex shells make an unearthly stink.

Or I could be more heinous still.
It would be all too easy – don't you think? –
to tempt Ascanius with the promise of some titbit,
and, once in the kitchens, how many angry, boiling pots
there are, how many mallets, skewers, hooks and blades.
What a feast would grace the table on the eve of your departure;
bright bone flashing through the tenderest joint of meat.
Do you think, my love, that you would recognise the taste?

Curse

Do you think we were the only fools to fall in love,
to set up home together? Look around!
See how many you will drag from new-found comfort,
the dozens you deny the chance to join, Tyrians
and Trojans all, in the safe embrace of Carthage’s walls.
Do you really think they care, as you, for Italy?
You ripper-up of homes, you harrier of weary bones!
If not in this port, then the next, may all the Trojan women
stake their claim to solid ground, refuse to leave dry land,
and, if you remain unmoved, let them become incensed:
may they take up arms and slash the rigging; tear the sails;
make torches of each oar and burn your precious ships to ash!

Visitation

(iv)

Dawn. The creature does not leave.
It quits its perch above my head
only to weigh upon my chest;
nestling between my breasts,
talons neatly tucked into its feathers,
                                        leering.
Heaving sobs do nothing to dislodge it
– worse: leathered wings extend,
barbed like a bat's, to hook around
my collarbones, breaking skin
and – there – all day I'm pinioned to the bed
as sister, servants, priestess come and go,
trying not to give shape to the thought
that, together, we are incubating.

– Dido no more.

ships desert these shores

readied in the bay, and – once his

to where that Trojan traitor's fleet lies

from the palace walls, hurling curses down

the city streets, hair in disarray; Dido railing

middle of the day; Dido, barefoot, wandering

far from that I am! Dido in her night gown in the

lost that night – *you might be Aphrodite* – but oh how

what's that dangling, caught up in the frame? The sandal

Now, what is left? Only the bed. Yes, burn that too. But wait,

the veil, the pearls, the stately robe, that gaudy diadem I never wore.

Cold comfort if he's taken those. Each gift that he bequeathed to me must go:

cape and cloak – all for the fire. But where are the pair of robes I wove for him?

And am *I* to be, thus, cast off? His clothes next: every belt and buckle, every tunic,

fragments of a crab's old shell – discarded before he scuttled, soft-bellied, to the docks.

Pyre His sword? Take it. The helmet and the armour too, each greave and breastplate like the

Curse

Seaweed, stretched out dry and gold
and languorous above the tidemark:
stir yourself! Grow sleek and strong
and verdant and the moment Trojan oars
break water, coil your glistening
strands around them, bind them fast.

Clouds, conspire to form a fog so dense
that one side of a ship cannot be perceived
from the other. Hover.

Rocks, leave your pale green sleep
upon the sea-bed, raise jagged teeth
across the bay and lay in wait to fracture
unsuspecting keels, splinter hulls.

And if the fleet unfurls its sails,
then gull and osprey, cormorant and tern,
petrel, purple heron and flamingo,
I call on you to gather, shrieking,
round the ships and tear those sails to shreds!

Armoured creatures of the sea, you limpets,
barnacles and clams, beloved murex,
let my call resound within your shells:
fasten in a swarm on every hull,
let your weight bring each ship low.

Winds, you must lend your aid as well;
contort yourselves into a gale
and agitate the waves to such a tumult
that they spit Aeneas back onto my shores.

Then, as night begins to fall,

I'll take a walk out past the harbour wall
to catch the sun's last rays.
And as for the body splayed upon the beach
– alive or dead? – I'll pay no heed:
it shall be swept away by morning.

Final Hours

Night delivers a brisk salt breeze and clarity.
I wait until the palace sleeps, then walk barefoot
to the tower where I ordered that the pyre be raised.

Lights are swaying in the harbour, far below.
So, Aeneas keeps, already, to his ships?
Why do I deceive myself? Despite all
that we once held dear, he really means to go.

~

It seems that I have ruptured
all the confines that this world allotted me;
escaping first from Tyre, then from the boundless sea,
the ox-hide trap Iarbas set, the suitors' constant circling.
But now I cannot see beyond this bed, this hoard
of empty relics: his tangled clothes, the knot of jewels,
his sword.

~

How best – ?
Sychaeus, I think of you as you used
to stand, on holy days, before the altar;
how you would lay your hand on whichever
bird or beast was to be sacrificed,
then, with one clean cut, dispatch it
with the minimum of thrashing.

If only I could sleep, Sychaeus,
would you walk into my dream and press
a fingertip to where the sword should pierce?

~

The sea is a blade drawn tenderly all night
against the whetstone of the sky, until dawn
runs a finger's breadth of light along its edge,
spills red. There, will that be sharp enough?

~

Somewhere inland, a bird traps
the first bead of daylight in its beak,
swallows it down deep, and then,
with open throat, releases it.

~

Light grows, and I can just make out a smudge
as a fleet of ships loosens itself from the harbour.

So, this is it. He is gone. He is gone.
The wretch I offered refuge leaves me with none.
But, Aeneas, know today you set a woeful precedent:
there shall always be, for generations hence,
ill-fated traffic between your shore and mine.

Just as a wave begins to form far out at sea,
accumulating weight and speed and force,
hurrying toward some unseen shore until,
when it has reached its greatest height,
the sea floor shifts beneath it and it finds
such weight cannot be borne and it must fall,
collapsing with a spray of iridescence,

so she curls over her wound.

Womenting

Anna wakes to the sound of distant shrieks.
What makes the gulls so loud today?
Perhaps some fisherman has hauled
an early catch but spilled it on the quay.
What a din! If they carry on like this,
they'll wake –

Elissa!

– she is on her feet,
running through the palace at full pelt,
the wailing growing louder as she draws
toward the tower, and she is almost there now,
leaps the final stair, and there is Barce,
Sychaeus's old nurse, tearing at her hair;
a dozen other women splintering the air
with screams and beating at their chests,
breasts bared, and there atop the pyre,
her sister – strange and still and crumpled.

She scrambles up and only then she sees the sword;
the spreading tide of red over Elissa's chest;
the gaping wound, the lips of which say *dead dead dead*.
She puts a hand over its mouth and tries to stem
the flow, though she knows it is too late;
nothing to do but hold her sister's head as breaths
slow to a judder, lips blubber with blood.

A bowl of water is passed up with shaking hands.
Anna takes her sister's palms, washing each thumb
and finger one by one, gently circling each nail,
then up to wrists and forearms, shoulders, neck;
rinsing the well of blood between the collarbones
and the worst of the black gore caught in the tendrils
of her hair; and it is as she wipes Elissa's brow
– so soft, so tender now – she sees the tautened

muscles of her sister's jaw go slack.

What to say? What words of comfort, grief, rebuke?
She parts her lips to speak but what emerges
is a howl, a wordless chain of vowels
which with the other women's voices swells
to one resounding cry that ripples through
the city streets, each court and alleyway;
rolling over harbour walls and out across the bay.

Breath spent, the wail subsides as one by one
the women sway; come to. Anna finds
words have returned. She calls for oil and torches.
There is nothing more to do.

FLAMMA

Torch meets pyre, flame oil, and the cremation
starts with a hiss, a whine, a roaring haze
of heat as flames rush to find new airways.
Plumes of smoke rise like a murmuration
of strange birds, a whirling congregation
unfurling word of Dido's final days.
Out on the waves, the Trojans spy the blaze
and fear the cause of such a conflagration.
Aeneas bids them hold their course and bear
due east, so each man lends his shoulder
swiftly to the oar, but the women stare
and grieve until the pyre seems just a speck,
some wayward ember carried through the air
to sear into their breast and there to smoulder.

~

Glossary

Latin and Phoenician terms

Byrsa: ox hide; also, the citadel of Carthage.

Dextra: the right hand; a pledge or contract.

Fama: news, tidings; a malicious report, slander; rumour; fame, glory, renown.

Flamma: a flame; fire or flame as a destructive agency; a burning passion.

Ruere: to rush; to rush headlong, uncontrollably; to run wild; to rush blindly on; to tumble down, fall, collapse;

A Guide to Phoenician Numerals (to be read from right to left)

Number	Composition
1	1
2	1 + 1
3	1 + 1 + 1
4	1 + 1 + 1 + 1
5	3 + 2
6	3 + 3
7	3 + 3 + 1
8	3 + 3 + 2
9	3 + 3 + 3
10	10
11	10 + 1
20	20

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Appendix

(A)

The end of Book I of the *Eneados* and the start of Book II.

Eneados I.xii

Eneas first excusys hym, and syne
Addressis to reherß Troys rewyne. [chapter heading]

Thai cessit all atanys incontinent
With mouthis cloß and vissage takand tent.
Prince Eneas, from the hie bed, with that,
Into hys sege ryall quhar he sat,
Begouth and sayd, "Thi desyre, lady, is 5
Renewing of ontellabill sorow, I wyß,
To schaw how Grekis dyd spulȝe and distroy
The gret rycheß and lamentabill realm of Troy,
And huge mysery quhilk I thar beheld
(Quharof myself a gret part beyr and feld) 10
Quhat Myrmydon or Gregion Dolopes
Or knycht wageor to cruel Vlixes –
Sik materis to reherß or ȝit to heir,
Mycht thame conteyn fra weping mony a teir?
And now the hevin ourquhelmys the donk nycht, 15
Quhen the declynyng of the sternys brycht
To sleip and rest perswadis our appetite.
Bot sen thou hast sic plesour and delyte
To knaw our chancis and fal of Troy in weyr,
And schortly the last end tharof wald heir, 20
Albeit my spreit abhorris and doith gryß
Tharon forto remembir, and oftsyß
Murnand eschewis tharfra with gret dyseyß,
Ȝit than I sal begyn ȝow forto pleyß."

II.i

Quhou the Gerkis withdrew thame of the raid,
And of the mekill subtile horß thai maid. [chapter heading]

"The Grekis chiftanys, irkit of the weir
By past or than samony langsum ȝeir,
And oft rebutyt by fatale destany,
Ane huge horß, lyke ane gret hil, in hy
Craftely thai wrocht in wirschip of Pallas 5

(Of sawyn beche the ribbis forgyt was)
Fenȝeand ane oblacioune, as it had be
For prosper returning hame in thar cuntre –
The voce this wyß throu owt the cite woyk...

(B)

Tree similes of Virgil and Douglas in Books 2 and 4

"Tum vero omne mihi visum considere in ignis
Ilium et ex imo verti Neptunia Troia;
ac veluti summis antiquam in montibus ornum
cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus instant
eruere agricolae certatim; illa usque minatur
et tremefacta comam concusso vertice nutat,
volneribus donec paulatim evicta supremum
congemuit traxitque iugis avolsa ruinam..."

(*Aeneid*, 2.624-631)

"And tho beheld I al the cite myschevit,
Fayr Illion all fall in gledis down,
And, fra the soyll, gret Troy, Neptunus town,
Ourtumlyt to the grond – so as ȝe se
The lauboreris into the montanys hie
With steil axsis byssely hak and hew
A mekil ayk that mony ȝeir thar grew;
The tre branglis bostyng to the fall,
With top trymlyng, and branchis schakand all;
Quhil finaly it get the lattyr straik,
Than with a rair down duschis the mekil aik,
And with his fard brekis down bewis about."

(*Eneados*, II.x.112-123)

cf.

ac velut annoso validam cum robore quercum
Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc
eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae
consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;
ipsa haeret scopulis et, quantum vertice ad auras
aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit:

haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;
mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes.

(*Aeneid,* 4.441-449)

And lyke as quhen the ancyant aik tre,
With hys byg schank, by north wynd oft we se
Is ombeset, to bet hym down and ourthraw,
Now heir, now thar, with the fell blastis blaw,
The swouchand byr quhisaland amang the granys,
So that the hyast branchys, al atanys,
Thar croppys bowis towart the erth als tyte,
Quhen with the dynt the maister schank is smyte;
And, netheles, the ilk tre, fixit fast,
Stikkis to the rochis, not doun bet with the blast:
For quhy? als far as his crop heich on breid
Strekis in the ayr, als far hys rute doith spreid
Deip vndir erth, towart the hell adoun –
The sammyn wyß was this gentil baroun,
Now heir, now thar, with wordis ombeset,
And in his stout breist, ful of thochtis het,
Of reuth and amouris felt the perturbance.
But euer his mynd stude ferm, for ony chance
Onmovyt, quhar hys fyrst purpoß was set,
That al for nocht the teris war furthȝet.

(*Eneados*, IV.viii.69-88)