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 assimilation 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. 1500–1700.¹ 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.² Further poems were identified by consulting Liam Ó Caithnia’s book Apalóga na bhFilli 1200–1650 and Simms’ chapter ‘Foreign apalogues in bardic poetry’, as well as searching the indices of proper names in published collections that contained poems identified by searching the Database.³ Once the relevant poems had been identified, the author read

¹ 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).
² 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.³ bardic.celt.dias.ie (accessed between September and November 2020).
³ Liam P. Ó Caithnia, Apalóga na bhFilli 1200–1650 (Dublin, 1984), 123–39; Katharine Simms, ‘Foreign apalogues 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 Ghearóidí, Déana mo Dháil, composed by Gofraidh Fionn Ó Díalaigh in the fourteenth century, was not included as, although Simms states that Ó Díalaigh...
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 verison 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 hlr*, 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.⁴

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.⁵ 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.⁶ 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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⁵ 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.
⁶ 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*. 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’.

**Names of Divinities**

**Apollō, -ōnis**
Nominative *Apoló* in *I Sagsaibh*. The form is trisyllabic and forms internal rhyme with *mó* (37d), 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. The Middle Irish form of this name is indeclinable *Apaill* or *Apoill* (*TTroi* 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 mBeannocht*. 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 *iul* (17a), which is consistent with the antepenultimate stress that one would expect from the Latin form (*Call-ipoe*), 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* (38ab). 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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7 *eDIL* s.v. *Afraic, Assia, Éoraip, Gréc, grécach, Róm, rómánach*.
8 Many readers will no doubt recall the line ‘an cnú do chnuas Ghaoidheal 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.
9 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 : Cúipeda (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. 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. 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.

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 ‘Thrionóid 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 Íóib in Seannóir Cuilg, as part of Hercules’ patronymic. The name is disyllabic, and rhyme with òig (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 Íóib (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 Ércuil has genitive and dative Íóib (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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10 E.g. the first line of An Síogaí Rómhánach, ‘innisim fis is ní fis bréigg i’. Cecile O’Rahilly (ed.), Five Seventeenth-Century Political Poems (Dublin, 1952), 17.
11 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.
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 (TTROI 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 Saturrn, Sadóirnn, Sáduirn, Sádairn in Fan Ráith, Seanóir Cuilg, and Mór longabhbáil. 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 27ab), ainm : Sadairn (Mór longabhbáil 15ab), and ghairbh : Sáduirn (Seanóir Cuilg 29ab). Genitive Saturn appears in Ní Bean (28a), although the final non-palatal consonant cluster is not confirmed by rhyme.

The Middle Irish version of this name is Saturn(n), genitive Saturrn(n), found in Cath Cathardha ll. 4176, 4254; and TTebé l. 335 et passim. The genitive spelling Sáturind also appears at TTROI ll. 349, 360-1, perhaps as a mistake for Sátuirnd. Sadurn, genitive Saduirn(n) appears in Stair Ercuill 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 dysyllabic, and rhyme with siar (3ab) indicates final <ia> is a diphthong. Neither form participates in alliteration.

Úrania
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 (TTróí 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 (TTróí ll. 2, 46, 1009, 1012) along with Ulcan, genitive Ulcain (TTbe ll. 759 et passim; Im. Aen. l. 1953), and genitive Olcáin (Luid Iasón 14a).\textsuperscript{13} Dative Ulcán 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).

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Table 1. Names of divinities.

Names of locations

Africa
Old Irish Afraic(c), Modern Irish Afraic or Afíric.\textsuperscript{14} Mentioned in Tógaibh Eadrad as the home of Hippocrates’ daughter, and in A Thoirhealbhaigh as the site of Pompey’s exile. The former poem

\textsuperscript{13} Indeclinable Ulcán is likely the older of these two forms, with Ulcan arising from a re-analysis of genitive foms ending in a palatal consonant. For the change from <ul> to <ol>, see Breathnach, ‘The pronunciation of Latin’, 62.

\textsuperscript{14} While An Afraic is the form in contemporary use, Patrick Dinneen’s dictionary includes both Afíric and Afraic as acceptable variants (FGB s.v. Afíric). Spellings with palatal and non-palatal <fr> are found interchangeably in the works of Geoffrey Keating: e.g. Afraic at FFÉ 136, 182; Afífric 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.

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

Athēnae (Athens)
Dative Athens and Athēns in D’Oilbhéarus; genitive Aitēan, Aitéin, and Aithēin in Malairt Chrotha, genitive plural nAtens in Ní Bean. Initial stress, long <ē>, and both palatal and non-palatal final <n> in Malairt Chrotha are all confirmed by the rhymes sgéal : Aitéan (25ab), féin : Aitēin (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 ἀθηνῶν athēnōn) also appears in Ní Bean. Vowel length, consonant quality, and initial quality are confirmed by rhyme with fhēg[h]uin (47c).

The four-syllable long adjective Aitenenseis (from Latin Atheniensis ‘Athenian’) appears in Maith an Séalad. 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 : Uticensis (62ab), where the second word is also derived from a Latin adjective (Uticensis ‘Utican’), which also has penultimate stress. Alliteration between Aitenenses and oirdheirc 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 <ē>. 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,¹⁵ the spellings At(h)ens and Athēns 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.¹⁶ 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

¹⁵ Noteworthy exceptions include the ‘learned borrowing’ síans (eDIL s.v. síans, sëns) 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.

¹⁶ Tomás de Bhardraithe’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 Bhardraithe, English-Irish Dictionary (Dublin, 1959), s.v. Athens.
Genitive *Créid* in *Seanóir Cuilg*; the name is monosyllabic and rhymes with *leithéid* (36b). Both long and short <e> are attested in the Middle Irish forms of this name: dative *Creit* (*TTroi* l. 615), genitive *Créit* (*Cath Catharda* l. 1549), genitive *Creid* (*Im. Aen.* ll. 98, 659-60, 3028).

**Európa**
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*, *Gréach*; 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 *Gaidheal*).

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

**Ítalia**
Old Irish *Etál*, Early Modern Irish *Jodáil(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 Thoirdealghe* in *A Thoirdealghe*. It is monosyllabic, unrhymed, and alliterates with *loingis* (21b). The Middle Irish spellings *Leisp* and *Leisb* occur in the genitive and dative in *Cath Catharda* ll. 3376-84.

**Macedon**
Dative *Maiseadóin* in *Easgar Goidhil*. It is three syllables long and unrhymed; initial stress is confirmed by alliteration with *mhheadh* (8a). 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*, *Rómánaigh*, Modern Irish *Róimh*, *Rómhánaigh*. The majority of references to Rome in Classical Antiquity in the poems surveyed are to the events of Julius Caesar’s civil war.

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

In Middle Irish, *Teib*, genitive *Teibe* has a short <e> (*TTebe* l. 2 and *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’Oilbhéaras*, 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 monosyllabic. 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 Teasáil in A Thoiridhealbaigh, Rug Cosnamh and Teasda Éire; Teasaille in Teasda Éire; genitive Tesáillé, Teasaille in Fúil Dálaigh, Rug Cosnamh, Teasda Éire. Both long <l> and palatal <ll> are confirmed by the rhymes láibh : Teasáill (A Thoiridhealbaigh 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).17 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.18

“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 <i> is typically single.19 The gemination of the <l> in Modern Irish, as well as the long vowel in the second syllable, may be by analogy with Eadaíll ‘Italy’. The derived adjective is Tesalda or Tesálida (Cath Catharda ll. 1555, 4208; Scéla Alex. l. 99; TTébe l. 2350; TTroí l. 592).

**Thrācia (Thrace)**

Tge feminine accusative singular adjective dTraisigh ‘Thradian’ appears in Malairt Chrotha. It is disyllabic, rhymes with ngil (34cd) and alliterates with tréidshleamhain. 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 Tractae (TTroí ll. 101, 565, 605-8, 791) or Tracia (TTébe l. 1835); the derived adjective is Tracinda (Cath Catharda l. 1543) or Tragdai (Scéla Alex. l. 74, 98).

**Tróia, Trójānus (Troy, Trojans)**

The spelling Traoi is found in all grammatical cases. Rhyme with <aoi> or <i> 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 Floraísle 30c, Iad Féin 28c, 32a, Mo Thuaighe mar Atáid 16a, Mór an Lucht 32c, San Báinn 24b, 29a, Searc na Suadh 25a, and T’aire Rioi 3c.

Both disyllabic and trisyllabic spellings for “Troyan” are attested: genitive plural tTroighian, tTró-ian, Troí-fhian, and Traoi-fhian in Bean do Lámhaigheadh, Fonn Sligidh, and Sion Choitechann; dative plural Tró-fhianaihb in Bean do Lámhaigheadh; nominative plural Troighfí/janaigh in Sion Choitechann, genitive plural dTroigheanach in Sgl gan Oide. Hiatus is frequently indicated with the use of medial <gh> or <fh>. The diphthong <ia> in the second

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17 Medial <ld> must be underset 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 Cáithígh, ‘Cathain a dhéanfadh consan teann comhardadh slán le consan éadrom’?’, Ériu 57 (2007), 61–6.
19 eDIL s.v. Tessail cites an Old Irish nominative, Tessail, as well as the spelling Tesaill with double <ll> from Lebor Gabála Érenn.
syllable is confirmed by the rhymes Troi-fhian : soi-mhiadh (Bean do Lámhaigheadh 41cd), thriall : iTroighian (Fonn Sligidi 29cd), Troigh[i]anaigh : goirmfialaidh (Ston 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’.  

Old and Middle Irish Troi ‘Troy’ is indeclinable. Three derived adjectives are attested: Troianda, Troiandach, and Troían.

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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 Umla 21c). There is, however, one example of medial <c> confirmed by rhyme with slaitshídh (Truagh Cor 7b) and uaithe with chleitín (7c). Final <il>, <ill>, and <íl> are all confirmed by rhyme, e.g. Aichil : caithir (Ní Tráth 39cd, 42d), linn : Aicill

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20 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 Troi* as well as in the twelfth-century poem *Clann ollaman uaisle Emma*. Michael Clarke, ‘The extended prologue of Togail Troi: 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.

21 eDIL s.v. Troi

22 eDIL s.v. Troianda, Troiandach, Trojan. The –io stem Troianda is the earliest attested, appearing in the St. Gall glosses (Sg. 86.15, 105.7, 125.25) and used throughout *Troí. Troianda* is used interchangeably with Troianda in Im. Aen. Trojan 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 –á stem, presumably on the basis of the etymologizing suggested by Clarke. See note 20.
(T’aire Riot 4cd), and díbh : Aichil (Easgar Gaoidhil 10cd). 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 Mhinighthe, where the apologue relates how the druid ‘Dorbha’ had a pupil named ‘Aithil’, 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 dhaithimhin (18b), geathaoir (21b), and maccaoir (22b). James Carney was unable to identify a source for the story, but suggested that ‘Aithil’ might be for Aichil, a possible adaptation of the name Achilles’. Ó Caithnia, on the other hand, suggested that this name might refer to Atlas. 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. If this is the case, the substitution of <th> for <ch> may be a consequence of this unusual transmission. Alternatively, this substitution may be due to the similarity between <c> and <t> in many Irish hands.

Two trisyllabic forms of the name are attested: nominative Aicilés in Adhbhhar 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 Aichil or Aichil (TTroí l. 556 et passim; Luid Iasón 43c et passim); the spellings Aichil (TTroí ll. 1010-12), Acil (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.

Aenéas, -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. bhradaibh : cabghal 3cd, ngniomhaibh : d’iodhnaibh 12cd, Mogha : foglia 31cd).

The Middle Irish forms of the name are indeclinable Áeneas (TTroí l. 297 et passim; Aenias (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).

Agamennôn, -onis
Nominative Aíghmhiotionóin 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 oirdhreic (33b). The length of the vowel in the first syllable is not confirmed by rhyme. The Middle Irish forms of this name are Agmennmón, genitive Agmennóin (TTroí l. 522 et passim; Luid Iasón 37a, 72b, 95d) and indeclinable Aigmenon.

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23 Thus, Tadhg Ó Donnchadha’s emendation of unrhymed Aichil to Aichil in Beag nár Sáruigheadh 30a is unnecessary. LCAB, 262.117.
24 O’Reillys, 194
25 Ó Caithnia, Apalóga na bhFilí, 123.
26 O’Reillys, 192
27 Carney notes (O’Reillys, 194) that <t> and <c> are hard to distinguish in the hand of this particular scribe; is is therefore also possible that Aichil is the intended reading.
Nicholas Williams preserved the manuscript spellings of T.F. O’Rahilly emended in Ina mBláth (21). Bronnadh 10 Eachtair equally common in spelling, but medial <cht> is confirmed by numerous instances of rhyme, e.g. Hector to Heachtor and silently emended Hearcail to Hearcul, while Nicholas Williams preserved the manuscript spellings and remarked on the possible discrepancy.

Anchísēs, -ís
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 Anchísēs 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)imhí : 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)ús (TTroí ll. 993, 1761; Luid Iasón 71d) and Anachis (Im. Aen. l. 85 et passim).

Argó, -ús
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 Longphuirt 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).

Dêmoph(o)ôn, -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 prionnssa could satisfy the requirement for alliteration. This would be unusual, as <ph> does not alliterate with <p> in dán direach; the line also requires elision of the final <a> of prionnssa, which is not permitted either. This cannot be taken as firm evidence, however, as the previous line, ‘Ar Philis aithrēasad 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 Riot 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-bertaigh (Bean do Lámhaigheadh 44ab), Eachtair : leantair (Easgar Gaoidhil 10cd). There are three examples of medial <ct> participating in rhyme, Hector : Hearcail (Do Bronnadadh 8ab), dheacraibh : Hector[i]r (Ina mBláth 23cd), and Eachtair : nearthmoir (San Sbáinn 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 (Míthidh Sin 18cd), thoir : Eachtair (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 Bronnadadh, Hector rhymes with Hearcail (8ab); T.F. O’Rahilly emended Hector to Heachtor and silently emended Hearcail to Hearcul, while...
between spelling and pronunciation.\(^{28}\) There are six possible examples of non-palatal final <\textit{r}> confirmed by rhyme. In four cases (\textit{Fan Ráith} 33cd, \textit{Ó Dhaía} 60c, \textit{Rug Eadrain} 3cd, \textit{T’aire Riot} 4cd), rhyme is with the passive present indicative ending \textit{--ar}, which can easily be emended to \textit{--air}. In the remaining two examples, \textit{Echtar : neartmurr} (\textit{Do Leigheas Dia} 10cd) and \textit{Eachtar : ceathrar} (\textit{Maírgh ‘ga Lagaid} 12ab), no such emendation to palatal <\textit{r}> is possible. All six of these spellings with rhymed non-palatal final <\textit{r}> are in the nominative.

A similar variety of spellings is encountered in Middle Irish: \textit{Hechtoir} (\textit{T'Troí} l. 188 \textit{et passim}), \textit{Hector} (\textit{T'Troí} l. 802 \textit{et passim}), or \textit{Echtoir} (l. 801, 985, 1011; \textit{Luid Iasón} 53d \textit{et passim}; \textit{Im. Aen.} ll. 312-15, 404, 518), with one example of nominative \textit{Echtor} (\textit{T'Troí} l. 186). As the spelling \textit{Echtoir} conforms to the phonotactics of Middle Irish, it is most likely to reflect the actual pronunciation; spellings with initial <\textit{h}> and medial <\textit{cr}> likely reflect the influence of Latin spellings of the name. Spellings with final non-palatal <\textit{r}> likely represent a re-analysis of indeclinable genitive forms ending in a palatal <\textit{r}> as o-stem genitives.

\textit{Hercules, -is}

The most common form of this name is indeclinable \textit{Earcail} or \textit{Earcoil}. Initial stress, vowel length, and consonant quality are confirmed by numerous examples of rhyme, e.g. e.g. \textit{air : Earcail} (\textit{Pardhas Fódla} 39cd, 42cd), \textit{Earcail : dhthoghaltaigh} (\textit{Seanóir Cuilg} 31ab), and \textit{Earcail : ghuaishbheraigh} (\textit{Teasda Éire} 33ab). There are spellings with medial <\textit{rch}> (\textit{Ní Tráth} 16a) and a long vowel in the second syllable (\textit{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 <\textit{h}> appears in a handful of spellings (\textit{Créad fá Seachnainn-se} 7a; \textit{Gabhaim 5a; Do Bronndadh 8b; I Sagsaibh 22b}), none of which participate in alliteration.\(^{29}\)

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

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

The Middle Irish versions of this name are indeclinable \textit{Ercoil/Earcail} (\textit{T'Troí} l. 24 \textit{et passim; TT}Te\textit{be} l. 1469 \textit{et passim; Luid Iasón} 5c \textit{et passim}) or \textit{Hercoil/Hercail} (\textit{T'Troí} l. 38 \textit{et passim; TT}Te\textit{be} ll. 1225, 2193, 2298, 4258). As with the spelling variation observed for the name \textit{Hector}, spellings with initial <\textit{h}> likely represent the influence of the Latin spelling of the name, and spellings with a non-palatal final <\textit{l}> represent a re-analysis of indeclinable genitive forms ending in palatal <\textit{l}> as o-stem genitives.

\textit{Iásón, -onis}

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

\(^{28}\) \textit{MD}, 14.29-30, p. 72; \textit{DMDDG} 3.29-30, p. 77.

\(^{29}\) The manuscript reading \textit{Hirkil ‘or Hearcail} (\textit{Créad fá Seachnainn-se} 7a) in the Book of the Dean of Lismore possibly indicates that the initial <\textit{h}> of this name was pronounced. This is, however, inconclusive as initial <\textit{h}> may also be a feature of the manuscript’s Middle Scots-based orthography, since this name is usually spelled \textit{Hercules} in Scots.
Iasóin (TTroí l. 1-25 et passim; TTebe l. 2166 et passim; Luid Iasóin 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 Aighmhionóin in Iad Féin.

Láomedón, -ontis
Nominative Laimheadhón in Mór an Lucht, genitive Láímheadhóin 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 : Láímheadhóin (An tú a-rís 16cd). Initial stress is confirmed by these rhymes as well as alliteration with lim (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 Iasóin 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

Pêleus, -ei/-eos
Genitive Pêil 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 Pêil : aírséin (Beag nár Sáruigheadh 30ab) and Pêil : chléir (Ní Tráth 41cd). The Middle Irish form of the name is indeclinable Pêil (TTroí l. 118 et passim).

Pênelopê, -ês
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 Ulíxí meic Leírtis.30

Philoctêês, -ês
Nominative Fiolóises, Filiosías, and Fiolosias-[s]a (with demonstrative suffix) in Seanóir Cuilig. The rhymes a-ndes : Fiolóises (21ab) and treasa : Fiol-osías-[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.31 The spelling Filoces appears in Stair Ercuil l. 231 et passim, corresponding with Philotes or Phylotes in the source text.

Phyllis, -idis

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31 ‘In ainmmeacha ar nós (Muiré) ’Mugh-da-réan […] ’Arís-toutûl […] ’Si-pressûs […] is léir go n-áithnítear dhá shiolla aiceanta (ar gach taobh den fhleiscín) mar is féidir a dhéanamh sa sleftine dúcchasach (Mág) (S)amhr-a-dháin’. SnG, 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 Lámhaighheadh 39ab), hrígh (Fogas Fortacht 35cd), and slíomhín (T’aire Riot 3ab). Initial <p> is confirmed by alliteration with prímh (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 sléugur and lenition is confirmed by alliteration with initial <f> (32d, 33a), although it is not indicated in the manuscript transcript consulted. 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 Gaoiadhil. 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 Iuilísēis, accusative Iuilísís in Fonn Slígidh. The name is trisyllabic. Palatal final <s> as well as both <ē> and <i> in the final syllable are confirmed by the rhymes a-rís : Iuilísís (30ab) and éis : Iuilísís (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.

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). 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 <iu> and final <i> for <ê> show the influence of a post-Great Vowel Shift English pronunciation of the name.

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<td>Aeneas</td>
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33 See note 31 above.
34 Hillers argues that Ulixes is the correct Middle Irish form of the name, and that the readings Ulix or Ulixis are from abbreviated spellings. Hillers, ‘The Medieval Irish Wandering of Ulysses’, 86.
35 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.36

Gāius Jūlius Caesar
A variety of spellings is attested: Caesar, Césair, César, Séasar, Sésair, Séasar, etc. A form of the nomen gentile appears in three poems: nominative Iulius Cesair (Mo Mhallacht 7a), nominative Iul Sécor (Ní Chongmhn 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: ‘Claidhuis César, ‘sé a shuí’ (Dá Ghrádh 19a).37 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.38 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 Chongmhn 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 <air> 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.

36 DERMB, 434, cited in Ó Caithnia, Apalóga na bhFílí, 128. Maith an sealad states that ‘Brútus’ 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 bhfáidhiodh’). 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.

38 Cf. ‘Do shaor Séasar, is sé a shuí’ (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 Chongmheann 8ab); the latter poem also contains examples of final <ar> 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 Jául (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 (‘Octaúin groida Ócésar’, LL 15981). As is the case with Eachtai(j)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 Cátō, Cató and Cata. 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. 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.

Two poems, Beag nár Sáruigheadh and Dteireadh Flaithis, refer to comhailre Cható. The editor of the latter poem, Eóin Mac Cárthaigh understood this as a reference to a specific wisdom text by that name. Another poem, Maír Ch-Dún, 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. The poems Beag Mhaireas and Maith an Sealad, on the other hand, reference Cato the Younger.

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.

Marcus Tullius Ciceró

Indeclinable Tuil Sícir, Tuil Sígir or Tuilsígir. Numerous examples of rhyme and alliteration indicate that these are two separate stressed words. Initial <i> in Tuil is confirmed by alliteration with teagasc (Beag nár Sáruigheadh 32c), tagra (Cá bhBuair 20a), etc; initial <s> of Sígir is

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39 For the substitution of final long <o> with <a>, see Bretnach, ‘The Pronunciation of Latin’, 62.
40 Monosyllabic words ending in a long vowel may rhyme with the corresponding short vowel in rinn : airdrinn rhyme. Ir. Syll. Poetry, 18.
41 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 Uticenseis’ (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.).
44 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 uses the epithet Uticensis, and briefly recounts his death by suicide.
45 The substitution of <u> with <iu> here is likely due to the influence of the word iúdic ‘judge’, borrowed from Latin júdex.
confirmed by alliteration with saoi (Ní Chongmhann 23b). Medial <c> rather than <g> is confirmed by the rhyme as-tígh: Sicir (Beag nár Sáruigheadh 32ab), as well as uaithe between Sicir and focuil (Truagh Cor 10cd). Final palatal <r> is confirmed by the rhymes given above, as well as rhyme with sin (Ní Chongmhann 25b) and faulty rhyme with fhóiridhin (Cá bhFuair 20b). Trisyllabic Cicero and Ciceró occurs in the nominative in Mór idir and Tabhair, a Laoigh. In the latter poem, rhyme with geló (5c) 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.

Cornéllia Metella
Nominative Cornélia and Cornélia in Dá Ghrádh. The name is trisyllabic, indicating that final <ia> represents a diphthong. Alliteration with aithesg (14b) and rhyme with ría (25a) both indicate penultimate stress. The length of the final vowel in the second syllable is not confirmed by rhyme. The spelling Cornélia 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 (11ab) and tais : Marcais (13ab), 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 Maharus ar méid’ (7a). 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 prænomen Marcus. If the méid ‘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 ‘cióchmhac Marcas an mflidh’ ‘the foster-child(?) of Marcus the soldier’ (38d). 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. 46 Palatal final <s> in the genitive is confirmed by rhyme with ghlantaí (38c).

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

Gáius Crastinus (Soldier in Julius Caesar’s army)
Nominative and dative Traisdnéis in Cóir Súil, with variant readings Traisdinéis and Traisdéinéis in other manuscript witnesses. 47 Long <e> and palatal <s> in the final syllable, as well as penultimate stress are confirmed by rhyme with th’éis (39a). The vowel of the second syllable is not confirmed by rhyme. Initial stress is possibly indicated by alliteration with words beginning with <i> (35a, 36a, 37a), 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. 48

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46 The author is grateful to Deirdre Nic Cáithaigh for this suggestion.
48 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 <ss>, 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*.\(^{49}\) This substitution of \(<t>\) for \(<c>\) undoubtedly due to the similarities between the two letters in many Irish hands.\(^{50}\)

**Neró Claudius Drāsus Germanicus**  
Nominative *Drāsus* 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 metricaly confirmed. The spelling *Iulia* appears in *Cath Catharda* ll. 112, 206, 269, 1454.

**Līvia Drusilla**  
Nominative *Luia* 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 metricaly confirmed.

**Publius Ovidius Nāsō (Ovid)**  
Indeclinable *Ovid* or *Ouid* in *Beag Mhaireas, Beag nár Sáruigheadh, Móir 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-ui*. The other examples are unrhymed. Nominative and genitve spellings *Óibhid* and *Óivid* appear in *Móir Theasda* (written by the same poet as *Beag mhaireas*). The rhyme *Óivid*: *tìonóilid (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*), *Máighe* : *luathgháire* (*Fuil Dálaigh 26ab*), and *Máighe* : *Tesáille* (29ab).

The nominative spelling *Poimp Leatha* (from *Latium?*) appears in *Ní Chongmhnáin*. It is unrhymed, and the second element alliterates with *labhraid* (8a). Nominative *Puimpeí* 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*). *Puimpeí* likely derives from the English spelling *Pompey*, or perhaps French *Pompée*.

\(^{49}\) Ó hÁinle, ‘Three apologues’, 94.  
\(^{50}\) For a similar substitution, \(<t>\) for expected \(<c>\), see the discussion of the spelling *Aithil* 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 Séruigheadh 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 Séruigheadh 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.

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Table 4. Names associated with Republican and Imperial Rome.

Other Names

Actaeōn, -onis
Nominative and dative Acteon in Gabh mo Shuigrhe. 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 Alasdair or Alasdur is declined as a masculine o-stem in Fill th’Aghaidh, Neart Gach Tíre, and Sgol gan Oide. Trisyllabic Alasdhrann appears in the nominative in Maith an Sgéalaidhe. The most frequently encountered form, however, is four-syllable Alexandair, Alaxandair, Alaxanndair, etc. Numerous examples of rhyme indicate penultimate stress, e.g. soin : Alexandair (Easgar Gaoídhil 8ab), Al[e]xanndair : n-iongantaigh (Leis Féin 23ab), Alexanndair : chomhárdaigh (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: All[a]xanndair(i) : ardhladh (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 uaidreach ‘proud’ (Fill th’Aghaidh 29b, 42b, Maith an Sgéalaidhe 17b, Neart Gach Tíre 39a, Ní Deireadh 24a, and Sgol gan Oide 10b), 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 lead to the loss of the third syllable via syncope, and the simplification of the resulting consonant cluster, creating the Gaelicized versions Alasdair and Alasdar, from which Alasdrann is derived. 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 Alasdar is well-attested as a personal name in Scottish Gaelic up until the present day.

Aristotelês, -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), Airtostóitil : doctair (Créad fá Seachnaim-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 iul (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. Alliteration in the line ‘Arosdotal gide ar sgol’ (Maith an Sgéalaidhe 16a), on the other hand, indicates that only the initial syllable was stressed in this poem. 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

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31 In his discussion of Scottish Gaelic proverbs, Alexander Nicolson noted that ‘Alexander the Great is always called “Uaidreach” in Gaelic’. Alexander Nicolson, A Collection of Gaelic Proverbs (Edinburgh, 1881), 165.
32 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 Alasdar as an o-stem noun.
33 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 Domnail’ (AU 1465.11), ‘Eoin Cluasach, mac Eoin Mic Alasdhrann...do Clainn Domnail’, perhaps also ‘Eoin mac Alexandair’ (AU 1465.6); ‘Aluster Carrach’ (AU 1522.2), ‘Alasdrand Carrach, mac Mic Domnail’ (AU 1533.12); and ‘Domhnall mac Somhairle Buidhne mic Alaxandair, mic Eoin Cathanaigh mic Mec Domhnail’ (AFM 1577.5), ‘Alasdrann mac Somhairle Buidhne, mic Alasstrainn, mic Eoin Chathánaigh mac Mec Domhnail’ (AFM 1586.6).
34 See note 31 above.
35 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. The Middle Irish form of this name is Arustotal, genitive Arustotal (Scéla Alex. li 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.

**Chílō, -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.

**Cleobhólsus (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 (kíng 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 Seanór Cuilg. Both forms are disyllabic. TTroighén must be emended to Croighén in order to provide alliteration with caithghniomur (14d). Long <é> and a final non-palatal consonant are confirmed by rhyme with genitive plural òtrén (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 Croidhéóin. 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 longabháil. 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.

***Dēiānīra***

56 Cf. the name Alaxandair etc., which has penultimate stress in the poems surveyed, although the existence of tri-syllabic forms Alasdar, Alasdrann, etc. indicate a vernacular pronunciation with initial stress.

57 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 Aiithíl and Traidínés above, pp.

58 ‘In ilsiollaigh áirithe dar críoch guta fada + consan (-l, -n, nó -r de gnáth) ar nós goibhéal, cuiléan ‘coileán’, aomaráin srl (<§35>) tá ginideach (agus gairmeach) uatha gan chaoil inmhálairtaithe le ginideach (agus gairmeach) uatha den gnáthchinnéal’. SnaG, 370.

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.

Euclidēs, -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 lēn (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. 60

Hippocraītēs, -is
Nominative Hypocratt in Breitheamh Ceart; genitive Iopagraid in Is Follus, and Iopagrāid 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. 61

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. 62 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. 63

?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. 64 Alternatively, Oeta could be an error for Oeneus, Deianira’s father. 65

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61 For Ipocras see Wulf, Rosa Anglica, 42 et passim; Iopagraid appears p. 4; cf. Ipocratt, Whitley Stokes (ed.), ’The Gaelic Maundeville’, ZCP 2 (1899), 226-300, at §33.

62 See note 31.

63 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 choaí Narcissus náir’. Most lines in this poem lack alliteration, however, so this ‘eye alliteration’ may not have been intended as metrically valid naim.

64 ’Is tri mhéarbhhall a tháinig an t-aí nm isterach anseo, déarfainn’. DMDDG, 78.

65 The author is grateful to the anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.
?Olīva
Nominative Oilīobha and Oilīua 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, 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, -dhrī
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. l. 30 et passim), and Pilib begins to be used as a personal name in the later Middle Ages in Ireland.67

Platō, -ēnis
Nominative Plato in Ní Bean; accusative Phlátó 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 dráth-so (6b). The name appears in Middle Irish as Plait (Scéla Alex. l. 547).

Ptolemæus, 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, -ēnis (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)kálón and genitive Hálóin appear in D’Oilbhéarus. As the poem refers to this figure as a coigfhile ‘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

67 Ó Corráin and Maguire, Gaelic personal names, 153.
that these names are a version of the name Solon.\textsuperscript{68} Although both vowels are consistently written with marks of length, the rhymes \textit{ghloin} : \textit{Hálóin} (14ab) and \textit{trághadh} : \textit{d’Halón} (25cd) indicate a long vowel in the first syllable but a short vowel in the second. Rhyme with \textit{ghloin} also confirms palatal final \textless{n\textgreater} in the genitive. There are multiple examples of alliteration with words beginning with a vowel (13b, 14b, 24a); this, along with the spelling \textit{d’Álón} (13b) suggests that initial \textless{h\textgreater} is cosmetic.

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

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<th># of times mentioned</th>
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\textit{Table 5. Other names.}

\textbf{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.\textsuperscript{69} This is not meant as a precise figure, as non-professional poems in syllabic metres are often excluded.

\textsuperscript{68} The Database assigns this poem apologue class 408, ‘Halón (Solon?) son of Cailearbhán, his travels in search of learning’.

\textsuperscript{69} One notable exception is \textit{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.\textsuperscript{70} While outside the scope of the current study, Classical references are also often to be found in contemporary accentual poetry.\textsuperscript{71}

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.\textsuperscript{72} 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 Ghráadh 18b, Fuil Dálaigh 30d, Turnamh Dóchais 15a), and variations on the phrase Traoi do thoghail appear in no fewer than eight poems.\textsuperscript{73}

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 ‘Thrionóid Naomhtha features a catalogue of the Muses.\textsuperscript{74}

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.\textsuperscript{75} Thirteen of

\textsuperscript{70} 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.

\textsuperscript{71} 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 frith, Monuar, an Uain si ar Éirinn (pp. 3–11) and An Slógáí 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–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 Taireamh na hÉireann (59–82) offers a précis of world history that draws heavily on Classical material. The accentual Taireamh Philip meic Aodha Uí Raghallaigh (O’Reilly’s poem 28) refers to Philip as the aithghin ‘rebirth’ of Ovid and Homer, and likens the Ó Raghallaigh ancestral lands to Troy after the death of Hector (cf. Mo Thraighe, also written for an Ó Raghallaigh patron). In Gábh, a Chéin, go Shéimh mo Theugas Úaim-sa (Dánt 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 Édin (ed.), Dánta, Amhráin is Caoine Sheathrúin Chéitinn (Dublin, 1900), poems iv, v, viii, xii.

\textsuperscript{73} 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 Warnøes (eds), Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: Chronology, Contacts Scholarship; a Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Turnhout, 2015), 481–512, especially 505–8.

\textsuperscript{74} See pp. above.

\textsuperscript{75} 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.

\textsuperscript{75} 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 (Taire riot) and referenced obliquely in another (Créd fá Seachnainn-se), and Helen of Troy is referenced, although not by name, in two poems (An Sgitheach Tú and Taire 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 Ercuil), 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 apologistes containing details peculiar to these Irish adaptations. 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. 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. 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 (Agamennon > Agmennón), and lenition of medial and final consonants. 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. In the forms surveyed, Latin first-declension nouns, mostly place-names, are typically borrowed as á-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, Iojb and Uenir from (Dies) Marsit, Iovis and Veneris. 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.

76 Ó Caithnia, Apalóga na bhFilí, 124–7, 133; Ó hÁInle, ‘Three Apologues’.
77 Dáin na bMBionúr, ii, 133.
78 The Middle Irish forms of Apollo, Diana, Mars, and Minerva are entirely absent in the poems surveyed, while both Middle Irish Uenir and Latinate Blénus appear for Venus.
79 See GOI § 913-24. These Gaelicized spellings occur alongside Latin or Lateinate spellings in the Middle Irish texts surveyed; e.g. Aeneas, Cornelius, Julia, and Ulixes. Aeneas has a u-stem inflexion in Im. Aen., perhaps by analogy with the Irish name Oengus. Note also that Latin final <on> is not lost in any of the examples surveyed.
81 Cf. Modern Welsh Dydd Iau, Dydd Gwener. Note that Dies Saturni leads to Sathain 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.
82 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.\footnote{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 Erce; Polyphemus, Briareus, Argus, etc. in Tuireamh na hEireann (O’Rahilly, Five Seventeenth-Century Political Poems, 50-82); and the names of of Greek and Latin authors passim in TBB.} Occasionally, the poems surveyed will use a Latinate spelling of a name when a Middle Irish spelling is available. In poems such as Adhhbar and I Sagsaibh, this seems to be part of a self-conscious display of the poet’s learning, although the use of such Latinate 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 Latinate 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. Basílioscus, Corn-élia, and Iul-iísís or Iul-isís. Penultimate non-initial stress appears in some words that appear Latinate but are borrowed from Irish sources: Alax-anndair or Alex-anndair, Aris-totuil, Fiol-óíseís (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: Aineicís or Ai-niccís in Síon Choiteann, and Cúipioda or Cúip- hioda in Dairt sonn. There is one metrically confirmed example where stress has shifted forward to the final syllable, Apo-łó (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-óíseís and Nar-cissus), implying that Latinate 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 Brútus, Clio, Corn-élia and Dráus, and confirmed by rhyme in Apo-łó and Oíllia; ahistoric long vowels appear in stressed syllables in Bhéinus, Cúipioda, and perhaps Míneva, and are confirmed by rhyme in Pláto and Solon (órádhi). While there are some examples of short vowels in open stressed syllables in the poems surveyed, e.g Codorus (for Códrus), Iulia, and Liúia, none of these are confirmed by rhyme. Long <ó> in the stressed syllables of Ōvid and Fil-óíseas, 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 Iulíséis / Iulísís 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 ría) or Cleobholus (rhyming with eoldorus), although in the
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 iTroighian, 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 Croidhén / 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 Chongmhan, 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 Óvid and Oílúa. The spellings Bólcán 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 Dédsholus, 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 <éo> in the older borrowing Éóraip. 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 Sípio for ‘Scipio’. The same pattern is observed for spellings derived from Middle Irish versions of Latin words: thus Mai-seadóin for Middle Irish Maíseadóin, dTraighe from Traícé, Séasair for César, and Tuil Sícir 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.84

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>: Fiólóises, 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 d'Traisigh derived from Middle Irish. It is preserved in the spelling Thebes, found in the poem D'Oilbhéarus, and alliterates with téd. 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 Croíghén. 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. Seiřeis, Peiřiander, Iu liséis, and Traisdínéis; and as noted above, Latin <i> is occasionally interpreted as a glide vowel as in disyllabic Sípio. Short vowels in unstressed syllables are occasionally substituted for other vowels of the same quantity, e.g. Cate for Cato, Marcos 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 Cleobulus.

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.85 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

84 As noted above (pp.), the name Polyhymnia provides possible evidence for the pronunciation of <h> at the beginning of a tonic syllable.
of <v> as a fricative. Initial and medial <c> or <sc> is becomes <s> before a front vowel. All of these features are consistent with the orthographic evidence of later medieval Latin from Ireland.

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 assimilation 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). 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 Iülísis / Iüliséis and Séiréis, and ahistoric lengthening in Traisdínéis. English speakers of Latin also pronounced Latin long vowels with their post-Vowel Shift values; with the exception of the name Iülísis / Iüliséis, 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, Apoló. 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. 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 Eachtá(i)tr.

Two features of this Irish pronunciation of Latin, non-initial stress and the assimilation 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 Ercaíl), Trais-dínéis with ahistoric penultimate stress (from Cath Catharda), and Tra Cicer 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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87 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.
88 Breatnach, ‘The Pronunciation of Latin’.
89 Copeman, Singing in Latin, 21-22, 121-9, 292-5.
90 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 Sésair, discussed above. pp.
91 Copeman, Singing in Latin, 145. The spellings Apo-ló and Séréis, with metricaly confirmed long vowels in final syllables, both appear in the same poem, I Ságsailb.
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 Traisdinéis 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.
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 gClóch 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. 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** = *Mhac-alla Dheas.*
Not included in the database. Twelve quatrains in an óglachas of leathrannaíocht mhór attributed to Cearbhall Ó Dálach (fl. 1630), edited by O’Rahilly as *DG* poem 19. At least twenty-two manuscript witnesses survive. 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 Thoirdealbaigh** = *A Thoirdealbaigh, 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.

**Adhbar** = *Adhbar 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 na Dhióchosge.*
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?*

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94 For the manuscript sources, see Síle Ní Murchú, ‘Observations on the manuscript sources for the Dánta Grá’, *Celtica* 29 (2017), 199–250, at 240.
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 Mhacraigdh Ghaoideheal (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 Sáraigheadh = Beag nár Sáraigheadh Siol 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 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 Riogh.**
The apologue of the poem (qq. 18-23) relates the youthful training of Aithil, perhaps another name for Achilles.

**Cóir Súil = Cóir Súil re Seasamh Gaoideal (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.96

**Créad A-nois = Créad A-nois Fuirghneas Éamonn.**
The poem contains four brief apalogues 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 apalogues.

**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 2008.97 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 nGaoideal.**
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 Tréiglead 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 Cáithigh.98 The poet mentions ‘comhairle Cható’ (q. 35) which may be, as Mac Cáithigh suggested, a reference to a specific wisdom text of that name.

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

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98 Mac Cáithigh, ‘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, Derbha 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 Bhaird.99 Parts of this poem were previously published by Cuidbeirt Mac Craith.100 The apologue (qq. 13-25) recounts the peregrinations of the Athenian lawmaker Solon and his sojourn in Thebes.

Do Roinneadh = Do Roinneadh Ríghe 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 Clá 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 Ingean Eoghain.
The poet recounts the story of Narcissus falling in love with his reflection (q. 18).

Fearann Cloidhimh = Fearann Cloidhimh Criotch Bhanbha.
The poet references the Greek origin of the Irish (qq. 10-12).

**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.101 Cf. *Ceathrar*.

**Fogas Fortacht** = *Fogas Fortacht don Tír Thuaídh*.
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 Fioruaisle** = *Fréamh na Fioruaisle 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’ 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 Ultaihbh** = *Geall ó Ultaihbh ag Éinfhear*.
The subject of the poem is likened to Hector (q. 5).

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Glaine no Cáich = 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 Sagaíbh = I Sagaíb 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 Bachus 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'Uitbh.
The poet likens the patron’s house to Troy in its prime (q. 7).

Mairg Do-ní = Mairg Do-ní Deimhin dá Dhuígh.
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 Sgéaladhe = Maith an Sgéaladh an Sgriobtúir.
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.\textsuperscript{102} 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 Mhídhi (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 Cáirthigh in 2013.\textsuperscript{103} 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.

\begin{footnotes}
\item Quiggin, Poems from the Book of the Dean of Lismore, 68–9.
\item Eoin Mac Cárthaigh, “‘Mo mhallacht ort, a shaoghail’ (c. 1655): dán is a sheachadhadh’, Ériu 63 (2013), 41–77.
\end{footnotes}
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 text 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’Anbhuan Éireannn. Crioch 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 Eoghaín.**
The subject of the poem is repeatedly likened to Orpheus (qq. 1, 2, 4).
Pardhas Fódla = Pardhas Fóitla Fir Mhanach.  
The apologue (qq. 27-52) recounts the prophecied 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.\(^\text{104}\)

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 Sbáinn = San Sbáinn do Tóirneadh 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.\(^\text{105}\) 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.\(^\text{106}\) 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 Pádruig Mac Gillionndoin for Father Féidhlim Ó hAnluain in the early eighteenth century; cf. ‘Thrionóid naomhitha. 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 Oll nÉireann (ABM poem 451).

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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 apalogues 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 prophecied 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 *ógachas* 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 Luathgh.* 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 militar*, 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 Ríghe* = *Tuar Ríghe 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.

**ABBREVIATIONS**
| **DG** |Tomás Ó Rathile, *Dánta Grádha* (Cork 1926).  |
| **DMDDG** |Nicholas Williams (ed.), *Dánta Mhúiris mhic Dhaíbhí Dhuibh Mhic Gearailt* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1971).  |
| **Im. Aen.** |George Calder (ed.), *Imtheachta Æniasa*, ITS 6 (London 1907).  |
| **MD** |Thomas F. O’Rahilly (ed.), *Measgra Dánta* (Dublin and Cork, 1927).  |
| **Stair Ercuil** |Gordon Quin (ed.), *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás: The Life and Death of Hercules* (London, 1939).  |
**TDall**

**Timaeus**

**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.