

# ON GREEK AND LATIN NAMES IN EARLY MODERN IRISH SYLLABIC VERSE

## ABSTRACT

The present article offers an overview of Classical personal and place-names found in Early Modern Irish syllabic verse. The relative frequency of these names is discussed, and names are subjected to metrical analysis. Two categories of names are distinguished: those borrowed in Middle Irish or earlier, characterized by the loss of final syllables and other types of assimilation, and later borrowings, in which the Latin spelling is largely preserved. The evidence suggests that poets pronounced Latin words in a manner consistent with the evidence of later medieval Latin writing from Ireland, and that the influence of French and English pronunciation of Latin was minimal. Features of contemporary Irish pronunciation of Latin, especially the assibilation of <c> and antepenultimate or penultimate stress, are applied even to Classical names borrowed from Middle or Early Modern Irish sources. An appendix lists all of the poems discussed, and identifies the Classical content within each poem.

## INTRODUCTION

As part of an ongoing research project on Classical learning in Ireland, the author has been gathering references to Classical authors, texts, personages, and sites in Irish-language literature of the period c. 1500–1700.<sup>1</sup> The current discussion represents an overview of such persons and sites that are mentioned by name in Early Modern Irish syllabic poetry. The aims of this article are threefold: firstly, provides a reference to Classical personal and place-names that are mentioned in early modern syllabic verse, as well as in which poems. Secondly, it gives an account of the relative frequency at which various Classical persons and sites are mentioned by name within this poetic corpus. Finally, the spelling of these names and any metrical constraints provides information about the pronunciation (or pronunciations) of Greek and Latin names in Irish syllabic verse of the early modern period. Following a survey of the inflexion and phonological features of individual names, the discussion will turn to the ongoing influence of Middle Irish adaptations of Classical narratives on Early Modern poetry, historical trends in the translation of Greek and Latin proper names into Irish, and the evidence these names provide for the pronunciation of Latin among Irish-speaking literati in the Early Modern period.

## METHODOLOGY

Poems were initially identified through the use of Katharine Simms' Bardic Poetry Database, hosted by the School of Celtic Studies at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. All poems marked as containing the motif 774 ('Classical allusions') or a Classical apologue type (i.e. apologue classes 400–46) were selected for analysis.<sup>2</sup> Further poems were identified by consulting Liam Ó Caithnia's book *Apalóga na bhFilí 1200–1650* and Simms' chapter 'Foreign apologues in bardic poetry', as well as searching the indices of proper names in published collections that contained poems identified by searching the Database.<sup>3</sup> Once the relevant poems had been identified, the author read

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<sup>1</sup> This research was completed as part of the ongoing project Classical Influences and Irish Culture (CLIC), hosted at Aarhus University and funded by the European Research Council (Horizon 2020 grant no. 818366).

The term 'Classical' is somewhat ambiguous in this context, as the literary dialect of Irish syllabic poetry of the period roughly 1200–1650 is frequently referred to as 'Classical Irish' or 'Gaeilge Chlasaiceach'. For the purposes of the present discussion, following the project's terminology, the term 'Classical' is used exclusively in reference to Greek and Latin antiquity, while the Irish-language poetry is referred to as Bardic poetry or simply as Irish syllabic verse.

<sup>2</sup> bardic.celt.dias.ie (accessed between September and November 2020).

<sup>3</sup> Liam P. Ó Caithnia, *Apalóga na bhFilí 1200–1650* (Dublin, 1984), 123–39; Katharine Simms, 'Foreign apologues in bardic poetry', in Seán Duffy and Susan Foran (eds), *The English Isles: Cultural Transmission and Political Conflict in Britain and Ireland, 1100–1500* (Dublin, 2013), 139–50, at 148–9. The poem *A Ghearóid, Déana mo Dháil*, composed by Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh in the fourteenth century, was not included as, although Simms states that Ó Dálaigh

through each, identifying the names of any persons or sites associated with Classical tradition, and noted the spellings of the names, any alternate readings provided by the editor, and any metrical constraints upon the names. It was decided to exclude any poems in accentual metres, as well as names that occurred in the prose sections of *crosántacht* or the accentual *ceangal* of mainly syllabic poems, from the current study, as such forms were subject to different sets of metrical constraints (or none at all in the case of prose passages).

Whenever possible, published editions of the poems were consulted. For unedited poems, published transcriptions such as *A Bardic Miscellany* (hereafter *ABM*) were used. It is noted in the appendix whenever the author was unable to access a published version of a poem and made use of the text or transcription available in the Bardic Poetry Database. Three unedited poems in syllabic metres, *Geall re Flaitheas Fuair Mé*, *Irial Codhnach Chloinne hIr*, and *Truagh a Dhia an Roinn do Rinnis*, are identified as containing Classical allusions, but could not be consulted as no transcript was available and, on account of ongoing travel restrictions, the author was unable to visit the relevant libraries at time of writing to consult the manuscripts. A fourth unedited poem, *Maith do chuid a charbaid mhaoil*, survives in the Book of the Dean of Lismore. E.C. Quiggin's transcription of the poem was consulted and the poem is included in the appendix but, because of the Middle Scots-based orthography of that manuscript, the names contained in this poem were not subject to metrical analysis as the necessary editorial work was beyond the scope of the project.<sup>4</sup>

In total, 104 poems were consulted; with the exception of four poems composed in Scotland and six composed on the Continent by Irish poets, almost all were likely to have been composed in Ireland. Of these poems, seven could be dated to the fifteenth century or earlier, twenty-six to the sixteenth century, fifty-five to the seventeenth century, four to the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and three to the beginning of the eighteenth. A further nine poems were not dated.<sup>5</sup> For the sake of space, each poem has been assigned an abbreviated title; these abbreviations are expanded in an appendix where a summary of the Classical content is given for each poem. Eighty-nine unique Classical names were found which, for ease of reference, are divided into the following categories: names of divinities, names of locations, names associated with the Trojan war, names associated with Republican and Imperial Rome, and other names. The names in each category are discussed in alphabetical order, followed by a table showing the relative frequency with which these names appear.<sup>6</sup> Names are listed in their Latin forms; the English form of a name is also given if it is significantly different. Any attested Old and Middle Irish versions are also included in the discussion of each name.

The treatment of certain common place-names, namely Greece, Rome, Italy, Europe, Africa, and Asia requires some comment. Information on the frequency with which these places are mentioned in connection with antiquity is included, but no attempt has been made to subject these names to metrical analysis other than noting unusual spellings that have been observed. As these names are much more broadly attested in the corpus of Bardic poetry, often in reference to the

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'disguises an originally classical tale as an Irish legend' (Simms, 'Foreign apologues', 142), the poem contains no Classical names.

<sup>4</sup> E. C. Quiggin, *Poems from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Cambridge, 1937), 68–9.

<sup>5</sup> Because these poems are anonymous, not addressed to identifiable persons, and deal with relatively common experiences and themes such as love and changing fortune, rather than particular historical events, it is difficult to assign specific dates. Linguistic dating is difficult because of the conservative literary dialect used in syllabic verse. In many cases, a *terminus ante quem* of the sixteenth or seventeenth century is provided by the earliest manuscript witness, but in general it is impossible to assign a date more precise than that of the later middle ages or early modern period to these poems.

<sup>6</sup> Roman personal names are alphabeticized according to the first *cognomen*, unless the person in question does not have a *cognomen*, or if they are better known by a form of their *nomen*; thus, Publius Ovidius Naso, commonly known as Ovid, is listed under <o>.

contemporary world of the poet, any attempt to systematically analyse their form would have involved examining large amounts of poetry that had no real connection to Classical tradition; moreover, the form and inflection of these names are already documented in the *Dictionary of the Irish Language*.<sup>7</sup> References to the Greek origins of the Irish or of specific Irish families were included when encountered, but the author did not attempt to track down all instances of phrases such as *Gaoidheal nGréag* ‘Grecian Gaels’.<sup>8</sup>

#### NAMES OF DIVINITIES

##### *Apollō, -ōnis*

Nominative *Apoló* in *I Sagsaibh*. The form is trisyllabic and forms internal rhyme with *mó* (37*d*), which confirms both long final <ó> and stress on the last syllable. As discussed below, final stress may indicate the influence of a French pronunciation of this name, if it is not just poetic license.<sup>9</sup> The Middle Irish form of this name is indeclinable *Apail* or *Apoill* (*TTroí* l. 349 *et passim*, *Cath Catharda* ll. 3237-46 *et passim*, *Im. Aen* ll. 91-99 *et passim* and *TTebe* l. 34 *et passim*). Nominative *Apoill* is attested in Old Irish (Sg. 83.25).

##### *Bacchus*

Nominative *Bachus* in *Iaruim bhur mBeannoct*. The word is disyllabic, unrhymed, and does not participate in alliteration.

##### *Calliopē, -ēs*

Nominative *Calliope* in *‘Thrionóid Naomhtha*. The word is four syllables long, indicating hiatus, and unrhymed. There is possible alliteration with *iuil* (17*a*), which is consistent with the antepenultimate stress that one would expect from the Latin form (*Call-iope*), as well as with penultimate stress (*Calli-ope*). This is, however, inconclusive, as the poem is in an *óglachas* and not every line features metrical alliteration.

##### *Cerēs, -eris*

Nominative *Seireis* in *Mór Theasda* (emended from the manuscript spelling *Ceireis*) and genitive *Séiréis* in *I Sagsaibh*. The name is disyllabic in both poems. In *I Sagsaibh* a long vowel in the final syllable is confirmed by rhyme with *éis* (38*ab*). Initial <s> is confirmed by alliteration in both poems.

##### *Clīō, -ūs*

Dative *Chlío* in *‘Thrionóid Naomhtha*; lenition is motivated by the preceding preposition *ó*. The name is disyllabic, with hiatus between <í> and <o>, unrhymed, and does not participate in alliteration.

##### *Cupīdō, -inis (Cupid)*

Nominative *Cúip-hioda*, genitive *Cúipioda* and *Cúipeada* in *Dairt Sonn*. These forms are all trisyllabic, and initial stress is indicated for the latter two forms by the rhymes *seada* : *Cúipioda*

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<sup>7</sup> *eDIL* s.v. *Afraic, Assia, Eóraip, Gréc, grécach, Róm, rómánach*.

<sup>8</sup> Many readers will no doubt recall the line ‘an cnú do chnuas Ghaidheal nGréag’ ‘the nut of the nut-cluster of the Grecian Gaels’ from Brian Ó Ruairc’s inauguration ode (*Ir. Syll. Poetry*, 23 l. 4). See also *TDall* i, lix. In many cases, such phrases seem to have the quality of a cliché rather than a deliberate invocation of Classical tradition.

<sup>9</sup> See **PP**. While this poem contains no other examples of Classical names where stress falls on the final syllable, the poet does refer to his patron’s time in France q. 35.

(11ab) and *leaba* : *Cúipeada* (17ab), as well as alliteration with *chrios* (11b). On the other hand, the internal rhyme *Cúip-hioda* : *dioda* (9cd) indicates stress on the second syllable.

Alongside these trisyllabic forms, disyllabic and unrhymed *Cúipid* appears in the nominative (6a) followed by stressed *aobhdha*. While the final unstressed short vowel of a stressed word can be elided in contemporary accentual poetry, it is not permitted in *dán díreach*.<sup>10</sup> Since the poem does not contain any examples of this type of elision, it should be concluded that the poet felt at liberty to alternate not only between forms with stress on the first and second syllable, but also between disyllabic and trisyllabic forms.

Curiously, the poet also refers to Cupid as a *baindia* ‘goddess’ and uses feminine pronouns to refer to Cupid throughout the poem.<sup>11</sup> This identification of Cupid as a goddess may have resulted from conflation with Venus, a variant spelling of Latin *Cupīdō* with final *-a*, or both of these factors.<sup>12</sup>

### *Diāna*

Nominative and dative *D(h)iana* in *Gabh mo Shuirghe*. Both examples are trisyllabic, indicating hiatus between <i> and <a>, and unrhymed. Initial stress is confirmed by alliteration with *ndearcadh* (25a) and *dheóidh* (26a). The Middle Irish versions of this name are indeclinable *Dean* (*TTebe* l. 3852 *et passim*) and nominative *Deáne* (*TTroí* l. 483).

### *Euterpē, -ēs*

Nominative *Euterpe* in *‘Thríonóid Naomhtha*. The name is trisyllabic and unrhymed. Alliteration with *easbaidh* and *eoil* (15a) is consistent with both initial stress and the penultimate stress. This is, however, inconclusive: not only are these two words sufficient to meet the requirement for alliteration among themselves, but the poem is in an *óglachas* and not every line features metrical alliteration.

### *Juppiter, Jovis*

Genitive *Ióib* in *Seanóir Cuilg*, as part of Hercules’ patronymic. The name is disyllabic, and rhyme with *óig* (14ab, 25ab) indicates hiatus: *I-óib*. This hiatus is completely ahistorical, and undoubtedly was introduced for metrical purposes. The Middle Irish version of this name is indeclinable *Ioib* or *Ióib* (*TTroí* l. 207 *et passim*; *Cath Catharda* l. 421 *et passim*; *Im. Aen.* 1. 210 *et passim*; *TTebe* l. 334 *et passim*), along with nominative *Iob* (*TTebe* ll. 12, 3654), presumably through re-analysis of *Ioib* as an o-stem genitive. Accusative *Ioib* is attested in Old Irish (Sg. 220.23). The late fifteenth-century *Stair Ercuil* has genitive and dative *Ióib* (ll. 2039, 2460) alongside *Iubiter* (ll. 9-76 *et passim*).

### *Mars, Martis*

Nominative *Mars* in *I Sagsaibh* and *A Bhláith*; genitive *Marsa* in *Mór Theasda*. The latter form is confirmed by rhyme with *obar-sa* (9cd). The Middle Irish version of this name is indeclinable *Mairt* (*Cath Catharda* l. 719 *et passim*; *TTebe* ll. 759-762 *et passim*).

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<sup>10</sup> E.g. the first line of *An Síogaí Rómhánach*, ‘innisim fis is ní fis bréige í’. Cecile O’Rahilly (ed.), *Five Seventeenth-Century Political Poems* (Dublin, 1952), 17.

<sup>11</sup> Leading the poem’s editor to remark that ‘[the poet’s] knowledge of Classical mythology is rather weak’. Lambert McKenna (ed.), ‘Poem to O Baoghill’, *The Irish Monthly* 55 (1927), 190–2, at 190.

<sup>12</sup> For the substitution of final long or short *-o* with *-a* in Hiberno-Latin, see Pádraig A. Breatnach, ‘The Pronunciation of Latin in medieval Ireland’, in Sigfrid Krämer and Michael Bernhard (eds), *Scire litteras: Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben* (München, 1988), 59–71, at 62.

### *Melpomenē, -ēs*

Nominative *Melpomene* in *‘Thríonóid Naomhtha*. The form is four syllables long, unrhymed, and does not take part in alliteration.

### *Minerva*

Dative *Mhínerva* in *Gabh mo Shuirghe*. The form is trisyllabic, unrhymed, and does not take part in alliteration; vowel length and the location of stress are therefore impossible to determine. Several Middle Irish spellings are attested: *Minerua* (*TTroí* l. 346), *Minerba* (l. 358, *Cath Cathardha* l. 4, 469, 474, 506), *Meneirb* (ll. 351, 379), *Menerbe* (ll. 1889, 1895), and *Menerba* (*Cath Catharda* ll. 467-470, *et passim*).

### *Polyhymnia*

Nominative *Polyhymnia* in *‘Thríonóid Naomhtha*. The form is five syllables long and unrhymed. The line contains two alliterating words beginning in <sh> followed by a vowel: ‘Polyhymnia sháimh, shuairc.’ If stress fell on the antepenultimate syllable of this name and the medial <h> was pronounced, this would create a line with three stressed syllables beginning with /h/ followed by a vowel. While this is by no means *uaim* as employed in strict syllabic poetry, considering the fact that the poet was not a professional and the relatively late date of composition, this may have been a deliberate effect.

### *Sāturnus (Saturn)*

Nominative *Saturn*, *Satornn* in *Fan Ráith* and *Ní Bean*; genitive *Satuirnn*, *Sadóirnn*, *Sáduirn*, *Sádairn* in *Fan Ráith*, *Seanóir Cuilg*, and *Mór Iongabháil*. The length of the first vowel is not confirmed by rhyme. A short vowel in the second syllable and a final palatal consonant cluster in the genitive are confirmed by the rhymes *stoirm* : *Sadóirnn* (*Fan Ráith* 27*ab*), *ainm* : *Sádairn* (*Mór Iongabháil* 15*ab*), and *ghairbh* : *Sáduirn* (*Seanóir Cuilg* 29*ab*). Genitive *Saturn* appears in *Ní Bean* (28*a*), although the final non-palatal consonant cluster is not confirmed by rhyme.

The Middle Irish version of this name is *Saturn(n)*, genitive *Satuirn(n)*, found in *Cath Catharda* ll. 4176, 4254; and *TTebe* l. 335 *et passim*. The genitive spelling *Sáturind* also appears at *TTroí* ll. 349, 360-1, perhaps as a mistake for *Sátuirnd*. *Sadurn*, genitive *Saduirn(n)* appears in *Stair Ercuil* l. 2 *et passim*.

### *Terpsichorē, -ēs*

Nominative *Terpsichore* in *‘Thríonóid Naomhtha*. The name is four syllables long, unrhymed, and does not participate in alliteration.

### *Thalīa*

Nominative *Talia* in *‘Thríonóid Naomhtha* and accusative *Talía* in *Glaine no Cách*. In *Thríonóid Naomhtha*, the name is trisyllabic and unrhymed, indicating hiatus: *Tali-a*. In *Glaine no Cách*, however, the name is dysllabic, and rhyme with *síar* (3*ab*) indicates final <ia> is a diphthong. Neither form participates in alliteration.

### *Ūrania*

Nominative *Urania* in *Thríonóid Naomhtha*. The name is trisyllabic, indicating that final <ia> has the value of a diphthong. It is unrhymed and does not participate in alliteration.

### *Venus, -eris*

Nominative *Bhénus* in *Dá Ghrádh* and *Uenir* in *Gabh mo Shuirghe*. Both examples are disyllabic and unrhymed. *Bhénus* alliterates with *bandia* (*Dá ghrádh* 31a). The Middle Irish version of this name is indeclinable *Uenir* or *Uénir* (*TTroí* ll. 350 *et passim*; *Cath Catharda* ll. 1033-4; *TTebe* ll. 762 *et passim*; *Im. Aen.* ll. 295 *et passim*).

#### *Vulcānus* (*Vulcan*)

Accusative *Bolcán* in *Do Bronnadh* and genitive *Bholcáin* in *Do Roinneadh*. Vowel length and palatal final consonant in the genitive are confirmed by the rhymes *Bolcán* : *corpán* (*Do Bronnadh* 4cd) and *láimh* : *Bholcáin* (*Do Roinneadh* 34ab). Initial <b> is confirmed by alliteration with *mbuaidh* (*Do bronnadh* 4c).

The Middle Irish versions of this name are indeclinable *Ulcáin* (*TTroí* ll. 2, 46, 1009, 1012) along with *Ulcan*, genitive *Ulcaín* (*TTebe* l. 759 *et passim*; *Im. Aen.* l. 1953), and genitive *Olcáin* (*Luid Iasón* 14a).<sup>13</sup> Dative *Ulcáin* is attested in Old Irish (Sg. 117.30). Nominative *Bolcán* is also found in the sixteenth-century Irish translation of *Visio Tnugdali* (*Aisl. Tund.* § 2).

<i>Name</i>	<i># of poems mentioned in</i>	<i># of times mentioned</i>
Saturnus	4	8
Mars	3	3
Ceres	2	2
Thalia	2	2
Venus	2	2
Vulcanus	2	2
Cupido	1	4
Diana	1	2
Jupiter	1	2
Apollo	1	1
Bacchus	1	1
Calliope	1	1
Clio	1	1
Euterpe	1	1
Melpomene	1	1
Minerva	1	1
Polyhymnia	1	1
Terpsichore	1	1
Urania	1	1

*Table 1. Names of divinities.*

## NAMES OF LOCATIONS

#### *Africa*

Old Irish *Afraic(c)*, Modern Irish *Afraic* or *Aifric*.<sup>14</sup> Mentioned in *Tógaibh Eadrad* as the home of Hippocrates' daughter, and in *A Thoirhealbhaigh* as the site of Pompey's exile. The former poem

<sup>13</sup> Indeclinable *Ulcáin* is likely the older of these two forms, with *Ulcan* arising from a re-analysis of genitive forms ending in a palatal consonant. For the change from <ul> to <ol>, see Breatnach, 'The pronunciation of Latin', 62.

<sup>14</sup> While *An Afraic* is the form in contemporary use, Patrick Dinneen's dictionary includes both *Aifric* and *Afraic* as acceptable variants (*FGB* s.v. *Aifric*). Spellings with palatal and non-palatal <fr> are found interchangeably in the works of Geoffrey Keating: e.g. *Afraic* at *FFÉ* 136, 182; *Aif(f)ric* at *FFÉ* 178, 396, *TBB* ll. 5488, 5614.

contains a final <g> confirmed by rhyme: dative *tSeanafraig* : *tealachbhuig* (19cd). The author has been unable to find any other spellings of this word with final <g>; this form may have its origins in a misunderstanding of final <c> as representing /g/, or it may simply represent poetic license.

### *Āsia*

Middle and Early Modern Irish *Aissia*. Appears in *Mór an Lucht* as a reference, *totum pro parte*, to Troy.

### *Athēnae (Athens)*

Dative *Athens* and *Athéns* in *D’Oilbhéarus*; genitive *Aitéan*, *Aitéin*, and *Aithéin* in *Malairt Chrotha*, genitive plural *nAtens* in *Ní Bean*. Initial stress, long <é>, and both palatal and non-palatal final <n> in *Malairt Chrotha* are all confirmed by the rhymes *sgéal* : *Aitéan* (25ab), *féin* : *Aithéin* (27cd), and *séimh* : *Aitéin* (28cd). In *D’Oilbhéarus*, both examples are unrhymed; alliteration with other words beginning with a vowel suggests initial stress. In *Ní Bean* the form *nAtens* does not participate in rhyme or alliteration.

A trisyllabic form, genitive *Aitéanuín* (perhaps from genitive plural ἄθηνῶν *athēnōn*) also appears in *Ní Bean*. Vowel length, consonant quality, and initial stress are confirmed by rhyme with *fhēg[h]uin* (47c).

The four-syllable long adjective *Aitenenseis* (from Latin *Atheniensis* ‘Athenian’) appears in *Maith an Sealad*. Rhyme with *leis* (65ab) suggests penultimate stress, as in the Latin word from which it is borrowed. The only other example in this poem of a *rinn* : *airdrinn* rhyme where the second word is more than one syllable longer than the first is *leis* : *Uticenseis* (62ab), where the second word is also derived from a Latin adjective (*Uticensis* ‘Utican’), which also has penultimate stress. Alliteration between *Aitenenses* and *oir dheirc* is consistent with stress on either the first or the third syllable.

Both rhyme and spelling indicate that, at least for the two and three-syllable forms, the vowel of the second syllable was long <e>. Neither medial <t> nor <th> are confirmed by rhyme, but <t> is more frequent in spelling, and is therefore likely to have represented the actual pronunciation of the word. As word-final <ns> is extremely infrequent in Irish,<sup>15</sup> the spellings *At(h)ens* and *Athéns* may have been learned spellings on the part of scribes, and not indicative of the intended pronunciation.

Middle Irish *Athain*, genitive *Athaine* (*TTebe* ll.1590, 4850, 4870; *DIL* s.v. *Athain*;) seems unlikely to have given rise to any of these forms.<sup>16</sup> The disyllabic spellings with final <ns> indicate familiarity with either English *Athens* or French *Athènes*; familiarity the French pronunciation of the name could also explain the forms with medial <t>, the long vowel in the second syllable, and the lack of evidence for the pronunciation of the final <s>. One might expect forms borrowed from French to have stress on the final syllable; initial stress may be due to the influence of the Middle Irish forms.

### *Crētē / Crēta*

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<sup>15</sup> Noteworthy exceptions include the ‘learned borrowing’ *síans* (*eDIL* s.v. *síans*, *séns*) from Latin *sensus*, Modern Irish loan-words such as *puins* ‘punch’, and the present indicative relative ending *-nns* found in some dialects of Late Modern Irish.

<sup>16</sup> Tomás de Bhaldraithe’s dictionary gives ‘An Ataen’ as the Irish for Athens, although the author is unaware of any examples of this spelling being used prior to the publication of that dictionary. Tomás de Bhaldraithe, *English-Irish Dictionary* (Dublin, 1959), s.v. *Athens*.

Genitive *Créid* in *Seanóir Cuilg*; the name is monosyllabic and rhymes with *leithéid* (36*b*). Both long and short <e> are attested in the Middle Irish forms of this name: dative *Creit* (*TTroí* l. 615), genitive *Créit* (*Cath Catharda* l. 1549), genitive *Creid* (*Im. Aen.* ll. 98, 659-60, 3028).

#### *Eurōpa*

Old and Modern Irish *Eóraip*. Mentioned in *Fada Cóir* and *Teasda Éire* in reference to Caesar's military campaigns in Gaul. Neither poem contains the genitive form *Eóraipe* prescribed by the grammatical tracts (*IGT* II §13).

#### *Graecī, -ōrum* (Greece, Greeks)

Old Irish *Gréc, Grécach*; Modern Irish *Gréag, Gréagach*. References to Greece or the Greeks are more common than any other Classical reference in the poems surveyed. Such references are often in connection with the Trojan War, the Greek ancestry of the Gaels, or as a poetic epithet for Gaelic patrons (an association no doubt aided by the possibilities of alliteration with words such as *gaisgeadh, gasradh, and Gaoidheal*).

#### *Helicōn, -ōnis*

Dative *Helicon* in *Tabhair, a Laoigh*. The name is trisyllabic, unrhymed, and does not participate in alliteration.

#### *Ītalia*

Old Irish *Etáil*, Early Modern Irish *Iodáil(l), Eadáil(l)*. Mentioned in connection with apologues drawn from Roman history in *Fada Cóir, Rug Cosnamh, and Síon Choitcheann*.

#### *Lesbos*

Dative *Leisp* in *A Thoir dhealbhaigh*. It is monosyllabic, unrhymed, and alliterates with *loingis* (21*b*). The Middle Irish spellings *Leisp* and *Leisb* occur in the genitive and dative in *Cath Catharda* ll. 3376-84.

#### *Macedonia*

Dative *Maiseadóin* in *Easgar Gaoidhil*. It is three syllables long and unrhymed; initial stress is confirmed by alliteration with *mheadh* (8*a*). The Middle Irish nominative *Maicedóin* appears in *Scéla Alex.* ll. 125, 143; alongside the adjective *Maicedóndai* l. 24, *et passim*.

#### *Rōma, Rōmānus* (Rome, Romans)

Old Irish *Róm, Rómánach*, Modern Irish *Róimh, Rómhánach*. The majority of references to Rome in Classical Antiquity in the poems surveyed are to the events of Julius Caesar's civil war.

#### *Thēbae* (Thebes)

Dative *Téibh* and *Téib* in *Seanóir Cuilg*; genitive *Théibhe* in *T'aire Riot* (lenited following nominative plural *tréinfhir*), accusative *Thebes* in *D'Oilbhéarus*. Vowel length, consonant quality, and lenition of the final consonant in *Seanóir Cuilg* are confirmed by the rhymes *cédchéim* : *Gréigthéib* (13*cd*) and *bhéin* : *Théibh* (29*cd*). Genitive *Théibhe* is disyllabic and alliterates with *tréinfhir*; the length of the vowel of the first is not confirmed by rhyme with *dte* (*T'aire Riot* 9*ab*). *Thebes* in *D'Oilbhéarus* is disyllabic, unrhymed, and alliterates with *téid* (17*b*).

In Middle Irish, *Teib*, genitive *Teibe* has a short <e> (*TTebe* l. 2 *et passim*). Both long and short <e> are found in *Stair Ercuil* (ll. 23–6 *et passim*), which is the likely source for *Seanóir Cuilg*. The spelling *Thebes*, found in *D'Oilbhéarus*, suggests familiarity with English *Thebes* or



French *Thèbes*, although the poem's metre confirms that this word is two syllables long, whereas the English and French versions of the name are monosyllables. It is worth noting that the same poem also contains the spellings *Athens* and *Athéns*, which also show familiarity with English or French.

#### *Thessalia (Thessaly)*

Dative *Teasáill* in *A Thoirdealbhaigh*, *Rug Cosnamh* and *Teasda Éire*; *Teasaille* in *Teasda Éire*; genitive *Tesáille*, *Teasáille* in *Fuil Dálaigh*, *Rug Cosnamh*, *Teasda Éire*. Both long <á> and palatal <ll> are confirmed by the rhymes *láibh* : *Teasáill* (*A Thoirdealbhaigh* 17ab) and *sáille* : *Teasáille* (*Rug Cosnamh* 25cd). The genitive plural derived adjective *tTeasálda* 'Thessalian' occurs in *Dá Ghrádh*; long <á> and the non-palatal quality of the medial <ld> is confirmed by rhyme with *n-ágha* (17cd).<sup>17</sup> Initial stress is confirmed by numerous examples of alliteration.

The dative form *Teasaille* is unusual, and one would expect instead *Teasáill*. Metre confirms that this word is trisyllabic: 'don *Teasaille* na dtrácht glan' (*Teasda Éire* 45a), although vowel length in the second syllable is not confirmed by metre. The line is also unusual for the use of two definite articles in a single genitive construction.<sup>18</sup>

"Thessaly" in Middle Irish is *Tesail*, genitive *Tesaille* or *Tesáile* (*Cath Catharda* l. 377 *et passim*); the vowel of the second syllable is most often short <a>, and medial or final <l> is typically single.<sup>19</sup> The gemination of the <l> in Modern Irish, as well as the long vowel in the second syllable, may be by analogy with *Eadáill* 'Italy'. The derived adjective is *Tesalda* or *Tesálda* (*Cath Catharda* ll. 1555, 4208; *Scéla Alex.* l. 99; *TTebe* l. 2350; *TTroí* l. 592).

#### *Thrācia (Thrace)*

Tge feminine accusative singular adjective *dTraisigh* 'Thracian' appears in *Malairt Chrotha*. It is disyllabic, rhymes with *ngil* (34cd) and alliterates with *ttréidshleamhnain*. Rhyme and alliteration indicate initial stress; the length of the vowel in the first syllable is not confirmed by rhyme. The Middle Irish spelling is *Tracíae* (*TTroí* ll. 101, 565, 605-8, 791) or *Tracia* (*TTebe* l. 1835); the derived adjective is *Tracinda* (*Cath Catharda* l. 1543) or *Tragdai* (*Scéla Alex.* l. 74, 98).

#### *Trōia, Trōjānus (Troy, Trojans)*

The spelling *Traoi* is found in all grammatical cases. Rhyme with <aoi> or <í> is confirmed by numerous examples, e.g. *Traoi* : *aonlaoi* (*Do Thuit Meirge* 13cd), *Traoi* : *mbí* (*Forais Éiges* 9ab). Alliteration with other words beginning with <t> is frequent, especially with *toghail* 'destruction' and derived words, e.g. *Fonn Sligidh* 27c, *Frémh na Fíoruaisle* 30c, *Iad Féin* 28c, 32a, *Mo Thruaighe mar Atáid* 16a, *Mór an Lucht* 32c, *San Sbáinn* 24b, 29a, *Searc na Suadh* 25a, and *T'aire Riot* 3c.

Both disyllabic and trisyllabic spellings for "Trojan" are attested: genitive plural *tTroighian*, *tTró-ian*, *Troi-fhian*, and *Traoi-fhian* in *Bean do Lámhaigheadh*, *Fonn Sligidh*, and *Síon Choitcheann*; dative plural *Trói-fhianaibh* in *Bean do Lámhaigheadh*; nominative plural *Troigh[i]janaigh* in *Síon Choitcheann*, genitive plural *dTroigheanach* in *Sgol gan Oide*. Hiatus is frequently indicated with the use of medial <gh> or <fh>. The diphthong <ia> in the second

<sup>17</sup> Medial <ld> must be understood as <ll>, i.e. a single *consan teann* rather than a consonant cluster, for the purpose of this rhyme. For perfect rhyme between <ll> and <gh> after a long vowel, see Eoin Mac Cárthaigh, 'Cathain a dhéanfaidh consan teann comhardadh slán le consan éadrom?', *Ériu* 57 (2007), 61–6.

<sup>18</sup> 'Tabhair fé ndeara an t-alt fé dhó anso; do Th. is leis a bheadh coinne agam'. Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'Marbhna Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill (†1602)', *Éigse* 15 (1973), 31–50, at 49.

<sup>19</sup> *eDIL* s.v. *Tessail* cites an Old Irish nominative, *Tessail*, as well as the spelling *Tesail* with double <ll> from *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*.

syllable is confirmed by the rhymes *Troi-fhian* : *soi-mhiadh* (*Bean do Lámhaigheadh* 41cd), *thriall* : *tTroighian* (*Fonn Sligidh* 29cd), *Troigh[i]anaigh* : *goirmfhialaidh* (*Síon Choitcheann* 26cd). The vowel in the first syllable is written with and without a mark of length, but only short <o> is confirmed by rhyme with *soi-mhiadh* (*Bean do Lámhaigheadh* 41d). There is one instance of <aoi> in the first syllable, confirmed by rhyme with *braoin-iath* (*Bean do Lámhaigheadh* 43c); apparently a re-analysis of the ethnonym as a compound of *Traoi* ‘Troy’ and *fian* ‘warrior band’.<sup>20</sup>

Old and Middle Irish *Troí* ‘Troy’ is indeclinable.<sup>21</sup> Three derived adjectives are attested: *Troíandae*, *Troíandach*, and *Troían*.<sup>22</sup>

<i>Name</i>	<i># of poems mentioned in</i>	<i># of times mentioned</i>
Graeci	33	94
Troia	29	55
Roma	10	22
Thessalia	5	8
Athenae	4	8
Thebae	3	6
Italia	3	5
Europa	2	5
Africa	2	2
Asia	1	1
Crete	1	1
Helicon	1	1
Lesbos	1	1
Macedonia	1	1
Thracia	1	1

Table 2. Names of locations.

#### NAMES ASSOCIATED WITH TROY AND THE TROJAN WAR

##### *Achillēs*, -is

A variety of uninflected disyllabic forms is attested: *Aicil*, *Aicíl*, *Aichil*, *Aichíl*, *Aicill*, *Aichill*. Medial <ch> is more common than <c> and is confirmed by rhymes with *caithir* (*Ní Tráth* 39d, 42d) and *aonmhaithidh* (*Fagus Umhla* 21c). There is, however, one example of medial <c> confirmed by rhyme with *slaitshíd* (*Truagh Cor 7b*) and *uaithne* with *chleitín* (7c). Final <il>, <ill>, and <íl> are all confirmed by rhyme, e.g. *Aichil* : *caithir* (*Ní Tráth* 39cd, 42cd), *linn* : *Aicill*

<sup>20</sup> The scribe of *Bean do Lámhaigheadh* also a silent medial ‘fh’ in forms that have short ‘o’ in the first syllable. Michael Clarke discusses a similar etymological spelling used in the extended prologue to *Togail Troí* as well as in the twelfth-century poem *Clann ollaman uaisle Emma*. Michael Clarke, ‘The extended prologue of Togail Troí: from Adam to the wars of Troy’, *Ériu* 64 (2014), 23–106, at 97–8. See also Francis John Byrne, ‘Clann Ollaman Uaisle Emma’, *Studia Hibernica* 4 (1964), 54–94, at 61.

<sup>21</sup> *eDIL* s.v. *Troí*

<sup>22</sup> *eDIL* s.v. *Troíandae*, *Troíandach*, *Troían*. The –io stem *Troíandae* is the earliest attested, appearing in the St. Gall glosses (Sg. 86.15, 105.7, 125.25) and used throughout *TTroí*. *Troíandach* is used interchangeably with *Troíanda* in *Im. Aen.* *Troían* is attested in the Prologue found in later versions of *Togail Troí* as well as *Clann Ollaman uaisle Emma*. *eDIL* lists this latter word as an –ā stem, presumably on the basis of the etymologizing suggested by Clarke. See note

(*T'aire Ríot 4cd*), and *díbh* : *Aichíl* (*Easgar Gaoidhil 10cd*).<sup>23</sup> There are no metrically confirmed examples of more than one variation of this name being used in the same poem.

Another possible variant of the name appears in *Cliath Mhínighthe*, where the apologue relates how the druid 'Dorbha' had a pupil named 'Aithíl', whom he prevented from entering into his patrimony until the youth had proven himself by besting all of his fellow fosterlings in combat. Both vowels are confirmed by imperfect rhyme with *dhaithmhín* (18b), *gcathaoir* (21b), and *macaoimh* (22b). James Carney was unable to identify a source for the story, but suggested that 'Aithíl might be for *Aichíl*, a possible adaptation of the name Achilles'.<sup>24</sup> Ó Caithnia, on the other hand, suggested that this name might refer to Atlas.<sup>25</sup> Carney notes that this poem was one of six that the scribe claimed to have written down from the recitation of a blind man who had memorized them some years earlier.<sup>26</sup> If this is the case, the substitution of <th> for <ch> may be a consequence of this unusual transmission. Alternately, this substitution may be due to the similarity between <c> and <t> in many Irish hands.<sup>27</sup>

Two trisyllabic forms of the name are attested: nominative *Aicilés* in *Adhbhar* and nominative *Aichilis* in *I Sagsaibh*. The former is unrhymed, but initial stress and vowel length is confirmed for the latter form by rhyme with *flaithinis* (22cd).

The Middle Irish version of this name is indeclinable *Achil* or *Achíl* (*TTroí* l. 556 *et passim*; *Luid Iasón* 43c *et passim*); the spellings *Aichíl* (*TTroí* ll. 1010-12), *Acíl* (*TTroí* l. 1629), and *Achéil* (*Luid Iasón* 84b) are also attested. The double final <ll> in the Modern Irish spellings may be due to the influence of the Latin form of this name.

#### *Aenēas, -ae*

Nominative *Aonghus* in *Searc na Suadh*, dative *Aeneas* and genitive *Aengheas* in *Síon Choitchean*. All of these forms are disyllabic. There are no rhyming examples in *Síon Choitchean*, but both forms alliterate with other words beginning in a vowel, indicating initial stress. The *aicil*-rhyme *naomhus* : *Aonghus* (*Searc na Suadh* 25cd) confirms initial stress, vowel length and consonant quality. It would seem to indicate as well that the medial <gh> is merely cosmetic, but this is inconclusive as there are many other examples of *aicil* rhyme between a single consonant and a consonant cluster in this poem (e.g. *bhradabh* : *cabghal* 3cd, *ngníomhaibh* : *d'íodhnaibh* 12cd, *Mogha* : *foghla* 31cd).

The Middle Irish forms of the name are indeclinable *Áeneas* (*TTroí* l. 297 *et passim*); *Aenías* (*Luid Iasón* 33c *et passim*), or *Ænias*, genitive *Æniasa* (*Im. Aen.* l. 39 *et passim*). Modern Irish spellings with medial <gh> are no doubt due to the influence of the Irish name *Aonghus* (Old Irish *Óengus*).

#### *Agamemnōn, -onis*

Nominative *Áighmhionóin* in *Iad Féin*. The name is trisyllabic, and vowel length and consonant quality in the last two syllables are confirmed by rhyme with *tionóil* (33a). Initial stress is confirmed by this rhyme as well as alliteration with *oir dhreic* (33b). The length of the vowel in the first syllable is not confirmed by rhyme. The Middle Irish forms of this name are *Agmemnnón*, genitive *Agmemnóin* (*TTroí* l. 522 *et passim*; *Luid Iasón* 37a, 72b, 95d) and indeclinable *Aigmenon*

<sup>23</sup> Thus, Tadhg Ó Donnchadha's emendation of unrhymed *Aichíl* to *Aichil* in *Beag nár Sáruigheadh* 30a is unnecessary. *LCAB*, 262.117.

<sup>24</sup> *O'Reillys*, 194

<sup>25</sup> Ó Caithnia, *Apalóga na bhFilí*, 123.

<sup>26</sup> *O'Reillys*, 192

<sup>27</sup> Carney notes (*O'Reillys*, 194) that <t> and <c> are hard to distinguish in the hand of this particular scribe; it is therefore also possible that *Aichíl* is the intended reading.

(*Im. Aen.* ll. 5, 50, 511, 1767). The palatal final consonant in the nominative in *Iad Féin* is likely by analogy with other indeclinable Classical names that end in a palatal consonant; cf. nominative *Iasóin* in *Easgar Gaoidhil*.

#### *Anchīsēs, -is*

Genitive *Anchises* in *Searc na Suadh*, genitive *Aine(a)icis* and *Ainiceis* in *Síon Choitcheann*, part of Aeneas' patronymic in both poems. All three forms are trisyllabic. In *Searc na Suadh* the name is unrhymed; initial stress is possibly indicated by alliteration in 'Mac Anchises aimsir allód' (24a), although *aimsir* and *allód* already meet the requirement for alliteration in the line themselves.

Two different pronunciations are confirmed by metre in *Síon Choitcheann*. The rhyme *re(a)imhis : Aine(a)icis* (25ab) indicates initial stress and confirms vowel length and consonant quality. Initial stress is here further confirmed by alliteration with *Aengheas* (25b). Elsewhere, alliteration abetween *Ainiceis* and *nathadh* (30a) indicates penultimate stress.

The Middle Irish versions of this name are *Anac(h)ís* (*TTroí* ll. 993, 1761; *Luid Iasón* 71d) and *Anachis* (*Im. Aen.* l. 85 *et passim*).

#### *Argō, -ūs*

Genitive *Argho* in *Mór an Lucht* and *Argo* in *Néill Longphort*. Lenited <gh> in *Mór an Lucht* is confirmed by the rhymes *Argho : tarla* (28cd) and *Argho : beannamhra* (35ab). Unlenited <g> is also confirmed by the rhyme *Argo : arda* (*Néill Longphuir* 30cd). All of these rhymes indicate initial stress and short vowels in both syllables. The Middle Irish form of this name is *Argai* (*TTroí* ll. 84, 607) or *Argo* (*Luid Iasón* 46a).

#### *Dēmoph(o)ōn, -ontis*

Nominative and vocative *D(h)emophon* in *Malairt Chrotha*. The name is trisyllabic and unrhymed. The line 'Tug Demophon, prionnsa Aitéan' (25b) possibly indicates final stress, so that *Demophon* and *prionnsa* could satisfy the requirement for alliteration. This would be unusual, as <ph> does not alliterate with <p> in *dán díreach*; the line also requires elision of the final <a> of *prionnsa*, which is not permitted either. This cannot be taken as firm evidence, however, as the previous line, 'Ar Philis aithréasad sgéal', lacks anything that might be considered alliteration.

#### *Hector, -oris*

A range of spellings is attested: *Eachtair*, *Eactoir*, *Eachtar*, and *Hector*. Initial <h> appears in only in the Latin spelling *Hector*, which represents a third of the attested forms. There are three examples of spellings with initial <h> participating in alliteration with words that begin with a vowel (*T'aire Ríot* 4d, *Ina mBláth* 19a, 23d), implying that this <h> is cosmetic. Medial <ct> and <cht> are equally common in spelling, but medial <cht> is confirmed by numerous instances of rhyme, e.g. *Eachtair : guais-berthaigh* (*Bean do Lámhaigheadh* 44ab), *Eachtair : leantair* (*Easgar Gaoidhil* 10cd). There are three examples of medial <ct> participating in rhyme, *Hector : Hearcail* (*Do Bronnadh* 8ab), *dheacraibh : Hecto[i]r*: (*Ina mBláth* 23cd), and *Eactoir : neartmhoir* (*San Sbíinn* 21cd); in all of these cases medial <c> must be understood as representing a lenited consonant.

A final palatal <r> is confirmed by numerous examples of rhyme, e.g. *broin : Eachtair* (*Bean do Lámhaigheadh* 42ab), *leabthaibh : Eachtair* (*Mithidh Sin* 18cd), *thoir : Eachtoir* (*Sgol gan Oide* 8ab), etc. There are examples of spelling *Hector* rhyming with a final palatal consonant in *Ina mBláth* (19ab, 23cd and 29cd). In the poem *Do Bronnadh*, *Hector* rhymes with *Hearcail* (8ab); T.F. O'Rahilly emended *Hector* to *Heachtor* and silently emended *Hearcail* to *Hearcul*, while Nicholas Williams preserved the manuscript spellings and remarked on the possible discrepancy

between spelling and pronunciation.<sup>28</sup> There are six possible examples of non-palatal final <r> confirmed by rhyme. In four cases (*Fan Ráith* 33cd, *Ó Dhia* 60c, *Rug Eadrain* 3cd, *T'aire Riot* 4cd), rhyme is with the passive present indicative ending –ar, which can easily be emended to –air. In the remaining two examples, *Echtar* : *neartmur* (*Do Leighis Dia* 10cd) and *Eachtar* : *ceathrar* (*Mairg 'ga Lagaid* 12ab), no such emendation to palatal <r> is possible. All six of these spellings with rhymed non-palatal final <r> are in the nominative.

A similar variety of spellings is encountered in Middle Irish: *Hechtoir* (*TTroí* l. 188 *et passim*), *Hectoir* (*TTroí* l. 802 *et passim*), or *Echtoir* (ll. 801, 985, 1011; *Luid Iasón* 53d *et passim*; *Im. Aen.* ll. 312-15, 404, 518), with one example of nominative *Echtor* (*TTroí* l. 186). As the spelling *Echtoir* conforms to the phonotactics of Middle Irish, it is most likely to reflect the actual pronunciation; spellings with initial <h> and medial <ct> likely reflect the influence of Latin spellings of the name. Spellings with final non-palatal <r> likely represent a re-analysis of indeclinable genitive forms ending in a palatal <r> as o-stem genitives.

### *Herculēs, -is*

The most common form of this name is indeclinable *Earcail* or *Earcoil*. Initial stress, vowel length, and consonant quality are confirmed by numerous examples of rhyme, e.g. e.g. *air* : *Earcail* (*Pardhas Fódla* 39cd, 42cd), *Earcail* : *dhíoghaltaigh* (*Seanóir Cuilg* 31ab), and *Earcail* : *ghuaisbhertaigh* (*Teasda Éire* 33ab). There are spellings with medial <rch> (*Ní Tráth* 16a) and a long vowel in the second syllable (*Seanóir Cuilg* 14b), but neither of these variants are confirmed by rhyme; the latter poem in fact contains several examples of a short vowel in the second syllable confirmed by rhyme. Initial <h> appears in a handful of spellings (*Créad fá Seachnainn-se* 7a; *Gabhaim* 5a; *Do Bronnadh* 8b; *I Sagsaibh* 22b), none of which participate in alliteration.<sup>29</sup>

Non-palatal final <l> in the nominative is confirmed by the rhyme *Earcal* : *neartmhar* (*Pardhas Fódla* 52cd), alongside several examples of final palatal <l> confirmed by rhyme in the nominative (32c, 35b, 39d). Final non-palatal <ll> in the nominative occurs in *Seanóir Cuilg*, confirmed by rhyme with *cenn* (26cd), alongside other examples of final palatal <l> confirmed by rhyme. As noted above, O'Rahilly emended *Hearcail* to *Hearcul* in order to provide rhyme with *Heachtor* (for ms. *Hector*), although this emendation seems unnecessary.

There is one example of a trisyllabic form, nominative *Hercuilis* in *I Sagsaibh*. It is unrhymed and alliterates with *ég* (22b), which is consistent with both initial and final stress. The same poem contains another trisyllabic spelling, *Aichilis* (22d), with initial stress confirmed by rhyme.

The Middle Irish versions of this name are indeclinable *Ercoil/Ercail* (*TTroí* l. 24 *et passim*; *TTebe* l. 1469 *et passim*; *Luid Iasón* 8c *et passim*) or *Hercoil/Hercail* (*TTroí* l. 38 *et passim*; *TTebe* ll. 1225, 2193, 2298, 4258). As with the spelling variation observed for the name *Hector*, spellings with initial <h> likely represent the influence of the Latin spelling of the name, and spellings with a non-palatal final <l> represent a re-analysis of indeclinable genitive forms ending in palatal <l> as o-stem genitives.

### *Iāsōn, -onis*

Nominative *Iasóin* in *Easgar Gaoidhil*. The form is disyllabic. Long <ó> and palatal final consonant are confirmed by rhyme with *dóigh* (10ab). The quality of initial <ia> as a diphthong is confirmed by alliteration with *Earcail*. The Middle Irish version of this name is *Iasón*, genitive

<sup>28</sup> *MD*, 14.29-30, p. 72; *DMDDG* 3.29-30, p. 77.

<sup>29</sup> The manuscript reading *Hirkil* for *Hearcail* (*Créad fá Seachnainn-se* 7a) in the Book of the Dean of Lismore possibly indicates that the initial <h> of this name was pronounced. This is, however, inconclusive as initial <h> may also be a feature of the manuscript's Middle Scots-based orthography, since this name is usually spelled *Hercules* in Scots.

*Iasóin* (TTroí ll. 1-25 et passim; TTebe l. 2166 et passim; *Luid Iasón* 1a et passim). The palatal final <n> in *Easgar Gaoidhil* is likely by analogy with other indeclinable Classical names that end in a palatal consonant; cf. nominative *Áighmhionóin* in *Iad Féin*.

#### *Lāomedōn, -ontis*

Nominative *Laimheadhón* in *Mór an Lucht*, genitive *Láimheadhóin* in *An Tú A-rís*. Vowel length and consonant quality in the final syllable are confirmed by the rhymes *tionól : Laimheadhón* (*Mór an Lucht* 30cd) and *fleadhóil : Láimheadhóin* (*An tú a-rís* 16cd). Initial stress is confirmed by these rhymes as well as alliteration with *linn* (*An tú a-rís* 16d) and *leó* (*Mór an Lucht* 30d). The Middle Irish version of this name is *Lámedón*, genitive *Lámedóin* (TTroí l. 71 et passim; *Luid Iasón* 4a et passim).

#### *Paris, -idis*

Nominative *Paris* in *T'aire Riot*. The word is disyllabic, unrhymed, and alliterates with *Prímh* (3a), indicating initial stress. In Middle Irish sources, this figure is generally known as *Alaxandér* (TTroí l. 187 et passim) or *Alaxándair* (*Luid Iasón* 35a, 67b), derived from the epithet and alternate name *Alexander*, used in *De Excidio Troiae Historia* and elsewhere

#### *Pēleus, -ei/-eos*

Genitive *Péil* in *Beag nár Sáruigheadh* and *Ní Tráth*. Both examples form part of Achilles' patronymic. Vowel length and palatal final <l> are confirmed by the rhymes *Péil : airséin* (*Beag nár Sáruigheadh* 30ab) and *Péil : chléir* (*Ní Tráth* 41cd). The Middle Irish form of the name is indeclinable *Péil* (TTroí l. 118 et passim).

#### *Pēnelopē, -ēs*

Nominative *Peneloipe* and *Beneloipe* in *Fonn Sligidh*. Both spellings are four syllables long and unrhymed. *Beneloipe* alliterates with *ben* (28b), which seems to confirm initial <b> and stress on the first syllable. The spelling *Peneloipe* does not participate in alliteration; it is not clear whether the poet thought of the word as always beginning with a <b> or saw initial <b> as an acceptable variant. The Middle Irish spelling *Peneloipi* is attested in *Merugud Ulixis meic Leirtis*.<sup>30</sup>

#### *Philoctētēs, -ēs*

Nominative *Fiolóises*, *Filiosías*, and *Fiolosias-[s]a* (with demonstrative suffix) in *Seanóir Cuilg*. The rhymes *a-ndes : Fiolóises* (21ab) and *treasa : Fiol-osias-[s]a* (34ab) indicate that final <s> is non-palatal, that the vowel of the final syllable is <ea>, and that stress fell on the penultimate syllable. Alliteration occurs with *fire* (21b) and *fograis* (34b), which indicates that the pre-tonic element of the word was also potentially stressed, at least for the purposes of metre.<sup>31</sup> The spelling *Filoces* appears in *Stair Ercuil* l. 231 et passim, corresponding with *Philotes* or *Phylotes* in the source text.

#### *Phyllis, -idis*

<sup>30</sup> Robert T. Meyer (ed.), *Merugud Uilix maic Leirtis* (Dublin, 1977), l. 206. For *Uilix* vs. *Ulix*, see Barbara Hillers, 'The medieval Irish Wanderings of Ulysses: between literacy and orality' in Ralph O'Connor (ed.), *Classical literature and learning in medieval Irish narrative* (Cambridge, 2014), 83–97, at 86.

<sup>31</sup> 'In ainmneacha ar nós (*Muire*) °*Magh-da-léan* [...] °*Aris-totuil* [...] °*Si-pressus* [...] is léir go n-aithnítear dhá shiolla aiceanta (ar gach taobh den fhleiscín) mar is féidir a dhéanamh sa sloinne dúchasach (*Mág*) (*S*)**amhr-a-dhán**'. *SnaG*, 343.

Nominative and dative *Philis* and genitive *Filisse* in *Malairt Chrotha*. Vowel length and palatal quality are confirmed by the rhymes *Philis* : *mhilis* (23cd) and *sisi* : *Filisse* (41ab). Initial stress is confirmed by the latter rhyme, as well as alliteration with *fearacht* (41b).

#### *Priamus*

Nominative *Prímh* in *Fogas Fortacht*, genitive *P(h)rímh* in several poems, as part of Hector or Paris' patronymic. Vowel length and consonant quality are confirmed by several rhymes, e.g. with *éisídh* (*Bean do Lámhaigheadh* 39ab), *bhrígh* (*Fogas Fortacht* 35cd), and *slimhín* (*T'aire Riot* 3ab). Initial <p> is confirmed by alliteration with *prémh* (*Do Leighis Dia* 10a), *pobal* (*Mo Thruaighe mar Atáid* 19c), and *Paris* (*T'aire Riot* 3a). Both examples of this name in *Fan Ráith* are lenited in *sléгур* and lenition is confirmed by alliteration with initial <f> (32d, 33a), although it is not indicated in the manuscript transcript consulted.<sup>32</sup> The Middle Irish form of the name is indeclinable *Priaim* (*TTroí* l. 173 *et passim*; *Im. Aen.* l. 20 *et passim*; *Luid Iasón* 32a *et passim*).

#### *Pyrrhus*

Nominative *Piorr* in *Easgar Gaoidhil*. This name is monosyllabic and rhymes with *liom* (10c). The Middle Irish form of this name is indeclinable *Pirr* (*TTroí* l. 1632 *et passim*) or *Pirrus* (*TTroí* l. 791).

#### *Ulyssēs, -is*

Nominative and genitive *Iuiliséis*, accusative *Iuilisís* in *Fonn Sligidh*. The name is trisyllabic. Palatal final <s> as well as both <é> and <í> in the final syllable are confirmed by the rhymes *a-rís* : *Iuilisís* (30ab) and *éis* : *Iuiliséis* (32cd). These rhymes also indicate penultimate stress. Alliteration with other words beginning with a vowel (29a, 32d, 34a) is consistent with both initial and penultimate stress. In one line (30b), the name appears to alliterate with itself, suggesting that the pretonic element could be treated as stressed for the purpose of alliteration.<sup>33</sup>

The Middle Irish versions of the name are *Ulix* (*TTroí* l. 668 *et passim*; *Im. Aen.* l. 153, 159), or *Ulixes* (*Im. Aen.* ll. 422, 469, 1463; *Luid Iasón* 42a).<sup>34</sup> The Middle Irish forms of the name derive from the Latin spelling *Ulixēs*; while the Modern Irish forms discussed above derive from *Ulyssēs*, a variant spelling especially common in post-Classical sources. Initial <iu> for <u> and final <í> for <ē> show the influence of a post-Great Vowel Shift English pronunciation of the name.<sup>35</sup>

<i>Name</i>	<i># of poems mentioned in</i>	<i># of times mentioned</i>
Hector	24	45
Hercules	13	30
Achilles	11–2	14–9
Priamus	8	13
Argo	2	6
Aeneas	2	4

<sup>32</sup> On *sléгур* see IGT I § 159; see also Eoin Mac Cárthaigh (ed.), *The Art of Bardic Poetry: a New Edition of Irish Grammatical Tracts I* (Dublin, 2014), 295–8; Eoin Mac Cárthaigh, ‘Sléagar agus “Genitives Lenited in Special Circumstances” i bhFilíocht na Scol’ in Caoimhín Breatnach and Meidhbhín Ní Urdáil (eds.), *Aon don Éigse: Essays Marking Osborn Bergin’s Centenary Lecture on Bardic Poetry (1912)* (Dublin, 2015), 239–45

<sup>33</sup> See note 31 above.

<sup>34</sup> Hillers argues that *Ulixes* is the correct Middle Irish form of the name, and that the readings *Ulix* or *Uilix* are from abbreviated spellings. Hillers, ‘The Medieval Irish *Wandering of Ulysses*’, 86.

<sup>35</sup> The author is grateful to the anonymous reviewer for calling attention to this point.

Anchises	2	3
Peleus	2	3
Laomedon	2	2
Ulysses	1	4
Demophon	1	3
Philoctetes	1	3
Phyllis	1	3
Penelope	1	2
Agamemnon	1	1
Jason	1	1
Paris	1	1
Pyrrhus	1	1

Table 3. Names associated with Troy and the Trojan war.

#### NAMES ASSOCIATED WITH REPUBLICAN AND IMPERIAL ROME

##### *Lūcius Jūnius Brūtus*

Nominative *Brūtus* in *Maith an Sealad*. The form is disyllabic, unrhymed, and does not take part in alliteration. The editor identified this figure as Lucius Junius Brutus, although as Ó Caithnia notes, the story told in the apologue conforms more closely to that of Marcus Curtius.<sup>36</sup>

##### *Gāius Jūlius Caesar*

A variety of spellings is attested: *Caesar*, *Césair*, *Céasar*, *Sésair*, *Sésáir*, *Séasar*, etc. A form of the *nomen gentile* appears in three poems: nominative *Iulius Cesair* (*Mo Mhallacht 7a*), nominative *Iúl Sésor* (*Ní Chongmhann 8b*), and genitive *Iuil* (*Beag nár Sáruigheadh 34b*). Initial <s> is most frequent, and confirmed by numerous examples of alliteration, e.g. *Cóir Súil 35d*, *Créad A-nois 19a*, *Dá Ghrádh 15d*, *Fuil Dálaigh 26d*, *Rug Cosnamh 26b*, etc. Initial <c> is less frequent, with only one potential example of initial <c> participating in alliteration: ‘*Claidhis César*, ‘sé a shuim’ (*Dá Ghrádh 19a*).<sup>37</sup> Here, however, an emendation to initial <s> would be justified on metrical grounds, as it would allow the penultimate stressed word *sé* to participate in alliteration.<sup>38</sup> The vowel in the first syllable is spelled <é>, <e> or <ae>; of these, only <é> is confirmed by rhyme, e.g. *Césair* : *bhéasaibh* (*Dá Ghrádh 25cd*), *tSésair* : *saoirbhéasaibh* (*Fuil Dálaigh 23ab*), and *Sésair* : *ghrésuigh* (*Ní Chongmhann 8cd*). The final syllable is most commonly spelled <air>, and examples are confirmed by rhyme in all grammatical cases, e.g. *soin* : *Caesair* (*Cóir Súil 27ab*), *thoir* : *tShésair* (*Fuil Dálaigh 33ab*) and *cuir* : *tSesair* (*Fuil Dálaigh 26cd*). Final <áir> is less frequent but is confirmed by the rhymes *n-áigh* : *Sesáir* (*Dá Ghrádh 15cd*) and *áir* : *Shésáir* (*Teasda Éire 50ab*); both of these poems also contain forms with final <air> confirmed by rhyme.

<sup>36</sup> *DERMB*, 434, cited in Ó Caithnia, *Apalóga na bhFílé*, 128. *Maith an sealad* states that ‘Brūtus’ mounted a horse and threw himself into a pit in order to cure the troubles of his people after hearing the words of prophets or oracles (‘chomhráidh na bhfáidhíodh’). According to Livy (*Ab Urbe Condita* 1.56), Brutus fell down and kissed the earth after the oracle at Delphi said that the first man present to embrace his mother would hold power over Rome. Brutus later died in battle against the Etruscan king Tarquin (2.6). Livy also relates how a massive rift opened in the Forum and, when the seers (*vates*) of Rome stated that a sacrifice of that which gave Rome its strength had to be made, Marcus Curtius mounted his horse and threw himself into the pit (7.6). Both stories involve the idea of prophetic utterance, the prosperity of Rome, and an act of falling towards the earth, so it does not seem unlikely that the poet would have confused the two. A further similarity is to be found in the fact that Livy states that Brutus fought his final battle on horseback.

<sup>37</sup> Discussed by Cathal Ó hÁinle, ‘Three apologues and *In Cath Cathardha*’, *Ériu* 65 (2015), 87–126, at 112–3.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. ‘Do shaor *Séasar*, is *gé a shuim*’ (*Fada Cóir 31a*).



Final <ar> in the nominative and accusative is also confirmed by the rhymes *cor* : *Sésar* (*Cóir Súil* 35d) and *sgol* : *Sésor* (*Ní Chongmhann* 8ab); the latter poem also contains examples of final <air> in the nominative confirmed by rhyme.

The Middle Irish form of this name is indeclinable *Césair* (*Cath Catharda* l. 68 *et passim*), and the *nomen gentile* appears as *Iúil* (*Cath Catharda* ll. 68, 223, 268, 5258) or *Iul* (*Cath Catharda* ll. 318, 325). Initial <c> is confirmed by alliteration in a poem attributed to Flann Mainistreach ('Octauin croda Céssar', *LL* 15981). As is the case with *Eachta(i)r* and *Earca(i)l*, the variants with final <ar> cited above likely have their origin in a re-analysis of indeclinable genitive forms ending in a palatal consonant as o-stem genitives.

### *Marcus Porcius Catō (the Elder or the Younger)*

Nominative and genitive *Cáto*, *Cató* and *Cata*.<sup>39</sup> Initial stress is confirmed by alliteration with *consal* 'counsel' (*Beag Mhaireas* 24a) as well as *airdrinn* rhyme with *dhó* (*Beag nár Sáruigheadh* 31cd, *Deireadh Flaithis* 35cd). Vowel length is not fixed by rhyme in either syllable.<sup>40</sup> The epithet *Uticenseis* (from Latin *Uticensis* 'Utican') is four syllables long, and rhymes with *leis* (*Maith an Sealad* 62a), suggesting that stress falls on the penultimate syllable, as it does in the Latin word from which it is derived.<sup>41</sup>

Two poems, *Beag nár Sáruigheadh* and *Deireadh Flaithis*, refer to *comhairle Cható*. The editor of the latter poem, Eoin Mac Cárthaigh understood this as a reference to a specific wisdom text by that name.<sup>42</sup> Another poem, *Mairg Do-ní*, cites Cato's *teagasc* 'teaching'. These are likely references to some version of *Dicta* or *Disticha Catonis*, a popular and widely known wisdom text from late antiquity, commonly attributed to Cato the Elder.<sup>43</sup> The poems *Beag Mhaireas* and *Maith an Sealad*, on the other hand, reference Cato the Younger.<sup>44</sup>

The Middle Irish form of this name is indeclinable *Cait* (*Cath Catharda* l. 1085 *et passim*), usually in reference to Cato the Younger. In the section of *Cath Catharda* that translates Erichtho's prophecy, Cato the Younger is identified as *Cato Iudicensis* (ll. 4244, 4566) in order to disambiguate him from his ancestor Cato the Elder, also identified as *Cait* in this section.<sup>45</sup>

### *Marcus Tullius Cicerō*

Indeclinable *Tuil Sicir*, *Tuil Sigir* or *Tuilsigir*. Numerous examples of rhyme and alliteration indicate that these are two separate stressed words. Initial <t> in *Tuil* is confirmed by alliteration with *teagasc* (*Beag nár Sáruigheadh* 32c), *tagra* (*Cá bhFuair* 20a), etc; initial <s> of *Sigir* is

<sup>39</sup> For the substitution of final long <o> with <a>, see Breatnach, 'The Pronunciation of Latin', 62.

<sup>40</sup> Monosyllabic words ending in a long vowel may rhyme with the corresponding short vowel in *rinn* : *airdrinn* rhyme. *Ir. Syll. Poetry*, 18.

<sup>41</sup> As noted above, the only other instance of *rinn* : *airdrinn* rhyme where the second word is more than one syllable longer than the first is *leis* : *Aitenenseis*, which is another example of a word derived from a Latin adjective with penultimate stress. Penultimate stress may also be further indicated by alliteration: 'Cáto mór Utigenseis' (62b), although this would require treating *mór* as unstressed, and Latin <c> normally has the value of <s> before a front vowel in the poems surveyed (see pp.)

<sup>42</sup> '...go nglacaim leis gur ag tagairt do leagan éigin den téacs eagna 'Comhairle Cható' [...] atá an file anseo ach, má tá, níor éirigh liom leagan a aimsiú a luann go sonrath na tréithe atá faoi chaibidil anseo'. Eoin Mac Cárthaigh, 'Gofraidh Óg Mac an Bhaired cecinit : I. Deireadh flaithis ag féin Gall', *Ériu* 65 (2015), 57–86, at 84.

<sup>43</sup> [Cato], *Dicta Catonis*, in *Minor Latin Poets, volume II*, translated by J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff, Loeb Classical Library 434 (Cambridge, MA, 1934), 585–640.

<sup>44</sup> Although *Beag Mhaireas* refers to Cato as a *consal* 'consul', a rank which Cato the Younger never held, the poem refers to the Stoic way of life which Cato the Younger was known for. *Maith an Sealad* identifies Cato the Younger by the use of the epithet *Uticensis*, and briefly recounts his death by suicide.

<sup>45</sup> The substitution of <u> with <iu> here is likely due to the influence of the word *iúdic* 'judge', borrowed from Latin *jūdex*.

confirmed by alliteration with *saoui* (*Ní Chongmhann* 23*b*). Medial <c> rather than <g> is confirmed by the rhyme *as-tigh : Sicir* (*Beag nár Sáruigheadh* 32*ab*), as well as *uaithne* between *Sicir* and *focuil* (*Truagh Cor* 10*cd*). Final palatal <r> is confirmed by the rhymes given above, as well as rhyme with *sin* (*Ní Chongmhann* 25*b*) and faulty rhyme with *fhóiridhin* (*Cá bhFuair* 20*b*).

Trisyllabic *Cicero* and *Ciceró* occurs in the nominative in *Mór idir* and *Tabhair, a Laoigh*. In the latter poem, rhyme with *gcló* (5*c*) confirms the length of the final vowel and implies stress on the penultimate syllable, although as this poem is in an *óglachas*, a looser rhyme would be permitted.

The Middle Irish form of this name is *Tuil Cicer* (*Cath Catharda* ll. 4468-9) or *Tul Cicer* (l. 4494); both forms appear only in the nominative.

### *Cornēlia Metella*

Nominative *Cornelia* and *Cornélia* in *Dá Ghrádh*. The name is trisyllabic, indicating that final <ia> represents a diphthong. Alliteration with *aithesg* (14*b*) and rhyme with *ría* (25*a*) both indicate penultimate stress. The length of the vowel in the second syllable is not confirmed by rhyme. The spelling *Cornelia* also appears in *Cath Catharda* ll. 1159, 3375, 3380.

### *Marcus Licinius Crassus*

Nominative *Marcas Cras* or *Marcus Crassus* in *Dá Ghrádh*, *Gabh mo Chomhairle* and *Turnamh Dóchais*; dative *Marcas* and genitive *Marcais* in *Turnamh Dóchais*. *Marcas* and *Cras(sus)* are two distinct stressed words, as confirmed by several examples of alliteration. The o-stem inflexion of *Marcas* in *Turnamh Dóchais* is confirmed by the rhymes *mbras : Marcas* (11*ab*) and *tais : Marcais* (13*ab*), suggesting that the poet thought of this as an Irish rather than Latin word.

A possible reference to Marcus Crassus appears in *Rug Eadrain*, where the poet says of his patron, the Marquess of Argyll, that he is ‘n a Mharcus ar méd’ (7*a*). W. J. Watson translates as ‘a Marquis in degree’ although, as the poem contains several other references to Classical personages, this can also be interpreted as a form of the Roman *praenomen* Marcus. If the *méd* ‘amount, extent’ is understood as referring to his wealth, this might be another reference to Marcus Crassus.

Another Marcus is mentioned in the poem *Ní Bean*, where Tomás Mac Muiris, the Earl of Desmond, is described as ‘cíochmhac Marcais an mílidh’ ‘the foster-child(?) of Marcus the soldier’ (38*d*). Since this poem mentions a number of other Roman emperors by name, this may be a reference to Marcus Aurelius, whose reign was marked by several military conflicts.<sup>46</sup> Palatal final <s> in the genitive is confirmed by rhyme with *ghlantaís* (38*c*).

The spelling *Marcus Crasus* appears in *Cath Catharda* l. 104 *et passim*.

### *Gāius Crastinus (Soldier in Julius Caesar’s army)*

Nominative and dative *Traisdínéis* in *Cóir Súil*, with variant readings *Traisdínéis* and *Traisdénéis* in other manuscript witnesses.<sup>47</sup> Long <é> and palatal <s> in the final syllable, as well as penultimate stress are confirmed by rhyme with *th’éis* (39*a*). The vowel of the second syllable is not confirmed by rhyme. Initial stress is possibly indicated by alliteration with words beginning with <t> (35*a*, 36*a*, 37*a*), although if the cluster <sd> is understood as representing a sibilant followed by a voiceless dental stop, this alliteration is consistent with penultimate stress, i.e. *Tras-tínéis*.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> The author is grateful to Deirdre Nic Cárthaigh for this suggestion.

<sup>47</sup> Ó hÁinle, ‘Three apologues’, 109.

<sup>48</sup> These examples of alliteration cannot be explained in reference to the phenomenon where the pre-tonic element of a name can be considered stressed for metrical purposes, observed in note 31. On the de-voicing of voiced stops after <s>, see *IGT I* § 30.

The Middle Irish spelling of this name is *Crastinus* (*Cath Catharda* ll. 5595-7, 5611), attested only in the nominative. As Ó hÁinle notes, some manuscript witnesses give the variant readings *Trastines* or *Trastineis* for this name, and are undoubtedly the source for the spelling in *Cóir Súil*.<sup>49</sup> This substitution of <t> for <c> undoubtedly due to the similarities between the two letters in many Irish hands.<sup>50</sup>

*Nerō Claudius Drūsus Germanicus*

Nominative *Drūsus* appears in *Maith an Sealad*. The form is disyllabic, unrhymed, and does not participate in alliteration.

*Jūlia* (daughter of Julius Caesar, wife of Pompey)

Nominative *Iulia* in *Fuil Dálaigh*. The form is trisyllabic, unrhymed, and alliterates with *inghen* (23a, 33a). The division of syllables is likely *Iu-li-a*, although this is not metrically confirmed. The spelling *Iulia* appears in *Cath Catharda* ll. 112, 206, 269, 1454.

*Līvia Drusilla*

Nominative *Liua* in *Maith an Sealad*. The name is trisyllabic and unrhymed, and initial stress is indicated by alliteration with *losain* (38a). The division of syllables is likely *Li-ui-a*, although this is not metrically confirmed.

*Publius Ovidius Nāsō* (Ovid)

Indeclinable *Ovid* or *Ouid* in *Beag Mhaireas*, *Beag nár Sáruigheadh*, *Mór idir*, and *T'aire Riot*. All of these forms are disyllabic. The rhyme *thuig : Ovid* (*Beag nár Sáruigheadh* 31ab) confirms a final palatal consonant and suggests a vocalic value for <v>, at least in this poem. As the name is disyllabic, hiatus is required: *O-uid*. The other examples are unrhymed. Nominative and genitive spellings *Óibhid* and *Óivid* appear in *Mór Theasda* (written by the same poet as *Beag mhaireas*). The rhyme *Óivid : tionóilid* (1ab) confirms vowel length, consonant quality, and the value of <v> as a fricative in this poem. A nominative spelling *Ovidius* appears in *A Bhean*. It is trisyllabic, unrhymed, and does not participate in alliteration.

The author is unaware of any Middle Irish versions of this name. The Early Modern Irish disyllabic spellings might derive from English *Ovid* or French *Ovide*, although the loss of final syllables is a feature of earlier Irish borrowings from Latin, as discussed below.

*Gnaeus Pompēius Magnus* (Pompey the Great)

Indeclinable *Poimp* or *Poimp Máighe*. Both *Poimp* and *Máighe* are distinct stressed words, as shown by several examples of rhyme and alliteration, as well as two examples of the adjective *mór* intervening between these words (*Cóir Súil* 28a, *Fuil Dálaigh* 26a). The palatal quality of the final consonant cluster in *Poimp* is confirmed by the rhyme *Poimp : shubstaint* (*A Thoirdealbhaigh* 23ab). Long <á> in *Máighe* is also confirmed by rhyme, e.g. *Mháighe : combáidhe* (*A Thoirdealbhaigh* 20ab), *Māighe : luathghāire* (*Fuil Dálaigh* 26ab), and *Máighe : Tesáille* (29ab).

The nominative spelling *Poimp Leatha* (from *Latium*?) appears in *Ní Chongmhann*. It is unrhymed, and the second element alliterates with *labhraid* (8a). Nominative *Puimpei* appears in *Ní Bean*, where it is unrhymed, and alliterates with *préamh* (37b).

The Middle Irish version of this name is *Poimp* or *Poimp Maighe* (*Cath Catharda* l. 104 *et passim*). *Puimpei* likely derives from the English spelling *Pompey*, or perhaps French *Pompée*.

<sup>49</sup> Ó hÁinle, 'Three apologues', 94.

<sup>50</sup> For a similar substitution, <t> for expected <c>, see the discussion of the spelling *Aithíl* above, pp.

*Publius Cornēlius Scīpiō (Āfricānus or Aemiliānus)*

Nominative *Sipio* in *Ní Bean*. The form is disyllabic, unrhymed, and does not participate in alliteration.

*Caesar Nerva Trājānus (Trajan)*

Genitive *Traian* in *Ní Bean*. The form is disyllabic, indicating hiatus between <a> and <ia>, and unrhymed. Initial stress is indicated by alliteration with *tuar* (38a). The loss of the Latin final syllable possibly indicates familiarity with the English or French spelling *Trajan*, although medial <j> has the value of a consonant rather than vowel in those languages.

*Publius Vergilius Marō (Virgil)*

Nominative *Uirgil* in *Beag nár Sáruigheadh* and *Is Follus*; in the former poem this was emended from the manuscript spelling *Virgill*. Both forms are disyllabic and unrhymed. Alliteration with *Ovid* (*Beag nár Sáruigheadh* 31b) indicates the value of initial <u> as a vowel, at least in this poem.

Despite the popularity of the poet in medieval Ireland, the author is unaware of any Old or Middle Irish forms of his name. These spellings may derive from English *Virgil* or French *Virgile*, although the loss of final syllables is a feature of earlier Irish borrowings from Latin, as discussed below.

<i>Name</i>	<i># of poems mentioned in</i>	<i># of times mentioned</i>
Caesar	15	42
Pompeius	14	32
Cato	7	7
Cicero	6	7
Ovidius	6	7
Marcus Crassus	3–4	5–6
Vergilius	2	2
Crastinus	1	5
Julia	1	3
Cornelia	1	2
Brutus	1	1
Drusus	1	1
Livia	1	1
Marcus Aurelius?	1	1
Scipio	1	1
Trajanus	1	1

*Table 4. Names associated with Republican and Imperial Rome.*

#### OTHER NAMES

*Actaeōn, -onis*

Nominative and dative *Acteon* in *Gabh mo Shuirghe*. The name is trisyllabic, indicating hiatus between <e> and <o>, and unrhymed. Alliteration with *amhlaidh* (23a) is consistent with stress on the first or final syllable.

*Alexander, -drī*

Three forms of this name are attested in the poems surveyed. Trisyllabic *Alasdar* or *Alasdur* is declined as a masculine o-stem in *Fill th'Aghaidh*, *Neart Gach Tíre*, and *Sgol gan Oide*. Trisyllabic *Alasdrann* appears in the nominative in *Maith an Sgéalaidhe*. The most frequently encountered form, however, is four-syllable *Alexandair*, *Alaxandair*, *Alaxannair*, etc. Numerous examples of rhyme indicate penultimate stress, e.g. *soin* : *Alexandair* (*Easgar Gaoidhil* 8ab), *Al[e]xannair* : *n-iongantaigh* (*Leis Féin* 23ab), *Alaxannair* : *chomhardaigh* (*Ní Deireadh* 27ab). Final palatal <r> is common in all grammatical cases and confirmed by multiple examples of rhyme, such as those cited above. Two instances of final non-palatal <r> in the nominative are confirmed by rhyme: *Al[a]xannda(i)r* : *ardbhladh* (*Leis Féin* 32cd) and *hur* : *Alaxandar* (*Neart Gach Tíre* 30ab). Both three and four-syllable forms frequently alliterate with words beginning in a vowel, especially the adjective *uaibhreach* 'proud' (*Fill th'Aghaidh* 29b, 42b, *Maith an Sgéalaidhe* 17b, *Neart Gach Tíre* 39a, *Ní Deireadh* 24a, and *Sgol gan Oide* 10b),<sup>51</sup> which is consistent with both initial and penultimate stress. Some poets evidently felt at liberty to use multiple versions of the name: *Neart gach tire* uses both three and four-syllable versions, and *Leis féin* includes examples of palatal and non-palatal final <r> confirmed by rhyme.

The Middle Irish version of Alexander the Great's name is indeclinable *Alaxandir* (*Scéla Alex.* 49 *et passim*). The name was borrowed with initial stress which led to the loss of the third syllable via syncope, and the simplification of the resulting consonant cluster, creating the Gaelicized versions *Alasdar* and *Alasdair*, from which *Alasdrann* is derived.<sup>52</sup> All of these variants are widely attested as personal names, at times for the same person, in Gaelic Scotland and Ireland in the later middle ages and early modern period, and *Alasdair* is well-attested as a personal name in Scottish Gaelic up until the present day.<sup>53</sup>

*Aristotelēs*, -is

Nominative and genitive *Aristotuil*, *Arisdodoil*, etc. All examples of the name are four syllables long. Rhyme indicates final palatal <l> and penultimate stress, e.g. *chuir* : *Aristotuil* (*Beag nár Sáruigheadh* 34ab), *Airiosotail* : *doctair* (*Créad fá Seachnainn-se* 9ab), and *ghoil* : *Arasdotuil* (*Rug Eadrain* 26ab), etc. There is one example of final non-palatal <l> in the nominative (*Maith an Sgéalaidhe* 16a), although this is not confirmed by rhyme.

Alliteration with *Iuil* (*Beag nár Sáruigheadh* 34b) and *fhoghluim* (*Rug Eadrain* 26b) indicates that the pre-tonic element of the word could be treated as stressed for the purposes of alliteration.<sup>54</sup> Alliteration in the line 'Arosdotal oide ar sgol' (*Maith an Sgéalaidhe* 16a), on the other hand, indicates that only the initial syllable was stressed in this poem.<sup>55</sup> It is possibly significant that *Maith an Sgéalaidhe* dates to the fifteenth century, while the other poems which include this name date to the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries; initial stress

<sup>51</sup> In his discussion of Scottish Gaelic proverbs, Alexander Nicolson noted that 'Alexander the Great is always called "Uaibhreach" in Gaelic'. Alexander Nicolson, *A Collection of Gaelic Proverbs* (Edinburgh, 1881), 165.

<sup>52</sup> One would expect this process to result in a palatal final <r>, as in Scottish Gaelic *Alasdair*. Nominative *Alasdar* likely results from a reanalysis of genitive and vocative *Alasdair* as an o-stem noun.

<sup>53</sup> Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Fidelma Maguire, *Gaelic personal names* (Dublin, 1981), 21-2. For examples of multiple variants of this name being used for the same individual, see 'Eoin, mac Alasdair, mic Eoin Mhoir Mic Domnaill' (*AU* 1465.11), 'Eoin Cluasach, mac Eoin Mic Alaxdrainn...do Clainn Domhnaill', perhaps also 'Eoin mac Alexandair' (*AU* 1465.6); 'Aluster Carrach' (*AU* 1522.2), 'Alasdrand Carrach, mac Mic Domnaill' (*AU* 1533.12); and 'Domhnall mac Somhairle Buidhe mic Alaxandair, mic Eóin Cathanaigh mic Mec Domhnaill' (*AFM* 1577.5), 'Alasdrann mac Somhairle Buidhe, mic Alastrainn, mic Eóin Chathánaigh mac Mec Domhnaill' (*AFM* 1586.6).

<sup>54</sup> See note 31 above.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. 'Aristotil 'n-arghuin ghlic' (*Thrionóid naomhtha* 7c). This line is, however, inconclusive, as this poem is in an *óglachas* and therefore this may not be intended as metrically valid *uaim*.



may be a feature of an earlier Irish pronunciation of the name.<sup>56</sup> The Middle Irish form of this name is *Arustotal*, genitive *Arustotail* (*Scéla Alex.* ll 541-61).

#### *Basiliscus (Basilisk)*

Nominative *Baisilioscus* in *Aithreach Damh*. The name is four syllables long. Rhyme with *chriostal* (5c) confirms vowel length and consonant quality in the last two syllables, as well as indicating antepenultimate stress.

#### *Chīlō, -ōnis (of Sparta)*

Dative *Chilo* in *Ní Bean*. The form is disyllabic and unrhymed; lenition is motivated by the preceding dative singular noun *chích* (34d) with which it alliterates.

#### *Cleobūlus (of Lindos)*

Nominative *Cleobholus* in *Ní Bean*. The form is trisyllabic. Initial stress, the diphthong <eo> in the first syllable, vowel length, and consonant quality are confirmed by rhyme with *eoldorus* (35c).

#### *Cōdrus (king of Athens)*

Nominative *Codorus* and *Codoros* in *Maith an sealad*. The name is trisyllabic, and rhymes with *solas* (67a). Initial stress is confirmed that rhyme, as well as by alliteration with *Cing* (67b).

#### *Creōn, -ontis (king of Thebes)*

Genitive *TTroighén* and *Chroidheóin* in *Seanóir Cuilg*. Both forms are disyllabic. *TTroighén* must be emended to *Croighén* in order to provide alliteration with *caithghniomur* (14d).<sup>57</sup> Long <é> and a final non-palatal consonant are confirmed by rhyme with genitive plural *ttrén* (14c). In the following quatrain, the diphthong <eó> and a final palatal consonant are confirmed by rhyme with *seóil* (15a). These examples point to an o-stem inflexion: *Croidhéan*, genitive *Croidhéan* or *Croidheóin*.<sup>58</sup> The spellings *Craidon*, genitive *Craidoin* appear in *Stair Ercuil* (ll. 18-26 *et passim*), corresponding with French *Creon*.

#### *Daedalus*

Nominative and dative *Déadsholus*, genitive *Déadsholais* in *Mór Iongabháil*. All examples are trisyllabic. Alliteration with initial <d> is common (17b, 24b, 31b, 32b). Palatal final <s> in the genitive is confirmed by rhyme with *thurais* (17ab) and non-palatal final <s> in the dative by rhyme with *dhéadsholus* (28cd). In the latter example, the name *Daedalus* is interpreted, by paronomasia, to mean *déad-sholus* ‘bright-toothed’.

Indeclinable *Dedail* appears in the Middle Irish *Sgél in Mínaduir*.<sup>59</sup>

#### *Dēianīra*

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<sup>56</sup> Cf. the name *Alaxandair* etc., which has penultimate stress in the poems surveyed, although the existence of trisyllabic forms *Alasdar*, *Alasdrann*, etc. indicate a vernacular pronunciation with initial stress.

<sup>57</sup> Initial <TT> for initial <C> is no doubt a simply copying error, as the two letters closely resemble each other in many Irish hands. Cf. the discussion of the spellings *Aithil* and *Traisdínéis* above, pp.

<sup>58</sup> ‘In ilsiollaigh áirithe dar críoch guta fada + consan (-l, -n, nó -r de ghnáth) ar nós *goibhéal*, *cuiléan* ‘coileán’, *aonarán* srl (§35) tá ginideach (agus gairmeach) uatha gan chaolú inmhalartaithe le ginideach (agus gairmeach) uatha den ghnáthchineál’. *SnaG*, 370.

<sup>59</sup> Barbara Hillers (ed.), ‘*Sgél in Mínaduir*: Dädalus und der Minotaurus in Irland’, in Erich Poppe and Tristram Hildegard (eds), *Übersetzung, Adaptation und Akkulturation im insularen Mittelalter*, Studien und Texte zur Keltologie 4 (Münster, 1999), 131–44, at ll. 13, 46, 50.

Spelled *Deianira* in the nominative in *T'aire Riot*. The name is trisyllabic, indicating that <eia> represents a single syllable, although it is impossible to determine the vowel as this word is unrhymed. It does not participate in alliteration.

#### *Euclīdēs, -is (Euclid)*

Nominative *Euclides* in *Is Follus*. The form is trisyllabic, unrhymed, and does not take part in alliteration.

#### *Galēnus (Galen)*

Genitive *Ghailén* in *Is Follus*. The name is disyllabic, and rhyme with nominative *lén* (25c) indicates both initial stress and a non-palatal final consonant. The spellings *Galen* and *Gailighen* appear in Early Modern Irish medical material; the latter spelling represents the hiatus found in later Latin *Galienus* or French *Galien*.<sup>60</sup>

#### *Hippocratēs, -is*

Nominative *Hypocratt* in *Breitheamh Ceart*; genitive *Iopagraid* in *Is Follus*, and *Iopagráid* in *Tógaibh Eadrad*. All of these spellings are trisyllabic and unrhymed; thus vowel length and consonant quality cannot be confirmed. Both instances of this name in *Tógaibh Eadrad* alliterate with *inghean* (21a, 37b), indicating initial stress, at least in this poem. The spellings *Ipocras* and *Ipocraid* appear in other Early Modern Irish sources.<sup>61</sup>

#### *Narcissus*

Dative and nominative *Narcissus* in *Féach Orm* and *A Mhac-alla*. In *Féach Orm*, the name is trisyllabic. The rhyme *clos : Narcissus* (18ab) indicates penultimate stress, as in the Latin version of the name. Alliteration with *neamhghnáth* (18b) implies that the pre-tonic element of the name was also stressed for the purpose of alliteration.<sup>62</sup> The name is unrhymed in *A Mhac-alla*. If it is understood as trisyllabic, both lines where it appears are hypermetrical by one syllable (9a, 11a). As there are other hypermetrical lines in this poem (e.g. 6a, 9b, 10c), it is not necessary to conclude that the poet pronounced this name as disyllabic.<sup>63</sup>

#### *?Oeta*

Genitive *Oeta* in *T'aire Riot*, emended from the manuscript spellings *Fheta* or *Fheata*. It is disyllabic, unrhymed, and alliterates with *fhinn* (7a). The poem refers to this figure as the father of Deianira, Hercules' wife and unwitting murderer. Nicholas Williams notes that Oeta is the name of the mountain where Hercules died, and suggests that the poet was confused about the details of the story.<sup>64</sup> Alternatively, *Oeta* could be an error for *Oeneus*, Deianira's father.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> The spelling *Galen* can be found in Winifred Wulff (ed.), *Rosa Anglica seu Rosa Medicinae Johannes Anglici: An early modern Irish translation of a section of the mediaeval medical text-book of John of Gaddesden* (London, 1929), 14 *et passim*. The spelling *Gailighen* occurs pp. 4, 12. The spelling *Gailiden* is also found in Mícheál P. S. Ó Conchubhair (ed.), *An Irish Materia Medica*, interim edition § 290, via <https://celt.ucc.ie/published/G600006> (Accessed June 16, 2021).

<sup>61</sup> For *Ipocras* see Wulff, *Rosa Anglica*, 42 *et passim*; *Ipocraid* appears p. 4; cf. *Ipocrait*, Whitley Stokes (ed.), 'The Gaelic Maundeville', *ZCP* 2 (1899), 226-300, at §33.

<sup>62</sup> See note 31.

<sup>63</sup> This is, of course, a possibility: the medial syllable could have been lost because of syncope and/or haplology. This is perhaps supported by alliteration in the line 'do chaoi Narcissus náir'. Most lines in this poem lack alliteration, however, so this 'eye alliteration' may not have been intended as metrically valid *uaim*.

<sup>64</sup> 'Is trí mhearbhall a tháinig an t-ainm isteach anseo, déarfainn'. *DMDDG*, 78.

<sup>65</sup> The author is grateful to the anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

### ?*Olīva*

Nominative *Oilíobha* and *Oilíua* in *Créad So*. Penultimate stress, vowel length, and consonant quality are all confirmed by rhymes with *inríogha* (20a) and *míghníomha* (27a). The poem identifies this figure as the daughter of the high king of Greece. It is unclear whether the apologue actually derives from a Classical source or not,<sup>66</sup> but as the name is clearly derived from Latin *olīva* ‘olive, olive tree’ it is of relevance to the present discussion.

### *Orpheus*

Nominative and genitive *Orpheus* in *Orpheus Óg*. It is trisyllabic, indicating hiatus between <e> and <u>, and unrhymed. Alliteration with words beginning in a vowel indicates initial stress (1a, 2a, 4a).

### *Periander, -drī*

Nominative *Peiriander* in *Ní Bean*. The form is trisyllabic, which implies that medial <ia> represents a diphthong, although this is not confirmed by rhyme. Alliteration with *Plato* (35a) indicates initial stress.

### *Philippus (Philip II of Macedonia)*

Genitive *Pilib*, *Pilip*, *Philip*, *Philib*, or *Filib*; all attested examples form part of Alexander the Great’s patronymic. Palatal consonant quality and both final <p> and <b> are confirmed by rhymes with *glic* (*Ceathrar* 4a), *dhuit* (*Ní Deireadh* 26a), and *aitrighid* (*Ní Deireadh* 35b). Initial <ph> and <f> are confirmed by alliteration (*Leis Féin* 32a, *Ní Deireadh* 28a), but initial <p> is not. There is only one example where initial <ph> or <f> appears to be the result of lenition: following dative *mac* in ‘an bith iné ag mac Philip’ (*Ceathrar* 4b). The Middle Irish form of this name is *Pilip* (*Scéla Alex.* 1. 30 *et passim*), and *Pilib* begins to be used as a personal name in the later Middle Ages in Ireland.<sup>67</sup>

### *Platō, -ōnis*

Nominative *Plato* in *Ní Bean*; accusative *Phláto* in *Ní Buan*. Both forms are disyllabic. In the former poem, *Plato* is unrhymed but alliterates with *Periander* (35a), indicating that both words have initial stress. In the latter poem, vowel length and initial stress are confirmed by rhyme with *dtráth-so* (6b). The name appears in Middle Irish as *Plait* (*Scéla Alex.* 1. 547).

### *Ptolemaeus, Claudius (Ptolemy)*

Nominative *Tolomeus* in *Is follus*. The name is four syllables long, indicating hiatus between <e> and <u>. It is unrhymed, and does not participate in alliteration.

### *Solōn, -ōnis (of Athens)*

Nominative *Solon* in *Ní Bean*. Rhyme with *d’óradh* (34d) indicates initial stress, a long vowel in the first syllable, and a short vowel in the final syllable.

Nominative and dative (*H*)*álón* and genitive *Hálóin* appear in *D’Oilbhéarus*. As the poem refers to this figure as a *coighfile* ‘provincial poet’ (13c) and *eighir d’Athens* ‘heir to Athens’ (14a) who wandered Greece in pursuit of learning before assuming his patrimony, it seems likely

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<sup>66</sup> ‘Níor fhéadas aon fhoinsé a aimsiú don scéal seo. Tá nóta ag an eagarthóir áfach (ar line 6023) gur cosúil gur ag tarraingt as aistriúchán Gaeilge atá an file’. Ó Caithnia, *Apalóga na bhFilí*, 131. Cf. *LB*, 396.

<sup>67</sup> Ó Corráin and Maguire, *Gaelic personal names*, 153.



that these names are a version of the name Solon.<sup>68</sup> Although both vowels are consistently written with marks of length, the rhymes *ghloin* : *Hálóin* (14*ab*) and *trághadh* : *d'Halón* (25*cd*) indicate a long vowel in the first syllable but a short vowel in the second. Rhyme with *ghloin* also confirms palatal final <n> in the genitive. There are multiple examples of alliteration with words beginning with a vowel (13*b*, 14*b*, 24*a*); this, along with the spelling *d'Álón* (13*b*) suggests that initial <h> is cosmetic.

The same person is referred to as *eighear Cailearbháin* (13*b*) ‘the heir of Cailearbhán’. This name is trisyllabic and initial stress is shown by rhyme with *neamhnár* (13*a*), to be read as attributive genitive *neamhnáir* qualifying *toisg* i.e. ‘a blameless state’. The identity of this Cailearbhán is unknown to the author.

<i>Name</i>	<i># of poems mentioned in</i>	<i># of times mentioned</i>
Alexander	12	27
Aristotle	7	7
Philippus	4	7
Hyppocrates	3	4
Solon	2	5
Narcissus	2	3
Plato	2	2
Daedalus	1	6
Orpheus	1	3
Actaeon	1	2
Creon	1	2
Oliva	1	2
Basiliscus	1	1
Chilo	1	1
Cleobulus	1	1
Codrus	1	1
Deianira	1	1
Euclides	1	1
Galenus	1	1
Oeta	1	1
Periander	1	1
Ptolemaeus	1	1

Table 5. Other names.

## ANALYSIS

As noted above, eighty-five of the poems surveyed date to the sixteenth or seventeenth century; seventy-eight of these poems are included in the Database, representing roughly seven percent of the 1161 poems in the database that are assigned to this period. Furthermore, all of the datable poems surveyed with apologues on a Classical topic were written in this period; Classical references in the earlier poems, on the other hand, consist mainly of brief references to Greece or Troy.<sup>69</sup> This is not meant as a precise figure, as non-professional poems in syllabic metres are often excluded

<sup>68</sup> The Database assigns this poem apologue class 408, ‘Halón (Solon?) son of Cailearbháin, his travels in search of learning’.

<sup>69</sup> One notable exception is *Maith an Sgéalaidhe*, a religious poem not composed for any particular patron.

from the Database and the Database contains poems that were excluded from the present study for various reasons, but it does demonstrate an increased interest in Classical material among poets and patrons in this period, a development which Simms connects to the English policy of sending the heirs of Irish chieftains to study at Trinity College.<sup>70</sup> While outside the scope of the current study, Classical references are also often to be found in contemporary accentual poetry.<sup>71</sup>

References to Greece (33 poems) and Troy (29 poems) are the most frequent type of Classical reference in the poems surveyed, indicating that the Trojan War loomed large in the imagination of the poets, as did belief in the Greek origin of the Gaels.<sup>72</sup> The most frequently referenced individuals are Achilles (11 or 12 poems), Alexander the Great (12 poems), Hector (24 poems), Hercules (13 poems), Julius Caesar (15 poems), and Pompey the Great (14 poems). All of these figures are men renowned for their strength and military prowess; this is unsurprising as most of these poems are addressed to members of a military aristocracy who would have found such comparisons flattering. These characters also feature prominently in Middle Irish adaptations of Classical and Late Antique narratives, namely *Togail Troí*, *In Cath Catharda*, and *Scéla Alexandair*. The influence of these adaptations can be further seen in verbal echoes of their titles: the phrase *an cath cathardha* appears in three poems (*Dá Ghrádh* 18b, *Fuil Dálaigh* 30d, *Turnamh Dóchais* 15a), and variations on the phrase *Traoi do thoghail* appear in no fewer than eight poems.<sup>73</sup>

Less frequent names, which nonetheless appear in more than one of the poems surveyed, generally appear in these same narratives (Aeneas, Marcus Crassus), are well-known intellectual or literary figures (Ovid, Virgil), or fit into both categories (Aristotle, Cicero). Certain names appear only, or primarily, as part of the patronymics of better-known characters: Alexander is the son of Philip, Hector is the son of Priam, Hercules is the son of Jupiter and grandson of Saturn. There are fifty-two names which are each only attested within a single poem of those surveyed. Several of these unique names appear in the same poem: e.g. *Maith an Sealad* contains a number of vignettes drawn from Greek and Roman history, *Ní Bean* lists various philosophers and emperors, and *Thríonóid Naomhtha* features a catalogue of the Muses.<sup>74</sup>

Of the seventy-three personal names found in the poems surveyed, only twenty refer to women, including Cupid, whom the poet of *Dairt sonn* identifies as a goddess.<sup>75</sup> Thirteen of

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<sup>70</sup> Simms, 'Foreign Apologues', 143. Simms further notes (pp. 146–7) an increased interest in 'apologues of miscellaneous continental origin' in secular praise poetry of the same period.

<sup>71</sup> A few examples will suffice. Four of the five poems edited in O'Rahilly, *Five Seventeenth-Century Political Poems* feature some invocation of Classical tradition: in both *Do fríth, Monuar, an Uain si ar Éirinn* (pp. 3–11) and *An Síogaí Rómhánach* (pp. 17–32), the poet has a vision of a woman whose beauty he likens to that of various Classical goddesses; *Aiste Dháibhí Chúndúin* (35–49) includes many Classical authors and narratives in the catalogue of books that the poet has read, and *Tuireamh na hÉireann* (59–82) offers a précis of world history that draws heavily on Classical material. The accentual *Tuireamh Philip meic Aodha Uí Raghallaigh* (O'Reilly's poem 28) refers to Pilip as the *aithghin* 'rebirth' of Ovid and Homer, and likens the Ó Raghallaigh ancestral lands to Troy after the death of Hector (cf. *Mo Thruaighe*, also written for an Ó Raghallaigh patron). In *Gabh, a Chéin, go Shéimh mo Theagasg Uaim-sa* (*Dán na mBMionúr* poem 89), the poet argues that, despite their achievements, Hercules, Hector, Julius Caesar, and other great men of the past, could not evade death. Several poems attributed to Geoffrey Keating feature references to Classical tradition: Eoin Cathmhaolach Mac Giolla Eáin (ed.), *Dánta, Amhráin is Caointe Sheathrúin Chéitinn* (Dublin, 1900), poems iv, v, viii, xii.

<sup>72</sup> For the development of this belief in the earlier middle ages, see Bart Jaski, "'We are of the Greeks in our origin': new perspectives on the Irish origin legend", *CMCS* 46 (2003), 1–53; see also Pádraic Moran, 'Greek dialectology and the Irish origin story', in Pádraic Moran and Immo Warntjes (eds), *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: Chronology, Contacts Scholarship; a Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín* (Turnhout, 2015), 481–512, especially 505–8.

<sup>73</sup> See pp. above.

<sup>74</sup> Eight of the nine muses are listed in total; only Erato, the muse of erotic and lyric poetry, is absent from the catalogue. As this poem was addressed to a priest, this omission is perhaps unsurprising.

<sup>75</sup> See pp. above.

these names belong to the muses or other goddesses; thus, only seven mortal women are mentioned by name in this corpus. With the exception of the muse Thalia (two poems) and the goddesses Ceres (two poems) and Venus (two poems), none of these women are mentioned by name in more than one poem. Deianira is mentioned by name in one poem (*T'aire riot*) and referenced obliquely in another (*Créad fá Seachnainn-se*), and Helen of Troy is referenced, although not by name, in two poems (*An Sgítheach Tú* and *T'aire Riot*).

As a general rule, when a name is attested in a Middle or Early Modern Irish adaptation of a Classical or Late Antique text (or of a later text which draws upon Classical tradition, such as *Stair Ercoil*), the poems surveyed will make use of a form of the name similar to that found in these vernacular adaptations. In some cases, this is due to the fact that poets drew directly upon such adaptations, as evidenced by apologues containing details peculiar to these Irish adaptations.<sup>76</sup> In other cases, a direct textual affiliation is less likely, and poets simply considered such forms to be the accepted Irish versions of certain Classical names; for example, Bonaventura Ó hEoghusa translated Latin *Caesar* as *S(h)ésair* and *Tullius* as *T(h)uil Sicir* in *Truagh Cor*.<sup>77</sup> Where a name is not attested in these Irish adaptations, on the other hand, it typically appears in the poems surveyed in a form resembling its Latin spelling, although a small number of names, such as Ovid and Virgil, appear in forms that resemble the English or French spellings of that name. There are some exceptions to this trend; notably, the names of gods often resemble the Latin rather than Middle Irish forms of those names.<sup>78</sup> For a small number of names, spellings derived from Middle Irish as well as those derived from Latin or other languages are attested in the poems surveyed, although not in the same poem.

The forms used for Latin names in Middle Irish adaptations of Classical texts are, for the most part, characterized by the loss of final syllables (*Achilles* > *Aichil*), as well as other adaptations to Irish phonology and morphology, such as the loss of initial <h> (*Hercules* > *Ercoil*), <c> and <t> for initial <ch> and <th> (*Thessalia* > *Tesail*), syncope (*Agamemnon* > *Agmemnón*), and lenition of medial and final consonants.<sup>79</sup> Classical vowel length is treated inconsistently; in some cases, this may be due to Vulgar Latin vowel quality, in others, due to names being borrowed via writing rather than speech.<sup>80</sup> In the forms surveyed, Latin first-declension nouns, mostly place-names, are typically borrowed as *ā*-stems. Other nouns are either indeclinable with a palatal final consonant, or declined as *o*-stem nouns; as noted in passing above, examples of both inflections are often attested for the same name, and some of the poems surveyed exploit this variation. In some cases, these Middle Irish spellings plausibly represent early borrowings from Latin, e.g. *Mairt*, *Ioib* and *Uenir* from (*Dies*) *Martis*, *Iovis* and *Veneris*.<sup>81</sup> In other cases, where there is no early evidence for the borrowing of a name, it seems most likely that proper names were often Gaelicized in the process of translation; it is certainly difficult to explain the palatal final consonant in Middle Irish spellings such as *Cait* for *Catō*, *Catōnis* by anything other than analogy.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Ó Caithnia, *Apalóga na bhFilí*, 124–7, 133; Ó hÁinle, ‘Three Apologues’.

<sup>77</sup> *Dán na mBMionúr*, ii, 133.

<sup>78</sup> The Middle Irish forms of Apollo, Diana, Mars, and Minerva are entirely absent in the poems surveyed, while both Middle Irish *Uenir* and Latin *Bhénus* appear for Venus.

<sup>79</sup> See *GOI* § 913–24. These Gaelicized spellings occur alongside Latin or Latinate spellings in the Middle Irish texts surveyed; e.g. *Aeneas*, *Cornelia*, *Julia*, and *Ulixes*. *Aeneas* has a *u*-stem inflexion in *Im. Aen.*, perhaps by analogy with the Irish name *Óengus*. Note also that Latin final <ōn> is not lost in any of the examples surveyed.

<sup>80</sup> Damien McManus, ‘A chronology of the Latin loan-words in Early Irish’, *Ériu* 34 (1983), 21–71, § 81–4.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Modern Welsh *Dydd Iau*, *Dydd Gwener*. Note that *Dies Saturni* leads to *Sathairn* with medial /θ/, whereas the Middle and Early Modern spellings surveyed have medial /d/. This implies that *Saturnus* was borrowed into Irish both before and after the lenition of medial <t> to /θ/ (McManus, ‘A chronology’, § 8), presumably with a slightly different semantic field associated with each borrowing.

<sup>82</sup> An early example of such analogy is the gloss ‘ishé Apoill insin’ (Sg. 83.25) for *Apollo*. See also *GOI* § 925.

By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the standard practice appears to be to maintain the Latin spelling when adopting Classical names into Irish; this is most visible in the preservation of final syllables, e.g. *Deianira*, *Orpheus*.<sup>83</sup> Occasionally, the poems surveyed will use a Latin spelling of a name when a Middle Irish spelling is available. In poems such as *Adhbhar* and *I Sagsaibh*, this seems to be part of a self-conscious display of the poet's learning, although the use of such Latin spellings may also be motivated by metrical considerations. As there are no examples of a poem using both the Latin and Middle Irish spellings of the same name, the use of a Latin spelling may also reflect a lack of familiarity with Middle Irish vernacular adaptations of Classical narrative, especially when the poet in question was not a professional.

An analysis of some specific features of these Latin names now follows:

### *Stress*

As a general rule, Latin penultimate or antepenultimate stress is preserved in the poems surveyed, and there are several examples of non-initial penultimate stress confirmed by rhyme, e.g. *Basilioscus*, *Corn-elia*, and *Iuil-iséis* or *Iuil-isís*. Penultimate non-initial stress appears in some words that appear Latin but are borrowed from Irish sources: *Alax-anndair* or *Alex-anndair*, *Aris-totuil*, *Fiol-óises* (for *Philoctetes*), and *Trais-dínéis* (for *Crastinus*). In a small number of names, original penultimate stress has shifted to the initial and antepenultimate syllable, e.g. *Cleobholus*, *Diana*, and *Peiriander*. Two names show variation between initial and penultimate stress, both confirmed by metre, within the same poem: *Aineicis* or *Ai-niceis* in *Síon Choiteann*, and *Cúipioda* or *Cúiphioda* in *Dairt sonn*. There is one metrically confirmed example where stress has shifted forward to the final syllable, *Apo-ló* (*I Sagsaibh* 37c).

The pretonic element of certain names with penultimate stress may be treated as stressed for the purpose of alliteration (*Aris-totuil*, *Fiol-óises* and *Nar-cissus*), implying that Latin names were pronounced with secondary stress on the first syllable. The variable stress noted above no doubt has its origins in this phenomenon.

### *Vowel length*

Vowels are generally long in open stressed syllables in the poems surveyed, regardless of the historical quantity of the vowel. Historic vowel length is preserved in *Brúsus*, *Clío*, *Corn-élia* and *Drúsus*, and confirmed by rhyme in *Apo-ló* and *Oilíua*; ahistoric long vowels appear in stressed syllables in *Bhénus*, *Cúipioda*, and perhaps *Mínerva*, and are confirmed by rhyme in *Pláto* and *Solon* (:óradh). While there are some examples of short vowels in open stressed syllables in the poems surveyed, e.g. *Codorus* (for *Cōdrus*), *Iulia*, and *Liua*, none of these are confirmed by rhyme. Long <ó> in the stressed syllables of *Óivid* and *Fil-óiseas*, confirmed by rhyme in the former case, appears to be an extension of this pattern.

In unstressed syllables, vowels are generally short, again regardless of historical quantity: e.g. *Cúipioda*, *Cleobholus* and *Pláto*, all confirmed by rhyme. There are, however, a small number of examples of historical long vowels preserved in final unstressed syllables: rhymed *Iuiliséis* / *Iuilisís* and *Séiréis*, and unrhymed *Aicilés* and *Cató*.

### *Hiatus*

Hiatus between vowels is often preserved in the poems surveyed, e.g. trisyllabic *Acteon*, *Diana*, *Iulius*, and *Orpheus*, four-syllable *Tolomeus*. When hiatus is not maintained, it often results in a diphthong, e.g. *Cornelia* (rhyming with *ria*) or *Cleobholus* (rhyming with *eoldorus*), although in the

<sup>83</sup> In addition to names from the poems surveyed here, one may also note spellings such as *Megera* for *Megara* and *Teseus* for *Theseus* in *Stair Ercuil*; *Polyphémus*, *Briareus*, *Argus*, etc. in *Tuireamh na hÉireann* (O'Rahilly, *Five Seventeenth-Century Political Poems*, 50-82); and the names of Greek and Latin authors *passim* in *TBB*.

case of unrhymed *Ovidius* and *Sipio*, the <i> seems to have been interpreted as a glide vowel. The presence or absence of hiatus appears to be motivated by the exigencies of metre: it is difficult to explain hiatus in *I-óib* in historical terms, and <ia> represents both a diphthong and two vowels in hiatus in different names in *‘Thrionóid Naomtha*.

Hiatus is generally not indicated, although spellings such as *tTroighian*, *Troi-fhian*, and *dTroigheanach* for ‘Trojan’ have been discussed above, pp. Medial <dh> and <gh> are also used to indicate hiatus in *Seanóir Cuilg* with the spellings [C]roidhén / Croigheóin for ‘Creon’, presumably derived from the spelling *Craidon* found in *Stair Ercuil*.

#### *Semivowels <j> and <v>*

Latin <j> is consistently spelled as <i> in the poems surveyed, suggesting that it had the value of a vowel. This is supported by alliteration between *Iulia* and *inghen* in *Dá Ghrádh*, between *Iúl* and *aosta* in *Ní Chongmhann*, and between *Iasóin* and *Earcail* in *Easgar Gaoidhil*, as well as hiatus in *I-óib* in *Seanóir Cuilg*. Although not confirmed by rhyme, the digraph <ia> likely has the value of a diphthong in *Tra-ian*.

Latin <v> is written variously as <bh>, <u> or <v>; the spelling <bh> implies that it has the value of a fricative. This is further supported by alliteration between *Bhénus* and *bandia*, and by rhyme with ‘light’ consonants for *Óivid* and *Oilíua*. The spellings *Bolcán* and genitive *Bholcáin* no doubt result in the reanalysis of an initial fricative as lenited <b>. There is evidence for a vocalic <v> in one poem, however: in *Beag nár Sáruigheadh*, *Ovid* rhymes with *thuig* and alliterates with *Virgill* (emended by the editor to *Uirgil*).

#### *Diphthongs <ae> <oe> and <eu>*

Classical Latin <ae> becomes long <é> in the stressed syllables of *Sésair*, *Césair*, and *Déadsholus*, where the length of the vowel is confirmed by rhyme. Short <e> appears in the unstressed syllable of unrhymed *Acteon*, as well as in *Tolomeus*. Occasionally, the same diphthong is spelled <ae> or <ao>, as in *Caesar*, *Aen(gh)eas* and *Aonghus* (for *Aeneas*).

The diphthong <oe> appears in a single name, *Oeta*, which is spelled *Fheta* or *Fheata* in the manuscripts. The length of this vowel is not confirmed by rhyme.

The diphthong <eu> becomes <eó> in the older borrowing *Eóraip*. It is spelled <eu> in the names *Euterpe* and *Euclides*, but the pronunciation of this diphthong is not confirmed by rhyme.

#### *<c> before a front vowel*

Latin <c> and <sc> are pronounced as palatal <s> before front vowels, as indicated by the spellings *Seireis* and *Séiréis* for ‘Ceres’ (confirmed by alliteration) and *Sipio* for ‘Scipio’. The same pattern is observed for spellings derived from Middle Irish versions of Latin words: thus *Maiseadóin* for Middle Irish *Maicedóin*, *dTraisigh* from *Tracíae*, *Sésair* for *Césair*, and *Tuil Sicir* for *Tuil Cicer*. Similarly, *Fiolóises* in *Seanóir cuilg* corresponds with *Filoces* in *Stair Ercuil*.

#### *Latin <h>*

As <h> is not recognized as an independent letter in Bardic poetry, it is not surprising that there is little evidence for it in the poems surveyed. Initial <h> is normally not present in the Gaelicized spellings of *Hector*, *Hercules*, and *Hippocrates*. When a spelling of a name with initial <h> participates in alliteration, it is always with a word that begins with a vowel or lenited <fh>

followed by a vowel. These two facts imply that initial <h> was mute, although it is possible spellings with initial <h> were treated as permanently mutated, as *Bhénus* appears to be.<sup>84</sup>

#### *Digraphs <ch> <ph> and <th>*

Initial <ch> only appears in the name *Chilo*, which occurs in an environment where one would expect lenition. Medial <ch> is typically preserved, although it is lost in spellings such as *Aicilés* and *Ainiceis*. Radical initial <ph> is either preserved or represented as <f>: *Fiolóises*, *Filib* or *Philip*, *Philis* and *Filisse* in the same poem. Medial <ph> is preserved in *Demophon* and *Orpheus*. Radical initial <th> is lost in *Talía*, as well as in the spellings *Téibh*, *Teasáill* and *dTraisigh* derived from Middle Irish. It is preserved in the spelling *Thebes*, found in the poem *D’Oilbhéarus*, and alliterates with *téid*. Medial <th> is preserved in the unrhymed spellings *Athens* and *Athéns*, also from *D’Oilbhéarus*, and becomes <t> in other poems.

#### *Other changes*

Occasionally, <t> appears where <c> is expected: *Aithíl* for *Aichíl*, *Traisdínéis* for *Crastinus*, and the manuscript spelling *TTroighén* for *Croighén*. Consonant clusters are simplified in the spellings *Bachus* for *Bacchus* and *Tolomeus* for *Ptolomeus*; and double <ll> is reduced to <l> in *Apoló* and *Philis*; <i> is found for <y> in the latter example. Glide vowels appear occasionally, e.g. *Seireis*, *Peiriander*, *Iuiliséis*, and *Traisdínéis*; and as noted above, Latin <i> is occasionally interpreted as a glide vowel as in disyllabic *Sipio*. Short vowels in unstressed syllables are occasionally substituted for other vowels of the same quantity, e.g. *Cata* for *Cato*, *Marcas* for *Marcus*, *Cleobholus* for *Cleobulus*, and *Codorus* or *Codoros* for *Codrus*; an ahistoric syllable has been added to the latter name. The value of Latin medial consonants is normally preserved, but medial <b> is lenited in *Cleobholus*.

## CONCLUSION

As noted above, sixteenth and seventeenth century authors writing in Irish typically preserved the Latin spellings of the Classical names that they borrowed; this is in contrast with earlier borrowings such as *Aichíl* which are often much more dramatically assimilated. The preservation of Latin spellings may represent a deliberate stylistic choice, foregrounding the exotic nature of the material or the poet’s broad learning; alternately, it may simply reflect the fact that patrons were likely to be already familiar with the Latin forms of these names.

Although certain names are subject to some variation, the treatment of Latin names in the poems surveyed points to a consistent system of Latin pronunciation. Classical Latin accentuation is preserved for the most part, and hiatus can be maintained or lost depending on the demands of metre. The vowel quantity is that of Vulgar rather than Classical Latin: vowels in stressed open syllables are long, all other vowels are short regardless of historical quantity.<sup>85</sup> Unstressed short vowels are indistinct, as in Early Modern Irish. Other features of Vulgar Latin seen in the poems surveyed include the reduction of the diphthongs <ae> and <oe> to <e>, and the value

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<sup>84</sup> As noted above (pp.), the name *Polyhymnia* provides possible evidence for the pronunciation of <h> at the beginning of a tonic syllable.

<sup>85</sup> C. H. Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (Boston, 1907), § 176. Vulgar Latin vowel quantity in early Irish loan-words from Latin is discussed at McManus, ‘A chronology’, § 83.



of <v> as a fricative.<sup>86</sup> Initial and medial <c> or <sc> becomes <s> before a front vowel.<sup>87</sup> All of these features are consistent with the orthographic evidence of later medieval Latin from Ireland.<sup>88</sup>

On the other hand, many of the features of other contemporary pronunciations of Latin are seemingly absent in the poems surveyed. There is no evidence for the pronunciation of Latin <j> as a consonant, a feature of English, French, and other Romance pronunciations, in the poems surveyed. The assibilation of <c> is a feature of English and French Latin, but it is also a feature of later medieval Irish Latin as noted above. English speakers of Latin during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries shortened the vowel of a stressed open antepenultimate syllable and lengthened many final unstressed open vowels; there is no evidence for, and indeed some evidence against, these developments in the poems, e.g. long antepenultimate in *Cúipioda*, and final unstressed short open vowel in *Pláto* (:tráth-so).<sup>89</sup> There is, however, some evidence for preserving or lengthening unstressed vowels before a final <s>, which is a development also seen in English Latin: rhymed *Iulisís* / *Iuiliséis* and *Séiréis*, and ahistoric lengthening in *Traisdínéis*.<sup>90</sup> English speakers of Latin also pronounced Latin long vowels with their post-Vowel Shift values; with the exception of the name *Iulisís* / *Iuiliséis*, there is no evidence for English vowel quality in these poems. Final stress and lengthening of final vowels is a distinctive feature of later Medieval and early Modern French Latin pronunciation, and evidence for this is only found in one name, *Apo-ló*.<sup>91</sup> While an interest in Classical tradition on the part of the poets may have been sparked by the Anglophone educations that their patrons received, or by contact with Continentally-educated clergy, these influences are not reflected in their pronunciation of Latin.

In discussing the Latin of later medieval Gaelic scholars, Breatnach states that ‘Latin in Ireland in the Later Middle Ages was pronounced [...] largely as if it were Irish’, with the notable exception that Irish word-initial stress did not replace Latin accentuation.<sup>92</sup> The same appears to be true regarding Latin names in the poems surveyed. Occasionally, spellings will include features not typically permitted by Early Modern Irish phonotactics: radical initial <h> in *Hector*, *Hercuilis*, etc.; medial <ct> in *Acteon* and *Hector*, initial radical <th> in *Thebes*, and final <ns> in *Athéns*. As discussed in passing above, there are no examples of such features confirmed by rhyme, and some metrical evidence that indicates that such spellings did *not* reflect the intended pronunciation. It seems most likely, therefore, that these represent ‘learned spellings’, which indicate the scribe’s familiarity with Latin but not the intended pronunciation; thus a scribe may have written *Hector* but said *Eachta(i)r*.

Two features of this Irish pronunciation of Latin, non-initial stress and the assibilation of <c> before a front vowel, are also found in names not borrowed directly from Latin in the poems surveyed, such as *Fiol-óiseas* (from *Stair Ercuil*), *Trais-dínéis* with ahistoric penultimate stress (from *Cath Catharda*), and *Tuil Sicer* from Middle Irish *Tuil Cicer*. This indicates that poets recognized such names as Latin names, and that they therefore were subject to the rules of Latin pronunciation as they understood them, regardless of where the poet may have come across any

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<sup>86</sup> Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 209-10, 215, 322.

<sup>87</sup> This represents a more advanced development of the palatalisation (and later affrication) of <c> before a front vowel in found Vulgar Latin (Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, §260). This pronunciation begins to appear in French and English pronunciation of Latin from the thirteenth century onward, reflecting phonological developments in the French language; see Harold Copeman, *Singing in Latin or Pronunciation Explor’d* (Oxford, 1990), 116, 163.

<sup>88</sup> Breatnach, ‘The Pronunciation of Latin’.

<sup>89</sup> Copeman, *Singing in Latin*, 21-22, 121-9, 292-5.

<sup>90</sup> In all of the examples mentioned, final <éis> rhymes with the word *éis*; lengthening of this vowel may therefore be motivated by metrical concerns. Cf. the spellings *Sésair* and *Sésáir*, discussed above, pp.

<sup>91</sup> Copeman, *Singing in Latin*, 145. The spellings *Apo-ló* and *Séiréis*, with metrically confirmed long vowels in final syllables, both appear in the same poem, *I Sagsaibh*.

<sup>92</sup> Breatnach, ‘The Pronunciation of Latin’, 71.

given name. The extension of these features of Latin pronunciation to Middle and Early Modern Irish forms of Latin names also suggests that poets encountered such names primarily via the written word rather than speech: as noted above, initial <c> in *Céssar* is confirmed by alliteration in at least one Middle Irish source, and the name *Alasda(i)r* suggests that *Alexandair* was borrowed with initial stress despite having penultimate stress in the poems surveyed. Forms with ahistoric accent or vowel length, or substitutions such as *Traisdínéis* for *Crastinus* and perhaps *Aithíl* for *Aichíl*, can be easily explained by written transmission.

The primary focus of this discussion has been on the Classical names themselves, the orthographic and metrical evidence for their pronunciation, and what information this evidence provides for the pronunciation of Latin among bardic poets in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This survey of Classical names has the additional benefit of suggesting which narratives, and perhaps specific texts, were available to bardic poets and which exerted a hold on their imaginations, although such questions of sources and reception cannot be adequately treated in a discussion of this length. As can be seen in the appendix, a number of relevant poems still require basic editorial work. It is the author's hope that this appendix, as a sort of *Index nominum* to the corpus of syllabic poetry, will help facilitate further work on questions of multilingualism and Classical reception in Early Modern Gaelic Ireland.



## APPENDIX: THE POEMS

The complete title of each poem is given in this appendix, as well as a summary of that poem's Classical content. Titles are given in the normalized spelling used in the Bardic Poetry Database in order to facilitate searches. If a poem is not included in the Database, the spelling used in the most recent edition is followed. Further information on editions, manuscripts, authorship, etc., has only been reproduced here when that information was not available in the Database at the time of writing.

**A *Bhláith*** = *A Bhláith na Muadh, a Phlúr Phluincéd.*

Not included in the database. Four quatrains in *séadna*, accompanied by a Latin translation in elegiac couplets, included in Froinsias Ó Maolmhuaidh's *Grammatica Latino-Hibernica* (1677); cf. *Glaine no Cách*. Later published as *Dán na mBMionúr* poem 42. The addressee of the poem is likened to Mars (q. 4).

**A *Bhean*** = *A Bhean na gCíoch gCorrsholas.*

Twenty-eight quatrains in an *óglachas* of *ae freislighe*. An edition of the complete poem was published by T. F. O'Rahilly in 1913, and an abbreviated version as *DG* poem 32.<sup>93</sup> The abbreviated version appears in the database. The middle section of the poem, absent in *DG*, provides a catalogue of famous men who were deceived by women, including Alexander (q. 18) and Ovid (q. 17).

**A *Mhac-alla*** = *A Mhac-alla Dheas.*

Not included in the database. Twelve quatrains in an *óglachas* of *leathrannaíocht mhór* attributed to Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh (fl. 1630), edited by O'Rahilly as *DG* poem 19. At least twenty-two manuscript witnesses survive.<sup>94</sup> The poem, which takes the form of a dialogue between the love-sick poet and his echo, alludes to the myth of Narcissus (qq. 9, 11).

**A *Thoirdealbhaigh*** = *A Thoirdealbhaigh, Turn th'Aigneadh* (*ABM* poem 25).

The apologue of this poem (qq. 15-26), which was edited and translated by Cathal Ó hÁinle, recounts Pompey's defeat at Thessaly, and his flight to Lesbos and later Africa.<sup>95</sup>

***Adhbhar*** = *Adhbhar Beadhghtha Bás Déise.*

The subjects of the elegy are compared favourably to a range of historical, Biblical, and Classical persons, including Achilles (q. 15), Cato (q. 17), and Hector (q. 15).

***Aithreach Damh*** = *Aithreach Damh mo Dhíochoisge.*

The destructive power of love is likened to the gaze of the basilisk (q. 5).

***An Sgítheach Tú*** = *An Sgítheach Tú, a Mhacaoimh Mná?*

The woman to whom the poem is addressed is likened obliquely to Helen, whose beauty caused war between Greece and Troy (q. 7).

***An Tú A-rís*** = *An Tú A-rís, a Ráith Teamhrach?*

<sup>93</sup> T. F. O'Rahilly, 'A bhean na gcíoch gcórrsholus', *Gadelica: A Journal of Modern Irish Studies* 1 (1913), 239–43.

<sup>94</sup> For the manuscript sources, see Síle Ní Mhurchú, 'Observations on the manuscript sources for the *Dánta Grá*', *Celtica* 29 (2017), 199–250, at 240.

<sup>95</sup> Ó hÁinle, 'Three Apologues', 116–23.

The patron's house is likened to Troy during the time of Laomedon (q. 16).

***A-nocht = A-nocht is Uaigneach Éire.***

Two poems are known by this title, identified in the Database as the 'short' and 'long' versions. Both versions liken the state of Ireland after the Flight of the Earls to that of Troy after the death of her heroes (q. 10 short, q. 17 long).

***A-nois Tánaig = A-nois Tánaig Aodh Eanghach.***

The subject of the poem is said to possess *anóir cinn Grég* 'the honour of the chief of Greece' (q. 31).

***Aonta Déise = Aonta Déise ag Díon Laighean (ABM poem 51).***

A wedding poem; the bridegroom is referred to as *orrlar fuind Greg* 'the support of the land of Greece' (q. 38).

***Beag Mhaireas = Beag Mhaireas do Mhacraidh Ghaoidheal (ABM poem 61).***

The poet alludes to the Greek origin of the Irish (qq. 3, 5), references Cato's Stoic philosophy (q. 24), and paraphrases Ovid's advice to the lovesick man (qq. 27-8).

***Beag nár Sáruigheadh = Beag nár Sáruigheadh Síol Néill.***

The subject of the poem is likened to a number of Classical figures in terms of his martial prowess and education, including Achilles, son of Peleus (q. 30), Aristotle (q. 34), Caesar? (q. 34), Cato (q. 31), Cicero (q. 32), Ovid (q. 31), and Virgil (q. 31).

***Bean do Lámhaigheadh = Bean do Lámhaigheadh Leith Cuinn.***

The apologue (34-44) relates the destruction of Troy by the Greeks following the death of Hector, son of Priam.

***Breitheamh Ceart = Brethemh Ceart Cothrom an tÉag (ABM poem 72).***

A meditation on death, in which the poet lists a number of great men of the past who have now perished, including Alexander (qq. 6, 12), and Hippocrates (q. 8).

***Cá bhFuair = Cá bhFuair an tEineach Iosdadh.***

Not included in the database. Twenty-five quatrains in loose *deibhidhe*, anonymous, written for Aodh mac Toirdhealbhaigh Ó Raghallaigh in the later seventeenth century; edited as *O'Reillys* poem 27. The poet refers to Aodh as a *fear tagra mar Thuill Sigir* 'an advocate like Cicero' (q. 20) in reference to his patronage of the art of poetry.

***Ceathrar = Ceathrar do Bhí ar Uaigh an Fhir.***

Four philosophers stand by the grave of Alexander the Great, son of Philip, king of Greece, and make pronouncements on the inevitability of death and vanity of earthly concerns. Cf. *Fill th'Aghaidh*.

***Cionnas do Ghéabhainn = Cionnas do Ghéabhainn Grádh Filib.***

The poet references the Greek origin of the Gaels (q. 26).

***Cliath Mhínighthe = Cliath Mhínighthe ar Maicne Ríogh.***

The apologue of the poem (qq. 18-23) relates the youthful training of Aithíl, perhaps another name for Achilles.

**Cóir Súil** = *Cóir Súil re Seasamh Gaoidheal* (ABM poem 110).

The apologue (qq. 26-39), edited and translated by Ó hÁinle, relates how the soldier Gaius Crastinus's spear-cast started the decisive battle between the forces of Caesar and Pompey.<sup>96</sup>

**Créad A-nois** = *Créad A-nois Fuirgheas Éamonn*.

The poem contains four brief apologues arguing that the aggressor in a conflict is never the victor; the conflicts between Caesar and Pompey (qq. 17-20) and between the Greeks and the Trojans (qq. 21-24) form the subject of two of these apologues.

**Créad fá Seachnainn-se** = *Cread fá Seachnainn-sa Suirghe*.

As is the case with other poems only preserved in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, no transcription is included in the Database. William Gillies published a transcription, edition in normalized Gaelic orthography, and translation in 2008.<sup>97</sup> The poet renounces love, and lists individuals from Biblical, Classical and Gaelic tradition who were brought to ruin by women, including Aristotle (q. 9) and Hercules (q. 7).

**Créacht gan Leigheas** = *Créacht gan Leigheas Lot Cruachan* (ABM poem 120).

The subject of the poem is likened to Achilles (q. 14).

**Créad So** = *Créad So ag Buaidhreadh Ban nGaoidheal*.

The poem's apologue (qq. 17-33) relates how 'Oliva', the daughter of the king of Greece, incurred the jealousy of other noblewomen who conspired to poison her at a feast. Oliva was spared, while those who wished her harm drank the poison and died.

**Dá Ghrádh** = *Dá Ghrádh Tréigfeadh Maol Mórdha*.

The apologue (qq. 14-25) relates how, after Pompey's defeat at Thessaly, Cornelia reflected upon the misfortune that also befell her former husband, Marcus Crassus, and declared that, since she brings misfortune to those whom she loves, it would have been better for Pompey if she had married Caesar. The poet later states that Venus has inflamed him with love for his patron (q. 31).

**Dairt Sonn** = *Dairt Sonn dá Seoladh go Tadhg*.

The poet's affection for his patron is expressed using the image of Cupid's arrows (qq. 6, 9, 11, 17). Cupid is referred to as a *bandia* 'goddess' and with feminine pronouns throughout.

**Deireadh Flaithis** = *Deireadh Flaithis ag Féin Gall*.

The poem was recently edited and translated by Eoin Mac Cárthaigh.<sup>98</sup> The poet mentions 'comhairle Cható' (q. 35) which may be, as Mac Cárthaigh suggested, a reference to a specific wisdom text of that name.

**Do Bronnadh** = *Do Bronnadh Damh Cara Cuilg*.

Not included in the database. Ten quatrains in *rannaíocht mhór* with a single quatrain of *ceangal*, attributed to Muiris mac Dháibhí Duibh mac Gearailt (c. 1585-1630), edited as MD poem 14 and

<sup>96</sup> Ó hÁinle, 'Three apologues', 103–15.

<sup>97</sup> William Gillies, 'Créad fa seachnainn-se suirghe?', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 24 (2008), 214–53.

<sup>98</sup> Mac Cárthaigh, 'Gofraidh Óg Mac an Bhaird cecenit'.

*DMDDG* poem 3. The poet claims that the sword he was given as a gift was forged in Vulcan's smithy (q. 4), and was formerly owned by Hector and Hercules (q. 8).

***Do Leighis Dia*** = *Do Leighis Dia, Derbtha an Mhíorbhail* (ABM poem 188).

The subject of the poem is likened to Hector, son of Priam (q. 10).

***D'Oilbhéarus*** = *D'Oilbhéarus, is Beatha a BFDhás* (ABM poem 143).

This poem is anonymous in the Database, although Pádraig Ó Macháin has suggested that it was composed by Fearghal Óg mac an Bhaire. <sup>99</sup> Parts of this poem were previously published by Cuidbeirt Mac Craith. <sup>100</sup> The apologue (qq. 13-25) recounts the peregrinations of the Athenian lawmaker Solon and his sojourn in Thebes.

***Do Roinneadh*** = *Do Roinneadh Ríge Chonnacht*.

The poet references the Greek origin of the Irish (q. 24), and claims that his patron's weapons were forged in Vulcan's smithy (q. 34).

***Do Thuit Meirge*** = *Do Thuit Meirge Catha Cuinn*.

An elegy; the devastation that Ireland will suffer after the death of subject is likened to the fate of Troy (q. 13).

***Easgar Gaoidhil*** = *Easgar Gaoidhil Éag Aoinfhir*.

An elegy, the subject is likened to several heroes from Classical tradition: Achilles (q.10), Alexander (q. 8), Hector (q. 10), Hercules (q. 10), Jason (q. 10), Macedon (q. 8), and Pyrrhus (q. 10).

***Fada Cóir*** = *Fada Cóir Fódhla ar Albain*.

The apologue (qq. 18-31) recounts how Caesar, while on campaign in Europe, saw a vision of a personified Rome who begged him to return to Italy in order to liberate her.

***Fada is Leanta*** = *Fada is Leanta Lorg Uilliam* (ABM poem 222).

The subject of the poem is likened to Hector (q. 6).

***Fada re a Choimhéd*** = *Fada re a Choimhéd Clú Roisdeard*.

The subject of the poem is likened to Hercules (q. 37), and his fame is said to extend as far as Greece (q. 7).

***Fan Ráith*** = *Fan Ráith Imrid Aicme Ír* (ABM poem 234).

The poem contains two brief apologues, one on the god Saturn (qq. 27-29), and one on the fall of Troy after the death of Hector, son of Priam (qq. 30-33).

***Féach Orm*** = *Féach Orm, a Inghean Eoghain*.

The poet recounts the story of Narcissus falling in love with his reflection (q. 18).

***Fearann Cloidhimh*** = *Fearann Cloidhimh Críoch Bhanbha*.

The poet references the Greek origin of the Irish (qq. 10-12).

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<sup>99</sup> Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'Poems by Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaire', *Celtica* 24 (2003), 252-63, at 255-6.

<sup>100</sup> Cuidbeirt Mac Craith, 'Oilbhearús Hosé, máistir sgoile an Athar Aodha Mhac an Bhaire, O.F.M.' in T. O'Donnel (ed), *Franciscan Donegal: a Souvenir of the Dedication of the Franciscan Church* (Ros Nuala 1952), 109-12.

***Fill th'Aghaidh*** = *Fill th'Aghaidh Uainn, a Éire* (ABM poem 236).

The apologue (qq. 27-42), which has been edited by both Eleanor Knott and Pádraig Ó Macháin, relates the sayings of four sages at the grave of Alexander the Great.<sup>101</sup> Cf. *Ceathrar*.

***Fogas Fortacht*** = *Fogas Fortacht don Tír Thuaidh*.

The poem alludes to the Greek origins of the Irish (qq. 2, 19), and the apologue (qq. 32-37) recounts how Priam rebuilt the city of Troy.

***Fogas Umhla*** = *Fogas Umhla d'Ainm Gaisgidh*.

The subject of the poem is compared to various heroes from the Ulster cycle and Classical tradition, including Achilles (q. 21), Hector (q. 21), and Hercules (q. 13).

***Folamh Éire*** = *Folamh Éire d'Easbaidh Bhriain* (ABM poem 246).

The subject of the poem is likened to Hector of Troy (q. 18).

***Fonn Sligidh*** = *Fuigheall Formuid Fonn Sligidh* (ABM poem 255).

The poem's apologue (qq. 27-37) recounts Ulysses' homecoming and reunion with his wife, Penelope, after the Trojan war.

***Forais Éiges*** = *Forais Éiges Innsi Gall*.

The warriors in the subject of the poem's retinue are likened to those at Troy (q. 9).

***Fréamh na Fíoruaisle*** = *Fréamh na Fíoruaisle Fuil Chéin*.

The weapons of the poem's subject are likened to those that captured Troy (q. 30).

***Fuil Dálaigh*** = *Fuigheal Formaid Fuil Dálaigh*.

The poem's apologue (qq. 21-33) relates how war between Caesar and Pompey only broke out after the death of Julia, Caesar's daughter and Pompey's wife.

***Gabh mo Chomhairle*** = *Gabh mo Chomhairle, a Chara*.

Not included in the database. Nine quatrains in loose *rannaíocht bheag*, anonymous, and edited as MD poem 28. The poet refers to Marcus Crassus's death through being force-fed molten gold (q. 5).

***Gabh mo Shuirghe*** = *Gabh mo Shuirghe, a UFGa Émainn*.

The poet compares himself to Venus (q. 20) and Minerva (q. 21), and the apologue recounts the myth of Actaeon and Diana (qq. 23-28).

***Gabhaim*** = *Gabhaim mo Dheich Rainn san RFian* (ABM poem 262).

The poem was edited by Pádraig Mac an Bhaird as part of an MA thesis at UCD in 1998, although this was not available at time of writing. The subject of the poem is likened to Achilles (q. 4) and Hector (q. 5).

***Geall ó Ulltaibh*** = *Geall ó Ulltaibh ag Éinfhear*.

The subject of the poem is likened to Hector (q. 5).

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<sup>101</sup> *Ir. Syll. Poetry*, 37-9; Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'Irish and Scottish traditions concerning *Ceathrar do Bhí ar Uaigh an Fhir*', *Éigse* 30 (1997), 7-17, at 9-12.

**Glaine no Cách** = *Glaine no Cách Thú mur Thriath.*

Not included in the database. Five quatrains in *deibhidhe*, accompanied by a Latin translation in elegiac couplets, included in Froinsias Ó Maolmhuaidh's *Grammatica Latino-Hibernica* (1677); cf. *A bhláith*. Later published as *Dán na mBMionúr* poem 43. The poet asks the muse Thalia (q.3) for advice in how to decline the foreign surname of the poem's subject.

**I Sagsaibh** = *I Sagsaibh Loitear Leath Cuinn.*

An elegy, the poet compares his deceased patron to the heroes Achilles, Hector, and Hercules (q. 22), and to the deities Apollo and Mars (q. 37), and states that Ceres is in mourning over his death (q. 38).

**Iad Féin** = *Iad Féin a Chinneas ar Chlann Néill.*

The apologue (qq. 32-38) relates the fall of Troy, and how the Greeks under Agamemnon could not have prevailed if the Trojans were not betrayed by one of their own.

**Iaruim bhur mBeannocht** = *Iaruim bhur mBeannocht gan Fheirg.*

Not included in the database. Fifteen quatrains in an *óglachas* on *rannaíocht bheag* and a quatrain of *ceangal*, written by a Séamus mac Cuarta in the early eighteenth century, edited as *Dán na mBMionúr* poem 76. The poet praises his addressee's virtue by claiming that Bacchus never succeeded in tempting him (q. 12).

**Ina mBláth** = *Ina mBláth Leagthar Cineadh Chaoimh (ABM poem 278).*

The poem's apologue (qq. 16-29) relates how Hector, son of Priam, and defender of Troy, made a compact with the 'spirit of valour'.

**Ionmhain Teach** = *Ionmhain Teach ré dTugas cúl.*

The subject's house is likened to Troy in its prime (q. 9), and the poet alludes to the Greek origin of the Irish (q. 17).

**Is Follus** = *Is Follus, a Mhic Dáire.*

A poem written as part of the contention triggered by Tadhg mac Dáire mac Bruaideadha. The poet, a Franciscan, asserts that the Church endorses the study of many pagan authors, namely Aristotle (q. 22), Euclid (q. 27), Galen (q. 25), Hippocrates (q. 25), Ptolemy (q. 26), and Virgil (q. 28).

**Leis Féin** = *Leis Féin Moltar Mág Uidhir.*

The apologue (qq. 20-32) relates how Alexander, son of Philip, and king of Greece, forbade people to address panegyrics to him while he lived.

**Lios Gréine** = *Lios Gréine is Eamhain d'Utaibh.*

The poet likens the patron's house to Troy in its prime (q. 7).

**Mairg Do-ní** = *Mairg Do-ní Deimhin dá Dhóigh.*

The poet alludes to Cato's wisdom (q. 4), perhaps in reference to a specific wisdom text, as in *Deireadh Flaithis*.

**Mairg 'ga Laigid** = *Mairg 'ga Laigid a Lámha.*

The poet lists a number of figures from Classical and Biblical tradition who are now dead, including Achilles (q. 12), Hector (q. 12), Hercules (q. 12), and Pompey (q. 11).

***Maith an Sealad*** = *Maith an Sealad Fuair Eire.*

A series of brief apologues relate the deaths of Brutus (qq. 63-4), Cato (q. 62), Codrus (qq. 65-7), and Drusus Germanicus (qq. 38-40). The text from the Database was used, as the published edition was unavailable at the time of writing.

***Maith an Sgéalaidhe*** = *Maith an Sgéalaidhe an Sgriobtuír.*

The poet comments on the vanity of secular concerns, noting that Aristotle is in Hell despite his learning (q. 16), and that Alexander the Great now rules only his burial plot (q. 17).

***Maith do Chuid*** = *Maith do Chuid a Charbaid Mhaoil (Ma di chwddi' a charbit well).*

As is the case with other poems only preserved in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, no transcription is included in the Database, and the transcript in Quiggin's *Poems from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* was consulted.<sup>102</sup> The poet likens his addressee to *mak re Greyg* 'the son of the king of Greece' and to Hector (q. 7).

***Malairt Chrotha*** = *Malairt Chrotha ar Chrích Luighne.*

The apologue (qq. 25-37) relates the story of Demophon, prince of Athens, and Phyllis of Thrace.

***Mithidh Sin*** = *Mithidh Sin, a Mhaca Mílidh (ABM poem 338).*

The poet alludes to the Greek origin of the Irish (qq. 10, 20) and compares his patron to Hector (q. 18).

***Mo Mhallacht*** = *Mo Mhallacht Ort, a Shaoghail (ABM poem 342).*

An edition and translation of this poem was published by Mac Cárthaigh in 2013.<sup>103</sup> The poet discusses the vanity of worldly things, referencing a number of figures from Biblical and Classical tradition who are now dead, including Alexander (q. 6) and Caesar (q. 7).

***Mo Thruaighe mar Atáid*** = *Mo Thruaighe mar Atáid Gaoidhil.*

The poet likens the state of the Irish after the plantation of Ulster to that of the Trojans after the sack of Troy (q. 16), and bemoans the fact that they do not have the likes of Hector, son of Priam, to defend them (q. 19).

***Mo Thruaighe mur Taoi*** = *Mo Thruaighe mur Taoi, a Thulach.*

An elegy, the subject's former territory is likened to Troy after the death of Hector (q. 21).

***Mór an Lucht*** = *Mór an lucht arthraigh Éire.*

The poet likens the sea-voyage of several Ulster aristocrats to the continent with the voyage of Noah's Ark, and that of the Argo when Troy was sacked during Laomedon's reign (qq. 27-35).

***Mór idir*** = *Mór idir na hAimsearaibh.*

A social satire, the poet references Ovid's account of the four ages of man (q. 2), and Cicero's *De Amicitia* (q. 8)

***Mór Iongabháil*** = *Mór Iongabháil Anma Ríogh.*

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<sup>102</sup> Quiggin, *Poems from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*, 68–9.

<sup>103</sup> Eoin Mac Cárthaigh, "'Mo mhallacht ort, a shaoghail'" (c. 1655): dán is a sheachadadh', *Ériu* 63 (2013), 41–77.



The apologue (qq. 14-42) tells a version of the story of Daedalus' escape from imprisonment on wings of his own devising. Daedalus is referred to as the son of Saturn.

**Mór Theasda** = *Mór Theasda dh'Obair Óivid.*

The poet claims that Ovid's account of the four declining ages of man failed to account the renewal that the world would enjoy under James I (qq. 1-2), that the Furies are calmed (qq. 7-8), and that Ceres has pacified Mars (q. 9).

**Neart Gach Tíre** = *Neart Gach Tíre ar Thír Chonaill.*

The apologue (qq. 29-40) relates how the horse of Alexander, son of Philip, allowed no man to ride it after the death of its master.

**Néll Longphuirt** = *Néll Longphuirt ós Loch Eachach.*

The subject of the poem's house is likened to the Argo on account of its craftsmanship (q. 30).

**Ní ar Aois** = *Ní ar Aois Meadhaighthear Mac Ríogh.*

The poet claims that recounting stories of his patron's accomplishments are as pleasant as recounting tales of the Trojan war (q. 13).

**Ní Bean** = *Ní Bean Aonothruis Éire* (ABM poem 358).

The poet describes the influence of Saturn (q. 28-30), and connects the subject of the elegy to Athens (qq. 44, 47) and several historical figures known for their military skill and philosophical accomplishment: Caesar (q. 37), Chilo (q. 34), Cleobolus (q. 35), Marcus Aurelius? (q. 38), Periander (q. 35), Plato (q. 35), Pompey (q. 37), Scipio (q. 38), Solon (q. 34), and Trajan (q. 38).

**Ní Buan** = *Ní Buan Bláth i gCionn Bliadhna.*

The poet compares his year of suffering after his son's death to *bliadhain mar Phlató* 'a year according to Plato' (q. 6); perhaps in reference to the world-year of *Timaeus* 39d.

**Ní Chongmhann** = *Ní Chongmhann Inbhe acht Oirbhert.*

The poem includes a brief apologue (q. 8) on how Caesar prevailed over Pompey despite being younger, and attributes a statement on the dangers of power to Cicero (qq. 23-25).

**Ní Deireadh** = *Ní Deireadh d'Anbhuaín Éireann. Críoch Gaoidheal...*

An apologue (qq. 24-36) relates the conquest of Greece by Alexander, son of Philip. The text from the Database was used, as the published edition was unavailable at the time of writing.

**Ní Tráth** = *Ní Tráth Aithreachais d'Fhuil Chonaill.*

An elegy, the poet refers to the subject as the heir of Hercules (q. 16), likens Ulster to Rome after the death of Pompey (q. 38) or Greece after the death of Achilles, son of Peleus, (q. 39), and includes a brief apologue (q. 40-42) stating that nobody wounded by Achilles ever recovered.

**Ó Dhia** = *Ó Dhia Dealbhthar Gach Oige.*

The subject of the poem is likened to Hector (q. 60). The text from the Database was used, as the published edition was unavailable at the time of writing.

**Orpheus Óg** = *Orpheus Óg Ainm Eoghain.*

The subject of the poem is repeatedly likened to Orpheus (qq. 1, 2, 4).



***Pardhas Fódla*** = *Pardhas Fódla Fir Mhanach*.

The apologue (qq. 27-52) recounts the prophesied birth of Hercules in Greece.

***Rug Cosnamh*** = *Rug Cosnamh ar Chrích Midhe* (ABM poem 408).

The apologue (qq. 22-31), which was edited and translated by Ó hÁinle, recounts Caesar's defeat of Pompey at Thessaly.<sup>104</sup>

***Rug Eadrain*** = *Rug Eadrain ar Iath nAlban*.

The subject of the poem is likened to several figures from Gaelic and classical tradition, including Aristotle (q. 26), Caesar (q. 4), Cato (q. 4), Hector (q. 3), Marcus Crassus? (q. 7), and Pompey (q. 4).

***San Sbíinn*** = *San Sbíinn do Toirneadh Teamhair*.

The apologue (qq. 21-29) recounts how the Greeks could not sack Troy until the death of Hector, son of Priam.

***Searc na Suadh*** = *Searc na Suadh an Chrobhaing Chumhra*.

Not included in the database. Forty quatrains in *séadna* followed by thirteen in *amhrán*, written by Dáibhí Ó Bruadair in 1682 after the trial and acquittal of several Catholic gentlemen accused of participation in the Popish plot, and edited by John Mac Erlean.<sup>105</sup> A brief apologue (qq. 24-25) relates the wanderings of Aeneas after the fall of Troy.

***Seanóir Cuilg*** = *Seanóir Cuilg Cairt an Bhúrcaigh* (ABM poem 423).

The apologue (qq. 13-36) relates Hercules, son of Jupiter and foster-son of Creon, fought a dragon on 'Oilen na gCáorach cCorcra' 'the island of purple sheep' at the request of Philoctetes. The poet also alludes to the Greek origin of the Irish (q. 41). An edition of the apologue was published in *Ir. Syll. Poetry*, 62–66.

***Sgol gan Oide*** = *Sgol gan Oide an t-Ord Gaisgidh* (ABM poem 425).

Edited and translated by Pádraig Ó Macháin in 2010.<sup>106</sup> The poet likens Ireland after the death of the subject of the elegy to Troy after the death of Hector (q. 8), Rome after that of Pompey (q. 9), or the world after that of Alexander (q. 10).

***Síon Choitcheann*** = *Síon Choitcheann Cumhadh Ghaoidheal* (ABM poem 428).

The poem's apologue (qq. 25-34) recounts the wanderings of Aeneas from Troy to Italy.

***Tabhair, a Laoigh*** = *Tabhair, a Laoigh Luinn Leachta*.

Not included in the database. Twelve quatrains in an *óglachas* on *deibhí*, written by a Pádraig Mac Gilliondoin for Father Féidhlim Ó hAnluain in the early eighteenth century; cf. *Thrionóid naomhtha*. Edited as *Dán na mBMionúr* poem 77. Ó hAnluain is said to have received his education at Mount Helicon (q. 4) and is likened to Cicero (q. 5).

***Táinig Críoch*** = *Táinig Críoch ar Olc nÉireann* (ABM poem 451).

<sup>104</sup> Ó hÁinle, 'Three Apologues', 97–102.

<sup>105</sup> John C. Mac Erlean, *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair / The Poems of David Ó Bruadair Part II* (London, 1913), 264–88.

<sup>106</sup> Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'An Elegy for Seán Óg Ó Dochartaigh', *Celtica* 26 (2010), 89–110.

Ireland after the death of the subject of this elegy is likened to Troy after the death of her defenders (q. 7).

***T'aire Riot*** = *T'aire Riot a Ógáin Fhinn*.

Not included in the database. 24 quatrains in *deibhidhe*, attributed to Muiris mac Dáibhí Dhuibh Mac Gearailt (c.1585–1630), as *DMDDG* poem 5. The poet recounts a number of figures from Classical history who were brought to ruin by women: Paris, Hector and Achilles by Helen of Troy (qq. 3-4); Ovid by a daughter of Caesar (q. 6); and Hercules by Deianira (q. 7).

***Tairnig Aoibhneas*** = *Tairnig Aoibhneas Chlann gColla* (*ABM* poem 454).

The apologue (qq. 26-41) recounts a war between the Germans and the Greeks.

***Tánag Adhaigh*** = *Tánag Adhaigh go hEas gCaoille*.

The poet alludes to the Greek origin of the Irish (q. 7).

***Teasda Éire*** = *Teasda Éire san Easbáinn*.

The poem contains apologues on the deaths of Hercules (qq. 32-35) and of Caesar after his defeat of Pompey at Thessaly (qq. 39-52).

***Tógaibh Eadrad*** = *Tógaibh Eadrad is Éire*.

The apologue (qq. 19-40) relates how Hippocrates' daughter was transformed into a dragon and remained in that state until her prophesied saviour came.

***Tomhus Mhúir*** = *Tomhus Mhúir Chruachna i gCluain Fraoich*.

The subject of the poem's house is likened to Troy (q. 13).

***Thrionóid Naomhtha*** = *Thrionóid Naomhtha, Dhlíghis Uainn*.

Not included in the database. Twenty-five quatrains in an *óglachas* on *deibhidhe* with a single quatrain of *ceangal*, written by a Brian Óg Mac Cana for Father Féidhlim Ó hAnluain in the early eighteenth century; cf. *Tabhair, a Laoigh*. Edited as *Dán na mBMionúr* poem 78. Ó hAnluain is likened to Aristotle (q. 7), and is said to have received various gifts from the muses Clio, Melpomene, Thalia, Euterpe, Terpsichore, Calliope, Urania, and Polyhymnia (qq. 12-19).

***Truagh Cor*** = *Truagh Cor Chloinne hÁdhaimh*.

A free translation by Bonabheantúra Ó hEoghusa of *Cur mundus militat*, a Latin poem commonly attributed to Saint Bernard. The poem lists a number of figures from Biblical and Classical tradition who are no longer living, including Achilles (q. 7), Alexander (q. 9), Aristotle (q. 10), Caesar (q. 9), Cicero (q. 10), Hector (q. 7), and Hercules (q. 7).

***Tuar Ríge*** = *Tuar Ríge Rath Tighearna*.

The subject of the poem is likened to Hector (q. 33).

***Turnamh Dóchais*** = *Turnamh Dóchais Díoth muirne*.

The apologue (qq. 10-20) relates how war broke out between Caesar and Pompey following the death of Marcus Crassus.

- Ab urbe condita** Livy, *History of Rome*, translated by B. O. Foster (bks. 1–20), J.C. Yardley (bks. 21–7, 31–40), Frank Gardner Moore (bks. 28–30), Evan T. Sage (bks. 40–2), Alfred C. Schlesinger (40–5). 14 vols, Loeb Classical Library 114, 133, 172, 191, 233, 355, 367, 381, 295, 301, 313, 332, 396, 404 (Cambridge, MA, 1919–59).
- Aisl. Tund.** V. H. Friedel and Kuno Meyer (eds), *Aisling Tundail* (Paris, 1907).
- Cath Catharda* Whitley Stokes (ed), *In Cath Catharda : The Civil War of the Romans*, *Irische Texte* IV.2 (1909).
- Dán na mBMionúr* Cuthbert Mac Craith (ed), *Dán na mBráthair Mionúr*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1967, 1980).
- DG* Tomás Ó Rathile, *Dánta Grádha* (Cork 1926).
- DMDDG* Nicholas Williams (ed.), *Dánta Mhuiris mhic Dháibhí Dhuibh Mhic Gearailt* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1971).
- FFÉ** David Comyn and Patrick S. Dinneen (ed.), *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn le Seathrún Céitinn D.D.*, 4 vols, ITS 4, 8, 9, 15 (London, 1902–14).
- FGB** Patrick S. Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla: An Irish-English Dictionary* (London, 1904).
- Im. Aen.* George Calder (ed.), *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, ITS 6 (London 1907).
- Ir. Syll. Poetry* Eleanor Knott, *An introduction to Irish syllabic poetry of the period 1200–1600* (Dublin 1957).
- Luid Iasón* Gearóid S. Mac Eoin (ed.), ‘Dán ar chogadh na Traoi’, *Studia Hibernica* 1 (1961), 19–55.
- MD* Thomas F. O’Rahilly (ed.), *Measgra Dánta* (Dublin and Cork, 1927).
- O’Reillys* James Carney (ed.), *Poems on the O’Reillys* (Dublin, 1950).
- Scéla Alex.* Kuno Meyer (ed.), *Die Gedichte von Phillip und Alexander von Macedonien aus dem Lebar Brecc, mit deutscher Uebersetzung und mit Excerpten aus em Book of Ballymote*, *Irische Texte* II.II (1887), 1-108.
- Stair Ercuil* Gordon Quin (ed.), *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás: The Life and Death of Hercules* (London, 1939).
- TBB* Osborn Bergin (ed.), *Trí Bior-Ghaoithe an Bháis: Séathrún Céitinn do Sgríobh.* (Dublin, 1931).

**TDall**

Eleanor Knott, *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (1550–1591)*, 2 vols, ITS 22, 23 (London 1922, 1926).

**Timaeus**

Plato, *Timaeus, Critias, Cleitophon, Menexenus, Epistles*, translated by R. G. Bury, Loeb Classical Library 234 (Cambridge, MA, 1929), 1–254.

*TTebe*

George Calder (ed), *Togail na Tebe* (Cambridge, 1922).

*TTroí*

Whitley Stokes and Ernst Windisch (eds), *Togail Troí*, *Irische Texte* II.I (1884), 3–62.